

1 Between duty and neglect: language ideologies and stancetaking among Polish adolescents 2 in Norway

3 1. Introduction

4 This article explores how adolescent Polish transnationals in Norway orient towards
5 questions of language practices and language maintenance through stancetaking (Du Bois,
6 2007; Jaffe, 2009) in interviews. As a result of the recent economic and political changes in
7 Europe, the mobility of Polish people has increased significantly. To a large degree, Poles in
8 Norway can be seen as the representatives of economically motivated migration from
9 eastern Europe after the 2004 EU enlargement, which is still associated with, and often
10 stereotyped and stigmatised as, blue collar labour and work migration (cf. Baba & Dahl-
11 Jørgensen, 2010). Such stereotypes may in particular affect the relationship of young Polish
12 transnationals towards the heritage language and, in the long run, also influence the
13 maintenance of Polish in diasporic communities.

14 Since young people are often seen as the barometers of social and linguistic change (cf.
15 e.g. Nortier & Svendsen, 2015), the main objective of this article is to investigate how
16 adolescent Poles in Norway discursively construct Polish language use and maintenance
17 and what language ideologies they activate in these constructions. The data stem from semi-
18 structured interviews with 10 Polish teenagers living in Norway (see section 4). Firstly, based
19 on a content analysis of the entire data set, the paper maps out how the young people in this
20 study conceived of the use and maintenance of Polish in a transnational context, then it
21 illustrates the development of metasociolinguistic stances in chosen interview excerpts, and
22 finally it discusses the ideological implications of the participants' accounts. Methodologically,
23 this paper argues for an interactionally-oriented analysis of interview data, and points, in line
24 with Morgan (2017), to the usefulness of the stance framework for analysing how (young)

25 people experience and relate to language and language use in the sociolinguistic
26 complexities of the 21st century.

27 **2. Polish transnationals in Norway**

28 Following Hua & Wei (2016), I use the term 'transnational', rather than 'migrant', to stress
29 the importance of the interconnectivities across and beyond national boundaries in the
30 participants' experiences. This is particularly relevant in the case of Poles - a nation with a
31 long emigration history (Okólski, 1999), constituting one of the 20 largest diasporas in the
32 world (cf. UNO, 2015). With the opening of EU's inner market in 2004, the transnational
33 mobility of Poles increased even more and according to the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs,
34 there were 18 million Poles living outside of Poland as of 2013 (MSZ, 2013). Due to the
35 geographical proximity and favourable working conditions, many Polish people have chosen
36 Norway as the country of destination.

37 At present, Poles are the largest 'immigrant group' in the country, constituting almost 14%
38 of the total number of immigrants, with 95 700 Polish people registered in Norway (Statistics
39 Norway, 2016). In spite of being the largest immigrant group in Norway, they remain a rather
40 under-researched population from a sociolinguistic perspective (Bygdås, 2016; Kraft, 2016;
41 Palm, Svendsen, & Sollid, 2014). The existing linguistic research on the Polish diaspora
42 elsewhere has focused on language choice in bilingual interactions (Ogiermann, 2013),
43 features of heritage Polish (Kozminska, 2015), language maintenance and ethnic identity
44 (Laskowski, 2013), as well as language shift (Clyne, 2003). Adding to this conversation, this
45 article specifically examines stances vis-à-vis Polish language produced by adolescent Poles
46 living in Norway, as an example of how a new generation of a diasporic community relates to
47 questions of language maintenance and use.

48 **3. Language ideologies and stancetaking**

49 Conversations on language use and maintenance often lead to disclosures of people's
50 beliefs and values regarding languages, their speakers, as well as normative prescriptions on
51 how languages and linguistic forms ought to be used. In sociolinguistic and linguistic
52 anthropological work such beliefs, values and prescriptions are referred to as *language*
53 *ideologies* (e.g. Blackledge, 2000; Kroskrity, 2000; Woolard, 1998; Woolard & Schieffelin,
54 1994). Kroskrity (2010: 192) defines language ideologies as a set of 'beliefs, feelings, and
55 conceptions about language structure and use which often index the political economic
56 interests of individual speakers, ethnic and other interest groups and nation states'. These
57 views and beliefs represent ideas about particular forms of language to be used in specific
58 contexts, such as the 'appropriateness' vs. 'inappropriateness' of certain ways of speaking,
59 and statuses of different languages and linguistic forms (e.g. Blommaert, 1999). As such,
60 they are highly evaluative in their character (cf. Morgan, 2017) and can have a significant
61 influence on individual language practices, as well as language policies and management by
62 social groups and institutions. In transnational contexts they have been described, for
63 example, as the driving forces influencing decisions regarding language practices at home
64 among transnational families (e.g. Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; Lanza & Svendsen, 2007).

65 The evaluative character of language ideologies links them to the notion of *stance*
66 (Morgan, 2017) understood here in accordance with Du Bois's model (2007) as 'a public act
67 by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means, of
68 simultaneously evaluating objects, positioning subjects, and aligning with other subjects, with
69 respect to any salient dimension of the sociocultural field' [163]. As pointed out by Jaworski
70 and Thurlow (2009), the relationship between *stance* and *ideology* is dialectical. *Ideologies*
71 refer to sets of shared, general and abstract social representations, whereas *stances* are
72 situational deployments of these representations. Thus, by taking stances, speakers, on the

73 one hand, say something about themselves and their relationship to the world and, on the
74 other hand, through the act of evaluation, activate certain aspects of wider ideologies.
75 Frequent deployment and constant repetition of *stances* contribute in turn to their reification
76 and solidification into personal *stands* and, eventually, through widespread adoption and
77 conventionalisation, into collective ideologies (cf. Jaworski and Thurlow, 2009: 221).

78 In research on stance a common distinction is made between *epistemic* and *affective*
79 stances (Du Bois, 2007; Jaffe, 2009; Ochs, 1990, 1996). According to Ochs (1996: 410), an
80 affective stance refers to moods, attitudes, feelings, dispositions and emotional intensity
81 towards a particular object or focus, whereas an epistemic stance denotes knowledge and
82 beliefs, as well as degrees of certainty and commitment to the truth of a proposition.
83 Linguistically, an affective stance may be marked by diminutives, augmentatives, quantifiers,
84 verb voice, sentential adverbs and changes in intonation, volume or pace of speech (Ochs
85 1996: 413, 426), whereas an epistemic stance may be manifested through the use of
86 sentential adverbs, hedges, cleft structures, modal verbs, intonation or sentential mood.

87 Instead of focusing on different kinds of stances, Du Bois's framework (2007) unites
88 the evaluative, epistemic and affective dimensions of stancetaking acts. This three-fold
89 model stresses the intersubjective and co-constructed character of stance by outlining how
90 expressing evaluative, epistemic and affective orientations towards *stance objects*, i.e. the
91 referential targets of speakers' propositions, shape the relations between the interactants.
92 Hence, in Du Bois's framework stance is a three-in-one act in which speakers make
93 judgements or express opinions (*evaluation*) and, by doing so, orient divergently or
94 convergently to what has occurred previously in the interaction (*alignment*), and take up
95 certain epistemic and/or affective positions, which in consequence affect the subject
96 positions of their co-interactants (*self and other positioning*).

97 When language becomes the stance object and speakers display positions towards
98 language hierarchies, ideologies or the assumed connections between language and identity,
99 they take a *metasociolinguistic stance* (Jaffe 2009: 17) or a *metapragmatic stance* as
100 Juffermans, Blommaert, Kroon, & Li, (2014) label it. Recently, stances towards language
101 have been investigated in sociolinguistic work on language ideologies (re)constructed in
102 interviews. For example, Nylund (2017) shows how speakers of African American origin
103 address essentialised ideas of language, engage critically with wider social discourses and
104 contest dominant language ideologies by taking metasociolinguistic stances in interviews.
105 Applying the framework of stance to investigate post socialist language ideologies in Albania,
106 Morgan (2017) shows how language ideologies as explicit or implicit evaluations in
107 metalinguistic talk are implicated in the interactional acts of positioning and alignment and, as
108 such, play a fundamental role in how identities and context are negotiated in interviews. As
109 noted by Morgan (2017), through its primary focus on evaluation, Du Bois's stance model is
110 particularly useful for investigating language ideologies in explicit metalinguistic discourse, an
111 example of which are sociolinguistic interviews. In addition, through incorporating the acts of
112 positioning and alignment into the analysis, the framework of stance allows the analyst to
113 shift focus from the sole performance of the interviewee and allows for a more interactionally-
114 oriented approach to the interview data.

115 **4. Method, data and participants**

116 The data for this study consist of a series of semi-structured interviews with ten Polish
117 teenagers (6 girls and 4 boys) living in Norway: Kaja (18), Diana (16), Viola (17), Ana (17),
118 Maria (19), Marysia (18), Jan (13), Jarden (15), Greg (17) and Kuba (16). The participants
119 were between 13 – 19 years of age and had been living in Norway between 1 and 12 years
120 at the time of the interview. Thus, all of them can be classified as representatives of the post

121 2004 migration. All the participants were born in Poland and had lived there for at least four
122 years prior to migration. At the time of the interviews, they all lived in the capital Oslo or in its
123 surroundings. The participants were recruited through snowball sampling (see Hoffman,
124 2013). All of the teenagers participating in this study chose to be interviewed in Polish. The
125 other options introduced to them were to conduct the interview entirely in English or in a
126 bilingual mode where the participants would answer in Norwegian and the interviewer would
127 speak English or Polish (due to a limited speaking competence in Norwegian).

128 The Language Portrait method (Busch, 2016) was used in the interviews to elicit
129 narratives on languages relevant in the participants' lives. The method affords participants
130 agency and thus shifts 'classical' power relations in sociolinguistic interviews where, typically,
131 the researcher is asking questions and the researched is answering (cf. Holmes & Hazen,
132 2013). For the purposes of this paper I am treating the method only as a starting point and a
133 stimulus for the semi-structured interviews. The drawings, which were made by the
134 participants during the interviews, are not the focus of my analysis here. I also acknowledge
135 that the method elicits narratives on various languages relevant for the participants; however,
136 in this paper I am focusing only on the parts of the interviews pertaining to the Polish
137 language use and maintenance. The semi-structured interview was chosen as the method
138 due to its flexibility as well as sensitivity in treating feelings and emotions (Mills, 2004), which
139 might arise in conversations related to personal issues such as migration and language
140 choices.

141 The relationship between the researcher and the participant is a complex one and
142 there are several factors that affect it - for example age, gender, personality and the
143 researcher's background (e.g. Mallinson, Childs, & Herk, 2013). Although there were age
144 differences (10-16 years) between the author and the participants in this study, the rapport

145 with the teenage participants was usually established within the first minutes of the interview,
146 and the conversations flowed easily as shown in the excerpts below. Younger participants
147 (below the age of 15) were at times more self-conscious in the interview situation than their
148 older peers, which often resulted in extra-interactional efforts of the interviewer such as acts
149 of explicit alignment, encouragement and use of colloquial expressions (cf. Excerpt 4 below).
150 My position as a researcher of Polish origin facilitated, on the one hand, access to the
151 participants but, on the other hand, it might have influenced the way the participants
152 responded and positioned themselves as Poles in the interviews. For instance, our shared
153 background and the use of Polish in the conversations, might have inspired them to bring to
154 the fore the Polish aspects of their identities and subdue other possible ways of identification.
155 Since the interviewee's responses are always influenced by questions and responses from
156 the researcher, the extracts analysed in this paper take into account the interviewer's
157 contributions in order to reflect the interactional and co-constructed character of stance-
158 taking.

159 The interview topics included multilingualism in the participants' families and lives, as
160 well as migration experiences. The interview guide was followed flexibly to accommodate the
161 flow of the conversations. Altogether, the corpus consists of 14 hours and 11 minutes of
162 interviews, each lasting between 30 minutes and 2.5 hours. The complete data set was
163 analysed in a reflective and cyclical procedure inspired by the qualitative content analysis as
164 described by Dörnyei (2007): 1. transcribing the data, 2. manual coding, 3. growing ideas
165 in the form of memos, and 4. interpreting the data and drawing conclusions. The
166 content-analysis served the purpose of engaging meaningfully with the entire data set and
167 distilling the common themes and categories across the interviews. It also enhanced the
168 rationale for choosing certain excerpts at the expense of others in order to illustrate how the

169 participants understand the use and maintenance of Polish. The interviews were transcribed
170 in NVivo program and coded manually. The transcripts were first subject to close reading.
171 Thereafter, the excerpts containing explicit metalinguistic commentary on the use and
172 maintenance of Polish in diaspora were identified, extracted and reread repeatedly, focusing
173 especially on the participants' rationale for using or not using Polish. All the explanations
174 given by the participants were listed and assigned codes. In the following process of
175 secondary-coding I looked for patterns and relationships between the participants'
176 explanations in order to see connections between the individual accounts. This stage of the
177 analysis involved the creation of mind-maps illustrating the different ways of how the
178 participants conceived of the use and maintenance of Polish (see appendix). As a result of
179 this process, I identified four categories of constructing Polish language use and
180 maintenance in the interviews: *Polish as intent*, *Polish as a utility*, *Polish as an obligation* and
181 *Polish as unimportant*. Here, it needs to be noted that these categories are not mutually
182 exclusive, as the participants made multiple and at times contradicting statements in the
183 interviews, which points both to the methodological challenge of self-reporting and to the
184 epistemological fact that human beings have the capacity to develop and change opinions
185 and arguments in the course of a co-constructed conversation. Consequently, some pieces
186 of data were representative of more than one category. For example, the following statement
187 from an interview with Maria (19) can be assigned both to the category *Polish as intent* and
188 *Polish as a utility*. 'I would like to keep using Polish in the future because it is part of me, part
189 of where I come from so it is important to maintain it. And also, it is useful for talking to my
190 family in Poland'.

191 The participants' perceptions representing the above mentioned categories are
192 exemplified in the interview excerpts discussed in detail in section 5. The interview excerpts

193 focus on the reported and envisioned language practices of the participants, their families
194 and Polish transnationals in Norway in general. Therefore, they are examples of explicit
195 metalinguistic commentary, in which research participants are encouraged to share their
196 beliefs, feelings and opinions on language maintenance and use, i.e. – to take a
197 metasociolinguistic stance (Jaffe, 2009). The interview excerpts are analysed using the
198 analytical lens of stance according to Du Bois' (2007) model, and thus the processes of
199 evaluation, positioning and alignment are accounted for in each data excerpt.

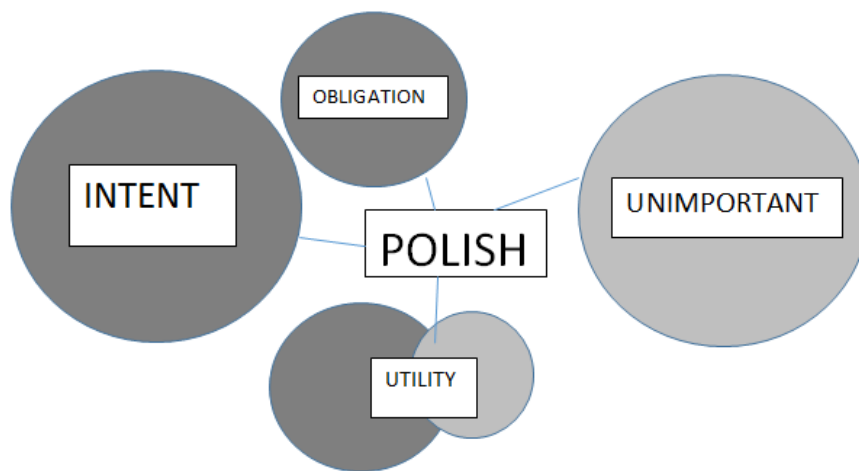
200 **5. Findings**

201 The analysis demonstrates that the young people in this study have clear beliefs about
202 why Polish should or should not be maintained in transnational contexts (see below). In
203 general, the girls advocate the maintenance of Polish both on an individual and on the family
204 level by pointing to the importance of the language for their sense of self and feelings of
205 belonging, or by stressing the practical dimensions of knowing Polish and highlighting its
206 potential role in their future careers and transnational family life. The most prominent
207 category of constructing Polish in the data provided by the girls was *Polish as intent*, followed
208 by *Polish as an obligation* and *Polish as a utility* - both equally salient categories in the girls'
209 data.

210 In contrast, the boys in the study do not appear to view the maintenance of Polish as
211 important. All four boys expressed the opinion that Polish would not be of particular use for
212 their future careers or family life and its maintenance, particularly on the family level, was
213 considered obsolete. In the two instances in which boys mentioned maintaining Polish, the
214 language was seen as a potential but not essential tool for communication with other Poles.
215 Thus, the answers provided by the boys fell into the categories: *Polish as unimportant*, which

216 was the most prominent category in the boys' data set; and *Polish as a utility*, which was a
217 less salient but nevertheless a present category.

218 Figure 1 below, represents graphically the categories of constructing Polish among girls
219 (dark circles) and boys (light circles), which emerged as a result of the content analysis (see
220 section 4). The sizes of the circles reflect the salience of given categories in the data set. In
221 the next paragraphs, I will closely examine four data excerpts in order to illustrate how Polish
222 language use and maintenance were constructed by the participants through stancetaking in
223 interviews.



224
225 *Figure 1. Categories of constructing Polish use and maintenance by adolescent girls (dark) and boys*
226 *(light)*

227 **5.1 Polish as intent**

228 Polish was constructed as intent solely in interviews with adolescent girls, who
229 frequently mentioned their own willingness and purposeful actions aimed at maintaining the
230 language. Typically, Polish was constructed as intent through the use of the verb *chcieć* (to
231 want) and its conjunctive and future forms, e.g. *chciałabym uczyć moje dzieci polskiego* ('I
232 would like to teach Polish to my kids'). Other ways of expressing this orientation included the
233 phraseological construction *mieć nadzieję* (literally 'to have hope'), e.g. *mam nadzieję, że*

234 *polski będzie jednym z języków w mojej rodzinie* ('I hope Polish to be one of the languages in
235 my family'), and the promissive use of the future tense in conjunction with adverbials such as
236 *zawsze* ('always') and *nigdy* ('never'), as in: *Nigdy nie zapomnę, że polski jest moim*
237 *językiem ojczystym* ('I will never forget that Polish is my mother tongue').

238 In the excerpt below Kaja, an 18-year-old girl, takes a metasociolinguistic stance
239 towards imagined language practices in her future family. At the time of the interview Kaja
240 had been living in Norway for 6 years and reported very good knowledge of both Norwegian
241 and Polish. In the interview, Kaja mentioned that the move to Norway at the age of 12 was
242 emotionally difficult and made her feel alienated and homesick. At the time of the interview,
243 the girl was very happy with her life and felt that she had 'two homes' – one in Poland and
244 one in Norway. In the course of the interview she explicitly and repeatedly identified herself
245 as a 'Polish girl' and declared to speak solely Polish with her family and friends. She reported
246 to associate mainly with Polish teenagers, and at the time of the interview she had been in a
247 long-term relationship with a Polish boy living in Norway. Nevertheless, the girl also intends
248 to continue living in Norway in the future, thus Norwegian comprises an important part of her
249 linguistic repertoire.

250 Extract (1)

251 1Researcher: *[...]jakbyś miała swoją rodzinę (.) w przyszłości(.), e:m to jak, jakie języki byś*

252 *[...] if you were to have your own family in the future, u:m then how, what languages*

253 2 *chciała mieć w tej rodzinie?*

254 *would you like to have in this family?*

255 3 Kaja: *no na pewno bym chciała podtrzymywać mój ojczysty polski, który jest ze mną cały*
256 *czas*

257 *Well, for sure I would like to maintain my Polish mother tongue, which is always with*
258 *me*

259 4 *i mam nadzieję, że będzie ze mną do końca życia. I chciałabym, żeby właśnie ten język*

260 and which I hope will be with me until the end of my life. I would like this language to be
 261 5 *był głównym językiem. Tak samo jak i norweski. Żeby to były dwa języki, którymi (.) ja i*
 262 the main language. Just like Norwegian. So that these would be the two languages
 263 6 *moja rodzina byśmy się posługiwali dobrze.*
 264 which I and my family could use well.

265 7 Researcher: *Mhm a dlaczego jest to dla ciebie, nie wiem, istotne, żeby utrzymać ten polski?*
 266 Mhm and and why is it, I don't know, important for you to maintain the Polish language?
 267 8 *Jeżeli miałybyś mieszkać tutaj?*
 268 If you were to live here?

269 9 Kaja: *Ponieważ był on ze mną od (.) małego i chciałabym, żeby on był przekazywany dalej,*
 270 Because it has been with me since I was small and I would like it to be transferred
 271 further,
 272 10 *dalej [...]*
 273 Further [...]

274 My initial turn in extract one invites Kaja to take a stance on family languages in her
 275 imagined future family (cf. Purkarthofer, 2017 on projected family language policies). In
 276 response to my question Kaja initially constructs Polish as a desirable family language. She
 277 explicitly states her willingness to maintain Polish by the use of the stance verb *bym chciała*
 278 ('would like') in line 3, modified by the emphatic prepositional phrase *na pewno* ('for sure'),
 279 which epistemically suggests high level of certainty and commitment to the proposition.
 280 Through the use of the possessive pronoun *mój* in the phrase 'my Polish mother tongue' in
 281 line 3, Kaja takes ownership of the language and expresses her identification with it while
 282 also constructing the language as a continuum accompanying her in her life. The expression
 283 of hope in line 4 is also indicative of Kaja's stance towards the maintenance of Polish, as it
 284 renders the language desirable and worth keeping, at the same time positioning the girl as a
 285 dedicated speaker of Polish. However, in line 5 the stance object changes when Kaja
 286 mentions Norwegian as one of the 'main' languages for her future family. This also shifts

287 Kaja's position as she now constructs herself as a bilingual individual and her future family as
288 an inclusive space where two languages can co-exist.

289 In my next turn, in line 7, I acknowledge Kaja's stance and shift the stance object from
290 bilingual language practices in the family to the reasons for maintaining Polish. My question
291 both ascribes a stance to Kaja by spelling out the importance of the maintenance of Polish,
292 and implicitly challenges the motives of her projected language practices, thus implying
293 disalignment. My turn is softened by the epistemic hedge *nie wiem* ('I don't know'), which
294 shows that I am not very strongly committed to the divergent alignment and also encourages
295 Kaja to provide further explanations. In line 9, Kaja takes up the stance I ascribed to her and
296 while providing additional explanations, she continues with the construction of Polish as a
297 continuum, arguing that it has been accompanying her since her childhood. At the same time,
298 by expressing the wish for Polish to be transferred to future generations, she activates the
299 national language ideologies circulating in Poland which frame the language as a common
300 good which needs to be maintained and protected ("The Act on the Polish Language," 1999)
301 and again takes up the position of a dedicated Polish speaker.

302 Kaja and other girls who expressed the desire to maintain Polish often emphasised
303 the permanence and stability of its presence in their lives as the rationale for keeping the
304 language. In these accounts Polish was seen as a constant, and the reported and projected
305 language practices stemmed here from the perceived need of keeping this status quo. Very
306 often expressing the wish for Polish was accompanied by reports on conscious choices and
307 efforts aimed at maintaining the language (e.g. reading Polish books, visiting Polish websites
308 and seeking contact with other Polish speakers). Thus, the desire to keep Polish in the future
309 came hand in hand with the discursive construction of own agency (Ahearn, 2010; Al Zidjaly,
310 2009) in language maintenance. Moreover, by constructing Polish as intent, the adolescent

311 girls engaged and aligned with the Polish national language ideologies imposing protection
312 and maintenance of the language as unquestionable necessities (Polish Bishops'
313 Conference, 2010; Polish Language Council, 2005; "The Act on the Polish Language," 1999).

314 5.2 Polish as an obligation

315 In the interviews Polish use and maintenance was constructed as an obligation only by
316 adolescent girls. The obligation to maintain Polish was typically expressed through the use
317 of deontic constructions such as *trzeba mówić po polsku* ('one must speak Polish'), *nie*
318 *można zapominać języka ojczystego* ('one cannot forget the mother tongue'), *nie da się*
319 *przestawić* ('it is impossible to switch [to other languages]'), *powinno się podtrzymywać*
320 *polski* ('one should maintain Polish'); through the use of imperative verbs, epistemic
321 adverbials: *oczywiście* ('of course'), *przecież* ('obviously') and evaluative adjectives such as
322 *ważny* ('important') and *istotny* ('essential').

323 The excerpt below illustrates how maintaining Polish is constructed as an obligation in
324 my conversation with 16-year-old Diana. Diana had been living with her family in Norway for
325 two years at the time of the interview and had been very happy with her migration experience.
326 The girl speaks Polish at home and Norwegian with her friends. Diana plans to stay in
327 Norway in the future and reported to consciously focus on practising Norwegian 'as much as
328 possible' to improve her skills and 'achieve perfection'. Nevertheless, in the interview she
329 strongly advocated the maintenance of Polish in transnational contexts.

330 Excerpt (4)

- 331 1. R: (...) *jak uważasz czy jak przyjeżdżają Polacy tutaj,*
332 (...) what do you think when Poles come here,
- 333 2. e: *to: jakimi powinni mówić językami między sobą?*
334 u:m the:n what languages should they speak with each other?
- 335 3. Diana: *między sobą to polskim. ja rozmawiam z Polakami tylko po polsku*

- 336 with each other Polish. I only speak Polish with Poles
- 337 4. *jeżeli ktoś (.) jakiś Polak chce mówić do nas po norwesku (.) to ja tego nie rozumiem!*
- 338 if somebody (.) some Polish person wants to speak Norwegian to us (.) I don't get it!
- 339 5. R: *mhm*
- 340 6. Diana: *umiemy polski, możemy rozmawiać po polsku (.) i jeszcze jak jesteśmy sami!*
- 341 we know Polish, we can speak Polish (.) and especially when we are on our own!
- 342 7. R: *mhm*
- 343 8. Diana: *jak jesteśmy sami to nie będę rozmawiać z Polakiem po norwesku (.)*
- 344 when we are on our own then I won't speak Norwegian to a Pole (.)
- 345 9. *bo dla mnie to jest dziwne!*
- 346 because for me it's weird!
- 347 10. R: *aha (.) a polskie rodziny? Jak przyjeżdżają tutaj?*
- 348 uhu (.) and Polish families? When they come here?
- 349 11. Diana: *powinni rozmawiać w domu moim zdaniem po polsku jak są Polakami.*
- 350 in my opinion they should speak Polish at home if they are Poles.
- 351 12. *No niech się nie przestawiają na inne języki! Bo to jest ich ojczysty język!*
- 352 let them not switch to other languages! Because it is their mother tongue!

353 My initial turn in lines 1-2 purposefully elicits Diana's opinion on language use between
 354 Polish transnationals in Norway and sets these practices as the stance object. In her
 355 response the girl proposes Polish as the preferred language for communication between
 356 people of Polish origin and, across her turns, in lines 3-9, provides a range of arguments and
 357 evaluations to support her opinion. First of all, in line 3 Diana assures me that she only uses
 358 Polish when talking to other Poles. Thereafter, in line 4, she denaturalizes the use Norwegian
 359 in this context by explicitly stating her lack of understanding for such practices using the
 360 exclamative phrase *ja tego nie rozumiem* ('I don't get it'). In her turns in lines 6 and 8, Diana
 361 reinforces this judgment by reaffirming that Polish people should speak solely Polish to each
 362 other, especially in a Polish-only setting, and by evaluating speaking Norwegian to other

363 Poles as 'weird' (*dziwne*). Switching between first person singular and first person plural
364 pronouns and verbs in lines 3- 6 Diana constructs a community ('we') whose members are
365 Polish and thus speak Polish to each other and positions herself firmly within it. Throughout
366 Diana's argument, my only contributions are supportive backchannels suggesting alignment
367 and inviting the girl to develop her stance. In line 10 I shift the stance object to language
368 practices in Polish transnational families in Norway. In response to my question, in lines 11
369 and 12, Diana continues constructing Polish as the only appropriate language for
370 communication between people of Polish origin, and this time she makes an explicit indexical
371 link between Polish nationality and the expected language practices ('they should speak
372 Polish, if they are Poles'). In her final turn she reinforces her statement by the use of the
373 exclamative imperative construction *niech się nie przestawiają* ('let them not switch') calling
374 on Polish families in Norway not to abandon Polish in favour of other languages. Finally, she
375 supports her argument by a 'self-evident' explanation that Polish is 'their mother-tongue'
376 (*język ojczysty*), thus reinforcing the link between ethnicity and language. Diana's use of the
377 term *język ojczysty* paired with her vocal support for the use of Polish in transnational
378 contexts and strong dispreference for other language practices between Poles points to
379 Diana's alignment with the Polish national language ideologies promulgating language
380 protection and maintenance (Polish Bishops' Conference, 2010; "The Act on the Polish
381 Language," 1999). Throughout her turns, Diana consistently positions herself as a 'Polish
382 person' and a determined and dedicated speaker of the language.

383 Diana and other girls in this study saw the Polish language as an indispensable
384 marker of identity through which ethnic and national belonging is enacted. As exemplified in
385 the excerpts of the interviews above, the participants often resorted to the label *język*
386 *ojczysty* ('mother-tongue') and attached emotional value to the language. The use of Polish

387 by Poles abroad was constructed in the participants' accounts as the only 'appropriate'
388 language practice, while other practices, such as speaking Norwegian, were evaluated as
389 'unnatural'. These beliefs are in line with *one nation, one language ideology* (Piller, 2015;
390 Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994), in which membership in an *imagined community* (Anderson,
391 1991) requires conformity to linguistic standards and practices associated with this
392 community.

393 **5.3 Polish as a utility**

394 Polish as a utility was a salient category both among girls and boys participating in this study.
395 Polish language use and maintenance were constructed as a utility through evaluative lexis:
396 adjectives, nouns and noun phrases pointing to the usefulness, profitability and advantages
397 of knowing Polish. In the interview excerpt below, Viola, a 17-year old living in Norway,
398 constructs personal multilingualism which includes Polish as a resource. At the time of the
399 interview Viola had been living in Norway for 9 years and intended to stay there in the future.
400 Her experience of migration to Norway was a very positive one – she was excited to move
401 and was received very well by the children at school and in the neighbourhood. She reported
402 to speak solely Polish to her parents and Polish with some Norwegian to her younger brother.
403 With her friends she uses almost exclusively Norwegian, as she associates mainly with
404 Norwegian teenagers. In the excerpt below Viola takes a stance towards imagined language
405 practices in her future family.

406 Excerpt (3)

- 407 1 Researcher: *w przyszłości e: jeżeli miałabyś swoją rodzinę, to masz jakąś wizję a propos tego,*
408 In the future u:m if you were to have your own family, then do you have a vision of what
409 2 *jakimi językami byś się chciała posługiwać w tej rodzinie?*
410 languages you would like to use in this family?
411 3 Viola: *jeżeli będę miała męża Norwega, to po norwesku*

412 if I have a Norwegian husband, then Norwegian

413 4 Researcher: Mhm

414 5 Viola: *ale będę chciała uczyć mojego dziecka polskiego bo na tym wygra prędzej czy później*

415 but I would like to teach my child Polish because they will gain on it sooner or later

416 6 *jak będzie umiało języki płynnie. E:m no nie wiem, może jak będę z Polakiem, to po polsku.*

417 if they speak languages fluently. u:m I don't know, maybe if I am with a Pole, then

418 Polish.

419 7 *ale wydaje mi się, że no tutaj będę mieszkała, więc wydaje mi się, że, że z Norwegiem będę, nie wiem.*

420 but I think, well, that I will live here. so I think that that I will be with a Norwegian, I don't know.

421 8 Researcher: *mhm. a: dlaczego chciałabyś mówić do swojego dziecka po polsku?*

422 mhm u:m and why would you like to speak Polish to your kid?

423 9 Viola: *m: też [by to] powodowała rodzina: (.) żeby oni mogli bo to nie cała moja rodzina*

424 m: also the family would be a reason (.) so that they can because not all of my family

425 10 *mówi po norwesku, żeby mogli się z nim kontaktować. Ale też żeby żeby żeby miało tą tą*

426 speak Norwegian, so that they could contact them. But also, so that that that it has this this

427 11 *jak to się mówi?*

428 how do you say it?

429 12 Researcher: *możesz powiedzieć po jakimś innym, jeśli ci przychodzi do głowy.*

430 you can say it in some other language if it comes to your mind.

431 13 Viola: *fordel?*

432 14 Researcher: mhm.

433 15 Viola: *jak się mówi?*

434 how do you say?

435 16 Researcher: *(.) przewagę?*

436 (.) advantage?

437 17 Viola: *No, no! Przewagę taką, żeby mieli taką zaletę, że, że będą po prostu umieli więcej języków.*

438 Yeah, yeah! This advantage, so that they have this asset that they will know more languages.

439 18 Researcher: Mhm.

440 19 Viola: *To zawsze się przydaje (.) moim zdaniem (.)*

441 This is always useful (.) in my opinion (.)

442 My question in line 1 proposes imagined language practices in the girl's future family as the
443 stance object. In her response across lines 3-7, Viola frames Polish and Norwegian as the
444 languages to be used in the family context and gives practical reasons for the imagined
445 language practices (origins of her potential partner). Unlike Kaja in Excerpt 1, Viola does not
446 construct a personal relationship to the Polish language. Instead, she sees the language as
447 one of (many) linguistic resources in her family's future repertoire. Using the verb *wygrać* (lit.
448 'to win'), she constructs personal multilingualism as a competitive advantage and an asset
449 which will help her children achieve success in life. By doing so, Viola positions herself as a
450 success-oriented individual who sees languages as resources (Ruíz, 1984).

451 In my next turn (line 8) I both acknowledge Viola's stance by the backchannel *mhm* and
452 invite her to develop the argument for maintaining Polish in the family. By doing so, I also
453 shift the stance object from the bilingual family language policy to Polish language
454 maintenance. In response, Viola further develops her initial stance in relation to Polish and
455 constructs the language as a useful tool with practical applications, such as enabling
456 communication and maintaining transnational connections with her Polish speaking relatives.
457 Constructing Polish in such a way, Viola positions herself as a person caring about the family
458 ties; however, this position is promptly contrasted with the asset orientation, which Viola
459 takes up across her turns in lines 10-19.

460 Searching for the right Polish word in line 11, she asks for help, thus positioning me as a
461 proficient Polish speaker. In my response, by inviting Viola to use other languages, I open up
462 space for multilingual communication and position both of us as multilingual individuals. Viola
463 aligns with my proposal and provides the Norwegian word in line 12, in response to which I
464 signal understanding and encourage further contributions with the backchannel *mhm*. Viola
465 aligns divergently with my invitation by asking for the Polish translation and thus indirectly

466 demands to switch to the monolingual mode of conversation (Grosjean, 1985). This changes
467 the stance focus and serves as an implicit disapproving evaluation of the flexible use of
468 linguistic resources (at least in the interview situation). By doing so, Viola further develops
469 her stance towards personal multilingualism and gives it a normative touch. Aligning with
470 Viola's request in line 16, I provide the Polish equivalent, which she then takes up to continue
471 constructing her stance towards a multilingual repertoire (which includes Polish) as an asset
472 using the positively laden nouns *przewaga* ('advantage'), *zaleta* ('asset') and the reflexive
473 verb *przydać się* ('to be useful', 'to come in handy'), signalling the practical value of having
474 competence in various languages. The phrase *moim zdaniem* ('in my opinion') at the end of
475 Viola's turn is a marker of commitment to the proposition and stresses the subjective
476 character of her judgment.

477 Through evaluating a bi/multilingual repertoire which includes Polish as an asset and
478 resource, Viola positions herself as a practically-oriented individual. The girl's reference to
479 languages as assets and advantages may be hinting at her implicit alignment with the global
480 ideologies of commodified languages (Duchêne & Heller, 2012; Gonçalves & Schluter, 2016;
481 Svendsen, 2009). Indeed, later on in our conversation Viola, like many other participants,
482 expressed the belief that her knowledge of Polish will give her better chances on the job
483 market in the future. Thus, Polish becomes here not only a useful communication tool, but
484 also a form of linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1991), which can create financial opportunities and
485 translate into concrete material and social gains.

486 **5.4. Polish as unimportant**

487 Polish was constructed as unimportant solely in the interviews with adolescent boys. The
488 indifference towards the use and maintenance of Polish was constructed through the use of
489 negated epistemic phrases such as *nie wiem czy będę używać polskiego* ('I don't know if I

490 will use Polish'), *nie jestem pewien czy polski mi się przyda* ('I am not sure if Polish will be
491 useful') and by evaluative adjectives such as *nieważny* ('unimportant') and *nieistotny*
492 ('unessential') used in reference to Polish. It is worth noting that all four adolescent boys
493 participating in the study constructed Polish as unimportant in the interview situation. The
494 boys' accounts lacked expressions of willingness to keep using Polish in the future and often
495 expressed uncertainty or ambivalence as to the language maintenance.

496 The excerpt below stems from an interview with Jan, a 13-year-old boy who had been
497 living in Norway with his mother and stepfather for one year at the time of the interview. Jan
498 uses exclusively Polish at home and Norwegian at school and during his extracurricular and
499 social activities. Jan's family, however, had been pondering using some Norwegian at home
500 in order to facilitate the language learning process. Jan's initial experiences in Norway were
501 difficult, as he felt excluded at school and was bullied by members of his basketball team. By
502 the time the interview took place the situation had been resolved and in our conversation Jan
503 stated that he felt positive about his life in Norway. At the beginning of the interview, Jan was
504 shy and spoke quietly; however, with the time he gradually opened up and shared his
505 opinions. In the excerpt below the boy explains his language practices and takes a
506 metasociolinguistic stance towards the value of Polish in his life.

- 507
508 1 R: *a: inne rzeczy (.) jakieś nie wiem (.) na facebooku (.) albo jak coś tam czytasz,*
509 *a:nd other things (.) some I don't know (.) on facebook (.) or when you read something*
510 2 *to w jakich językach to zwykle jest?*
511 *then in what languages do you usually do it?*
512 3 Jan: *for instance in games as well?*
513 *na przykład w grach też?*
514 4 R: *no!*
515 *yup!*

516 5 Jan: *to wszystko teraz też mam przestawione na angielski już.*
517 so now I have switched everything to English already.

518 6 R: *aha! wszystko na angielski (.) a:jak [na przykład]*
519 aha! everything to English (.) u:m and [if for example]

520 7 Jan: *[tak sobie] podzieliłem, że właśnie (.) że jeszcze tutaj sobie przypominam polski (.)*
521 [so I] divided it like this that actually (.) that here {at home} I am still refreshing Polish (.)

522 8 *czyli tak w zasadzie polski nie jest aż (.) taki ważny dla mnie,*
523 so actually Polish is not that (.) important to me,

524 9 *więc bardziej właśnie skupiam się na norweskim i angielskim (.)*
525 so I am focusing more on Norwegian and English (.)

526 10 R: *mhm a: dobra (.) powiedziałaś, że polski nie jest dla Ciebie taki ważny (.)*
527 mhm u:m right (.)you said that Polish is not that important to you (.)

528 11 *to mi powiedz czemu!*
529 so tell me why!

530 12 Jan: *bo jednak, jednak w Polsce nie planuje już, żeby pracować (.)*
531 because well, well I am not planning anymore, to work in Poland (.)

532 13 *bo jednak y: tam no (.) małe są tam zarobki (.)*
533 because well u:m there well (.) the salaries are low there (.)

534 14 *jeżeli już wolalbym właśnie w Norwegii (.) albo w Stanach (.) w NBA (.)*
535 so if at all then I would prefer in Norway (.) or in the US (.) in NBA (.)

536 The initial exchange in lines 1-4, on the one hand, serves the purpose of clarifying the stance
537 object of the conversation and, on the other, initiates the construction of convergent
538 alignment between the interactants. My use of the colloquial, affirmative particle *no* ('yup') in
539 line 4 reduces the distance between Jan and I. It also suggests a high degree of familiarity
540 and positions us as peers, which all together may have inspired the boy to speak freely and
541 develop his stance towards languages in the ensuing conversation. In line 5 Jan constructs
542 English as the main language of his online activities and explains the strategies behind his
543 language practices in lines 7 to 9. In line 8 he explicitly evaluates Polish as not important in

544 his life. Epistemically, however, he does not seem to be highly committed to this evaluation
545 as indicated by the hedges *czyli w zasadzie* ('so actually') and a rather unexpected pause
546 before the use of the evaluative adjective *ważny* ('important') in line 8, indicating uncertainty.
547 In contrast to Polish, Norwegian and English are constructed by Jan, in line 9, as languages
548 to be focused on, and as such, they are implicitly evaluated as more valuable and more
549 important to him in this period of life.

550 Signalling alignment by the use of the affirmative backchannel and the colloquial particle
551 *dobra* ('right') in line 10, I acknowledge Jan's stance. My request in line 11 explicitly invites
552 the boy to further develop his stance on Polish and again reduces the distance between us
553 through the informal interrogative *czemu* ('why'). In lines 12-14 Jan explains his private
554 language hierarchy pointing to the usefulness of the individual linguistic resources for
555 ensuring access to desirable job markets. English and Norwegian emerge as indexes of
556 success and affluence, as well as tools which can help access promising career paths.
557 Polish, on the other hand, is rendered obsolete as it does not guarantee measurable benefits
558 and indexes low income and poor career opportunities.

559 On the whole, in the interview, Jan's stance towards language practices is a highly
560 pragmatic one: he intends to develop and maintain the linguistic resources that will be useful
561 for his successful career (where success is measured by salary levels). His stance towards
562 Polish is marked by indifference - the language is one of the resources in the boy's current
563 repertoire but not one that is seen as worth investing in, as it does not seem, from Jan's
564 perspective, to create financial opportunities. Jan's position lacks the emotional and perhaps
565 sentimental approach towards Polish that was characteristic of the stances constructed by
566 Kaja and Diana in the excerpts above, and is more akin to Viola's pragmatic views regarding
567 linguistic resources. However, unlike Viola, Jan does not see Polish as linguistic capital that

568 will yield a good return. Across his turns the boy positions himself as a practically oriented
569 individual who sees languages as tools useful for succeeding in his professional life.
570 Constructing the languages as gateways to lucrative jobs, Jan aligns with the ideologies
571 commodifying languages and constructing them as tradable goods (Cameron, 2000;
572 Duchêne & Heller, 2012; Gonçalves & Schluter, 2016)

573 **6. Discussion**

574 According to (Lanza & Svendsen, 2007) language may be a 'more crucial core value' to
575 some communities of practice than others. In the Norwegian context, research on language
576 maintenance showed e.g. that Russian women in Northern Norway treasured the Russian
577 language and saw it as a source of pride, while Filipino women tended to view languages in
578 terms of their communicative value (Bjugn, 2001). Similarly, (Lanza & Svendsen, 2007;
579 Svendsen, 2004) researching multilingual Filipino families in Oslo found that Filipino parents
580 expressed pragmatic views regarding language use and acquisition and thus attached
581 significant value to learning Norwegian. In the case of the Polish teenagers researched here,
582 it seems that Polish might be more of a core value for the adolescent girls than for boys.
583 Future research involving a larger number of participants could shed more light on this trend
584 and its complexities.

585 On a general level the girls participating in the study expressed interest in and willingness
586 to maintain Polish in the future and to transfer it to their own children. Most of them did it
587 through constructing Polish as intent and stressing their own will as a decisive factor in
588 maintaining the language, and also through constructing it as a utility and pointing to the
589 usefulness of knowing Polish. Furthermore, as stated above, some of them tended to see the
590 maintenance of the home language as an obligation. This picture looks very different when
591 we look at the data provided by the boys. First of all, all of the boys stated that Polish was

592 relatively unimportant to them. In other words, they did not feel very strongly about the
593 maintenance of the language and were not certain as to whether they will keep using it in the
594 future. In the two instances where teenage boys did express some wish to maintain Polish,
595 the language was seen as a tool for communication. This contrasts starkly with the ways
596 teenage girls constructed Polish use and maintenance who, apart from giving practical
597 reasons for maintaining Polish, also constructed the language as intent and an obligation.

598 While it is beyond the scope and purpose of this study to pinpoint correlations or
599 causal relationships that might have influenced the participants' accounts, nevertheless it
600 cannot be ignored that there are differences between the ways adolescent boys and girls in
601 this study oriented towards Polish. There may be many reasons behind this discrepancy, and
602 there may be equally many factors influencing the ways participants responded in the
603 interviews. On the one hand, it could be yet another piece of evidence of the discourses
604 which construct men and women's roles differently in relation to preserving heritage
605 languages and culture (Nesteruk, 2010). On the other hand, it could be a result of personal
606 experiences of migration. Just like Jan, most of the boys in this study had a history of bullying
607 or exclusion at school based on their initial lack of Norwegian proficiency and their migration
608 background. Participants reported, for example, on being called names such as 'strawberry
609 picker' or 'cleaner' – jobs stereotypically associated with low skilled and low-paid immigrant
610 labour - by their fellow students. Consequently, the Polish language and cultural heritage as
611 a marker of difference and distinction might have become a liability for the boys, and thus
612 they may be less inclined to maintain it. The small number of participants in this study does
613 not allow to make generalizations on the interconnections between language bullying and
614 language maintenance in diasporic communities; however, future research involving more
615 participants may further illuminate these questions.

616 A close analysis of how the metasociolinguistic stances developed throughout the
617 interview excerpts shed light on the ideological and identificational dimensions of
618 stancetaking acts. Generally speaking, the participants seemed to be oscillating between the
619 intertwined discourses of pride and profit (Duchêne & Heller, 2012). As indicated by Duchêne
620 & Heller, the tropes of pride and profit are often employed as arguments justifying the
621 maintenance of linguistic diversity. The participants who constructed Polish as an obligation
622 or intent were aligning with the trope of 'pride', while the ones who saw it as a resource or as
623 an obsolete language displayed a 'profit' approach to their linguistic resources. Of course, it
624 needs to be noted that neither the discourses nor the ways Polish was conceived of by the
625 teenagers are exclusive, and in the interviews they often came up side by side in the
626 accounts of the same interviewees.

627 In general, in constructing Polish as intent the participants positioned themselves as
628 agentive and willing speakers of Polish who cared about language maintenance of Polish
629 diaspora. As illustrated in the interview with Kaja, the will to maintain Polish was often tied to
630 the feelings of belonging and identification with both one's origins and the language itself.
631 The accounts rendering Polish as an obligation were similar in this respect. The participants
632 displayed strong identification with their origins and with the language. However, the
633 maintenance of the language was seen by them more as a duty and necessity. As showed in
634 Diana's account in Excerpt 3 above, ethnicity developed here into an icon of normative
635 language practices projected as restricting the language choice among Polish transnationals
636 living in Norway. Both through constructing Polish as intent and as an obligation the
637 participants activated the Polish national language ideologies to motivate their language
638 practices and to construct identifications with the place of origin. The participants recreated
639 the indexical links between language and place of origin based on the assumption that

640 language is a fundamental part of their identity. This ideology, produced in public discourses
641 in Poland (cf. e.g. Polish Bishops' Conference, 2010; "The Act on the Polish Language,"
642 1999) and reproduced by the participants, echoes, as emphasised above, the idea of *one*
643 *nation - one language* (Anderson, 1991; Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994), which as part of the
644 'pride' trope sees nations, states and cultures as homogenous monoliths.

645 The participants who saw Polish as a utility constructed the language in two ways: a tool
646 enabling communication or a competitive advantage on the job market. Here, like in my
647 interview with Viola (cf. Excerpt 3), language maintenance was related to the profitability and
648 usefulness of the language practices. Polish was seen as one of the elements of a
649 multilingual repertoire understood as a capital (cf. Bourdieu 1991). This perspective is part of
650 the 'profit' trope and aligns with global ideologies constructing multilingualism as an asset (cf.
651 e.g. Duncan & Gil, 2014; European Commission, 2008). By understanding Polish language
652 maintenance as an investment (Piller, 2001), the participants constructed their identities of
653 success-driven members of the society and suggested alignment with discourses
654 commodifying language.

655 In constructing Polish as unimportant the teenage boys also called on the discourses
656 commodifying languages. However, here, Polish was not seen as a resource worth investing
657 in. The boys constructed Polish as unimportant through erasure and omission – in contrast to
658 the girls, they showed lack of interest in Polish and did not see the language as part of their
659 future. As indicated in my interview with Jan (Excerpt 4), the boys did not attach particular
660 emotional, practical or monetary value to the language and hence erased it from their
661 imagined future language practices. In addition, as also illustrated by Jan's account,
662 constructing 'Polish as unimportant' coincided in all cases with the understanding of
663 languages – but not Polish – as resources enabling communication or ensuring future social

664 and economic success. In Jan's case, constructing Polish as unimportant positioned him as
665 a success-oriented global citizen who sees his future life (including his language competence
666 and practices) as revolving around a rewarding career.

667 My role as the researcher and interviewer was vital in the interactions and had a
668 significant influence on the interactional development of metasociolinguistic stances in the
669 interviews. The uptake of the participants' stances, the conscious and pre-planned lack of
670 explicit evaluations of their propositions, acts of convergent and divergent alignments
671 (through backchannels, additional questions, expressions of surprise and encouragement)
672 and the implicit ascriptions of positions had consequences for how the young people's
673 stances towards Polish developed in concrete interviews. For example, in the case of the
674 interview with Kaja in Excerpt 1, the interviewer's subtle challenges of the girl's motivation
675 behind maintaining Polish encouraged her to strengthen her commitment to the constructed
676 stance. Similarly, the affirmative backchannels suggesting alignment in the interviews with
677 Diana and Viola in Excerpt 2 and 3, invited the girls to develop their stances towards Polish.
678 When it comes to the interview with Jan in Excerpt 4, it could have been my convergent
679 alignment suggested by the use of colloquial lexis that encouraged the boy to open up and
680 voice his views in spite of his initial shyness. Using the framework of stance for the analysis
681 of interview data brings to light the interactional importance of interviewers' contributions and
682 adds to a more contextualised understanding of interviewees' performance.

683 The participant's linguistic choices in the interviews can also be seen as acts of
684 metasociolinguistic stancetaking in themselves (Jaffe, 2009). It can be argued that Polish
685 was chosen by the participants as the language of the interview for practical reasons - in
686 many cases it was the language in which both the participants and the interviewer had
687 similar competence. However, in the cases of teenagers who reported to be equally

688 comfortable with speaking English, Polish and Norwegian, the choice of Polish was not
689 necessarily practically motivated and may have had ideological underpinnings. The
690 participants also expressed reluctance towards multilingual conversations, as the interview
691 with Viola shows. The girl was not the only participant who preferred a monolingual mode of
692 conversation, in fact all invitations to have parallel conversations in Norwegian and
693 Polish/English were declined by the participants. The choice of Polish by these multilingual
694 speakers in the interviews might be seen as an implicit evaluation of Polish as the most
695 appropriate language of communication between people of Polish origin.

696 **7. Conclusions**

697 The contribution of this article is three-fold. First of all, it contributes to the understanding of
698 how adolescents with Polish background relate to questions of Polish language use and
699 maintenance in Norway, where the Poles represent the largest 'immigrant group' and where
700 hardly any knowledge exists about the language use and maintenance among the young
701 generation of Polish immigrants. The content analysis of the complete data set revealed four
702 major ways of constructing the use and maintenance of Polish among the participants, i.e.
703 Polish was constructed as 'intent', 'obligation', 'utility' and as 'unimportant'. While realising
704 that a sample of 10 participants is too small to draw any conclusions as to general trends
705 regarding Polish language maintenance among Polish teenagers in Norway, the results
706 discussed above seem to indicate that there may be considerable differences between how
707 girls and boys relate to the Polish language and how they see its use and function in the
708 future. This, of course, can have implications for the maintenance of the language in Polish
709 communities in Norway. A future research project involving a large study could investigate
710 these questions in more detail.

711 Secondly, through the analysis of stance developments in chosen interview excerpts
712 the article provided evidence of the existing ideological tensions among Polish adolescents in
713 Norway. Constructing Polish as 'intent' and an 'obligation' in the interviews activated Polish
714 national language ideologies which seem to be competing with ideologies of commodified
715 languages activated by the participants through constructing Polish as a 'utility' and as
716 'unimportant'. At the moment, the national language ideology seems to be dominating among
717 the girls in the study, whereas the boys tend to display more instrumental approaches to
718 languages. In any case, there seems to be a tension between the discourses of 'pride' and
719 'profit' and between globally and nationally oriented identity claims among the research
720 participants. The orientations towards the heritage language and the related tensions
721 displayed by the Polish participants of this study may likely be shared by other transnational
722 communities of similar migration and socio-economic backgrounds, i.e. by Eastern European
723 transnationals who migrated due to economic reasons after recent EU enlargements, which
724 is a topic to be further explored in future studies.

725 Thirdly, the article argues for a more interactionally oriented approach to analysing
726 sociolinguistics interviews and uses the framework of stance as a means of approaching
727 language ideologies in the interview data (Morgan, 2017). Tracing closely the development of
728 evaluation, alignment and positioning throughout the interview interactions, the analyst
729 cannot ignore the role of the interviewer/researcher and the way it influences the data
730 produced as a result of the conversations. This moves the analytical focus from the
731 interviewee's contributions and brings to light the performance of the interviewer as equally
732 important in the interaction. Ultimately, employing stance to analyse interviews leads to a
733 more nuanced understanding of the data as co-constructed between the interviewer and the
734 participants in a concrete interview situation.

735

736 Transcription conventions:

737 (.) pause

738 , brief pause

739 . Falling intonation

740 ? rising intonation

741 <...> overlapping speech

742 [...] deleted passage

743 : elongated sound

744 {...} author's comment

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