Stancetaking and identification in transnational families through culinary talk and practices

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Submitted in partial fulfilment

of the requirements for

the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

School of English, Communication and Philosophy

Cardiff University

2015

Abstract

As global social networks expand, couples are increasingly comprised of partners from divergent sociocultural backgrounds (e.g. Piller, 2007; Dervin, 2013). This unfolding trend inspires research into complex identification processes in such transnational relationships. To explore these processes, I conduct a qualitative discourse analysis of interactions in five UK-based Polish-British families. The data include the families' interactions during celebratory meals, which they video-recorded, and my semi-structured interviews with the participants, which were audio-recorded. The study focuses on how the participants' food-related interactions project 'stance' (Du Bois, 2007), that is, how talk about food and food practices can discursively and semiotically index the speakers' positioning towards their own and others' sociocultural fields.

The analysis reveals that as the speakers negotiate their foodscapes, they constantly engage with various sociocultural repertoires and appeal to multiple 'centres' of normativity (Blommaert *et al.*, 2005). This negotiation at times occasions contrasting positioning acts, highlighting the dynamism of the speakers' stancetaking, and thus of their identities. On one hand, the participants reproduce and exoticise what they imagine as their 'traditions', 'cultures' and 'nations', on the other, they echo postmodern discourses of 'choice' (Giddens, 1991), individualism and post-national cosmopolitanism. Following the theories of 'reflexivity' (Giddens, 1991; Urban, 2001), I demonstrate how in postmodernity even food interactions surface as reflexive spaces. Through culinary performances and meta-talk, the speakers reinterpret cultural signs, creating 'third spaces' (Bhabha, 2004 [1994]) – discursive zones with ever-evolving cultural meanings.

These reflexively co-constructed 'third spaces' display the participants' identity as hybrid and cosmopolitan families. The family members successfully negotiate the perceived differences between them, which challenges the ideologies of problematic intermarriage (see also Piller, 2002; Gonçalves, 2013). Their complex sociocultural repertoires do not ignite a 'cultural clash'. They rather offer the speakers versatile vistas for identification and constitute 'symbolic capital' (Bourdieu, 1977), thus reflecting the increasing commodification of hybrid forms and pursuit of transcultural identities.

Acknowledgements

Dedication

To Tom and the rest of my family

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Chapter 1 – Introduction

1.1   'It's a different culture big time'

It is Easter 2011, England, and two families are having a celebratory meal. We join them as they have finished the main course and are about to have the dessert.

Extract 1.1 – 'Gabi's doing it English way'

Figure 1.1 – From bottom-right corner (clock-wise): Liam and Eliza (the hosts) and their guests – Gabi, John and their son, Adam.

1	Gabi:	(picks up her plate, Figure 1.1) thank you Eliza (.) can I put it away
2		or you're still eating?
3	Eliza:	(shrugs her shoulders)
4	Liam:	(laughs) Eliza doesn't mind [G: laughs] chuck it all on
5	Eliza:	Gabi's doing it <u>English</u> way (starts nibbling the salad) <u>FINISHED</u> (.)
6		TAKEN AWAY
7		[
8	Gabi:	oh yeah (.) finished
9		[
10	John:	(laughs) yes
11	Eliza:	we actually did it Polish way yesterday so the table was out <u>all</u> day
12		[[
13	Gabi:	you left it yeah
14		(.) I just want to make space for that cake (laughs)

During this exchange Gabi begins to clear the table after the main course. While one could say that Gabi is simply doing what is socially expected – she thanks the host (Eliza) and offers to help with clearing up – her eagerness to put away the dishes meets with an additional interpretation from Eliza. She perceives it as Gabi's adoption of the *English way* of food consumption (see lines 5–6)[1]. From this

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[1] hereafter the numbers provided in parentheses refer to the relevant line numbers in the transcripts, with the word 'line(s)' being omitted.

short interaction one can deduce that most of the speakers understand what Eliza means by the *English way* (5) and *Polish way* (11) of eating, which surfaces through their aligned responses (Gabi: *oh yeah…*, 8; John: *yes*, 10). Potentially, Eliza also indexes her preference for the latter consumption style, which is affectively highlighted through loudness and extra emphasis in her somewhat negative evaluation of the 'rushed' *English way* – <u>Finished</u>*, taken away!* (5–6). It is further marked by the contrast Eliza draws with the 'relaxed' *Polish way*, which her and her partner adopted the previous day (11). While Gabi agrees with Eliza's descriptions of eating styles in each country (8; 13), she downplays the *English way* attributed to her by Eliza, putting her actions down to her personal dessert craving (14) rather than to any national consumption pattern.

When interviewed the following year, the families again reflect on what they perceive as different eating styles in Poland and England:

Extract 1.2 – 'It's a different culture big time'

1	Gabi:	it's a different style (.) we like to sit for hours with food and they
2		just eat and that's it (giggles)
3	Eliza:	yeah I don't get that in English culture (.) I don't think I'll ever
4		get used to that
5	Liam:	well you eat the food and clear the table [J: hm] then maybe
6		eat some cheese and grapes
7		[
8	Gabi:	yeah then that's it=
9	Eliza:	=and the plates are taken (.) in Poland I was brought up that
10		it's rude to take plates away
11	Gabi:	yeah
12	Eliza:	I prefer the Polish way (.) feasting for hours [G: yeah] just
13		nibbling (.) it's a different culture big time

This excerpt from the interview provides further information about the speakers – we learn that Eliza was brought up in Poland and, while now living in Britain, she still finds it hard to adjust to certain culinary aspects of what she calls *English culture* (3). Likewise, Gabi's use of the personal pronoun *we* (1) reveals her affiliation with the group of 'relaxed feasters' (Poles) as opposed to what she marks as *they* – 'fast eaters' (the English/British). This preference is also conveyed by Eliza through a direct statement (*I prefer the Polish way*, 12). Moreover, the speakers display collaboration in presenting their opinions, which is exhibited through their supporting minimal responses (*yeah*, 3, 8, 11–12) and latched

utterances (see Eliza completing Gabi's statement, 8–9). Thus, Gabi and Eliza discursively mark their shared identification with their sociocultural background, simultaneously constructing the culinary practices of their new locality (Britain) as divergent, also through explicit evaluations – *different style, different culture* (1, 13). What the speakers perceive as *different culture* (13) pervades their everyday reality – both Gabi and Eliza (Polish) have English partners, John and Liam, respectively. The exchanges above demonstrate how interactions in these Polish-British families become sites for negotiation of their sociocultural practices, which at times the speakers construe as divergent. Even culinary practices invite the speakers' reflections on their sociocultural affiliations. Thus, food-related interactions have potential to mirror and frame perceived proximity/distance between the members of these families, and between the larger groups they may affiliate with.

This study focuses on such culinary interactions in families formed by partners who were raised in different countries and came into contact as a result of one side's migration. The demographic I investigate are Polish-British families living in Britain (like those in the above excerpts) and their relatives residing in Britain and Poland. Throughout this study, I will be referring to them as *transnational couples/families* and in Section 1.2.2 I explain why. It could be argued that all individuals have their unique historical footprint and, when they bond with other individuals, even from their immediate circles, these relationships also combine various sociocultural legacies. However, in the case of partners from different countries/ethnic groups, their relationships may require more intense and ongoing negotiation of their sociocultural practices. Thus, this demographic has been extensively studied in recent years, and my work contributes to this research.

The main goal of my study is to explore *how such transnational couples/families negotiate their sociocultural practices in the culinary context and how their discursive practices may reflect and shape their identities*. I conduct a qualitative discourse analysis of meal-time interactions in five Polish-British families. The interactions were video-recorded by the families during their various celebratory events – Christmas and Easter meals, family reunions and a wedding (Extract 1.1 above comes from this video-data set). Additionally, I also qualitatively analyse the audio-recorded semi-structured interviews, which I conducted with the

participants following those celebratory events, and Extract 1.2 above represents this data set.

I decided to focus on transnational relationships as I am myself Polish and married to a British national (Scotsman). Through our life route (we left Scotland for England in 2006, where we lived until we moved to Paris in 2013, our current location) we have met many transnational couples. Our friendship network comprises, for example, Cypriot Nik with Polish Catherine, who grew up in France, Bulgarian Plamen raised in Britain and dating Polish Ewelina, Greek Stella with English Ellie and English Alex with Korean Hyung-Yu. Observing such relationships informally unveiled the complexity of their identities and stimulated my interest in how they negotiate their sociocultural backgrounds. Whereas initially I considered studying relationships between partners representing various nationalities, my own experience, awareness of both Polish and British sociocultural context and established links with the Polish community in Britain placed me in a suitable position to research specifically Polish-British families.

As for food, due to the increasing engagement with culinary matters in research and media, I have become interested in how food talk and food practices can reveal people's perceptions, sociocultural affiliations, and hence their identities. This 'communicative' potential of food was confirmed by my Master's study, in which I examined meal-time interactions among transnational couples. Whilst my Master's thesis explored stories of belonging and mobility in transnational relationships, my PhD research focuses specifically on food-related exchanges in transnational families. Therefore, my PhD project combines these two research interests – transnational relationships and food.

Below, in Section 1.2, I outline the sociocultural context and conceptual background of my research to place it within the current scholarly context and further explain my motivation. Next, in Section 1.3, I explain my use of the key terminology, some of which has been viewed as problematic. In Section 1.4, I present the objectives and central questions addressed by my study. Finally, Section 1.5 outlines the trajectory of my thesis.

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1.2   Research background and motivation

1.2.1   Global mobility, identification and reflexivity

This study is embedded within the context of increased global mobility (e.g. Urry, 2007; Blommaert, 2010), which calls into question the essentialist understanding of nations, cultures, traditions, languages and identities as fixed entities assigned to specific locations. With the 'democratization' of air travel (Thurlow and Jaworski, 2006: 102), people appear to travel/relocate through their life time more frequently. Additionally, they link virtually with distant places through developing modern technologies (Urry, 2007: 5). Consequently, people's sociocultural networks expand (Held, McGrew, Goldblatt and Perraton, 1999), complicating national and cultural divisions. This complex interconnectedness of the world creates a 'habitat of diffuse offers and free choices' (Z. Bauman, 1992: xx), providing novel sources of identity beyond specific sociocultural settings. An individual ceases to be rooted to, and thus defined by, one particular nation, culture or tradition. This increased global mobility results in 'the dislocation of language and language events from the fixed position in time and space' (Blommaert, 2010: 21). More than ever before it is apparent that language and identity are not, and never were, fixed creations that one is endowed with.

Fluidity of identity is not a new idea. Since Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) proposed the unfixedness of identity and social roles, *structuralism* with its static approach to identity has gradually been replaced by *constructivism* – a belief that identity is 'formed and transformed continuously' (Hall, 1992: 277). Over the following three decades after Le Page and Tabouret-Keller's work, research into identity construction has attempted to de-essentialise the notion, promoting its emergence through social interaction. The present study builds on this post/late-modern approach, which emphasises emergence (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005: 588), co-construction (Omoniyi and White, 2006: 1), and incompleteness of identity as a key aspect of 'being modern' (Z. Bauman, 2000: 28–29).

With nations and other membership groups (e.g. regions, cultures, religions) constituting *imagined communities* (Anderson, 2006 [1983]) – imaginary groupings, idealistically construed as homogenous – scholars often theorise 'cultural identity' as an 'illusion' (Bayart, 1996), i.e. a purely discursive product.

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Yet, as noted by Piller (2011), people (including some researchers) still talk about nations and cultures unproblematically. Such discourses focusing on 'cultural differences' circulate national characterisations/stereotypes not only in relation to *out-groups* (groups beyond one's affiliation) but also those relating to *in-groups* (groups one affiliates with). These representations continue to breed nationalist positioning, at times leading to *hot nationalism* (Billig, 1995) – carnivalesque displays of attachment to a given nation.

While nationalistic discourses still exist, it is debatable whether being a part of larger collectives remains an aspiration for all individuals and my research contributes to this debate. I explore how, through food-related interactions, the transnational families position themselves in relation to their nations and nationalities. The study demonstrates how the speakers, on one hand, reproduce images of unified nation states and, on the other, display their developing anti-nationalist, individualistic preferences. As observed by Warde (1997: 181), growing individualisation suggests that people seek 'detachment, or disembedding…from the institutional situations in which they were previously cocooned'. This trend ties with increasing global mobility and cosmopolitanism. With travel and tourism constituting the largest industry in the world (Thurlow, 2010: 233), people appear to espouse mobility and cosmopolitan engagement with distant locations. Being 'on the move' is associated with success and elitism (e.g. Jaworski and Thurlow, 2009b). It proves one's adventurism and ability to access cultural wealth beyond their nation. Therefore, mobility is thought to offer *symbolic capital* (Bourdieu, 1977) – 'property (physical, economic, cultural or social)… perceived by social agents endowed with categories of perception which cause them…to give it value' (Bourdieu, Wacquant and Farage, 1994: 8). In this study, I will explore how the symbolic value of mobility and cosmopolitanism allows the transnational families to narrate their successful biographies, and hence to 'make things with words' (Bourdieu, 1989: 23), constituting a salient source of identity for them.

Studying identification processes in the context of an 'intensification of worldwide social relations' (Rubdy and Alsagoff, 2014: 2) highlights the tension between an *essentialist approach* (conceptualisation of languages, cultures, traditions, and thus identities, as fixed and assigned to specific territories) with a *postmodern, cosmopolitan approach*, which espouses deterritorialisation and

freedom from such essentialism. This polemic makes research into identity and communication ever more complex. It is not only a scholarly dialogue – as I present in this study, contradictory discourses of tradition and belonging versus postmodern preference for anti-traditionality and uprootedness are part of social actors' everyday talk. Hence, my work brings together academic and lay discourses on cultures and identities.

People have always defined themselves in relation to different others (Thurlow, 2010: 227). Thriving global mobility increases transnational encounters (e.g. Rubdy and Alsagoff, 2014: 2), inviting people to continuously reflect on what they distinguish as *Self* (the familiar/known) and the *Other* (the foreign/unknown). These interactions involve intense negotiation of sociocultural differences and/or similarities between individuals, which this study examines. I explore how, through such ongoing negotiation, the speakers display heightened *reflexivity* – 'discursive interpretations' of their behaviour (Giddens, 1991: 35). This 'attentiveness toward oneself' (Myerhoff and Ruby, 1982: 5) results in increased *metaculture*, i.e. reflexive commentaries on social action, which concurrently constitute social action themselves, becoming 'culture about culture' (Urban, 2001: 3). Through those reflexive judgements, an identity constitutes a *reflexive project* – it 'consists in the sustaining of coherent, yet continuously revised, biographical narratives' (Giddens, 1991: 6), during which individuals re-evaluate themselves and the abstract systems surrounding them. Faced with an expanding set of life choices, people become *reflexive subjects* (Lash and Urry, 1994: 31). Not only do they engage in meta-commentaries, but they also live to embody that reflexivity (Lash and Urry, 1994: 32) – their bodies and sociocultural practices constitute ever-evolving products of their deliberation. In Giddens' (1991: 14) words:

> Each of us not only 'has', but lives a biography reflexively organised in terms of flows of social and psychological information about possible ways of life. Modernity is a post-traditional order, in which the question 'How shall I live?' has to be answered in day-to-day decisions.

The complexity of identification and the related reflexivity in the context of mobility have been widely researched in Sociolinguistics. Some of the focal points for these studies have included migrants' narratives of migration (e.g. Galasiński

and Galasińska, 2007), their linguistic practices (e.g. De Fina, 2007), their food narratives (e.g. Coakley, 2012), or gender roles in relation to migration (e.g. Piller and Pavlenko, 2007). In the context of tourism, researchers have explored the discursive construction of tourist/host roles (e.g. Jaworski, Ylänne-McEwen, Thurlow and Lawson, 2003; Jaworski, 2009), commodification of mobility and its relation to class identity (Thurlow and Jaworski, 2006), or transcendence of 'nation-bound' identity in quest of cosmopolitanism (Beck and Sznaider, 2010).

My study brings together the above concerns, specifically in the context of transnational intimate relationships. Following the above works, I approach identification processes as a complex dialectic between the local and the global. I analyse the participants' enactment of their identities through the positions they take in relation to their evolving *foodscape*, i.e. a '*dynamic* social construction that relates food to specific places, people, and meanings' (Johnston and Baumann, 2015: 3; my emphasis). The concept of foodscapes has been derived from Appadurai's (1990: 296) idea of *scapes*, i.e. various dimensions of the global exchange of sociocultural information (ethnoscapes, technoscapes, finanscapes, mediascapes and ideoscapes). Whilst at times visualised as fixed icons of certain cultures, foodscapes, like other scapes, remain 'deeply perspectival constructs' (Appadurai, 1990: 296) – they become discursively and semiotically restructured by individuals. Even the ritual aspects of foodscapes (i.e. culinary rituals) are subject to ongoing reinterpretation, and thus continuously evolve through social interaction. Following these ideas, I will explore how the speakers' foodscapes are being shaped through their transnational relationships and various forms of mobility they experience (e.g. migration, familial visits abroad, imaginary travels). This analysis will reveal how these forming sociocultural practices impact on the equally fluid identities of the speakers. It will also allow me to relate the ideas of ritualisation and authenticity in the culinary context to the processes of identity construction in these transnational families. Below, I present this micro context (transnational families), by first explaining my use of the term 'transnational families' and then introducing the relevant research on the topic.

1.2.2   Identification in transnational families

Proliferating transnational encounters lead to the creation of transnational families (see Piller, 2007: 342–344 on the global increase in intermarriage). Depending on the focus of research, such families have been referred to in various studies as 'bilingual' (e.g. Piller, 2002), 'binational' (e.g. Rubin Damari, 2010), 'mixed' (e.g. Breger and Hill, 1998), 'cross-cultural' (e.g. Chiaro, 2007), or 'intercultural' (e.g. Dervin, 2013). To justify why I do not adopt the above terminology, the terms 'bilingual', 'binational', 'mixed' and 'cross-cultural' seem essentialising as they presuppose the existence of languages/nations/cultures which are separate entities coming into contact. Additionally, the term 'mixed' has been used primarily for interracial marriages, while the 'cross-cultural' label has been employed in studies examining intermarriage to compare cultural norms across various countries (Leeds-Hurwitz, 2002: 11), which is not the aim of the present research. While the cognate term 'intercultural' has been applied in works with a similar focus and approach to mine (e.g. Dervin and Gao, 2012a; Dervin, 2013), I give preference to the term 'transnational families' as it seems to better mirror the idea of transcendence of national, cultural and linguistic boundaries in the investigated interactions. The term has been employed in research to denote families with 'extensive living links across national boundaries' (Goulbourne, Reynolds, Solomos and Zonitini, 2010: 3). The Polish-British families in my study fall into this category – the participants representing the migrant side (Poles in Britain) continue to live across the borders to sustain links with the relatives in Poland. However, additionally they have formed romantic relationships with the members of the receiving country (Britain), thus the transnational aspect of these families is twofold. As argued by Canagarajah (2013a: 1), the prefix 'trans-' 'moves us beyond a consideration of individual and monolithic languages [and cultures] to life between and across [them]'. My study likewise transcends the essentialist understanding of nations, traditions, cultures and languages, by exploring how the transnational families discursively create continuously evolving sociocultural meanings and spaces. Additionally, the term 'transnational' reflects the trajectories of the participant Polish-British families, some of whom also experienced living in locations other than Poland or Britain, as explain in Section 3.2. Thus, I explore how the family members' interactions transcend 'bifocality', i.e. 'dual orientation'

(Vertovec, 2009: 68) to the two sociocultural fields they originate from (Poland and Britain). The analysis demonstrates how these families' diversified sociocultural repertoires and their cosmopolitan discourses often represent more complex, 'polycentric' dynamics (Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouck, 2005a–b).

Nevertheless, the 'bifocal' element may remain prominent in transnational families (Vertovec, 2009: 68). Unless a transnational family operates with a lingua franca and reside in a 'neutral' location non-native to either (as researched by Dervin, 2011, 2013), it is only the migrant side that becomes parted from their homeland and may be expected to adopt the language and cultural practices of their partner. For these partners face-to-face interactions with relatives from the homeland become limited due to physical distance. Therefore, they may develop a state of *in-between-ness* (van Gennep, 1960 [1909]), i.e. belonging neither here nor there. Being positioned between various localities may result in *hyphenated identities* (Eriksen, 2007) – identities constructed at the intersection of multiple sociocultural repertoires. Even if migrants develop allegiances with the new location, their pre-migrant setting still impacts on their self-identification. For instance, migrants may continue to position themselves in relation to their practices back in the homeland. The dynamics of identification in transnational families reflect how globalisation leads to 'intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa' (Giddens, 1990: 64). Such 'in-between-ness' is not exclusive to the migrant side and both sides in transnational relationships may experience it. These 'in-between' spaces can offer the transnational families liberation from the clear-cut, frequently inflicted social categories such as culture/tradition/nationality/religion (Wojtyńska, 2011: 125). Occupying 'in-between' spaces may empower social actors with sociocultural flexibility and novel sources of identity. As argued by Ogiermann (2013a: 435), transnational families exemplify how globalisation impacts on 'the emergence of new understandings of identity, with nationality, culture and native language no longer constituting clear-cut categories'.

Early works on identification in transnational families (e.g. Romano, 1997; Breger and Hill, 1998) present such relationships as suffering from a 'cultural clash' and miscommunication. Even studies which aim to analyse both sides of the coin focus on challenges faced by transnational couples. For instance, Lauth

Bacas' (2002: 1) research into opportunities and constraints experienced by Greek-German relationships in Athens ultimately analyses the latter (constraints). Even more recent studies on transnational families highlight their negative sides such as discrimination (e.g. Moscato, Novara, Hombrados-Mendieta, Romano and Lavanco, 2014).

      Throughout my study, I focus on 'communicating' rather than 'miscommunicating' in transnational relationships in light of Piller's (2001, 2002) major work on the construction of hybrid identities in bilingual, English and German speaking couples. Apart from Piller's work, a more recent contribution to the field, which informs my study, has been made by Dervin (2013), who has researched how transnational couples in Finland and Hong Kong interact using a lingua franca. Like Dervin (2013), I discuss how transnational families may be experiencing 'seeing culture everywhere' (Breindenbach and Nyíri, 2009), i.e. excessively see their practices as representative of cultures. While it may result in increased stereotyping, following Dervin (2013) and Dervin and Gao (2012b), I explore how stereotypes enable an effective negotiation of complex sociocultural practices in transnational families.

      The research on transnational families which I build on in terms of the analytic framework is Rubin Damari's (2009, 2010) works on interactions between Israeli-Jewish American couples. Similarly to Rubin Damari's study, my analysis is based on the theories of *stancetaking* (Du Bois, 2007; Englebretson, 2007; Jaffe, 2009). To introduce this concept (the relevant theories on stance are outlined in depth in Sections 2.3 and 3.5.2), stancetaking can be briefly defined as 'taking up a position with respect to the form or the content of one's utterance' (Jaffe, 2009: 3). This process of positioning involves multiple acts of *alignment*, i.e. agreement, and *disalignment*, i.e. disagreement, as the speakers discursively calibrate their stances (Du Bois, 2007: 143–144). Since stancetaking is shaped by/shapes the speakers' sociocultural affiliations, and hence their multiple identities (e.g. Englebretson, 2007; Johnstone, 2007), it has been considered 'a linguistically articulated form of social action' (Du Bois, 2007: 139). By displaying certain individual positions, speakers 'invoke a constellation of associated social identities' (Jaffe, 2009: 7), inadvertently shaping their interlocutors' stances. Like Rubin Damari (2010), I employ the stancetaking framework to analyse interactions in transnational relationships in order to explore their complex identification

processes. Following Rubin Damari, I demonstrate how repeatedly taken positions can potentially index the speakers' more enduring stances. However, additionally my analysis accentuates the dynamics and inherent dialogism of the speakers' stancetaking, which at times results in their somewhat contradictory stance acts.

As for research on communication in Polish-British relationships specifically, Ogiermann (2013b) analyses Polish-British families' *code-switching*, i.e. 'alternative use...of two or more languages in the same conversation' (Milroy and Muysken, 1995: 7). Apart from the above work by Ogiermann (2013b), which is grounded in Conversational Analysis (CA), to my knowledge there exists no research on interactions in Polish-British families which is based on a Discourse Analysis (DA; defined in Chapter 3) and explores their stancetaking practices specifically through food-related interactions. However, this culinary angle has also recently been adopted by Gonçalves (2013), who examines how Anglophones married to German-speaking Swiss negotiate their hybrid identities in the context of food. While Gonçalves' (2013) study focuses only on audio-recorded unstructured interviews, its culinary focus is relevant to the current analysis. Thus, apart from exploring interactions in transnational families comprised of other nationals (Polish and British), additionally my study complements former works by employing not just interview data but also video-recordings of naturally occurring interactions, which are still rarely used during research on intermarriage (though see Ogiermann, 2013b; in Chapter 3 I explain the affordances of this type of data). Building on the work of Piller (2002), Gonçalves (2013) and Ogiermann (2013b), I address also the identities of spouses representing the receiving country by exploring their individual positioning and the speakers' joint construction of transnational coupledom/family. As the participant Polish-British families were formed/continued thanks to the Polish side migrating to Britain, a short overview of Polish migration to Britain is needed.

1.2.3   Polish migration to Britain

The Polish presence on the British Isles has been documented for over ten centuries, however, the first large-scale migration of Poles to Britain is associated with the aftermath of the November Uprising in Poland in 1830–31 (Romejko, 2009: 195). The subsequent 'waves' followed after the January Uprising (1863),

and then after the First World War, yet the exact numbers have not been established, partly due to immigrants changing their original names in order to assimilate (Romejko, 2009: 196). After the Second World War Poles sought a new life in Britain due to the political unrest in their USSR-controlled homeland until the late 1980s (Davies, 1984). As with other immigrants (e.g. Italians in Scotland), post-war reality in Britain necessitated assimilation from newcomers, as bilingualism, or to use a more up-to-date term, versatile 'linguistic repertoires' (e.g. Blommaert, 2008) were not at the time perceived as what Jaffe (2007: 51) calls an 'added value'. Although the Solidarity movement led by Lech Wałęsa overthrew communism and Soviet government in Poland in 1989, thus reducing political repression, Polish migration to Britain continued through the 1990s and 2000s for economic reasons (unemployment, poverty). Until 2004 much of this immigration was illegal and undocumented (Ryan, 2010), hence the figures are again unknown.

Yet, it was the enlargement of the European Union (EU) in 2004 (known as Accession 8, or A8), which led to the biggest influx of Polish people to Britain. With the eight former Eastern Bloc states joining the EU on the 1st May 2004, the 'British dream' was opened to Central and Eastern Europeans. Poles are reported to have embraced that opportunity the most – according to Office for National Statistics (ONS, 2011), 66% of all A8 citizens migrating to the UK have been Polish. Between December 2003 and December 2010 the Polish-born population of the UK increased from 75,000 to 532,000 (ONS, 2011). Despite a decline in 2009, the number steadily increases, with 579,000 Polish residents registered in the 2011 Census – 14% of all non-UK-born population (ONS, 2012).

The socio-economic impact of Polish post-A8 migration to Britain has stirred many political debates, resulting in much press coverage (see Figure 1.2 below).

Figure 1.2 – Number of articles (y-axis) mentioning immigration to Britain from Poland, Romania and Bulgaria in Daily Mail, Daily Telegraph, Guardian and Times between 2001 and 2013 (year on x-axis). Adapted from The Economist, 14th December, 2013.

It has also inspired TV productions to feature Polish migrants as characters (documentaries – *Bobski the Builder, Forum*; TV series – *Londoners, Lead Balloon*; films – *It's a Free World, Somers Town*; and a comedy show – *Harry and Paul*). Polish A8 migration likewise has invited extensive research (Irek, 2012: 21), exploring the impact of relocation on Polish migrant families (e.g. Ryan, 2010; Heath, McGhee and Trevena, 2011), interactions among Polish migrants (e.g. Galasińska, 2010; Garapich, 2012), or their experience of work in Britain (e.g. Cook, Dwyer and Waite, 2011; Trevena, 2011). The present study complements this body of research by examining identification processes in Polish-British families residing in Britain, specifically in the context of food-related interactions. Next, I explain my use of the key terminology in this study.

1.3 Problematising the key terminology

1.3.1 Nations, cultures and traditions

This research is grounded in constructivism, which conceptualises identity as an ongoing process shaped by and shaping social interaction (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005: 591). This unfixedness can also be recognised in other concepts that may constitute sources of identity for social actors and tend to be perceived as static, namely nation, culture and tradition (in Chapter 2, I outline the relevant research on these notions). While contemporary scholars in Social Sciences agree that these concepts are problematic, it is difficult to avoid using them while contributing to the academic debate which surrounds these notions and exploring their place in everyday discourses, as I do in my study.

Therefore, throughout this thesis, I use the notions of nation, culture, tradition, their adjectival forms (e.g. national, cultural, traditional), including their antonyms (e.g. anti-national, anti-traditional), and the related vocabulary (e.g. native/foreign, traditionality/anti-traditionality). Whereas these concepts appear in my thesis without inverted commas, they are not approached unproblematically – I do address their intangibility and the analysed interactions in the transnational families reflect this relativity. The same applies to the ideas of cultural similarity/proximity, their synonyms/antonyms (e.g. likeness/dissimilarity), and adjectival forms (e.g. similar, close). Despite the anti-essentialist orientation of the

thesis, occasionally I employ relevant national labels (Polish/British/Welsh). The labelling does not imply that the speakers claim these nationalities or that I assign these nationalities to them. They are only intended to help the reader identify which side a given speaker represents in the participant Polish-British families, and thus to better orient in my analysis.

1.3.2   Self-Other opposition and 'third space'

Other problematic notions employed in my study are the concepts of Self and the Other, which are central to research on identity construction (Schalk, 2011: 197). Philosophical engagement with the distinction between Self and the Other dates back to Plato's *Sophist* (Rosen, 1983). To briefly present more contemporary and relevant definitions of Self, Tajfel (1972: 292) for instance argues that a person's identity 'derives from his [sic] knowledge of his [sic] membership in a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership'. Giddens (1992: 30) observes that this knowledge surfaces through people's increased self-problematisation – 'the self today is for everyone a reflexive project'. Therefore, Self (and the Other) cannot be viewed as fixed. As proposed by Goffman (1974: 573), Self 'is not an entity half-concealed behind events, but a *changeable formula* for managing oneself during them' (my emphasis).

This 'formula' is believed to depend on the Other, i.e. not Self – an ideal vantage point for perceiving one's identity (e.g. Hall, 1996; Schalk, 2011). Gillespie (2007: 580) observes that 'people tend to positively differentiate themselves and their in-group from other people and out-groups'. The notion of Otherness has received criticism for its exclusionary character. *Othering*, i.e. denoting the Other, as first applied by Spivak (1985), was seen as stigmatising the Other. However, as observed by Boréus (2001: 31), othering does not have to be discriminatory; contrastingly, the Other may be framed as exotic and desirable. Although frequently 'homogenized' (Bhabha, 2004 [1994]: 74), the Other is now 'entirely unpredictable, and little can be presupposed with respect to [its] cultural, linguistic and other features' (Blommaert and Backus, 2011: 4). In other words, what people perceive as a uniform out-group, may be highly diverse in terms of sociocultural features. Analogously, Self remains fluctuant and, to build on Gillespie's (2007:

580) claim above, individuals may also depict their in-group negatively vis-à-vis out-groups.

My study employs the concepts of Self and Other to explore how members in the participant transnational Polish-British families discursively negotiate their identities through acts of positioning towards what they perceive as their divergent culinary legacies. I explore how the perceptions of Self and Other fluctuate in interactions between same-race (white) speakers, who come from different, yet relatively proximate sociocultural settings (Poland and Britain). Adhering to Boréus' (2001: 31) claims, I examine various standpoints to the Other, including positive exoticising of the Other among the transnational families. Following the fluid approach to identity (e.g. Z. Bauman, 2000; Bucholtz and Hall, 2005), which is outlined in Section 2.1, my study rejects 'the fantasy of the unicity of the self [and Other]' (Maffesoli, 1988; quoted in Dervin and Abbas, 2009: 3). Exploring the *dynamics* of self- and other-identification in the participant transnational families, I unmask the limitations of this binary opposition – Self and the Other cannot be easily categorised. My study illustrates how Selfhood and Otherness continuously shift in the speakers' interactions.

Although the members of these transnational families may at times visualise Self and Other as clearly delineated, such representations seem to collide through their interactions into unique sociocultural meanings. These new discursive creations echo Bhabha's (2004 [1994]) idea of *third space*, in which Self and Other ultimately become suspended. The analysis will demonstrate how food-related interactions in the transnational families occasion 'dialectical reorganisation' (Bhabha, 2004 [1994]: 55), i.e. discursive reproduction of what the speakers perceive as their cultures, traditions and nations. I argue that as the participants discursively reposition themselves in relation to one another and to their sociocultural fields, there emerge novel sociocultural vistas, resembling Bhabha's 'third spaces'. These 'hybrid', i.e. boundary-subverting zones, constitute:

> a terrain for elaborating strategies of selfhood – singular or communal – that initiate new signs of identity, and innovative sites of collaboration, and contestation' (Bhabha, 2004 [1994]: 2).

Within this 'in-between' terrain, the formerly taken-for-granted ideas of culture, tradition and nation cease to be easily referenced (Bhabha, 2004 [1994]: 247). Consequently, what counts as Self and the Other becomes difficult to categorise. Requiring ongoing negotiation, sociocultural forms and meanings become endlessly reconstructed by individuals, providing them with new sources of identity. This agentive, reflexive negotiation of Selfhood and Otherness boosts the speakers' awareness of 'the construction of culture and the invention of tradition' (Bhabha, 2004 [1994]: 248), offering them 'new possibilities and imaginaries for identity construction' (Rubdy and Alsagoff, 2014: 11). The 'third space' theory thus allows researchers to explore *hybridisation* of cultural production, that is, how cultural forms 'become separated from existing practices and recombine with new forms in new practices' (Rowe and Schelling, 1991: 231). I examine how this 'semiotic space between competing cultural collectives – e.g. …indigenous-foreign, local-global, traditional-modern' (Bhatt, 2008: 178) can surface in the transnational families as they negotiate their culinary repertoires. Additionally, I discuss how the speakers position themselves in relation to the hybridity they create. As the focus is on *discursive* construction of these hybrid, third spaces, it is timely to explain what is understood by 'discourse'.

1.3.3 *Discourses, languages and repertoires*

In Linguistics, *discourse* can mean 'the ways in which sentences connect and relate to each other across time in speech or writing' (Gee, 2014 [1999]: 18). Some discourse analysts transcend this approach to language as a system by investigating actual utterances in specific settings. This 'language-in-use', named by Gee (1990: 142) as *small d discourse*, consists of 'connected stretches of language that make sense, like conversations, stories, reports'. Small d discourses fall into what Gee (1990: 142) calls *big D Discourse*:

> …ways of being in the world, or forms of life which integrate words, acts, values, beliefs, attitudes, social identities, as well as gestures, glances, body positions and clothes.

Thus, big D Discourse is 'always more than just language' (Gee, 1990: 142). As

Gee (2014 [1999]: 24) explains, big D Discourse is 'interactive identity-based communication using language and everything else at human disposal'. The above definitions are relevant to my study as I analyse how the speakers' food-related interactions can reproduce/shape societal Discourses in relation to phenomena such as nation, culture and tradition. Thus, I approach the examined culinary talk and practices as shaped by/shaping broader Discourses. The term 'discourse' is used throughout the analysis to mean big D Discourses (beyond this section, it is presented in lower case). Following Gee (1990: 143), I approach Discourse as:

> …a socially accepted association among ways of using language, of thinking, feeling, behaving, believing, valuing, and of acting that can be used to identify oneself as a member of a socially meaningful group or 'social network', or to signal…a socially meaningful role.

The 'language-in-use' (small d discourses) constitutes a starting point for my analysis – I examine the speakers' talk around food (e.g. during food preparation), meal-time exchanges related to food as well as the culinary accounts elicited during the interviews, and I explore how they mirror and reconstruct big D Discourses. This adheres to Gee's (2005 [1999]: 7) interpretation that big D discourses are small d discourses 'melded integrally with non-language "stuff" to enact specific identities and activities'. My exploration is not limited to speech-based communication. It encompasses the participants' socio-culinary practices including food rituals, captured by the camera in the video-recorded celebrations and reported in the interview audio-data. This context and type of data (especially the video-data) allow me to incorporate other Discourse indices, such as food artefacts, clothes, and other socioculturally relevant objects as well as gestures, posture and gaze. Holistically, these representations hereafter are referred to in the thesis as *sociocultural repertoires*, which I justify below.

In the 1960s Gumperz defined a repertoire as 'the totality of linguistic forms regularly employed in the course of socially significant interaction' (1964: 137). This understanding was further developed by Hymes (1996: 213), who stressed that a language repertoire is never uniform for all speakers – 'It is a fallacy to equate the resources of a language with the resources of (all) users'. As these resources are not equally distributed, people operate with their unique linguistic

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(and semiotic) repertoires rather than with entire languages (Rubdy and Alsagoff, 2014: 3). Gumperz (1964: 138) compares a repertoire to an 'arsenal' from which speakers draw 'in accordance with the meanings they want to convey'. This 'arsenal' also includes multilingual components, which are 'constituent varieties of the same verbal repertoire' (Gumperz, 1964: 140). While the speakers have choice as to which means to select, according to Gumperz (1964: 138) this freedom is constrained by grammar and societal norms. Thus, both Gumperz and Hymes saw an individual's repertoire as determined by the speech community they belonged to.

Under *superdiversity* (Vertovec, 2007) (i.e. increased diversification and deterritorialisation of linguistic and cultural practices), these constraints seem less definable. Blommaert (2008: 16) argues that repertoires are 'not tied to any form of national space, and neither to a national, stable regime of language', giving speakers extra flexibility in their use. Hence, a given repertoire develops along 'the peculiar biographical trajectory of the speaker' (Blommaert, 2008: 16). Upon 'global mélange' (Pieterse, 2004), these trajectories are becoming increasingly complicated. Social actors' lives and their repertoires are not structured in relation to only one *centre* – 'evaluating authority' (Blommaert, 2010: 39), which dictates norms. They become exposed to *polycentricity* (Blommaert *et al*., 2005a–b) – they are 'organised not in relation to one single complex of norms but in relation to many competing and/or complementary ones' (Blommaert, 2013: 194). As individuals increasingly orient to multiple centres of normativity, they apply different *scales* (Blommaert, 2007) to cultural meanings and forms – they view them through multiple interpretative lenses. Hence, superdiversity creates 'intensely polycentric' environments (Blommaert, 2013: 195), in which people's repertoires undergo continuous re-scaling.

In this study, I follow this 'polycentric' approach to linguistic repertoires and treat them as 'mobile resources' (Blommaert, 2010: 49). It is particularly relevant in the context of transnational families, which operate with diversified, linguistic and semiotic resources. However, these fluid 'social and cultural itineraries' (Blommaert and Backus, 2013: 28) represented by the speakers are referred to in this thesis as *sociocultural repertoires*, to include the non-linguistic resources employed or reflected on in the analysed food-related interactions. Below, I outline the goals of my research.

1.4   Research objectives

The central objective of this study is to contribute to research into transnational families, which are thriving upon global mobility (Piller, 2011: 113; Ogiermann, 2013a: 435). The analysis will broaden the understanding of discursive constructions of identities in transnational families by exploring them in Polish-British households in the context of food. As the emergent 'discursive strategies', i.e. 'more or less intentional plan[s] of [interactive] practices' (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009: 94), could be applicable to transnational contact at large, the study has the potential to address identification processes in a broader demographic. The research will also offer perspectives on the impact of Polish post-A8 migration to Britain.

Opting for the culinary context, I will additionally demonstrate how the speakers' subject positions, and thus their identities, are exhibited and shaped specifically through food-related interactions The term 'food-related interactions' (used in this study interchangeably with 'culinary interactions'/'food interactions') is used to encompass both food talk (exchanges about food and culinary practices) and food practices (multi-semiotic practices related to food preparation/ consumption, including food rituals, e.g. toasts, meal prayers). Scrutinising the transnational families' culinary interactions, the research relates this area of sociocultural activity to the aforementioned theories of reflexivity (Giddens, 1991; Lash and Urry, 1994; Urban, 2001), which are reviewed in Section 2.4.3.

To explore how the participant Polish-British families discursively negotiate their sociocultural repertoires in the culinary context and to discuss the outcomes of this negotiation for the speakers' identities, I address the following questions:

RQ1: *How do the culinary interactions between the speakers project their reflexivity and stancetaking on their sociocultural repertoires?*

RQ2: *What stancetaking acts emerge during the speakers' culinary interactions and how do they reflect/shape their identities?*

RQ3: *What do the speakers' interactions in the culinary context reveal about the problematic notions of Self and Other?*

RQ4*: What do the speakers' culinary interactions suggest about broader societal discourses on the problematic concepts of nation, tradition and culture?*

As the above questions overlap, it would be unnatural to separate them and explore each of them individually. Therefore, I address them side-by-side and each analytic chapter (Chapters 4–7) lends answers to all four research questions. By instead structuring the four analytic chapters around the main discursive themes emergent in the data (as outlined in Section 1.5 below), I aim to grasp the dynamic interconnectedness between them and between the posed questions.

While not assumed as exclusive to transnational and/or romantic/familial relationships (or to the culinary context), certain interactive strategies and discourses surface across all the participant families. Therefore, apart from the uniqueness of identification processes in each family, the analysis also uncovers some discursive patterns among these transnational relationships. This may allow for some generalisations about the demographic. Next, I outline the trajectory of the thesis and the rationale behind it.

1.5   Outline of the thesis

In Chapter 2, I review the literature engaging with the concepts which are central to this thesis in order to ground it theoretically. Section 2.1 outlines the development of theories on *identity* construction, explaining the approach adopted in the present study. Subsequently, in Section 2.2, I define the concepts of *ritual* and *ritual communication*, which will inform my analysis of ritualisation in the examined interactions. Section 2.3 offers an overview of relevant theories on *stancetaking*, which constitute the main analytic framework for my research (how these theories are applied in the analysis is explained in the Methodology Chapter, Section 3.5.2). In Section 2.4, I outline the theory of *metaculture* with its underlying idea of *reflexivity*. These ideas will make it possible to examine the impact of the speakers' reflexive practices on their identification. Finally, Section 2.5 outlines the notion of *authenticity*, which my study problematises in relation to the culinary interactions in the participant transnational families.

With the theoretical underpinnings established, in Chapter 3, I present the research method (Section 3.1), and introduce the study participants (Section 3.2). Sections 3.3–3.4 describe the two types of data I examined: video-recordings of the participants' celebratory events and semi-structured interviews with the participants, explaining how each set of data was collected. Section 3.5 outlines the data analysis process. Here, I first describe the data selection procedure, transcription and thematic coding (Section 3.5.1). Then, I explain the application of the central theories to the data analysis (Section 3.5.2). Finally, I address the research ethics (Section 3.6) and recap the chapter (Section 3.7).

Chapters 4–7 constitute the analytic part of the thesis. Each of these chapters explores the speakers' acts of reflexivity and stancetaking, which emerge as an array of divergent positioning (within each speaker) towards their respective sociocultural repertoires: *traditional stance* (Chapter 4), *postmodern stance* (Chapter 5), *othering stance* (Chapter 6) and *de-othering stance* (Chapter 7) (I explain these labels below). While I group them under separate labels and chapters for organisational purposes, these projections are highly dynamic and overlap across the data and speakers. Thus, none of the above stances represents a consistent and absolute positioning of any of the participants.

In Chapter 4, I examine the speakers' acts of *traditional positioning,* i.e. alignment with what they perceive as their traditions, in particular their traditional culinary practices. The chapter is organised under the most prominent discursive strategies pointing to such traditional positioning: a) the speakers' displays of their continuity with traditional culinary practices (Section 4.1); b) their displays of nostalgia and authenticity (Section 4.2); c) their discourses of national 'we' (Section 4.3); and d) acts which exoticise their sociocultural image in front of other family members (Section 4.4). Section 4.5 summarises how the above discursive strategies jointly seem to project the participants' appeal to traditionality on some occasions.

While the participants' acts of traditionality are recurrent, I show how this positioning fluctuates, leading to contradictory stance acts. The fluidity and potential incongruity of the speakers' positioning is exposed by their contrasting *anti*-traditional stance, which is explored in Chapter 5. Such displays of departure from tradition tend to carry postmodern discourses of choice and cosmopolitanism (Giddens, 1991: 190–195), and hence are labelled in the thesis as *postmodern*

positioning. First, Section 5.1 demonstrates how the speakers at times position themselves against their native culinary practices, performing so-called *self-othering* – distancing from Self. Subsequently, Section 5.2 explores how the speakers seek to engage with the 'exotic' culinary repertoires of their partners. I demonstrate how, through their symbolic engagement with foreign foodscapes, the speakers display their cosmopolitan aptitude for embracing Otherness, further projecting their postmodern positioning. Finally, Section 5.3 focuses on the speakers' postmodern positioning surfacing through statements which seem to downplay tradition. In Section 5.4, I summarise how the analysed discursive tactics, on these occasions, accentuate the participants' identification with anti-traditionality and postmodern values of choice and cosmopolitan adventurism.

To further explore the dynamism of stancetaking and identification among the participant transnational families, Chapters 6 and 7 scrutinise their other potentially contrasting projections – *othering positioning* (acts emphasising the distance from the Other) and *de-othering positioning* (acts downplaying the distance from the Other), respectively. The former positioning is presented in Chapter 6 by analysing how the transnational partners highlight differences between what they perceive as their divergent sociocultural backgrounds (Poland and Britain). Although the examined othering acts can frame the out-group as 'different' (Section 6.1), 'strange' (Section 6.2), or even 'inferior' (Section 6.3), in Section 6.4 I summarise how they can paradoxically *minimise* potential distance between the speakers.

This distance-diminishing effect is further explored in Chapter 7 through the analysis of the contrasting acts downplaying the differences between the speakers in relation to their culinary repertoires. In this analysis, I demonstrate how the transnational partners discursively frame their sociocultural similarity (Section 7.1) and successfully combine their various sociocultural repertoires (Section 7.2). The couples' joint identities also emerge in their displays of shared pursuit of individualism and cosmopolitanism, as investigated in Section 7.3. In Section 7.4, I summarise how, through the above discourses of sociocultural similarity, hybridity and cosmopolitanism, on those occasions, the transnational partners accentuate their sharedness (in contrast to their acts of othering, which stress sociocultural differences between them in the exchanges analysed in Chapter 6).

Following the analytic section, in Chapter 8, I bring together the individual analyses presented in Chapters 4–7. Sections 8.1–8.2 juxtapose the emergent contrasting positioning: traditional versus postmodern projections and othering versus de-othering projections. This juxtaposition leads me in Section 8.3 to relate the speakers' contradictory positioning acts to the theories of stance dialogism (e.g. Kärkkäinen, 2006; Rubin Damari, 2009, 2010, as outlined in Section 2.3.1). Finally, Section 8.4 discusses how the speakers, on one hand, frame their nations' foodscapes as uniform and, on the other, they display awareness of essentialism behind such homogenising discourses through their reflexivity.

Chapter 9 brings together the conclusions on the findings, returning to the central research questions (RQ1–4; see pp. 20–21). Sections 9.1–9.3 refer back to the first three research questions, respectively. In Section 9.1, I conclude what the study results suggest about reflexive and stancetaking properties of culinary interactions (RQ1). Section 9.2 comments on how the examined interactions reflect/shape identification processes in these transnational families (RQ2). In Section 9.3, I recapitulate how the analysis contests the Self-Other dichotomy in these transnational relationships (RQ3). The conclusions relating to the final research question (RQ4) concerning broader societal discourses on nation, tradition and culture are presented across Sections 9.4–9.6. In Section 9.7, I outline how my study can generate future research. Finally, Section 9.8 presents my concluding note.

Chapter 2 – Literature Review

This chapter reviews the key research concepts introduced in Chapter 1. In Section 2.1, I present the development of theories on *identity* to justify this study's approach to this concept. Subsequently, in Section 2.2, I outline the notion of *ritual*, explaining its relevance to the analysis of interactions during celebratory events. Section 2.3 presents the works on *stancetaking* practices which inform this study (in Section 3.5.2 I explain how these theories of stance will be employed in the data analysis). Section 2.4 outlines the theories of *metaculture* (Urban, 2001; Tomlinson, 2002) with its key component – *reflexivity*, which is particularly pertinent to the analysed culinary accounts. In Section 2.5, I review the main conceptualisations of *authenticity* – a notion that is highly relevant to the context of sociocultural celebrations. Finally, in Section 2.6, I summarise the chapter.

2.1 Identity and culture

Summarised by Z. Bauman (2004: 17) as 'the burning issue of everybody's mind and tongue', *identity* remains one the central concepts in Social Sciences. My study follows the constructivist approach of seeing identity as being continuously reshaped through talk and social action. According to constructivism, the characteristics, feelings or beliefs which distinguish individuals are not static and develop throughout their lifetime. Moreover, they can be altered temporarily, depending on how one wants to present oneself at a given moment. This flexibility underscores the performative aspect of identity, which lies at the heart of this study and is discussed in more depth in Sections 2.1.1 and 2.2.3.

Theorising on sources of identity, Bucholtz and Hall (2010: 21) argue that 'identities encompass (a) macrolevel demographic categories; (b) local, ethnographically specific cultural positions; and (c) temporary and interactionally specific stances and participant roles'. In Bucholtz and Hall's categorisation, the macrolevel categories include race, ethnicity or gender, more local categories include one's nation, religion or political affiliation, whereas temporary categories embrace subcultures, family roles or professions. However, while Bucholtz and Hall (2010: 21) describe only the last set of categories as 'temporary and

interactionally specific', macrolevel demographic categories and specific cultural positions can also shift depending on the context. Therefore, these sets of categories are not clear-cut. To illustrate, political or religious affiliations being local categories, unquestionably can also be 'temporary and interaction-specific' – people may change their political and religious views throughout their lives and/or fleetingly downplay them when interacting with individuals who hold divergent opinions. Hence, while such categorisations can be helpful, they run the risk of being essentialist and should be approached with caution.

Depending on the aspect of identity analysed, researchers talk about 'ethnic identity', 'national identity', 'linguistic identity', 'social identity' and so forth. Nevertheless, these facets are interconnected and they all potentially feed into what we might call 'cultural identity':

> …the unstable points of identification or suture, which are made
> within the discourses of history and culture. Not an essence but
> a *positioning* (Hall, 1990: 226; original emphasis).

Derived from multiple, fluid sources, cultural identity emerges as extremely complex, even if related to one's own persona. 'What is your cultural identity?' is not a question inviting a straightforward answer. The complexity of cultural identification seems to stem from the multiple understandings of culture itself. To untangle this concept, in lay terms, *culture* refers to an accumulation of artistic creations, also known as 'high culture', such as film, literature and theatre. Piller (2011: 13) distinguishes also 'popular culture' that includes nation-specific elements like folklore, cuisine and music, and culture as 'country facts' – e.g. currency, press or a flag. The concept of culture encompasses systems of human behaviours, thoughts and beliefs. Mid-twentieth century scholars attributed those systems to specific groups of people, usually entire nations, assuming an 'isomorphism between place and culture' (Rubdy and Alsagoff, 2014: 7) – linking cultures to demarcated geographical locations occupied by these groups. This clear-cut conceptualisation of culture stemmed from sedentarist theory, which framed nations and culture as territorially-bounded (Sheller and Urry, 2006: 208). This approach lost its applicability when global mobility encouraged people to adopt nomadic lifestyles (Z. Bauman, 2000: 13). In contemporary socio-scientific

research, countries cease to be perceived as 'containers' for one nation, language and culture. Thus, culture emerges as 'not a real thing, but an abstract and purely analytic notion' (Baumann, 1996: 11).

For the purpose of my study, I use Bystydzienski's (2011: 3) definition of culture as:

> …social heritage, including values (beliefs, aspirations, common understanding), norms (rules of conduct), and practices (what people do and say), assumed to be shared by a group with which individuals identify.

However, as explained in Chapter 1, culture (and cultural identity) are both treated in my research as fluid, thus their constituents listed in the definition above continually evolve through social interaction. As proposed by Sapir (1949: 572), 'the true locus of culture is the interactions of specific individuals'. This adheres to theorising culture as communication –

> a system of signs…a representation of the world, a way of making sense of reality by objectifying it in stories, myths, descriptions, theories, proverbs, artistic products and performances (Duranti, 1997: 33).

Thus, while fluid and immaterial, culture and cultural identity can manifest through material objects (e.g. food, clothes and music), which will be demonstrated in my analysis. Another constituent part of culture (and thus potential source of cultural identity) which is pertinent to my study is *tradition*. I employ Giddens' (1996: 63) understanding of tradition as 'formulaic truth', which is 'bound up with…"collective memory"; involves ritual; ...has "guardians"; and…binding force'. Whereas often imagined as static (like other forms of culture), tradition undergoes continuous reconstruction 'on the basis of the present' (Giddens, 1996: 63). In Section 2.1.3, I relate the concept of tradition to (post)modernity and nationalism. First, however, in Sections 2.1.1–2.1.2, I explain further how my study is positioned in relation to the 'static' and 'fluid' conceptualisations of (cultural) identity.

2.1.1   'Static' or 'fluid'

When structuralist views prevailed in the 1960s and 1970s, cultural identity was perceived as endowed for life. Those 'rigid' perceptions on identity were influenced by 'primordialist models' such as sex, ethnicity, territory (Omoniyi, 2006: 12), which, at the time, seemed unproblematic. Labov (1966) and Trudgill (1974) were among those who approached identity as fixed, studying it as based on class membership – a category they saw as fairly unalterable.

The mid 1980s shifted this static approach to identification with Barth's (1969, 1981) and Le Page and Tabouret-Keller's (1985) more dynamic models. Theorising ethnicity, Barth (1969, 1981) argues that it develops not within ethnic boundaries, but rather 'at the borders' between ethnic groups, where the negotiation of ethnic differences/similarities takes place. In Barth's (1969: 14) view, cultural identities are not only fluid but also dichotomous:

> The cultural features that signal the boundary may change and the cultural characteristics of the members may likewise be transformed…yet the fact of continuing dichotomisation between members and outsiders allows us to specify the nature of continuity, and investigate the changing cultural form and content.

Barth stresses that cultural identities are recreated at the intersection of Self and the Other – when insiders and outsiders come into contact. This continuously negotiated dichotomy allows social actors to re-establish who they are (Barth, 1969: 14). The idea of constructing identity 'at the borders', i.e. in relation to the Other, is pertinent to my study. While I argue that like identity, the Self-Other dichotomy is far from clear-cut and not always feasible, at times it seems to propel projections of identity in the transnational families. Paradoxically, however, it may lead to displays of solidarity between the family members through 'ritual abuse' (Rampton, 1995a–b), as discussed further in this section and examined in Chapter 6.

For Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985: 14) identities are constructed through a 'series of acts of identity in which people reveal both their personal identity and their search for social roles'. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller observe that even seemingly fixed roles, e.g. family roles (partner/parent/child), other

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societal roles (migrant/host, student/teacher), and interactive roles (novice/expert, tourist/host), are constantly negotiated. Social roles, i.e. 'rights and duties attached to a given status' (Goffman, 1959: 16), reflect societal norms/beliefs, inevitably differing from place to place. They also vary from person to person or even within an individual. Similarly to identity, various constituents of social roles shift in interaction. In my study, some of the societal roles that become prominent in the transnational families are those of 'foreigners', who represent outsiders vis-á-vis 'natives', who are insiders. The analysis also shows how the speakers' culinary exchanges bear resemblance to the tourist-host relationship and other interactive roles (e.g. novice/expert) as well as shape family and gender roles.

Section 2.1.2 below explains how my study is informed by post-structuralist ideas of 'fluid' identity, 'crossing' between sociocultural repertoires and 'polyphony', in which identity is constructed at the intersection of multiple internal and external voices.

2.1.2   Fluidity, crossing and polyphony

With the dawn of post-structuralism, research centred on how identities are continuously reconstructed in interaction. The approach was prominent in the works of Hall (1992: 277), who believed that identity is:

> …transformed continuously in relation to the ways we are
> represented or addressed in the cultural systems…It is historically,
> not biologically defined. The subject assumes different identities at
> different times...Within us are contradictory identities, pulling in
> different directions.

Exploring cinematic representation of black Caribbean identities, Hall (1990: 226) criticises conceptualising identity as a 'straight, unbroken line, from some fixed origin'. Likewise, he opposes the idea of dichotomy – 'past/present' and 'them/us', arguing that the complexity of identity 'exceeds this binary structure of representation' (Hall, 1990: 228). My study builds on Hall's approach to identity by contesting the Self-Other dichotomy in the examined interactions. I demonstrate how the transnational families' negotiations of identities ultimately transcend this binary opposition, though at times the couples may highlight this division.

There exists extensive research presenting fluidity of identity and individuals' agency in shaping it. Fragmentation of identity resounds, for example, in Rampton's research into *crossing* – 'code alternation by people who are not accepted members of the group associated with the second language they employ' (Rampton, 1995a: 280). Crossing tends to be analysed in interethnic/interracial interactions as acts involving *stylisation*, i.e. 'marked and often exaggerated representations of languages, dialects and styles that lie outside [one's] own habitual repertoire' (Rampton, 2014: 276–277). For example, Rampton (1995a–b) examines adolescents' crossing into Panjabi, Creole and Indian English in Britain, while Bucholtz (1999) and Cutler (1999) focus on stylising African American Vernacular English (AAVE) in the American context. These representations contribute to the projection of 'personas, identities and genres other than those that are presumably current in the speech event' (N. Coupland, 2007: 154), and thus 'involve a distinct sense of movement across social and ethnic boundaries' (Rampton, 1995b: 485). Hence, interactions in multicultural contexts create what Rampton (1995b: 507) calls 'heteroglossic marginality' – they 'temporarily denaturalise both ethnicity and socialisation in a series of acts…thematis[ing] change in ethnic identity'. Suspending the existing socio-ethnic relations between speakers, crossing and stylisation create a liminal space before individuals step back into their re-established identities (I explain the place of liminality in my study in Section 2.2.2).

Rampton's 'heteroglossic marginality' created through liminality echoes Bakhtin's (1981) notions of *polyphony* and *heteroglossia*. According to polyphony, or *multivoicedness*, each speaker projects multiple *voices* – 'social position[s] from the stratified world, as presupposed by stratified language' (Wortham, 2001: 50). Thus, utterances include not just voices of Self but also those 'borrowed' from others. Consequently, speech combines a variety of styles, opinions and references. This inherent multivoicedness means that even monologue utterances resemble dialogues. Furthermore, for Bakhtin (1986: 89) all speech is 'heteroglossic', i.e.:

> filled with others' words, varying degrees of otherness or varying degrees of 'our-own-ness', varying degrees of awareness and detachment...which we assimilate, rework, and re-accentuate.

Heteroglossia and 'self-contained' dialogism demonstrate how subject positions are never constructed in isolation, but rather surface through merged voices coming from the inside and outside. With their inherent *addressivity* (i.e. being addressed to someone) and *answerability* (i.e. anticipating a response), all utterances constitute an 'open-ended dialogue' (Bakhtin, 1984: 293). In other words, meaning is never finite as utterances invite chains of responses, leading this 'dialogue' into infinity. Thus, discursively constructed identities have to be multivocal (emerging at the intersection of the speaker's multiple positions), heteroglossic (shaped by others' utterances), and boundless (ever-evolving).

Heteroglossia and multivoicedness are prominent in the analysed data. The participant families, which include members from various sociocultural backgrounds, employ multiple voices when positioning themselves in relation to their culinary legacies. These multivocal, dialogic interactions at times reveal contradictory positioning. For example, on one hand the transnational partners discursively highlight cultural differences between them, as demonstrated in Chapter 6. On the other, the couples embrace those differences by engaging with the sociocultural practices of the other side (see Section 5.2), or downplay the differences between them by framing their similarity/proximity (see Chapter 7). Either way, the speakers engage with various sociocultural repertoires, and the Bakhtinian theories of heteroglossia and multivoicedness will allow me to explore the dynamism of these interactions.

The idea of human *agency* is equally relevant to this study. Some scholars, like Bourdieu (1991), perceive identity as resulting from the naturalised reproduction of existing social arrangements. Others, e.g. Certeau (1984), view it as a conscious product of human agents. Somewhere in between are theorists like Foucault (1972), Habermas (1979) and Lyotard (1984 [1979]), who believe that individuals have some agency in terms of social patterns they select to reproduce, however, these sociocultural repertoires already exist. A similarly deterministic approach resounds in Gee's (1990: 143) definition of Discourse as '*socially accepted* association[s] among ways of using language, of thinking, feeling, believing, valuing, and of acting' (my emphasis). The above scholars see identification as constrained by such well-established societal norms, traditions, and imposed social roles. Without entirely negating the impact of prevailing discourses, my study leans to the Certeaudian approach, which views peoples'

actions and talk as agentive acts of 'appropriation' (Certeau, 1984: xiii). The participants' interactions demonstrate their conscious, potentially strategic re-enactments of certain positioning, through which they actively construct their various identities. Their stancetaking does not merely reflect certain prevailing discourses, but also restructures them. This reveals the speakers' agency not just in constructing their identities, but also in shaping social practices and ideologies.

2.1.3   (Post)modernity, nationalism and tradition

As outlined in Sections 2.1.1–2.1.2, for the past three decades scholars have embraced the idea of a fluid, fragmented identity. Bucholtz and Hall (2005: 588) claim that identity is 'the emergent product rather than the pre-existing source of linguistic and other semiotic practices'. Emergence of identity is also promoted by sociologists, who see it as inherent to the condition of postmodernity. For instance, Z. Bauman (2000: 28–29) observes that 'being modern means...having an identity which can exist only as an unfulfilled project'. Thus, its harmony is unattainable:

> Whenever we speak of identity, there is at the back of our minds a
> faint image of harmony, logic, consistency: all the things which the
> flow of our experience seems – to our perpetual despair – so
> grossly and abominably to lack. The search for identity is the
> ongoing struggle to arrest or slow down the flow, to solidify the fluid,
> to give form to the formless (Z. Bauman, 2000: 82).

The participants' interactions in my data adhere to Z. Bauman's claim above – although at times the speakers cultivate an image of their harmonious identification with certain sociocultural repertoires, their fluctuant, often contrasting acts of positioning reveal shiftedness in their identities. This unachievable unity of identity ties in with Anderson's (2006 [1983]) idea of imagining one's community as homogeneous. When individuals accentuate their belonging to larger communities, they discursively re-imagine them. These 'imagined communities', in turn, provide speakers with a source of identity, which gives them a sense of unity. It could be argued that homogeneity of communities is even less achievable in (post)modern, highly mobile societies. Like Z. Bauman (2000), Giddens (1991: 187) analyses

consequences of modern experiences for self-identification, claiming that in late modernity:

> …the intrusion of distance into local activities, combined with the centrality of mediated experience, radically change what 'the world' actually is...Although everyone lives a local life, phenomenal worlds for the most part are truly global.

The analysed interactions in the transnational families demonstrate how social activities occur at the intersection of the local and global. With the speakers coming from divergent backgrounds (Poland and Britain), their interactions transcend the immediate context. For instance, the migrant family members (Poles) display their culinary practices from the homeland in their new locality (Britain), allowing the British side to venture into their remote foodscapes. Correspondingly, the members of the host country (Britain) stage their local foodscapes for the Polish family members, which involves comparisons with the culinary practices in their distant homeland. As the migrants re-evaluate their now distant homeland, they at times index their forming allegiances with the new locality. Such 'glocal' (Robertson, 1995) encounters promote the spirit of cosmopolitanism – the speakers present themselves as fascinated by the 'foreign' and at ease in any location. Nevertheless, as argued by Roudometof (2005: 128), 'the global cultural milieu is responsible for producing both cosmopolitan and local attitudes'. The concept of cosmopolitanism and its relevance to my analysis are discussed in Section 2.1.4.

While dynamism of cultural identification has replaced the static, structuralist model, some argue that the 'given' aspects of identity should not be ignored. R. Bauman (1996: 302) calls for approaching identity as:

> ...the dynamic tension between the ready-made, socially given element, that is the persistent cultural identity that is available for recontextualisation in performance, and the emergent element, the transformation of this entity in the performance process.

Warning against both extreme 'essentialising' and 'de-essentialising' of cultural identity, N. Coupland (2001: 18) claims that 'identities [are not] written sociolinguistically on a tabula rasa in a socio-historical vacuum'. People are born

into specific sociocultural contexts, in which certain traditions and conventions prevail. Through recontextualisation – 'transfer- and transformation of something from one discourse/text-in-context...to another' (Linell, 1998: 154), individuals discursively and semiotically reproduce sociocultural forms in new contexts. However, their displays may attach new meanings to those recontextualised forms (Linell, 1998: 155). In this way, cultural identity is reconstructive – it 'resides in local processes of enacting or reconstituting culture' (N. Coupland, 2007: 107).

This is how seemingly static entities such as culture and tradition are subject to ongoing changes. Perceptions of what is traditional differ not only from region to region, but also from family to family, if not from individual to individual. Writing about the 'illusion of cultural identity', Bayart (1996) sees tradition as the eighteenth century's invention. In Bayart's (1996: 35) words 'it was the fundamental constituent of the "building" and "formation" of the modern state in the West'. Despite such scepticism, tradition and culture 'exist' in people's discourses. In some contexts, imagined cultures and traditions may be intentionally displayed through nation-specific symbols. Billig (1995) describes such practices as 'hot nationalism' – exaggerated demonstration of loyalty to one's nation. While most common examples include flag waving or singing anthems during public events, fervent manifestation of national symbols such as traditional food, clothes, and emblems may be performed in more private settings (as demonstrated by my participants). Despite such 'hot' displays of national affiliation, the concepts of nation and national identity have been approached sceptically by scholars. Breakwell (1996: 22) claims that:

> …there is no such thing as 'national identity' in an absolute sense. Every nation has many national identities since each individual, in social context, negotiates what the meaning of his or her national identity is…moment by moment.

For Bayart (1996), the birth of nationalism coincided with the invention of tradition. As people reproduced certain social values and practices specific to their immediate context, they started to imagine this context as cohesive (Bayart, 1996: 35). Both Anderson (2006 [1983]) and Urban (2001) relate the spread of nationalism to the development of print technology, arguing how national press and literature contributed to 'we'-discourses and drove 'imagining communities'.

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Likewise, Billig (1995) observes that nationalism can have a more covert, 'banal' form, exhibited for example through the use of national labelling or personal pronouns (e.g. 'we' versus 'you') – 'banal words, jingling in the ears of the citizens, or passing before their eyes' (Billig, 1995: 93).

As I will demonstrate in my study, nationalist discourses are still detectable in everyday discourses, even among individuals who on other occasions project anti-traditionalist and anti-nationalist positioning. The overlap of the traditional and the modern leads to contradictory voices, which seem particularly prominent in the increasingly mobile world. How transnational encounters create contradictory discourses of (post)modernity and tradition is demonstrated in Chapters 4 and 5. The speakers' appeal to cosmopolitanism may also seem to contrast with traditional projections. In order to explore the speakers' cosmopolitan projections, below I outline the relevant works on cosmopolitanism, and the cognate ideas of transnationalism and transculturality, which will inform my analysis.

2.1.4   Cosmopolitanism, transnationalism and transculturality

In the 1990s Hannerz (1990: 241) claimed that the escalation of social networks was generating, at that time, more cosmopolitans than there had ever been before. As transnational networking continues (Rubdy and Alsagoff, 2014: 2), we might speculate that the cosmopolitan condition is escalating. One is not required to travel to experience cosmopolitanism – it can be found in our localities 'in forms of super-diversity constructed by people of different language and cultural background' (Canagarajah, 2013b: 193). Hannerz (1990: 239) defines *cosmopolitanism* as:

> ...an orientation, a willingness to engage with the Other. It is an intellectual and aesthetic stance of openness toward divergent cultural experiences, a search for contrasts rather than similarities.

Analogously, Szerszynski and Urry (2002: 470) see cosmopolitanism as 'connoisseurship of places, people and cultures'. They specify seven criteria of a cosmopolitan lifestyle: 'extensive mobility', 'capacity to consume', 'curiosity', 'willingness to take risks', 'an ability to map one's own society and culture', 'the semiotic skill to interpret images of various others' and 'an openness to other

peoples and cultures' (Szerszynski and Urry, 2002: 470). Representing a 'skill in manoeuvring more or less expertly with a particular system of meanings and meaningful forms' (Hannerz, 1990: 239), cosmopolitanism is not just a matter of 'orientation' but also depends on one's cultural competence. Potentially being motivated by one's aspiration to achieve that competence rather than to be involved with the Other, it may reveal a 'narcissistic streak' (Hannerz, 1990: 240) in individuals.

Interviewed by Rantanen (2005: 249), Beck distinguishes between *cosmopolitanism*, resulting from 'voluntary choice' and *cosmopolitanisation* – i.e. 'unconscious cosmopolitanism'. Preferred by Beck and Sznaider (2010: 386) to the overused 'globalisation', cosmopolitanisation is theorised as the 'increase in interdependence among social actors across national borders', producing 'unseen *side-effects* of actions, which are not intended as "cosmopolitan" in the normative sense' (original emphasis). Thus, cosmopolitanisation represents 'globalization from *within…internalised* cosmopolitanism' (Beck and Sznaider, 2010: 389, original emphasis).

The analysed interactions in the transitional families may reflect both the intended cosmopolitanism and unintended cosmopolitanisation. However, as the focus is on the speakers' agency in shaping their identities through reflexivity and strategic positioning, it is the intentional cosmopolitanism that is particularly relevant to this analysis. Thus, following Canagarajah (2013b: 195), I approach cosmopolitanism as 'a process, achieved and co-constructed through mutually responsive practices' in the participant transnational families. While the speakers do not brand themselves as 'citizens of the world' as in Piller's (2002: 202) work, the data reveal more covert, yet not less pertinent, projections of cosmopolitanism.

Cosmopolitanism links to reflexivity (outlined in Section 2.4.3) and Delanty (2011: 634–635) grasps this correlation:

> The key underlying characteristic of cosmopolitanism is a reflexive condition in which the perspective of others is incorporated into one's own identity, interests or orientation in the world…it is less a condition expressed in mobility, diversity, globalizing forces than in the logic of exchange, dialogue, encounters.

Similarly to Hannerz (1990, 1996), Delanty emphasises that mobility is not a sufficient prerequisite to becoming a cosmopolitan. Being cosmopolitan requires the 'cultivation of an attitude of critical deliberation and self-problematisation' (Delanty, 2011: 652). Individuals' mutual engagement with each other's difference 'generates a reflexive self- and other-awareness' (Canagarajah, 2013b: 196). Therefore, cosmopolitanism emphasises inner developmental processes as shaping the social world rather than attributing them to the external mechanism of globalisation (Delanty, 2006: 25). This idea applies to my study, in which it is the micro-level, reflexive social interactions that are believed to reflect and reconstruct the macro-level discourses. Hence, apart from the participants' overt indices such as 'curiosity' and 'capacity to consume the Other' (Szerszynski and Urry, 2002: 470), or verbalised claims, I explore how cosmopolitanism surfaces indirectly in the speakers' reflexivity.

With cosmopolitanism (and cosmopolitanisation) being linked to the proliferation of transnational connectivity, it is relevant to outline the notion of *transnationalism*. Vertovec (1999: 447) perceives it as:

> a condition in which, despite great distances and notwithstanding the presence of international borders…certain kinds of relationships have been globally intensified and now take place paradoxically in a planet-spanning yet common – however virtual – arena of activity.

The virtual aspect of transnational networks is also emphasised by Cohen (1996: 516), who claims that they need not be 'cemented by migration or by exclusive territorial claims'. While in my study migration (of Polish partners to Britain) has been contributing to the expansion of transnational networks, I also demonstrate how such networks form beyond corporal mobility. For instance, socio-culinary legacies perceived as Polish become 're-created through the mind, through cultural artefacts and through shared imagination' (Cohen, 1996: 516), re-establishing the migrants' bonds with the homeland without corporal movement.

My research explores how the experience of transnationalism impacts on the participants' self-identification. Vertovec (2001: 578) observes that 'the multi-local life-world presents a wider, even more complex set of conditions that affect the construction, negotiation and reproduction of social identities'. For some this

condition may be empowering – 'dwelling here assumes a solidarity and connection there, but there is not necessarily a single place or an exclusive nation' (Clifford, 1994: 322), which gives social actors extra sociocultural flexibility. Indeed, nowadays self-identification seems increasingly hybrid (Pieterse, 2001: 223), which 'challenges and problematizes essentialist dichotomies and identities, and so leads to the restoring of agency and enfranchisement' (Rubdy, 2014: 45). Hybridity equips speakers with versatile 'speech repertoires' (Blommaert and Backus, 2011), or what I defined in Section 1.3.3 as sociocultural repertoires. However, hybridity should not be understood as a 'fusion or synthesis of various components, but an energy field of different forces' (Papastergiadis, 2000: 170). This 'energy field' enables researchers (and social actors) to contest the hegemonic discourses of nation, power or race (Bhabha, 2004 [1994]: 2), which I address in the analysis.

What emerges from increasing transnationalism is *superdiversity* (Vertovec, 2006, 2007):

> dynamic interplay of variables among an increased number of new, small and scattered, multi-origin, transnationally connected, socio-economically differentiated and legally stratified immigrants (Vertovec, 2007: 1024).

Under this superdiverse condition, various sociocultural repertoires constantly intersect, which complicates categorisation of people. Superdiversity surfaces in the 'motives, patterns and itineraries of migration, processes of insertion into the labour and housing markets of the host societies' (Blommaert and Rampton, 2011: 1). While Vertovec relates superdiversity to the British context, such socio-economic complexity characterises other societies, or even cities (e.g. Hong Kong). Thus, whereas my study is situated in the British context (as researched by Vertovec, 2007; Blommaert and Rampton, 2011), it may also offer perspectives on the sociocultural condition under superdiversity at large.

Cosmopolitanism and transnationalism have been criticised for idealised perceptions of creating world unity beyond national boundaries (e.g. Roudometof, 2005; Pichler, 2008). These attempts to rise above the borders may depict individuals as effectively representing a plurality of homogenous 'imagined communities' (Anderson, 2006 [1983]). Thus, neglecting the dynamics of

identification, cosmopolitanism may in fact contribute to further essentialism and strengthen class division by propagating an elitist approach (Werbner, 1999). Some scholars further argue that cosmopolitanism has no existence without the very local solidarity that it counteracts – 'there can be no cosmopolitanism without effective solidarity mechanisms' (Kendall, Skrbiš and Woodward, 2008: 411). Thus, cosmopolitanism is critiqued for highlighting the global-local opposition. In response, Tomlinson (1999: 196) proposes the idea of *glocalised cosmopolitanism*, also embraced by Szerszynski and Urry (2002), through which the global and the local are transcended to form *glocal* cultural forms.

My study relates cosmopolitanism and transnationalism to groups other than 'elites' – the participant couples could be described as 'middle-class' in Britain. While the participants voice essentialist discourses on culture and tradition (e.g. through their unproblematic use of national labels), their exchanges also reveal heightened, cosmopolitan 'self-problematisation' (Delanty, 2011: 652). Moreover, essentialism seems to be at times evoked strategically by them. For instance, some cultural/national stereotypes seem to enable the speakers to make sense of who they are and thus help them manage their transnational relationships, which is also explored by Dervin (2013). Nonetheless, I do not approach cosmopolitanism as combining fixed nation-states. The participants' interactions demonstrate how they strategically use the available sociocultural repertoires, creating unique 'third spaces' (Bhabha, 2004 [1994]) beyond idealised nations, cultures and traditions.

Therefore, pertinent to the study is also the notion of *transculturality* (Welsch, 1999) developed to oppose what Beck (2000: 23) calls a *container theory* – nationalistic conceptualisation of societies as closed containers for separate nation-states, languages, traditions and cultures. Proposed by Welsch (1999), transculturality transcends an essentialising approach to nations and cultures which, according to him, resounds even in terms such as *interculturality* and *multiculturality*. The 'inter-' implies that 'cultures constituted as spheres or islands...collide with one another', and while 'multi-' highlights a desire for their mutual understanding, still 'it proceeds from the existence of clearly distinguished, in themselves homogenous cultures' (Welsch, 1999: 196). Welsch (1999: 197) claims that:

> Cultures de facto no longer have the insinuated form of homogeneity and separateness. They have instead assumed a new form, which is to be called *transcultural* insofar that it *passes through* classical cultural boundaries. Cultural conditions today are largely characterised by mixes and permeations (original emphasis).

These 'mixes and permeations' complicate self-identification – 'work on one's identity is becoming more and more work on the integration of components of differing cultural origin' (Welsch, 1999: 199). Welsch (1999: 205) further argues that transculturality extricates the criticised cosmopolitans/locals opposition because '[t]ranscultural identities comprehend a cosmopolitan side, but also a side of local affiliation [and] [t]ranscultural people combine both'.

Transculturality has been applied in Sociolinguistics in works on hip-hop culture (Alim, Ibrahim and Pennycook, 2009) or in relation to computer-mediated communication (Prieto-Arranz, Juan-Garau and Jacob, 2013). When the focus is laid on multilingual interactions (e.g. Garcia, 2009a–b; Creese and Blackledge, 2010; Li, 2011), instead of transculturality some scholars talk about *translanguaging* – 'accessing different linguistic features or various modes of what are described as autonomous languages, in order to maximise communicative potential' (Garcia, 2009b: 140). While translanguaging goes beyond linguistic codes, it seems that transculturality with its cultural angle is more applicable to my study. The examined interactions in transnational families produce high levels of transculturality in which multiple sociocultural repertoires continually permeate. Nevertheless, the participants' exchanges include 'hybrid language use' (Garcia, 2009a: 303), as exemplified in Section 7.2, thus the idea of 'translanguaging' remains pertinent. As the data include recordings of ritualised cultural celebrations, it is relevant to outline the notions of ritual and ritual communication.

2.2   Ritual

> Ritual is the voluntary performance of appropriately patterned behaviours to symbolically affect or participate in the serious life.

<div style="text-align: right">(Rothenbuhler, 1998: 27)</div>

Despite its succinctness, Rothenbuhler's definition above lists the inherent components of *ritual* – voluntarism, performance, pattern, symbolism and participation. Similar characteristics are highlighted by Myerhoff (1977: 199), who defines ritual as 'actions intentionally conducted by a group of people employing one or more symbols in a repetitive, formal, precise highly stylised fashion'. Below, I present how these interconnected aspects of ritual feed into my data analysis. I discuss the potential of ritual culinary practices to project the speakers' self- and other-positioning, which in turn may reconstruct their identities (e.g. cultural, national, group, gender). Abounding in *rich points* i.e. 'locations in discourse where major cultural differences are signalled' (Agar, 1994: 232), transnational celebrations must impact on the dynamics of the speakers' relationships, their identities and rituals alike.

2.2.1   Ritual vis-á-vis socialisation and collective consciousness

Ritual has been researched across academic disciplines for decades. Psychology focuses on the developmental aspect of rituals. For instance, Erikson (1966, 1968) suggests that human ritualisation develops along the process of social maturation. Thus, ritual is something gradually acquired by anyone who is becoming a mature, socialised individual. The process of socialisation through ritualisation is touched upon in my analysis. Interestingly in the transnational families it is not only the younger generations being socialised through it. Reproducing their native rituals, the participants attempt to socialise their foreign partners into their sociocultural repertoires. They in turn seem to educate others (e.g. friends, other family members) in the newly acquired rituals. Therefore, the aspects of ritual dissemination and socialisation are pertinent to my study.

Like psychologists, sociologists relate ritualisation to individual development and social organisation. To them, rituals underlie collective action, enabling

societal unity. This view echoes in Durkheim's (1933 [1893]: 79) claims that shared practices generate *collective consciousness* – 'the totality of beliefs and sentiments common to average citizens of the same society forms'. For Durkheim (1965 [1915]) common consciousness is created through religious rites. With their unifying power, periodic sacred rituals reinforce 'the bonds attaching the individual to the society' (Durkheim, 1965 [1915]: 258). How rituals (not solely religious ones) may enforce social affiliations and reconstruct identities is within the remits of my study, hence Durkheim's theories will be relevant, particularly when I explore the speakers' projections of traditional positioning (Chapter 4). However, more applicable will be anthropological works on ritual, which I outline below.

2.2.2   *Rites of passage, liminality and social dramas*

The social implications of ritual are among focal points in Anthropology. For instance, Radcliffe-Brown claims that 'what makes and keeps man a social animal is not some herd instinct, but the sense of dependence' (Radcliffe-Brown, 1945: 43). He believes that participation in ritualistic congregations exhibits and strengthens identification with a larger social unit. This viewpoint echoes the organic metaphor – perceiving a society as a living organism, with ritual being one of its organs. As Radcliffe-Brown (1964 [1922]: 229–230) observes, 'mass of institutions, customs and beliefs forms a single whole or system that determines the life of the society'.

Some anthropologists contest social consequences of religious rites. For example, Malinowski (1974 [1925]) perceives them more as an individual experience stemming from the fear of death. According to him, religious rites lessen feelings of fear and sorrow. While my data include rituals with a religious reference, the analysis is less concerned with the spirituality of those rituals, focusing instead on their potential to project the speakers' positioning, and hence to reconstruct their identities. I also relate ritualisation to the developing trends of secularisation and individualisation (Warde, 1997; Z. Bauman, 2001), exploring how the speakers adapt rites to their modern condition.

Pertinent to my analysis are also the ideas presented by Rappaport (1980 [1968]) in his studies of New Guinea tribes. Rappaport transcends the view of ritual as exclusively human to recognise other 'participants' in rituals, those living

(animals, in his study pigs specifically) and material (e.g. food, clothes and emblems). In his framework, humans and matter create a cultural 'ecosystem' whose harmony is transmitted by rituals. Correspondingly, my research looks at the dialogue between the inherent components of ritual (human beings and semiotics), to investigate their potential to mediate the speaker's 'stance' (Du Bois, 2007), i.e. acts of positioning, which can reflect/reconstruct their identities. Van Gennep (1973 [1910]: 299) stresses that all rites should be considered 'in relation to what precedes and follows [them]'. This idea also resounds in 'Rites of passage' (van Gennep, 1960 [1909]) in which life critical moments ('life crises') are presented as a sequence of three stages: *separation*, *transition* and *incorporation*. Every rite of passage (e.g. birth, marriage, death) commences with acts of purification (e.g. bathing, changing clothes) to mark one's *separation* from the 'old' Self and signal readiness to adopt a new identity. What follows is the *transition* stage during which the celebrators transcend their everyday space. This 'in-betweeness' creates what van Gennep calls *liminality* (1960 [1909]) – a temporary state, constituting a threshold (in Latin *limen*) to a new phase of life. What follows is the *incorporation* phase, when the initiand is welcomed into the society as a 'new being'.

The three-part model of ritual relates not only to rites of passage (e.g. weddings) but also to other rituals (e.g. toasting). As noted by Szakolczai (2009: 141), liminality is pertinent to any 'events or situations that involve the dissolution of order, but which are also formative of institutions and structures'. Therefore, this framework is also applicable to the other types of celebrations I examine, for instance the calendric rites, which occur annually on the same day of the solar calendar (e.g. Christmas, birthdays), or those with alternate dates based on the lunar calendar (e.g. Easter). Likewise, liminality may prove salient in rituals performed during non-calendric events (such as the examined family reunions), re-establishing the participants' multiple identities.

Van Gennep's framework of ritual was developed by Turner (1957, 1967) into a comprehensive analytical model that goes beyond religious practices. Turner (1957) perceives rituals as *social dramas* – events that concurrently express and resolve social tensions. Thus, rituals not only reaffirm collective unity, but they also form a renewed social order. While Turner (1969) focuses on the transition stage of rituals, he relates it to the period of disorder and terms it *betwixt*

and between – the time of suspension between the old and the new state of things, characterised by instability. The aftermath can either bring a new social order, or may lead to a perpetual state of flux (Turner, 1974a: 261). Turner's idea of 'permanent liminality' is studied by Szakolczai (2000: 220), according to whom liminality:

> ...becomes a permanent condition when any of the phases in this sequence becomes frozen, as if a film stopped at a particular frame.

In my research, 'permanent liminality' could find its manifestation in the transnational relationships beyond celebratory events, pervading everyday interactions, as also demonstrated in Rampton's (1995a–b; 1999) studies on multicultural settings. The transnational families may seem to 'dwell' in suspension between various sociocultural fields. Despite its negative connotations, the state of 'betwixt and between' constitutes 'seedbeds of cultural creativity' (Turner, 1974b: 60). I analyse how it may allow the participants to create unique cultural meanings and 'third spaces' (Bhabha, 2004 [1994]), releasing them from 'dominant structures' (Rampton, 1999: 359).

2.2.3   Ritual symbolism and communication

Like identity, the study of ritual symbolism invites essentialism. Opposing the idea of static symbols, propagated for example by Lévi-Strauss (1972), Turner suggests that symbolic representations embrace multiple denotations and interpretations. Furthermore, symbols adapt to social changes, acquiring meanings that are articulate in given circumstances. The multivocality of ritual symbolism relates to this analysis of self-/other-presentation mediated through culinary artefacts and practices during celebrations. It is through objects that rituals can become communication without the actual transfer of information in its usual, verbalised form (Bloch, 1989).

Apart from artefacts, ritual symbolism resides in the basic form of communication (speech), which is central to my analysis. For Lévi-Strauss (1972: 48) speech is:

> …the semiotic system *par excellence*...the most perfect of all those
> cultural manifestations which, in one respect or another, constitute
> systems, and if we want to understand art, religion or law, and
> perhaps even cooking or the rules of politeness, we must imagine
> them as being codes formed by articulated signs.

While his model assigns constructive properties to language, Lévi-Strauss does not see it as the root of ritualisation and culture. For Lévi-Strauss, the cultural and social spheres stem from biologically-determined and universal mental functions. Leach (1976) opposes this idea of universalism in ritual, seeing its symbolism as culture-specific. Rituals are a means of self-expression generating messages within a given society and 'we engage in rituals in order to transmit collective messages to ourselves' (Leach, 1976: 45). Therefore, it is ritual that carries the meaning onto culture via its linguistic and semiotic media.

I approach the analysed culinary rituals as a symbolically salient *performance* – 'an aesthetically marked and heightened mode of communication framed in a special way and put on display for an audience' (R. Bauman, 1992: 41). While ritual performances allow for spontaneity, they tend to be structured around a recognisable *script* – 'a predetermined, stereotyped sequence of actions that define a well-known situation' (Schank and Abelson, 1977: 41). Rothenbuhler (1998: 9) argues that 'ritual is never invented in the moment of its action' and relies on 'pre-existing conceptions'. This inherent scriptedness of rites is demonstrated in the data by various wedding, Christmas and Easter food rituals, and will be addressed in the analysis.

In transnational contact, apart from displays of social solidarity with in-group members, ritual performances can carry 'we versus them' discourses. Here, the role of audience becomes paramount as foreign spectators may boost self-deliberation of the performers, and thus intensify their 'stance' (Du Bois, 2007) projections. R. Bauman (1992: 48) observes that:

> ...as the display mode of performance constitutes the performing
> self as an object for itself as well as for others, performance is an
> especially potent and heightened means of taking the role of the
> other and of looking back at *oneself* from that perspective (my
> emphasis).

To explore the complexity of reflexivity, the current analysis addresses the interplay of performers and audiences in the examined culinary rituals. Following Myerhoff's (1992: 167) assumption, I approach these rituals as *collusive dramas* during which the performers and the audience continuously interplay.

Performativity of rituals ties with Goffman's (1955, 1959) dramaturgical approach to communication. Interpreted by Goffman as a 'grand theatre', social life consists of *front-* and *back-stage* on which social actors perform *facework* to maintain their and others' *face* – 'the positive social value of a person' (Goffman, 1955: 213). 'Being' resembles an ongoing performance and rituals play a vital role in how one presents oneself (and others) in front of the public. Goffman's work will be useful when exploring how the transnational families attend to their 'face' (Goffman, 1955) in their ritualised culinary interactions both in front of their immediate environment (family members/friends) and the outsiders (the researcher and, indirectly, the society at large).

The concept of face was further developed in Politeness Theory by Brown and Levinson (1987 [1978]), who outlined the components of this public self-image: *positive face* – desire for a consistent, positive self-image; and *negative face* – desire for choice and freedom from imposition. Brown and Levinson further distinguish between *face-threatening acts* (FTAs), which damage the face of Hearer/Speaker, and *face-saving acts* (FSAs), which minimise the threat to Hearer's/Speaker's face. The latter can be achieved through: *positive politeness*, i.e. expression of solidarity; *negative politeness,* i.e. expression of restraint; and *off-record politeness,* i.e. the avoidance of unequivocal impositions (Brown and Levinson, 1987 [1978]: 65–69). Brown and Levinson's theory has received criticism for its utterance-level approach and overlooking of the discursive aspect of politeness (e.g. Locher and Watts, 2005; Haugh, 2007). The theory's universal claims and ignoring of culture-specific politeness preferences have also been contested (e.g. Locher and Watts, 2005; Ogiermann, 2009). For instance, comparing requests in English, German, Polish and Russian, Ogiermann (2009: 210) observes that 'in Slavic cultures requests are not regarded as threats to the hearer's face to the degree they are in Western Europe'. She further claims that mitigating devices used in requests in the examined languages are 'culture-specific' (Ogiermann, 2009: 210). Like Ogiermann, while I acknowledge the validity of Brown and Levinson's distinction between negative and positive politeness, I

remain sceptical about one-to-one correspondence between various politeness moves and their interactive outcomes. Thus, I perceive (im)politeness as 'a discursive concept arising out of interactants' perceptions and judgements of their own and others' verbal behaviour' (Locher and Watts, 2005: 10). This is reflected in my analysis of the participants' potential 'othering' discourses in Chapter 6, when I argue against their face-threatening properties.

When analysing these acts resembling 'ritual abuse' (Rampton, 1995a–b) I also refer to the cognate theory of 'mock impoliteness' (Leech, 1983; Culpeper, 1996, 2011; Haugh and Bousfield, 2012). These theories will ground my discussion on how ritualised mockery in transnational relationships reflects/fosters 'social intimacy' (Culpeper, 1996: 352), and to what extent it can affirm both social divergence and convergence (Kotthoff, 1996: 299–301). Relevant to this analysis will also be Goffman's (1974) theory of *framing*, inspired by Bateson's (1972 [1955]) notion of *frame* – a set of pre-existing expectations which delineate boundaries to each context. Whereas Bateson is preoccupied with the semiotic side of interaction, Goffman's framing is about activating relevant linguistic, non-verbal features and styles to appropriate produced text(s) to a particular sociocultural context. For both Goffman and Bateson, framing is accorded to *genres* – 'culturally recognised, patterned ways of speaking, or structured cognitive frameworks for engaging in discourse' (N. Coupland, 2007: 15). Ritualisation, including ritual abuse, constitutes a genre, thus the concept of framing will be applied in the analysis.

While ritual scripts could be equated with what Malinowski (1972 [1923]: 149) describes as *phatic communion* – 'language used in free, aimless, social intercourse', ritualisation carries deeper metacultural messages. My analysis demonstrates how ritualisation projects the speakers' subject positions and echo societal discourses. As Douglas and Isherwood (1979: 43) observe, 'rituals are conventions that set up visible public definitions'. Even scripted interactions like rituals offer a 'meta-commentary' (Geertz, 1993) on the sociocultural fields in which they occur, being accorded with the ideologies prevailing in those spaces. Below, I explain how such metacultural commentaries can surface in the ritualised food interaction through the speakers' 'stance' acts (Du Bois, 2007).

2.3   Stancetaking

In my study, food-related interactions are assumed to function as 'stance' (Du Bois, 2007) – an index of one's subject positions and sociocultural allegiances. Repeatedly performed, stancetaking can participate in the reconstruction of social actors' identities and societal roles (Jaffe, 2009: 4). In this section, I first present the theoretical underpinnings of stance that are pertinent to my study. Subsequently, I discuss how stancetaking can emerge in the analysed culinary interactions.

2.3.1   Stance markers, dialogism and bidirectionality

Constituting 'one of the fundamental properties of communication' (Jaffe, 2009: 3), stancetaking has been theorised in Sociolinguistics for decades. In the late 1980s, Biber and Finegan (1989) examined how textual features conveying *evidentiality* contribute to speakers' projections of knowledge/certainty. The 1990s saw the development of *positioning theory* (Davies and Harré, 1990; Harré and van Langenhove, 1991), which emphasises the reciprocity of stance – 'positioning constitutes the Self and the Others' (van Langenhove and Harré, 1999: 22). Thus, stancetaking not only projects Self but it inadvertently leads to other-positioning.

Bidirectionality of positioning also resounds in Goffman's work. Theorising the related concept of *footing,* Goffman (1981: 128) defines it as 'the alignment we take up to ourselves and the others present as expressed in the way we manage the production and reception of an utterance'. Criticising Goffman's analogous treatment of alignment and footing, Duranti (1997: 296) proposes an alternative definition – footing is 'another way of talking about indexing...a form of metapragmatic discourse [through which] [w]e let the hearer know how an utterance should be taken'. Thus, the terminology related to stancetaking has proved problematic and there have been attempts to disentangle these concepts. In Hale's (2011: 5) interpretation, by indexing how their utterance should be received (footing), the speakers reciprocally project their positioning (stance). This then leads to adjusting of their stances (alignment). This process is situated within a 'frame', 'which can shift and change (as can one's footing and stance) with any one interaction *event* (Hymes, 1974)' (Hale, 2011: 5). The positioning and footing

theories inform my study in their reciprocal approach to (dis)alignment between the speakers. However, I follow more contemporary theorisations on stancetaking presented by Ochs (1996), Du Bois (2007) and Jaffe (2009), which offer a holistic framework for analysing its impact on identification. Starting with Du Bois' (2007: 163) definition, stance is:

> a public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means (language, gesture, and other symbolic forms), through which social actors simultaneously evaluate objects, position subjects (themselves and others), and align with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimension of the sociocultural field.

By 'aligning', Du Bois (2007: 143–144) means 'calibrating the relationship between two stances'. This calibration may project not only alignment, i.e. agreement, but also *dis*alignment, i.e. disagreement, and both of these terms are applied throughout my analysis. Various sociolinguistic resources can convey aligning or disaligning. For instance, alignment can be expressed through paralinguistic features such as nodding or laughter, while their lack could imply the opposite – disalignment (though when used sarcastically, these features could also carry disalignment). Verbalised alignment can be displayed through agreement markers (e.g. 'uhum', 'yeah'), repetitions, paraphrasing or supportive evaluations. Contrastingly, speakers can use contradictory statements/evidence, negations, irony or sarcasm to disalign.

As alignment and disalignment can be predicated on affect or knowledge, Ochs (1996: 410) distinguishes between *affective* and *epistemic* stance, where:

> affective stance refers to a mood, attitude, feeling, and disposition, as well as degrees of emotional intensity vis-à-vis some focus of concern;

> epistemic stance refers to knowledge or belief vis-á-vis some focus of concern, including degrees of certainty of knowledge, degrees of commitment to truth of propositions, and sources of knowledge.

To illustrate, affective stance can be expressed through affective verbs ('love'/'hate'), affective adverbs ('beautifully'/'terribly'), affective adjectives

('wonderful'/'horrible'). Affective resources also include interjections ('yay!'), emphatic stress ('that long') and quantifiers ('lots'). Multimodal features can also express affect, e.g. intonation, voice quality, prosody and body language – facial expression, posture and gestures (Englebretson, 2007; Du Bois and Kärkkäinen, 2012), all of which will be examined in my analysis. Epistemic stance commonly emerges in opinions and evaluations, which can be reinforced through evidential markers (references to statistics, quotes) or modality (model verbs, such as 'will', 'must'). Evidentiality can be magnified through affective stance markers, e.g. hyperboles or superlatives, which demonstrates how epistemic and affective stance are mutually perpetuating. Epistemic stance does not belong solely to the declarative mood; it can surface in imperative and interrogative statements. Additionally, Clift (2006) observes the importance of represented discourse for building evidentiality during epistemic stancetaking (for a list of affective and epistemic stance predicates scrutinised in the data see Table 3.3, Chapter 3).

Apart from epistemic and affective stance, Biber, Johanson, Leech, Conrad and Finegan (1999) list *manner* (the style of speech) as another category of stance. I adhere to Ochs' categorisation (1996), in which manner markers are included under affective stance. However, I do not treat the epistemic-affective division as clear-cut and adhere to Du Bois and Kärkkäinen's (2012: 442) claim that affect is 'relevant to any act of stancetaking, though this potential may not always be realized in a direct way'. My analysis highlights the omnipresence of affect and its interconnectedness with epistemic predicates in the speakers' stancetaking.

Returning to the idea of bidirectionality of stance, Jaffe (2009) emphasises that self-positioning concurrently leads to other-positioning. Through their utterances speakers 'project, assign, propose, constrain, define, or otherwise shape the subject positions of their interlocutors' (Jaffe, 2009: 8). Thus, stancetaking does not occur in isolation – apart from the stancetaker, it involves a prior stancetaker and a stance object to which both stancetakers orient, as presented by Du Bois' (2007) model of the *stance triangle* (see Figure 2.1 below).
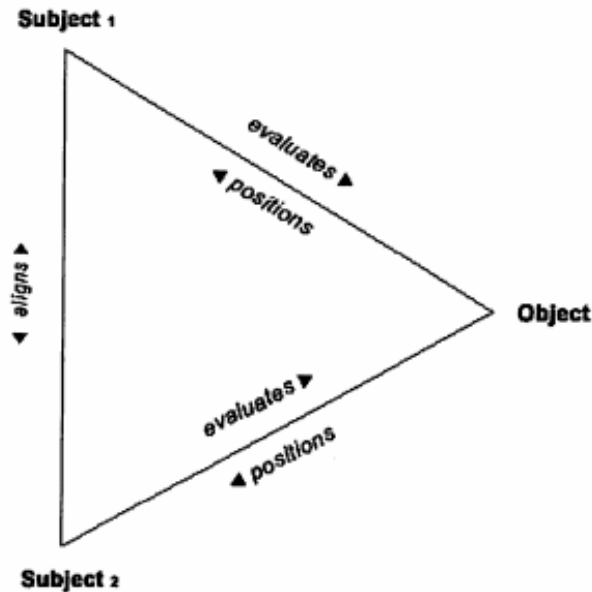
Figure 2.1 – *The stance triangle (Du Bois, 2007: 163)*

According to Du Bois (2007: 143–144), each stancetaking act involves:

1) evaluation – the process whereby a stancetaker orients to an object of stance and characterises it as having some specific quality or value;

2) positioning – the act of situating a social actor with respect to responsibility for stance and for invoking sociocultural value;

3) alignment – the act of calibrating the relationship between two stances, and by implication between two stancetakers.

The above framework highlights the dialogic aspect of stance. Du Bois (2007: 140) argues that 'a stancetaker's words derive from, and further engage with the words of those who have spoken before'. Moreover, stance can transcend the immediate context through *intertextuality* – 'cross-reference to another text or type of text' (Gee, 2014 [1999]: 46). Following this idea, Rubin Damari (2010) studies how dialogicality resounds in stancetaking by a transnational couple. Analysing their use of constructed dialogue, constructed stance, verb tenses and time adverbials, she demonstrates the longitudinal dimension of stance. Showing how temporary stances can in fact be more powerful, Rubin Damari (2010: 609) argues that the partners' intertextual stancetaking constructs their 'more enduring identities'.

Dialogicality and intertextuality of stancetaking are particularly relevant to capture the dynamics of identities and social roles, which is the aim of my study. Following Kärkkäinen (2006: 700), I approach stance as emergent through interaction, rather than 'situated in the minds of individual speakers'. In the exchanges analysed, the interactants' stances taken in the culinary context display ongoing shifts in their sociocultural affiliations. These shifts become detectable through the speakers' 'polyphony' (Bakhtin, 1981), i.e. multiple voicing (defined in Section 2.1.2). Thus, I examine what internal and external voices emerge in the speakers' utterances, for example, through their use of represented discourse. Such polyphonic, heteroglossic utterances can shape enduring identities (Du Bois, 2007; Rubin Damari, 2009, 2010), but simultaneously they reveal how one's identity is in constant flux.

Dialogicality of stance also emerges when speakers ascribe a given stance to others. Coupland and Coupland (2009: 230) examine how in medical interactions doctors 'speak for' their patients, thus marking the asymmetrical relationship between the two sides. Ascribing stance can be used strategically by attributors to index their divergent positioning. For instance, ascribing nationalist discourses to others, speakers may concurrently project their contrasting anti-nationalist approach. However, attributed stances do not have to carry antagonistic messages and can resemble 'jocular abuse' (Rampton, 1995a–b). They can be used by interlocutors to negotiate their divergent subject positions, potentially diminishing their sociocultural distance, which I demonstrate in the analysis.

While identity is often seen as 'the cumulation of stances taken over time' (Jaffe, 2009: 11), the stance framework recognises the 'unfixedness' of identity and its performative aspect, offering a comprehensive tool for analysing it as fluid and discursively negotiated. In Coupland and Coupland's (2009: 227) words, stance highlights how constructivist sociolinguistics departs from 'an essentialised view of identity and relationships, toward the view that language plays a constitutive role in social life'. Thus, stance offers an optimal framework for my research on the ongoing discursive negotiation of social identities and roles in the participant transnational families.

According to Johnstone (2009: 30), the recurrent production of a particular stance can form the *ethos of Self* – 'discursive enactment of epistemic and moral

authority linked to a unique "lingual biography" '. Johnstone (2009) examines stancetaking performed by a famous politician (Barbara Jordan), whose consistent positioning creates her unique 'ethos of Self'. Through repeated references to 'thoughtfulness, intellect and adherence to principle', Jordan projects an 'authoritative' stance (Johnstone, 2009: 39). Her oratory pace, clear articulation and intense voice contribute to the display of Jordan's authority. This demonstrates how stance can become a lifestyle (or 'ethos') which, in turn, indexes one's unique identity. Johnstone's 'ethos' is reminiscent of Bourdieu's (1990: 53) idea of *habitus*, which he interprets as 'systems of durable, transportable dispositions'. These lasting schemes of thought and action are believed to evoke parallel perceptions and practices among other individuals in a given class/group. In my analysis, I will discuss if the transnational families' projections of stance can result in creating their 'ethos of self' (Johnstone, 2009), or the cognate 'habitus' (Bourdieu, 1990).

Researchers also examine stancetaking through semiotics, e.g. movement, gaze and gesture, especially in tourism (e.g. Urry, 2002 [1990]; Jaworski and Thurlow, 2009a). Exploring tourists' interactions with the locals, Jaworski and Thurlow (2009a: 254) claim that 'each and every communicative act, whether verbal or nonverbal, is bounded and reflexively configured or mediated by other semiotic structures of the environment'. This assumption is fundamental to my study in which the speakers position themselves not only through utterances (culinary talk) but also through their actions (culinary practices), and various elements of the sociocultural field (culinary artefacts).

So far in this chapter I have presented the relevant theories on identity (Section 2.1) and ritual (Section 2.2), explaining how they will inform my analysis of identification processes in transnational families during their food-related interactions, which tend to be ritualised. In the current section (Section 2.3), I have outlined the concept of stancetaking, which is the central theory employed in my analysis. To further situate stance in my research, below I explain the intersection of stancetaking and culinary talk/practice, demonstrating how they can project the participants' identities.

2.3.2   Stancetaking through culinary talk and practices

Scholars have long studied food's potential to reflect and shape identity (Codesal, 2010: 2). Culinary consumption is considered 'a crucial part of social and cultural solidarity' (Pennycook and Otsuji, 2015: 118). In Anthropology, migrants are often depicted as 'agents of dietary change' (Mintz and Du Bois, 2002: 105). Cultivating culinary practices from the homeland, migrants shift the foodscapes of receiving countries (e.g. Abbots, 2011; Marte, 2011). This replication of the 'old' in new settings may be interpreted as migrants' alignment with their traditional practices.

However, culinary performances also reveal other stances in transnational contact. For example, food may be used to distance oneself from other sociocultural groups, and thus be 'divisive' (Mohr and Hosen, 2014: 104). To illustrate, Dominican immigrants in New York City assert their autonomy through native culinary practices, 'ground[ing] themselves in a foreign land and...reinventing cultural strategies developed in Dominican Republic' (Marte, 2011: 197). Bodomo and Ma (2012: 18) demonstrate how emergent African restaurants in China become hubs for ethnic bonding among African migrants, with food 'impos[ing] their cultural influence on their host community', and marking them as a distinct social group. Similarly, consumption of *cuy* (guinea pig) sent by relatives from the homeland allows Ecuadorian male migrants in New York to maintain a bond with their far-flung relatives, 'colaps[ing] both time and space' (Abbots, 2011: 211). Additionally, *cuy* re-establishes those migrants as *Jimeño* men (members of Jima, their village community back in Ecuador), *campesinos* (a peasant class in that village), and also as kins, again demarcating an imagined borderline between them and locals (Abbots, 2011: 211). Thus, cuisine may both 'solidify group membership and...set groups apart' (Mintz and Du Bois, 2002: 109).

Molz (2007: 78) in her study on 'culinary tourism' argues that 'food acts as a transportable symbol of place and of cultural identity'. Thanks to their materiality, native foods can travel with migrants/tourists to new locations, be sent over by families/friends, or mass imported to other countries. With the key ingredients available on hand, migrants settling abroad can use native cuisine as a symbol of their Otherness, distancing themselves from the locals. Even when native ingredients are not obtainable in the new location, home cuisine can be disseminated in the new context through recreated images and stories.

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Contrastingly, displays of culinary practices in front of foreigners may reflect social actors' desires to diminish the cultural distance from them. Thus, food may state one's developing allegiances with the new locality. This may be exhibited by the newcomers through sharing their 'exotic' food traditions with the locals, as explored by Tookes (2015, in press) in her study on the foodways of Barbadian migrants in Atlanta. Likewise, the locals may allow migrants to taste their culinary repertoire. Hence, such exchanges can be bidirectional and driven by both sides. These interactions may resemble tourist-host encounters, during which tourists tend to engage with foreign repertoires to fleetingly perform 'going native' at the visited locality (Jaworski, 2009; Thurlow and Jaworski, 2010). This way, migrants and locals may construct themselves as hospitable hosts/culinary guides, leading the other side through the undiscovered foodscapes, in the immediate location or virtually in the distant land of migrants.

Such performances in front of the Other may be intentionally exaggerated to depict Self as exotic. MacCannell (1973) describes it as *staged authenticity* – deliberate overstatement of certain cultural aspects, performed to intrigue the foreign audience and superficially satisfy their craving for the authentic. Studying the Greenlandic community in Denmark, Askegaard, Kjeldgaard and Arnould (1999: 3) reveal how immigrants' performances are 'inflected with the touristic "gaze" (Urry, 2002 [1990]) on the one hand, and the desire for authenticity...on the other'. While staging native foodscapes abroad may result in multiple changes to the traditional dishes, this does not compromise their legitimacy – these altered foods are 'a practice of authenticity' and they 'embody continuity' (Tookes, 2015, in press). Exoticising Self and staging authenticity are recurrent themes across my data. The members of transnational families repeatedly overstate chosen native culinary practices not only for their foreign partners, but also in front of their in-group members (e.g. relatives visiting from the homeland). I will therefore explore the intersection of the foodscapes' authenticity and the speakers' identification during these culinary displays. Following Du Bois' (2007) model of the 'stance triangle' (see p. 51)*, the participants' identities seem to also be indexed through their positioning towards their interlocutors' foodscapes. For instance, refusing to 'consume' the Other, they express potentially conservative, nationalistic views, and thus seem to project a traditional stance. Conversely, displaying engagement with their partners' exotic culinary repertoires, the speakers appear to index their

cosmopolitan 'capacity to consume' Otherness (Szerszynski and Urry, 2002: 470). Thus, apart from marking sociocultural continuity, food interactions in transnational contact may become an intentional statement of the opposite – modernity and change (Janowski, 2012: 175).

As I will demonstrate in the analysis, the speakers' culinary interactions combine various, occasionally contradictory discourses, which lead to acts of contrasting positioning. These varying positions are detectable through the multiple voices the speakers employ in their utterances. To illustrate, although the participants occasionally show what Berry (1997: 9) calls 'cultural maintenance' – cultivation of native traditions (here culinary practices), on other occasions they display openness towards global foodscapes. Correspondingly, at times they frame their native culinary practices as exotic in front of the Other, to then normalise them in other exchanges. Such differing discourses do coexist in the participants' interactions and occasionally the speakers reflect on their incongruity. When analysing the speakers' reflexive accounts on their culinary repertoires I will refer to the theories of *metaculture* and *reflexivity*, which I present below.

2.4   Metaculture

Tomlinson (2002: 25) defines metaculture as a 'cultural product that comments on culture itself'. In other words, through its material/immaterial manifestations, culture offers commentaries on the very culture. While itself immaterial, metaculture can be extracted from material cultural objects (Yamaguchi, 2007: 123). This way culture 'addresses its own generality – that is the whole domain of meaning – and historical conditions of existence' (Mulhern, 2000: 204). To illustrate, annual Christmas celebrations can reveal social actors' ideological assumptions on religion, tradition and socialisation. Metaculture can surface here not only through replication of traditional Christmas customs, but also through reflexive accounts that social actors produce during such celebrations. Therefore, metaculture with its central idea of reflexivity is a useful analytic tool if one wants to go beyond what such social interactions involve and how they are performed. It will allow me to conduct an in-depth analysis of meta-messages in the participants' interactions, and their implications for the speakers' identification.

Urban (1991, 2001) locates culture in 'concrete, publicly accessible signs, the most important of which are actually occurring instances of discourse' (2001: 1). He conceptualises metaculture as circulation, through which all cultural forms (material and immaterial) endlessly evolve. The motion of culture results from its *inertia* (in-built potential to be re-enacted) and its *accelerative forces* (for instance, print). As these forces lead not only to the circulation of culture but also to its transformations (Urban, 2001: 5–20), Urban distinguishes between *metaculture of oldness* (metaculture of tradition) and *metaculture of newness* (metaculture of modernity). Under the former, new cultural objects and patterns of behaviour are close replications of the old. Conversely, the metaculture of newness promotes 'the novelty of a cultural expression – for which previous cultural elements are seen as mere precursors leading up to the new element' (Urban, 2001: 66). To explain the correlation between these notions, Urban (2001) gives 'print' as an example. With its dawn, the same book could be reprinted and distributed in the society. The circulation of printed literature gives people a sense of having something in common and belonging to 'imagined communities' (Anderson, 2006 [1983]). Thanks to its duplicative potential, print drives the metaculture of tradition. Nevertheless, printing is also crucial for the metaculture of newness. Being able to access a larger number of books, people can compare them, and be inspired to create new cultural expressions (e.g. reviews, films and paintings). In this case, 'culture replicates itself via striving for newness' and the new objects 'must be seen as creative response to other objects, not merely fixed replicas as in the metaculture of tradition' (Lee, 2001: xiii–xiv). This is not to say that metaculture of newness is only emergent through production of new forms of culture in its material sense (e.g. books, films and newspapers). Newness resides also, if not primarily, in everyday talk, which offers an unlimited potential for creative expression. Individuals continuously 're-assemble' the previously encountered cultural elements to produce novel expressions. As Bakhtin (1981: 337) observes, 'our speech is filled to overflowing with other people's words'. In my data, the speakers' interactions during their cultural celebrations reflect the Bakhtinian idea of heteroglossia (reproduction of prior utterances), and thus seem to represent the metaculture of newness, which I will discuss in the analysis.

Urban (2001: 225) further compares metaculture to:

...a system of mirrors...able to deflect a beam from its course and redirect it to another target. A metaculture of tradition redirects interest in prior objects – such as ritual performances – to new ones that are yet to come.

During transnational celebratory events such deflection is multidirectional. Various celebration-related artefacts (e.g. food, clothes and gifts) and practices remain transient in space and time physically and verbally – through re-enacted discourses surrounding them. Below, I use Urban's theory of metaculture to outline the processes responsible for circulation and transition of sociocultural meanings. They will be useful in my analysis as the participant transnational families oscillate between various sociocultural repertoires and circulate contrasting discourses of tradition and (post)modernity. When examining these discourses, I look at specific processes behind metaculture, such as *replication* (reproduction of culture), *dissemination* (spreading of culture), *micromodification* (reproduction of culture involving modifications) and the aforementioned *reflexivity* (reflections on one's own and others' sociocultural practices, here culinary ones). These concepts are defined in Sections 2.4.1–2.4.3.

2.4.1   Metaculture through replication and dissemination

While interlinked, replication and dissemination are defined by Urban (2001) as distinct phenomena. If one considers a 'myth' or 'legend', *externalisation* of them, i.e. making them publicly accessible to the audience during retelling, is what Urban calls *dissemination*. As myths/legends become retold publicly, those exposed can acquire the ability to retell them; their act of retelling constitutes *replication* (Urban, 2001: 42). Similarly, celebratory rituals such as toasting, wishes or blessings, when re-enacted in public, and hence disseminated, become exposed to potential future replicators. Depending on their replicators' abilities, the scripts can later be re-enacted. Urban (2001: 99) argues that:

patterns of word usage circulate, sometimes through conscious acts of memorization and reproduction...More typically, however, replication occurs through unreflective imitation.

Indeed, when raising a toast at a wedding, one does not think 'I am imitating what I remember being done at the last wedding I went to'. Nor can one specify the point in life when one acquired the skill of toasting. Hence, the act of replicating the toasting schema seems mechanical. That is not to say that the content of a toasting script is unreflective. Despite its scriptedness, a toast has potential to convey deeper metacultural meanings. Moreover, similarly to other celebratory rituals, a toast leaves space for creativity through micromodification. Thus, cultural patterns are not static constructs but discursive, evolving processes (Hepp, 2009: 26), as will be shown in my analysis.

Replication of cultural patterns can be either voluntary or imposed. For example, consumption of turkey on Christmas Day may be organised by parents but not so desired by children. Such decisions can be enforced verbally through imperatives ('Get a turkey!'), which become 'an incremental force that counteracts the dissipative forces at work on traditional culture' (Urban, 2006: 70). However, this accelerative force can also boost metaculture of modernity ('Don't get a turkey!'). In each case, the movement propelled by imperatives involves *transubstantiation* – 'the conversion of meaning into thing-in-the-world' (Urban, 2001: 146). Urban (2001: 147) argues that imperatives not only describe culture but also mould it. As the transnational celebrations in the data employ various sociocultural repertoires, I examine how imperatives are used by the participants to negotiate those repertoires. It is acknowledged that the speakers may mutually impose their culinary practices onto each other. If not directly ordered, they can be encouraged by the interactants nonverbally (i.e. through gestures, gaze). Also, while certain practices may seem replicated voluntarily, they may be performed by the participants only because they feel obliged to do so. My analysis will comment on the issue of voluntariness behind the replicated practices.

As the celebratory events in the data involve objects perceived as representative of a given culture (e.g. foods, drinks, clothes), it is important to consider dissemination and replication of such artefacts. It could be argued that material objects are more easily disseminated than e.g. immaterial 'myths'. They

do not rely on frequent retellings, can travel globally in their original form and last endlessly. However, Urban (2001: 53) notes that 'with the disseminated cultural artefacts does not automatically come the culture of replication that produced them'. If one exports haggis (Scottish speciality) to Poland, it does not mean that any Pole who purchases it and tastes it will immediately acquire the ability to produce haggis. Nor will they know how to consume the product, unless the packaging includes instructions. Immaterial nuances such as cultural occasions for haggis consumption and historical facts attached to this dish are unlikely to travel with the material object itself, because:

> transmission of the fullest measure of immaterial culture contained in the thing can only be had by close observation and interaction with the actual producer(s) of the thing [of haggis, for example] during the course of production (Urban, 2001: 45).

It is through social interaction that cultural objects fully travel to new locations and people. The immaterial component that they carry can only be acquired when the actual producers of a given item disclose the production process and usability rules to new consumers and potential replicators.

Cultural celebrations are common sites for replication and dissemination of culinary practices within/across generations. When combined with migratory experience, like in the participant transnational families, food replication and dissemination become complex, accelerated processes. The motion of culture is then driven not only by replication and dissemination, but it is also propelled through micromodification, i.e. subtle changes introduced in these transnational households. Below, I explain the importance of this process for my study.

2.4.2   Metaculture through micromodification

Although replication and dissemination enable continuity of cultural patterns, circulation of culture inevitably involves micromodification. Though not instantly perceptible, 'in the course of its motion, culture passing in this way always undergoes micromodification' (Urban, 2001: 258). Salazar (2006: 836) shows how the processes of cultural micromodification are stirred by tourism, which 'turn[s] places and people into easily consumable attractions'. Although tourism stories

tend to recycle simplified versions of local heritage, they remain 'the site of constant contestation [and thus micromodification] of meaning' (Salazer, 2006: 848). As such alterations are subtle, cultural meanings and forms may be perceived as unchanged, contributing to the impression of static cultures. There is no measure of when something is still old/traditional and when it begins being new/modern. Hence, the demarcation line between metaculture of tradition and metaculture of newness remains fuzzy.

Yet, it seems that even subtle changes can become perceptible when various sets of sociocultural repertoires come into contact with each other. Urban (2001: 68) notes that:

> as local traditions passed through the domestic group undergo
> microchanges, changes that are imperceptible to the replicators,
> those changes accumulate over time. When that local tradition
> comes in contact with another…the differences stand out.

When exploring the culinaro-celebratory interactions in the transnational families, I examine whether and how the participants discursively contribute to the micromodification of 'old' culinary practices, and hence produce 'new', transformed, practices. The analysis includes various instances of creativity resulting from deliberate alterations of existing scripts during these transnational celebrations. I will also touch upon creativity achieved through 'mixing' of various sociocultural repertoires, which is salient in the data. Such modifications often stem from the speakers' reflexivity, which I outline below.

2.4.3   *Metaculture through reflexivity*

Nazaruk (2011: 73) defines *reflexivity* as 'reflecting on *oneself* as the *object* of provocative, unrelenting thought and contemplation' (original emphasis). In discourse research, reflexivity is seen as a feature of communicative acts – reflexive interactions include some sort of speakers' self-examination. Through this self-evaluation social actors display self-consciousness, discursively reconstructing their identities on various levels. According to Coupland (2010: 2),

nowadays individuals experience 'an increasing mediation of culture and greater cultural reflexivity'.

This self-reflexivity simultaneously offers perspectives on what is perceived as the Other. Myerhoff and Ruby (1982: 5) argue that 'reflexiveness does not leave the subject lost in its own concerns; it pulls one toward the Other and away from isolated attentiveness toward oneself'. Therefore, a discourse analysis focusing for example on the use of personal pronouns (I/we/us versus you/they/them) can reveal how speakers position themselves towards not only Self but also the social groups they do not affiliate with and how this positioning shifts (De Fina, Schiffrin and Bamberg, 2006: 4). Turner (1979: 465) explains that through reflexivity 'the community seeks to understand, portray and then act on itself'. Moreover, speakers' reflexivity contained in their evaluative/comparative comments can contribute to the strengthening or opposing of certain cultural/national stereotypes, myths and ideologies within a society. Reflexivity not only displays one's self-awareness, but it can also result in creativity. In my analysis, I will demonstrate how the transnational families at times consciously 'play' with their sociocultural repertoires. Mixing and modifying their existing culinaro-celebratory practices, they create personalised, reflexively salient versions of them.

I examine the participants' reflexivity exhibited in two ways: 1) self-driven during the familial celebrations, which they video-recorded; and 2) elicited through the semi-structured interviews, which I conducted after those celebratory events. Combining instances of 'spontaneous' and 'prompted' reflexivity, the analysis offers a broader perspective on metacultural properties of the interactions examined. Whether relating to the 'old', replicated food practices or those modified and 'new', the reflexivity projected by the participants through 'I'/'we' narratives, comparisons and self-evaluations can also reveal broader commentaries on culture and its transition.

The linguistic and semiotic creativity exhibited by the participants during their reflexive accounts and practices opens the discussion to the concept of authenticity. Does creativity rule out authenticity? Do modified celebratory practices lose their legitimacy to be seen as traditional? Next, I explain how the notion of authenticity relates to my study.

2.5   Authenticity

The concept of *authenticity* has been revisited by scholars in the past four decades (e.g. MacCannell, 1973; N. Wang, 1999; Y. Wang, 2007). However, it is not a novel topic and it can be traced back to works of Kant (1929), or even classical Greek philosophers (Nehamas, 1998). For example, Socrates is known to have appraised authenticity in his famous dictums such as 'Unexamined life is not worth living' or 'Know thyself', discovered in the Temple of Delphi. Although contemporary social scientists remain sceptical about the viability of authenticity, the pursuit of 'true' experiences continues (N. Coupland, 2003: 417).

Researchers who explore authenticity (e.g. N. Wang, 1999; Steiner and Reisinger, 2006; Y. Wang, 2007) are increasingly interested in non-objectified, experience-related types of it. This is not to say that object-related authenticity is altogether neglected. For instance, Østergaard and Christensen (2010) merge the two categories into so called 'ritual authenticity'. Studying the authentic in the context of pilgrimage, they observe a strong connection between authenticity embedded in an object/place and existential authenticity experienced by pilgrims. Østergaard and Christensen (2010: 244) argue that 'postmodern pilgrimage is about individuals engaging themselves in mythologizing and ritualising practices of a liminal nature in order to re-conceptualise themselves'. In other words, ritualisation of an ordinary physical activity such as 'walking' and mythologising of the journey through existential reflections, allow pilgrims to enter the liminal and rediscover themselves.

While the liminal and religious dimensions of the celebrations analysed vary, I approach authenticity in a similar fashion, combining the existing theories of object-related and experience-related authenticity. Exploring the material and symbolic dimensions of celebratory objects (various culinary artefacts), I consider whether and how they are employed by the participants to authenticate their celebratory experiences. As in the context of pilgrimage, such authentication seems to be sought by the transnational families in order to re-conceptualise themselves. For instance, the participants at times insist on consuming native or foreign dishes to index their traditional or cosmopolitan positioning, respectively. Additionally, they mythologise their culinary practices, and hence legitimise them

through narratives. Consequently, eating is transformed into a symbolic, intentional performance, which authenticates the participants' identities.

Authenticity has been explored extensively in tourism. The transnational interactions which I examine seem to share the dynamics of tourist encounters – with the family members coming from various cultural backgrounds, their exchanges involve mutual exploration of their sociocultural repertoires. During their celebrations the family members seem to embark on 'culinary journeys', playing the roles of hosts/tourists. Therefore, works on authenticity in tourism are relevant to my study. Following N. Wang's (1999) and Steiner and Reisinger's (2006) research, I argue that the transnational celebrations, similarly to tourist encounters, may furnish valid experiences of existential authenticity. In other words, the metacultural performances that these celebratory events involve can become 'authentic' in their own right – they may create a unique condition of 'being true to oneself' (N. Wang, 1999), offering a genuine source of identity for the participants. In Sections 2.5.1–2.5.2 below, I define object-related authenticity and experience-related authenticity, and explain how they relate to my analysis.

2.5.1   Object-related authenticity

Authenticity in objects tends to be evaluated based on their origin and authorship. Trilling (1972: 93) claims that such evaluation of authenticity derives from the museum context, in which a 'person expert in such matters tests whether objects of art are what they appear to be, and therefore worth the price'. Similarly, in everyday life, customers attach value to authentic objects, not only items of art. When seeking to taste authentic/traditional world cuisines within their locality, customers opt for native-run/native-frequented restaurants, believing they are 'uncontaminated by the market forces' (Thompson and Tambyah, 1999). In the same way tourists seek 'authentic' material representations of a given culture they are exposed to during travelling. They hire local tour guides to be taken to authentic places at holiday destinations, for instance to authentic restaurants serving local food. While visiting developing countries, tourists may choose to travel to deprived areas in order to experience an authentic picture of reality, beyond the booming city centres (MacCannell, 1973: 595).

Upon global mobility, goods transcend their original locations, becoming accessible worldwide (Urry, 2007: 4–5). Although 'now more than ever, the authentic is what consumers really want' (Pine and Gilmore, 2007: xii), the concept of authenticity is becoming harder to grasp. To illustrate, if one relates object-related authenticity to culinary practices (which this study centres on), it seems that whether food is 'authentic' depends not only on who it is prepared by and where, but also on the ingredients used. The mobility of food seems particularly important to migrants, who can recreate homeland specialities provided they can access the right ingredients. As argued by Koc and Welsh (2002: 47), ' "feeling at home" is not simply limited to a nutritionally sufficient diet, but also to culturally appropriate foods'. Hence, food is recognised as a vital 'ethnic marker' (e.g. Ochs, Pontecorvo and Fasulo, 1996; Codesal 2010; Rabikowska, 2010), and through its authenticity one may express sociocultural affiliation.

In my study I address how authenticity is indexed by the participants in their transnational households, which combine various culinary legacies. The family members seem to cultivate native culinary practices not only to express their identities, but also to put on display their culinary repertoires in front of their partners who come from a divergent background. In fact, authenticity of culinary experiences at times appears more relevant for the partners desiring to explore the other side's foodscapes rather than for the natives themselves. For instance, the migrant partners use authentic local cuisine to demonstrate their new allegiances with the host culture in front of their relatives visiting from the homeland. On other occasions the authenticity of food becomes compromised for the sake of convenience (e.g. availability of ingredients) or is expressed not by regimentally following the recipes, but through food experimentations, in which various repertoires are combined to achieve novel sociocultural forms. In this way the transnational families may create what echoes Bhabha's (2004 [1994]) 'third space' – their hybrid, self-tailored, yet equally genuine source of identity. While distant from the original culinary experiences, such improvisations may deliver 'new signs of identity' (Bhabha, 2004 [1994]: 1), offering social actors a different type of authenticity – *existential authenticity*, which I define below.

2.5.2   Experience-related authenticity

In response to the debates on the validity of authenticity in objects, the notion of *existential authenticity* has been developed by scholars such as Berger, MacCannell, N. Wang, Y. Wang and Steiner. Their works do not focus on the originality of objects (as opposed to their falsification), but instead address human authentic experiences.

Inspired by Berger's (1973) theories on sincerity and authenticity, N. Wang (1999: 358) defines existential authenticity as a 'special state of Being in which one is true to oneself, and acts as a counterdose to the loss of "true self" in public roles and public spheres in modern Western society'. The examined private celebrations exemplify moments when one can abandon a public 'mask'. While some could perceive celebratory occasions as 'staged authenticity' (MacCannell, 1973), their potentially exaggerated character does not exclude legitimacy. It reflects how individuals at times desire to mark their affiliation to a given family, community or nation. Yet, how can one classify 'being true to oneself'? N. Wang (1999: 352–360) mentions the following criteria for experiencing existential authenticity:

- having an 'authentically good time' (quoting Brown, 1996),
- truly participating (e.g. actively taking part in social events),
- showing feelings of nostalgia and romanticism,
- displaying spontaneity and creativity.

Since my project is grounded in Discourse Analysis, I look at the participants' semiotic and discursive projections of authenticity. Following the above criteria for existential authenticity, 'having an authentically good time' can be detectable in the data through multiple affective stance markers, such as:

- emotive language (e.g. love),
- repetitions (e.g. very very nice),
- diminutives (e.g. sonny),
- quantifiers (e.g. lots),
- intensifiers (e.g. so special).

Indicative can also be the speakers' body language (e.g. smiling, dancing) and their 'expressive paralinguistics' (Tannen, 2005 [1984]: 40), realised through, for instance, interjections (e.g. yay!), additional emphasis (e.g. so nice), phonological lengthening (e.g. so: tasty), or laughter. As for true participation, the members of transnational families seem to demonstrate it by actively taking part in the celebrations, which involves 'going native' (Jaworski, 2009; Thurlow and Jaworski, 2010), i.e. symbolic engagement with foreign repertoires. The celebrations analysed also furnish experiences of nostalgia and romanticism, which surface in the participants' affective and epistemic appeal to tradition, mythologising the past, references to ideals (e.g. friendship, love), or symbolism. These scripted celebratory events also occasion spontaneity and result in verbal/semiotic creativity, further reflecting and enhancing the speakers' experience of existential authenticity. Their creative interactions lead to individualisation of celebratory scripts, for instance, through off-side comments, 'translanguaging', i.e. 'hybrid language use' (Garcia, 2009a: 303), or 'intertextuality' – referring to other texts from the same or different genre (Cook, 2001). Likewise, shifts in tone and style (e.g. formality versus informality, pathos versus humour) further augment and exhibit the speakers' experience of existential authenticity. The discursive markers listed above are not exhaustive and remain conditional – it is recognised that there is no one-to-one correspondence between them and the criteria of existential authenticity outlined by N. Wang (1999: 352–360; see p. 66 above). Thus, the broader context of each piece of data will be considered when interpreting these indices.

While N. Wang (1999) defines existential authenticity as a personal experience, which projects individual identity, the social aspect of it seems prominent. Guignon (2004: 163) observes that being authentic 'involves deliberation about how one's commitments make a contribution to the good of the public world'. Taking into account that the events I analyse are organised repeatedly by groups larger than a family (e.g. nation, diaspora), and often at the synchronised times (e.g. Christmas, Easter), authenticity of these celebrations emerges as more than a personal undertaking. The social aspect of authenticity in the interactions may carry the speakers' 'sense of belonging and indebtedness to the wider social context' (Guignon, 2004: 163), which I address in the analysis.

2.6   Summary

In this chapter, I outlined the concepts of identity, ritual, stance, metaculture and authenticity, showing how they interlink and relate to my study. The data analysis will further demonstrate this interconnectedness. The transnational families' food interactions will reflect how the participants' identification continuously unfolds through their, not infrequently contradictory, stancetaking. I will explore how the speakers' metacultural, reflexive exchanges not only reproduce but also reshape existing societal discourses and cultural forms, complicating the idea of authenticity. Before I move on to the analysis, in the following chapter I outline the research methodology.

Chapter 3 – Methodology

In this chapter, I first explain my research approach and define what I mean by qualitative discourse analysis (Section 3.1). Next, I introduce the study participants (Section 3.2). In Sections 3.3–3.4, I present the types of data and the data collection procedure, respectively. This leads me to outline the analytic process (Section 3.5). Here, I describe the preliminary analysis, explaining the data selection process, transcription and thematic coding (Section 3.5.1). To outline the stage of detailed analysis (Section 3.5.2), I explain how the central theoretical framework of stance, which has been reviewed in Chapter 2, was applied to the data analysis. Finally, I address ethical concerns (Section 3.6) and summarise the chapter (Section 3.7).

3.1   Discourse Analysis (DA) and Linguistic Ethnography (LE)

My project draws on Discourse Analysis (DA), which can be broadly defined as 'the analysis of language as it is used to enact activities, perspectives, and identities' (Gee, 2014 [1999]: 4). Building on this definition, Bishop, Coupland and Garrett (2003: 41) describe DA as:

> close empirical examination of written and spoken texts, within their
> social, historical and cultural contexts…allow[ing] us to uncover
> meanings and implications behind patterns of linguistic representation
> that may be overlooked by less fine-grained textual analyses.

While discourse examination, or what Bishop *et al.* (2003) call a 'fine-grained textual analysis', tends to focus on talk in specific micro-contexts (in my study, five transnational families), it nonetheless has the potential to identify certain patterns in these interactions. These interactional patterns can in turn be pertinent to a broader societal context, showing how an in-depth analysis at a micro-level can deepen our understanding of discursive trends at a macro-level.

I draw mainly on DA research in Sociolinguistics. In Hymes's (1974: 195) words, 'the term "Sociolinguistics" means many things to many people, and of course no one has a patent on its definition'. My work belongs to Sociolinguistics

as exemplified by Coupland and Jaworski (2009) in their *New Sociolinguistics Reader,* and thus combines various traditions in sociolinguistic research. To illustrate, as signalled in Chapter 2, in my analysis I refer to works from Interactional Sociolinguistics (e.g. Goffman, 1955, 1959, 1974, 1981; Gumperz, 1964; Brown and Levinson, 1987 [1978]; Rampton 1995a–b). This tradition centres on discursive practices in social contexts and 'considers how societal and interactive forces merge' (Blackledge and Creese, 2010: 62). My work is further informed by Sociocultural Linguistics – 'the broad interdisciplinary field concerned with the intersection of language, culture and society' (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005: 586). Both of these traditions approach identities as discursively constructed through social interactions, stressing the importance of studying these exchanges in their specific sociocultural contexts. This is the fundamental assumption underlying my study. Occasionally, my analysis also relates to concepts from The Ethnography of Communication, which focuses on the rules of speaking and components of speech acts, for instance, I refer to Hymes's (1974) idea of 'key' (defined in Chapter 6). I also refer to works grounded in Conversation Analysis (e.g. Tannen, 2005 [1984]); Ogiermann, 2013b).

My research also followed a Linguistic Ethnographic (LE) approach (e.g. Rampton *et al*., 2004; Rampton, 2007; Blommaert, 2008; Creese, 2008; Blackledge and Creese, 2010). LE 'takes a post-structuralist orientation by critiquing essentialist accounts of social life' (Blackledge and Creese, 2010: 61), and maintains that:

> close analysis of situated language can provide both fundamental and distinctive insights into the dynamics of social and cultural production in everyday activity (Rampton *et al.*, 2004: 2).

To ethnographically explore how the members of the participant Polish-British families discursively negotiate their sociocultural practices in the culinary context, I focused on their mealtime interactions during various celebratory events (the scope of events is explained in Section 3.3). From the perspective of LE, I recognised that social meanings transcend the transfer of ideas – 'identification, stance and nuance are extensively signalled in the linguistic and textual fine-grain'

(Rampton, 2007: 585). It is the very linguistic and textual fine-grain of interactions in these transnational families that my analysis focused to.

Since I focused on food-related interactions, I decided that the participants' celebratory events should be video-recorded in order to include the participants' physical engagement with culinary artefacts and other nonverbal elements of interaction, e.g. mimicry, gesture and posture, which represent an 'unfolding locus for the display of meaning and action' (Goodwin, 2000: 1517). Hence, by employing video-recordings my linguistic ethnography included *visual ethnography* – ethnography, which aims to grasp how speakers use 'material and sensory prompt[s]…to talk about their self-identities and experiences' (Pink, 2007: 28). Video-recordings have been previously used in many studies analysing mealtime conversations among friends (e.g. Tannen, 2005 [1984]), families (e.g. Ochs *et al.*, 1996; Blum-Kulka, 1997), migrants (e.g. Rabikowska, 2010), and ethnically-diverse school children (e.g. Karrebæk, 2012, 2014), but only recently have been employed in research on identification in transnational families (e.g. Ogiermann, 2013b). Apart from the recordings of naturally occurring interactions, for a broader perspective, I wanted to include the participants' reflexive accounts on their culinary practices. This was possible thanks to the semi-structured interviews I conducted with the families after the recorded events. Both the video-recorded culinary interactions and the audio-recorded interviews were subject to an in-depth, qualitative discourse analysis to scrutinise how they occasion the speakers' acts of linguistic and semiotic stancetaking (e.g. Du Bois, 2007; Englebretson, 2007; Jaffe, 2009). I explain how I analysed those stance acts in Section 3.5.2.

To motivate my qualitative approach, qualitative research methods are well-suited to investigate identification processes in close relationships (Allen and Walker, 2000). Predominantly, the research on identity in transnational families opted for qualitative rather than quantitative methods (e.g. Piller, 2002; Rubin Damari, 2010; Bystydzienski, 2011; Dervin, 2013; Gonçalves, 2013; Ogiermann, 2013b; though cf. Chiaro, 2007 and Moscato *et al.*, 2014). Whilst enabling me to examine the dynamics of identification in a transnational contact, my analysis was also intended to cast light on broader societal discourses relating to the concepts of culture, tradition and nation. These discourses and complex identification processes cannot be grasped by quantitative methods (e.g. questionnaires, surveys), thus qualitative research methods (specifically, video-recordings and

semi-structured interviews) were a natural choice for me (Sections 3.3–3.4 further present my rationale for these research methods). Below, I introduce the families who volunteered to participate in my study.

3.2   Study participants

The project involved five transnational Polish-British families, named Family 1–5 (see Table 3.1 below; for further background information, see Appendix 1).

F=Family C=Couple		Pseudonym, nationality, gender, age and relationship (now, 2015; for age/relationship at the time of recordings see Appendices 2–3)
F1	C1	Liam – English male, 33, Eliza's partner Eliza – Polish female, 31, Liam's partner
		Kacper – Polish male, 26, Eliza's brother
F2	C2	John – English male, 36, Gabi's husband Gabi – Polish female, 32, John's wife
		Adam – Polish-British male, 7, John and Gabi's son Julia – Polish-British female, 3, John and Gabi's daughter
F3	C3	Kuba – Polish male, 27, Carol's fiancé Carol – Welsh female, 26, Kuba's fiancée
	C4	Mirek – Polish male, 29, Kuba's brother, Kamila's husband Kamila – Polish female, 29, Mirek's wife
	C5	Leon – Polish male, 55, Ela's husband, Mirek and Kuba's father Ela – Polish female, 53, Leon's wife, Mirek and Kuba's mother
F4	C6	Miles – English male, 39, Maja's husband Maja – Polish female, 33, Miles's wife
F5	C7	Peter – English male, 53, Beata's husband Beata – Polish female, 45, Peter's wife
		Kasia – Polish female, 16, Beata's daughter and Peter's stepdaughter

Table 3.1 – Participant families

In each participant family there is a Polish-British couple, who live in England, United Kingdom:

Participants	Couple's number	In a relationship since
Eliza and Liam	Couple 1	2006
Gabi and John	Couple 2	2006
Kuba and Carol	Couple 3	2010
Maja and Miles	Couple 6	2003
Beata and Peter	Couple 7	2005

Table 3.2 – Polish-British couples within the participant families

The Polish partners (listed first in Table 3.2 above) are mostly female, while British partners are mostly Englishmen, with the exception of Couple 3, in which the Polish partner (Kuba) is male and his British female partner (Carol) is Welsh. Couple 1 and 2 are acquainted and two recordings feature them together. Additionally, the recordings from Family 3 include two Polish-Polish couples (see Table 3.1 above): Couple 4 (Mirek and Kamila, relatives/flatmates of Couple 3) and Couple 5 (Leon and Ela, relatives of Couples 3–4, visiting from Poland). Also, one of the recordings from Family 1 includes a visitor from Poland – Eliza's brother (Kacper). Some recordings also feature children of Couples 2 and 7. In their interactions the participants mostly use the label 'British' when talking about their 'non-Polish' sociocultural repertoires. However, some speakers use it interchangeably with the label 'English', which occasionally makes it unclear if they mean 'British' or specifically 'English'. Nonetheless, categorising things as 'English' could reflect the widespread tendency to refer to Britain as England, while meaning Britain as a whole.

The participants were found in 2010 via personal social networks, which is an established recruitment method (Milroy, 1980). The recruited transnational couples included married couples (Couples 6 and 7), an engaged couple (Couple 2) and those in a civil partnership (Couples 1 and 3). Apart from Couple 6, who met in Germany, all couples met after the Polish partners' migration to Britain as young adults, following Poland's accession to the EU, 2004 (this historical context was described in Section 1.2.3). Although the number of participant transnational families may seem like a small representation of this demographic, Varenne

(1992: 197; my emphasis) argues that 'examining local patterns, such as [*even*] one family, the analyst can discern echoes of patterns which are far from local'. Thus, apart from demonstrating individualised practices in each of the families, my sample allowed me to also extract interactional patterns across these families, and potentially beyond them, though generalisability was not my primary goal. Below, I describe the data and the data collection procedure.

3.3   *Video-recordings*

The first data set consists of video-recorded celebratory events, most of which were self-recorded by the participants between 2010 and 2011 in their households in England. One exception was the video of Couple 7's wedding, which took place in a reception venue in Poland, 2007. All video-recordings are listed in Appendix 2 and provided on the enclosed pendrive (see Folder 1) in their full, 'raw' form apart from the wedding recording (Video 3), which was particularly lengthy (over 6 hours) and large fragments of it were not food-related. Thus, in this case, I only provided short video-clips with the relevant fragments (see Folder 1, Videos 3a–d).

Each family was asked to video-record their meal-time conversations during self-chosen celebratory events. The recordings included calendric celebrations (solar calendar: Christmas, birthday; lunar calendar: Easter) and non-calendric celebrations (family reunion, wedding). Each event was recorded for up to 1.5 hours, apart from the wedding (Video 3), which was recorded for over 6 hours (across two days). While I provided the video-recording equipment and the technical instructions, some participants preferred to record with their own equipment – the Christmas meals (Videos 4–7) were recorded using a webcam (unfortunately, in the case of Video 5 the sound quality is poor and some parts are inaudible). The wedding (Video 3) was recorded by a professional cameraman prior to my study (2007). However, as I had envisaged, it included various culinary practices, thus supplied me with relevant data. In one video-recording (Video 1) two acquainted transnational couples (Couples 1–2) celebrated Easter together. One couple (Couple 4) recorded their Christmas celebrations over two consecutive years (2010–11), hence those interactions can be analysed in longitudinal terms. Nonetheless, as I demonstrate in the analysis, and as previously shown by Rubin

Damari (2010), the longitudinal aspect of the speakers' positioning can also be detected in their individual utterances, which I further comment on in Section 3.5.2.

The interactions were driven entirely by the participants and no topics/activities were suggested. Whilst on the written consent form I briefly described the research aims (see Appendix 6), the specific focus on food-related interactions was not mentioned at this stage (before the video-recordings) – the participants were only asked to record their chosen celebratory events. The culinary angle was revealed only towards the end of the interviews I conducted, when some questions posed made it transparent. While naturally occurring, the video-recorded events, like any social events, constituted a kind of performance. As argued by Atkinson, Coffey and Delamont (2003: 104), '[e]vents are far from things that just happen. They are made to happen. They are enacted'.

All the recorded celebratory events involved interactions at and around the table. Mealtime conversations are useful methodologically as they offer a practical way of establishing the boundedness of a speech event, i.e. 'a contextual frame that limits what is to be identified as relevant data, their organisation, and the kinds of analysis and inferences to which this data will be subjected' (Cicourel, 1992: 293). Mealtime conversation is a naturally occurring form of speech, which constitutes an expected occasion for ritualisation and reflexivity on the sociocultural field, thus capturing 'talk and conduct regarding a range of cultural domains' (Ochs *et al.*, 1996: 9). Mealtimes allow for the observation of 'how culture is being created, negotiated, and renegotiated through talk' (Blum-Kulka, 1997: 17). These interactions 'forge relationships that reinforce or modify the social order' (Ochs and Shohet, 2006: 36), hence they visibly reflect the speakers' negotiation of their sociocultural identities. Whereas any topics can be discussed at the table, I focused on the exchanges related to culinary practices, either those performed during the recorded events or other food practices that the speakers reflected on.

With the focus on stancetaking towards culinary practices, employing video-recordings alongside audio-recordings allowed for the analysis of nonverbal stance predicates, such as mimicry, gesture, movement and artefacts (Englebretson, 2007; Du Bois and Kärkkäinen, 2012). From a practical point of view, video-recordings also proved useful for transcription as they enabled me to easily identify speakers, which otherwise could be challenging due to some of the

recorded celebrations involving many people. The transcripts of extracts from the video-data are accompanied in the thesis by the corresponding 'freeze-frames' and, where relevant, I provide contextual information furnished by the video format. Below, I explain how the video-data are complemented by semi-structured interviews with the participants.

3.4   Semi-structured interviews

After the recorded celebratory events, semi-structured interviews lasting up to 1 hour were conducted with each family at their convenience (see Folder 2 on the enclosed pendrive). Interviews are considered 'the most central mode of data collection in social sciences' (Briggs, 1984: 25). As commonly practised (e.g. Gwyn, 1999), I interviewed the families at their homes to make them feel more relaxed. The interviews were audio-recorded using an *Olympus WS-110* digital voice recorder, which was positioned non-intrusively to avoid creating an asymmetrical researcher-interviewee relationship.

While the video-recordings of meal-time interactions offered spontaneously occurring talk, the interviews were 'semi-structured' (e.g. Kvale, 1996; Briggs, 1984). Although pre-prepared, I ensured that the questions were open-ended so as to elicit 'free speech' – allowing the interviewees to participate at length. This allowed for an element of organisation without compromising the interviewees' freedom to elaborate on topics of interest to them (Bryman, 2004: 321). Thus, my interviews resembled more a 'conversational narrative' (Gwyn, 1999: 208) in order to build a rapport with the interviewees and encourage their active participation in the interview (Arksey and Knight, 1999: 101). Potentially, this was also easier to achieve thanks to me being an 'insider' – the interviewees knew that I was myself in a transnational, Polish-British relationship. The responses were extensive and revealed the couples' openness to share their experiences, which shows that giving the interviewees some control over the course of interview is crucial for stories of identity to be delivered (Nunan, 1992: 150).

When designing the interview questions I avoided suggestive formulations. For instance, rather than asking *How Polish/British are your celebrations of Easter?*, I asked the interviewees to describe those celebrations – *e.g. Tell me how you usually celebrate Easter?* Thus, in my questions I avoided references to

nations, cultures and traditions to explore whether and how the participants used and conceptualised those notions. This was not always possible and in one question (*How would you compare Polish and British celebrations of major holidays?*) I did eventually include national labels (Polish/British). Nevertheless, by the time I reached this question in each interview, the participants had already employed these labels themselves in their responses to the proceeding questions.

In terms of the content, the questions included both those designed in response to individual data (related to the events the individual families recorded) and generic ones – posed across the interviews (Appendix 3 provides the schedules of questions in each interview). All interviews started with the former type and moved towards the latter (generic questions). The generic questions enabled me to include the speakers' reflections on their celebrations at large beyond the specific celebratory context they recorded as well as on their general food practices, thus beyond the celebratory context altogether. At the end of each interview I returned to individual data, this time to ask more detailed questions about specific exchanges during the events the families recorded.

The interviews complemented the video-recordings by creating further occasion for the transnational families to engage in stancetaking and reflexivity on their culinary practices. Studying stancetaking by a binational couple, Rubin Damari (2010: 613–614) explains that explicit answers elicited through interviews abound in positioning acts. It could be claimed that the positions declared by interviewees may 'not always correspond to acts/actions or behaviours' (Dervin, 2011: 187) and may be just staged in front of the third party (interviewer). While I acknowledged this criticism and did not take the elicited statements at face value, pursuing the 'legitimacy' of the interviewees' statements was not the goal. Like the video-recorded events, I approached the participants' accounts produced during the interviews as a 'performance', which made them valid in their own right. Thus, I adhered to Atkinson *et al.*'s (2003: 104) claim that 'tellings or narratives about events are themselves performances (or social events)…[and] too are enacted'. I also recognised a similar observation from Cameron (2001: 172) that:

> when people talk about aspects of identity, they are not just
> operating on the 'meta' level; they may be reflecting on identity, but
> they are also *doing* identity at the same time (original emphasis).

Following the above assumptions, I treated the elicited statements as the interviewees' identity performances. Therefore, the 'observer's paradox' (Labov, 1972), i.e. the idea that the researcher's presence determines the talk and actions of those being observed, was not an issue. Both the video-recordings, where my presence was marked by the camera eye, and the interviews, in which I physically participated, were intended to record how the participants 'do' their identity work. Such performances constitute 'rich symbolic texts that lend themselves to multiple interpretations and provide critical insights into the cultures being studied' (Monahan and Fisher, 2010: 363). Moreover, as the research ethics nowadays demand that the participants are aware of being recorded, the observer's paradox is inevitable (Gordon, 2013: 300).

In relation to data interpretation, Kvale (1996: 281) claims that 'the interviewee's answers open a horizon of possible meanings to be pursued' by the researcher. Following this idea, I aimed to transcend what has been verbalised, going 'beyond the immediately given to what could have been said' (Kvale, 1996: 281). In other words, I presented various readings of the speakers' utterances and investigated how their discursive choices indexed their ongoing positioning, and thus identities. Additionally, where possible I related my interpretations of audio-data to the relevant video-data, and vice-versa. This juxtaposition broadened the readings – 'a variety of modes of participation is necessary for a rich description of any event or social situation' (Duranti, 1997: 102). Combining various types of data enabled me to grasp the fluid, dialogic nature of the participants' stancetaking and thus of their identification processes (Du Bois, 2007: 140; Jaffe, 2009: 8). In Section 3.5 below I outline the analytic process.

3.5   Analysis of data

3.5.1   Preliminary analysis: data selection, transcription, macro-themes and micro-themes

The data obtained were first thoroughly explored – this involved multiple viewings of the video-recordings and repeated listening to the recorded interviews. As transcribing all of the data would include exchanges unrelated to the focus of the study, I decided to select and transcribe only the fragments which related to food

and food practices, and represented the speakers' positioning acts towards them (for the transcripts see Folder 3 on the enclosed pendrive). To aid the analysis, those relevant extracts were converted into manageable files: the video-data were converted into short video-clips with Windows Movie Maker software, whereas the interview data were converted into short audio-clips with Audacity software.

All the data-clips were transcribed using Express Scribe software, a transcription pedal and a consistent set of transcription conventions (see Appendix 5). When choosing the transcription conventions I followed Ochs' (1979: 44) observation that the transcription is 'a selective process reflecting theoretical goals'. The conventions, which I adapted from Jaworski (2009), were detailed enough to grasp the participants' stancetaking processes in their interactions. I acknowledge that the process of transcribing creates multiple challenges. Firstly, it may be an endless process as there is always space for alteration and focus-changing (Mondada, 2007: 819). Secondly, transcription as a written form of language can never fully embrace the content of spoken language (Coates and Thornborrow, 1999: 596). Recognising these limitations, during transcribing I aimed at consistency and accuracy whilst avoiding overloading my transcripts with detail. While most of the participants speak English fluently and English dominates in their interactions, occasionally Polish was used both by Polish and British partners during the recorded events. Being a native speaker of Polish/fluent speaker of English with a previous experience as a translator, I was able to carry out the required translation myself and to ensure the vailidity of it.

All the transcripts were subsequently rigorously scrutinised to identify the main themes emerging in the speakers' food-related interactions. By themes I mean the speakers' recurrent discourses, i.e. 'ways of using language, of thinking, feeling, behaving, believing, valuing, and of acting' (Gee, 1990: 143), as defined in Section 1.3.3). The amount of data was manageable enough to conduct thematic coding manually, which is recommended for small-scale qualitative studies (e.g. Saldaña, 2013: 26). This involved marking the hardcopy printouts of transcripts with pens and highlighters, underlining recurrent discourses and including additional comments/cross-referencing on the margins. As the video-data (naturally occurring interactions) were collected first, I started the coding with this data set. As I had envisaged, the naturally occurring culinary interactions occasioned exchanges in which the members of the transnational families

negotiated their diverse culinaro-celebratory practices. The preliminary analysis of those exchanges suggested that the speakers repeatedly made references to tradition and aligned with it through their reproduction of what they perceived as their native, traditional culinary practices. Likewise, their reflexive talk during the performed culinary practices revealed such alignment. Contrastingly, the same speakers on other occasions repeatedly positioned themselves against traditionality, circulating discourses of 'choice', secularism and thus projecting what I described as postmodern positioning. These recurrent acts of traditional and postmodern positioning were identified as macro-themes, and were subsequently subject to detailed analyses (which I describe in Section 3.5.2 below), to then become the focus of the first two analytic chapters of my thesis – Chapters 4 and 5, respectively. My preliminary analysis of the video-data elucidated other macro-themes, namely the speakers' construction of differences between their sociocultural repertoires, on one hand, and construction of similarities, on the other. These prominent discourses of othering versus de-othering were likewise subject to detailed analyses, and then became the themes of the remaining two analytic chapters – Chapters 6 and 7, respectively. These four macro-themes, which I identified in the video-data (but did not disclose to the participants), provided a point of departure for the schedules of my interview questions with each family. Having transcribed the interview-data, I likewise coded them manually. The identified macro-themes overlapped with those in the video-data.

Within each macro-theme I identified various micro-themes. To illustrate, the speakers' acts of traditional positioning (1st macro-theme), which I analysed in Chapter 4, proved salient in appeals to continuity with the past (1st micro-theme), appeals to authenticity combined with projections of nostalgia (2nd micro-theme), projections of national discourses (3rd micro-theme) and self-exoticising (4th micro-theme). Thus, those micro-themes provided the structure for Chapter 4. Similarly, the other three macro-themes I selected (postmodern, othering and de-othering positioning) exhibited certain discursive patterns, which became the micro-themes, and thus provided the structure for the remaining analytic chapters, Chapter 5–7, respectively.

The thematic coding revealed that in many exchanges the macro- and micro-themes interweaved. For organisational purposes I had to decide which

extracts were most representative of which theme/discourse. Nevertheless, throughout my analysis I emphasise that these themes/discourses co-occur across the data, which highlights the complexity and ongoing dialogism of the speakers' positioning and identification. Below, I describe how I conducted the detailed analysis of the data extracts.

3.5.2   Detailed analysis: stancetaking framework

For many contemporary discourse analysts, the key projector of identity is 'stancetaking' (e.g. Kärkkäinen, 2006; Du Bois, 2007; Englebretson, 2007; Jaffe, 2009) – positioning towards prior stances and various elements of the sociocultural field (Du Bois, 2007: 163). I have introduced the key theories around this concept in Chapter 2. In the current section, I explain how this central theoretical framework was applied to my discourse analysis of the data.

Discourse analysis can never encompass all linguistic and semiotic features – it rather focuses on those that are judged by the analyst to be relevant to the examined interactive processes (Gee, 2014 [1999]: 88). Likewise, my detailed discourse analysis of each data extract focused specifically on how food-related interactions mediate the speakers' stancetaking. Therefore, I examined how stance acts in the culinary context reflect/shape the speakers' identities and societal discourses. Having identified the macro- and micro-themes, that is, the speakers' recurrent discourses in their culinary exchanges, I then explored how those discourses, and thus the speakers' acts of positioning, were projected through specific linguistic and semiotic features. I focused on their use of 'affective' stance predicates, i.e. references to 'mood, attitude, feeling and disposition' (Ochs, 1996: 410), and 'epistemic' stance predicates – references to 'knowledge or belief…including degrees of certainty…[and] commitment' (Ochs, 1996: 410). At this level, I continued to manually code/mark these features on my transcripts. However, when possible, I also used Word search tool (CTRL+F) to scan the electronic versions of the transcripts for specific discursive features. For example, when analysing the speakers' discourses of sociocultural 'mixing'/hybridity (Section 7.2), I searched the files for mixing-related vocabulary, which was one of the predicates of the speakers' projections of their hybrid identities. All the stance predicates which I included in my analysis are collated in Table 3.3 below.

AFFECTIVE STANCE PREDICATES	EPISTEMIC STANCE PREDICATES

1) affective vocabulary/phrases:
 	
- verbs, e.g. love/hate
- nouns, e.g. fun/obsession
- adjectives, e.g. amazing/awful
- adverbs, e.g. beautifully/terribly
- diminutives, e.g. sonny
- forms of endearment, e.g. honey
- sympathetic circularity/solidarity markers (e.g. Romero-Trillo, 2002), e.g. you know, look
- figurative language, e.g. metaphorical expressions, synecdoche
- interjections, e.g. yay!
- swearing, e.g. bloody hell
 	
2) affective body language:
 	
- mimicry, posture, gestures and gaze (e.g. Du Bois and Kärkkäinen, 2012), e.g. smiling, shrugging, clapping, eye-rolling
 	
3) 'degrees of affective intensity' (Ochs, 1996: 411):
 	
- quantifiers, e.g. lots
- hyperboles, e.g. everywhere
- intensifying adverbs, e.g. definitely
- emphatic stress, e.g. that long
- superlatives, e.g. the worst
- repetitions, e.g. very very nice
- 'expressive paralinguistics' (Tannen, 2005 [1984]: 40) – pitch, phonological lengthening, pace, intonation, rhythm, laughter
	1) declarative mood:
	
	- evaluation/opinion stating
	- correction/negation
	- comparison
	- paraphrase
	- hesitation
	- mitigation devices: 'downgraders', e.g. just; 'tentativisers', e.g. kind of; 'attitudinal hedges', e.g. I mean; mitigating verbs, e.g. tend to (Wilamová, 2005: 88–90)
	
	2) imperative mood:
	
	- orders, e.g. try it!
	- suggestions, e.g. let's go.
	
	3) interrogative mood:
	
	- question intonation
	- question tags, e.g. isn't it?
	- rhetorical questions, e.g. is that normal?
	
	Across the three moods:
	
	- 'othering' (Spivak, 1985), e.g. through pronominal choice (I/we versus you/they)
	- appeal to specific characteristics (e.g. traditionality, choice)
	- modality (Palmer, 2001): deontic, e.g. you must.; commisive, e.g. we will not.; directive, e.g. we have to.
	- stance attribution (e.g. Coupland and Coupland, 2009), e.g. they loved it.
	- generalisations (Scheibman, 2007), e.g. the British/Polish people
	- evidentiality markers (Clift, 2006), e.g. references to statistics; evidential vocabulary, e.g. actually; 'represented discourse' (Johansson, 2000: 78), i.e. voices of other speakers and self-quotes
	- intertextual stance markers (Rubin Damari, 2010):
	  - adverbials of time, e.g. always
	  - verb tenses, e.g. I used to do it.
	  - represented discourse
	- parody/sarcasm/irony (e.g. Shoaps, 2009)

Table 3.3 – Affective and epistemic stance predicates.

The above table was collated through both a 'top-down' approach (driven by the relevant literature on stancetaking) and 'bottom-up' approach (driven by the data). To illustrate, I was aware that the affective stance predicates such as affective vocabulary, affective body language (e.g. Du Bois and Kärkkäinen, 2012) and 'degrees of affective intensity' (Ochs, 1996: 11) had been scrutinised in much research on stancetaking (e.g. see Jaffe, 2009). Thus, I looked for these indices of affect in the data ('top-down' approach), and they recurred across the analysed positioning acts. However, the use of figurative language was something that emerged from the data ('bottom-up' approach), and I classified it as an expression of affect (though it may simultaneously convey epistemicity; I comment on the affective-epistemic overlap below). Another predicate representing the 'bottom-up' approach is 'represented discourse' (Johansson, 2000: 78), i.e. quoting, which proved salient in the data. Having consulted the relevant literature, I then explored the speakers' quotes/self-quotes as an epistemic index of evidentiality (Clift, 2006), but also a potential projection of intertextual, longitudinal stances (Rubin Damari, 2010). Likewise, (self-)quoting proved to simultaneously carry the speakers' affect, recurrently augmenting their acts of traditional (Chapter 4), postmodern (Chapter 5) and othering positioning (Chapter 6). The analysis of mitigation devices was also data-driven as they featured prominently in the speakers' othering acts (Chapter 6).

In terms of the affective-epistemic distinction, the markers presented in Table 3.3 above are not clearly distinguishable and tend to combine affect with epistemicity. For instance, the imperative mood of orders (e.g. Try it!) or modality (e.g. We <u>must</u> do it) may index not only the epistemic (e.g. beliefs/authority) but also the speaker's affective commitment. Likewise, evaluations, rhetorical questions, stance attribution, parody, sarcasm or irony, which are based on epistemicity may be predicated with affective vocabulary, thus revealing the speaker's emotional attitude. According to Du Bois and Kärkkäinen (2012: 442), affect resounds in any stancetaking act and the data illustrated the connectedness of the affective and the epistemic as the speakers' stance projections tended to be predicated on both. Additionally, the analysis attended to the intertextual properties of the speakers' positioning, such as, adverbials of time, verb tenses and represented discourse, which may link the current stance act to the related prior interactions. Thus, these discursive features may indicate the development of

stances over time, which allows discourse analysts for a longitudinal analysis based on a single utterance (Rubin Damari, 2010: 625).

Approaching stance as an ongoing process shaped by/shaping social interaction, in my analysis I also addressed the 'dialogism' and 'polyphony' (Bakhtin, 1981; Du Bois, 2007) of the speakers' positioning acts. My exploration of the speakers' stancetaking was further informed by theories of politeness (Brown and Levinson, 1987 [1978]; Locher and Watts, 2005; Haugh, 2007) and mock impoliteness (Leech, 1983; Culpeper, 2011; Haugh and Bousfield, 2012), which proved relevant to the analysed stancetaking acts, particularly within the othering projections (Chapter 6). I also drew from broader social theoretical frameworks of transnationalism, cosmopolitanism, metaculture and reflexivity, which have been reviewed in Chapter 2, as these phenomena likewise impacted on the speakers' stancetaking practices, and thus on their projections of identification. For instance, I examined how, during their acts of positioning, the speakers referred to their experience of migration and being in a transnational relationship. Also, I analysed how their stancetaking and identities are shaped by/shape metacultural processes (Urban, 2001), such as reproduction and dissemination of specific culinary practices, and the speakers' reflexivity (Giddens, 1991; Lash and Urry, 1994), i.e. meta-commentaries on their complex foodscapes.

When conducting my detailed analysis of the relevant data extracts and scrutinising the above indices of stancetaking, I avoided relying solely on the initially produced transcripts. I repeatedly revisited the 'raw data' to prevent disembodying of the speakers' exchanges from the context in which they occurred. This often helped me to make final decisions about my interpretations. Not infrequently did it result in updating of the transcripts, which shows the importance of re-encountering the 'raw data' with a 'fresh eye' throughout the analysis, rather than neglecting it once the transcription stage is/seems finalised. In some cases, repeated viewing and listening were not sufficient and, after my detailed analysis of individual extracts, I contacted the participants via email/Skype to explore my interpretations. This involved presenting the participants with the relevant transcripts and asking additional questions, without imposing my readings. Below, I explain how I addressed ethical concerns generated by my research.

3.6   Research ethics

This study followed the ethics guidelines set by the School of English, Communication and Philosophy (ENCAP, Cardiff University) as set in its *Research Ethics Procedures.* The project was approved by the ENCAP Ethics Committee following submission of the relevant documentation: the research proposal, the research ethical clearance form and the data collection consent form (Appendix 6). I received 'full clearance', which is required for research including vulnerable participants (in my study, children under the age of 16).

Prior to collecting the data, the participants received a description of the procedure and were given the right to withdraw from research at any stage. Written consent was obtained from the participants to store, edit, transcribe and publicly present the recordings (also in potential future publications). In the case of participants aged under 16, I obtained written consent from their parents. These younger participants featured in the data minimally, and only one of them features in the thesis.

To ensure anonymity, throughout the thesis I use pseudonyms. Additionally, other personal information that could lead to the participants (e.g. location, occupation) was changed or, when necessary, left out. However, the participants agreed for the video-data to be left unanonymised. The data were stored safely (encrypted hard-drive on a password-secured personal laptop).

3.7   Summary

In this chapter, I have detailed the methodological approach employed in this study, introducing the participants, the types of data and explaining the procedure of data-collection, transcription and coding. I have also outlined the analytic and ethical approach. Now, I move on to the analytic part of my thesis, which is organised based on the identified macro-themes (traditional, postmodern, othering and de-othering positioning), and in which I present the detailed discourse analysis of data-extracts. The first analytic chapter, Chapter 4, explores the participants' projections of traditional positioning.

Chapter 4 – Projecting 'traditional' stance through culinary talk and practices in transnational families

With increasing mobility (e.g. Coupland, 2010: 3), postmodern aspirations (Giddens, 1991) and individualism (e.g. Warde, 1997), old principles such as attachment to one's homeland, tradition and collective practices may seem to be declining. More and more often social scientists talk about erosion of tradition and 'identity crisis' (e.g. Bendle, 2002) resulting from globalisation, which transforms the world into 'a single place, a single culture and single identity' (Naz, Khan, Hussain and Daraz, 2011: 2). While intensified individualisation and secularisation are under way (Rothenbuhler, 1998: 117–118), this part of my study demonstrates that collectivism and ritualisation can regain their salience in transnational families – the very site where one would expect these discourses to be contested.

To outline the overarching aim of this chapter and theoretical underpinnings, in my analysis I focus on instances of replication and dissemination of native food practices in the participant Polish-British families to discuss how and why their members display what they interpret as their culinary legacies. The analysis reveals the speakers' agency in the reproduction of native culinary practices, which become more than just micro-level, 'automated' rituals. Through these metacultural performances social actors seem to consciously index their identification, engage in reflexivity on their condition, simultaneously reproducing broader discourses on constructs such as culture, tradition and nation. This adheres to Tomlinson's (2002) and Urban's (2001) claims that acts which reproduce culture do not only propel it, but also comment on the very culture, becoming 'culture about culture' (Urban, 2001: 3). Following this idea, I approach the analysed food-related interactions as 'cultural product[s] that comment on culture itself' (Tomlinson, 2002: 25) and reconstruct the speakers' identities.

Exploring culinary rituals in these Polish-British families, I present how the speakers at times chose to present their 'collective' Self – Self that is a member of a social group (e.g. family, religious group, or nation). Ritualisation has long been studied as an expression of 'collective consciousness' (Durkheim, 1933 [1893]: 79). Unsurprisingly, the rituals performed in the data also seem to espouse

collectivism and project the speakers' shared identities. Therefore, I analyse how the participants become active agents in re-imagining their national and cultural unity during these ritualised food practices. I demonstrate how the imagined notions of nation and tradition continue to resound in social interaction despite thriving postmodern aspirations (Giddens, 1991). Continuously circulated by reflexive social actors (Lash and Urry, 1994), nations and traditions seem to constitute a source of identity for them.

Employing Du Bois' (2007) theory of 'stance' (outlined in Section 2.3), I examine when the speakers align with the traditional/authentic, and thus project it as part of their identities. According to Bayart (1996: 35), tradition is reflected in the reproduction of 'certain values and norms of behaviour...refer[ing] explicitly to the past'. Following this definition, I explore when and how the speakers chose to reproduce the 'old', presenting themselves as 'conformist' in various ways. Interestingly, such discourses of tradition do not exclude discourses of modernity and transition (which I examine in the following chapters). Indeed, the thesis aims to highlight the dynamics of transnational interactions, in which contradictory discourses coexist and multiple identities continuously shift.

In terms of the structure, the analysis of traditional stance is organised under the most salient themes, which emerge across the speakers:

a) displays of continuity with traditional culinary practices (Section 4.1)
b) displays of nostalgia and authenticity (Section 4.2)
c) construction of national 'we' (Section 4.3)
d) exoticising of Self in front of the Other (Section 4.4)

The above themes are detectable in the speakers' projections of traditional stance, both during their enactments of food rituals (video-data) and their reflexive accounts on the very performances (interview data). The themes frequently overlap in the data. However, as much as possible I discuss them separately.

To explain and illustrate the analytic process, I scrutinise how 'being traditional' is constructed by speakers through their repeated stancetaking. Like any type of positioning, traditional stance can be projected through various linguistic and semiotic resources. In terms of linguistic projections, I use Ochs' (1996) categorisation of stancetaking as 'epistemic' (related to knowledge) and 'affective' (related to emotions). To illustrate, displays of nostalgia and national

'we'-discourses in the data recurrently invite affective stance predicates such as affective verbs, adjectives and adverbs. Affect also resounds in acts of 'self-exoticising' (i.e. displaying Self as exotic), and authenticity staging, though epistemic references to knowledge/expertise also occur. Epistemic stance predicates include imperatives which, according to Urban (2001: 146–147), propel replication and dissemination of tradition. Thus, the analysis touches upon the implications of the use of commands/command-like instructions for identity projections during these transnational celebrations. For the list of affective and epistemic stance predicates scrutinised in the thesis see Table 3.3, Chapter 3.

The use of personal pronouns and labels denoting nationality/culture is also pertinent to this analysis. As stressed in the Literature Review (Sections 2.1.3, 2.4.3), these discursive features reveal the speakers' conceptualisations and positioning towards the notions of nation, culture and tradition, thus projecting their identification in relation to these phenomena (for the role of pronouns and national labelling in the construction of identity, see e.g. De Fina, 1995, 2003; Wodak, De Cillia, Reisigl and Liebhart, 1999; Urban 2001; Bucholtz and Hall, 2005). Personal pronouns are relevant to this project. In this chapter, these deictic expressions (also other deictic information – spatial and temporal) are analysed as meaningful indicators of traditional stance.

It needs to be noted that the speakers' expressions of traditionality in the data relate to various sociocultural dimensions. For example, some participants connect some of the cultivated culinary traditions to religiousness, putting to the fore their religious identity. The speakers' traditional stance emerges also through their references to well-established norms in relation to certain societal, familial or gender roles. At times, the above projections of traditionality overlap with expressions of nationality. To illustrate, some interactions combine the speakers' projections of religious and national identities, showing how religious and national discourses can be mutually perpetuating. Moreover, some religious displays in the data are part of regular family gatherings, contributing to the construction of familial identities. Such overlaps between various projections of traditional stance are prominent, which will be reflected in the analysis.

Although my study does not focus solely on self-presentations of the migrant side (in this study, the Polish family members), the majority of traditional practices replicated and disseminated by the participant Polish-British families

originate from the Polish side's repertoire. The participants themselves comment on this disproportion (e.g. Extract 6.2), which inspires the discussion on Eastern-European ritualisation vis-á-vis Western European secularisation. This is not to say that ritualisation is non-existent in British celebrations; it does receive attention in the analysis. Table 4.1 below lists those culinary rituals which will be analysed in this chapter. For the full list of ritualised food practices performed and/or discussed by the participants across the data see Appendix 4.

Type of culinary ritual performed/discussed	Ritual's outreach	Celebratory occasion(s) for the ritual in the data	Extract
consumption of 'traditional' dishes/drinks, e.g.:	universal but certain dishes are 'country-specific'	all occasions	all apart from 4.4–4.6
- carp on Christmas Eve (r*)	Central and Eastern Europe, including Poland	Polish-style Christmas Eve	4.8, 4.14
- meat-free *bigos*** on Christmas eve	Eastern Europe, including Poland	Polish-style Christmas Eve	4.11
- eggs at Easter (r)	many countries, including Poland and Britain	Polish-style Easter	4.1, 4.3, 4.7
- roast turkey at Christmas	many countries, including Britain	British-style Christmas Day	4.13, 4.15
drink toasts and wishes	universal	Polish-British wedding	4.12
		British-style Christmas Day	4.13
meal prayers (r)	many religions, including Catholicism	family reunion	4.4–4.5
wafer sharing on Christmas Eve (r)	Eastern Europe, including Poland	Polish-style Christmas Eve	4.15
Bible reading on Christmas Eve (r)	Eastern Europe, including Poland	Polish-style Christmas Eve	4.15
first star spotting on Christmas Eve (r)	Eastern Europe, including Poland	Polish-style Christmas Eve	4.15
dish counting on Christmas Eve (r)	Eastern Europe, including Poland	British***-style Christmas Day	4.15
the 'bread and salt' blessing at weddings (r)	Eastern Europe, including Poland	Polish-British wedding	4.9
champagne glass breaking at weddings	Eastern Europe (also Jewish weddings)	Polish-British wedding	4.9

***Table 4.1** – List of the culinary rituals analysed in Chapter 4*

*(r) = rituals with a religious reference
**stew made of sauerkraut, mushrooms and sometimes meat, a traditional dish in some Eastern-European countries, including Poland
***though a Polish/Eastern-European Christmas Eve practice, it was performed in the data during a 'British-style' Christmas meal

Following my analysis of the above culinary rituals, in Section 4.5 I will conclude how these reproduced and disseminated food practices become liminal identity construction zones in which 'we'-discourses prevail and through which the speakers' collective identities become highlighted. I will also recapitulate the main metacultural commentaries reproduced through these performances. Below, I begin my analysis by exploring the participants' recurrent displays of continuity with their culinary legacies.

4.1 Displays of continuity with traditional culinary practices

Whereas all the members of the participant transnational families show openness to the novel foodscapes of their foreign partners (which I will demonstrate in Chapter 5), the data analysed in this chapter show that at times the speakers highlight their alignment with/preference for their native culinary practices. This alignment is observable through the effort they put into replication and dissemination of certain food-related rituals in their Polish-British households. Consumption of native specialties seems particularly important for the migrant partners in these transnational relationships. As stressed by Abbots (2011: 211), native food preparation 'collapses time and space and reconstitutes migrants as [members of certain communities and families]'. In my study, native food also emerges as a 'bridge' between the spaces that the speakers engage with – their homeland and the country of their partners.

In this section, I analyse six data extracts (4.1–4.6), which combine to show how the participants display their continuity with certain traditional culinary practices. In the first exchange below, it is particularly the migrant side (Polish partners), who report their attempts to preserve the culinary traditions from their pre-migrant past.

Extract 4.1 – 'We're not gonna have a roast for Easter!'

Interview 1 with Eliza and Liam, and their friends, Gabi and John, who recorded their joint Easter celebration in 2011. Question 3: <u>Do you think the next Easter is going to be similar/different in any way</u>?

```
1    John:   probably will be the same
2    Liam:   maybe a different location
3                              [
```

4	Gabi:	probably the same (laughs)
5	Eliza:	yeah we'll definitely try to eat a meal [G: hm] probably
6		important (.) well actually this year we had this conversation
7		[
8	Gabi:	although I don't know now with my vegan diet (laughs) can't
9		eat anything
10	Eliza:	(laughs)
11	Liam:	eggs* (.) what are you going to do?
12	Gabi:	(laughing) yeah can't eat eggs
13	Eliza:	it's a big one actually (.) cos we had this discussion this year
14		when we were going to have a picnic didn't we? then the
15		weather went bad [G: hm] and we said 'Let's go to a pub and
16		have the roast' and me and Gabi were like 'No that's not right'
17		[G: yeah] 'We're not gonna have a roast'=
18	Gabi:	=for Easter
19	Eliza	that's just wrong [G: yeah] 'We have to do a Polish Easter'
20		[G: yes] well it's more important for us [G: hm] than for you
21		guys but
22	Liam:	Sunday roast would be okay
23	Eliza:	for you yeah

*eggs are one of the key ingredients of 'traditional' foods served at Easter in Poland

Aligning that their future Easters will be *the same* (1), during the interview the speakers sound somewhat unexcited about these celebrations. However, line 6 shows a change in their *footing*, i.e. change in 'alignment, or set, or stance, or posture, or projected self' (Goffman, 1981: 128), when Eliza recalls their divergent attitude to last Easter celebrations. Using 'represented discourse' (Johansson, 2000: 78), she quotes hers and Gabi's assertive disapproval to break with the traditional culinary practices – *No, that's not right* (16). While for their British partners the prospect of having a roast appeared perfectly fine (22), for Eliza and Gabi it was utterly *wrong* (19). In other self-quotes (17, 19), the migrants' alignment with their traditional food practices is highlighted epistemically through 'deontic modality', i.e. expressions of the speakers' will (Palmer, 2001: 70). Through 'commissive modality' (*We're not gonna have a roast*, 17), the speakers report their commitment to recreate Polish Easter, while 'directive modality' in another quote (*We have to do a Polish Easter*, 19) reveals their attempt 'to get others to do [it]' (Searle, 1983: 166). These quoted utterances become recontextualised – transferred from 'one discourse/text-in-context...to another' (Linell, 1998: 154). They reinforce the speakers' stance acts by taking 'full meaning in the context in which…[they are] embedded' (Johansson, 2002: 255).

The above epistemic stancetaking through represented discourse, evaluative comments and deontic modality contributes to the construction of Eliza's traditional stance. As Eliza repeatedly uses the first person plural pronoun 'we', the stance is also attributed to Gabi and contrasted with their partners' relative indifference towards such statements of culinary continuity. Yet, Gabi observes that this continuity may not be possible in future due to her newly acquired vegan habits (8–9) – with eggs being the key ingredient of Polish Easter dishes, she may not be able to continue these culinary practices. This demonstrates the impact of individualisation on tradition and the social actors' ongoing negotiation of their positioning towards it. Nevertheless, Gabi repeatedly aligns with Eliza's stance. Through sympathetic circularity markers *hm*, *yeah*, yes (e.g. 15, 17, 20), which 'enhance the concept of we-ness' (Romero-Trillo, 2002: 90), she co-constructs with Eliza this statement of continuity with their tradition.

During the same interview, Eliza points to 'distance' as a factor behind her intentions to replicate native celebratory practices.

Extract 4.2 – 'I wanna make sure I do it the Polish way'

Interview 1 with Eliza and Liam, and their friends, Gabi and John. Question 5: <u>Has the way you celebrate changed since you moved to the UK and got together?</u>

1   Eliza: I think I look after tradition [G: hm] more than I would if I was
2   in Poland [G: hm] but I don't know because I never lived in
3   Poland as a grown-up [G: yeah] as you said (speaking to
4   Gabi) but I think it's becoming important for me because I'm
5   not in Poland and I wanna make sure I do it the Polish way

While Eliza never experienced adulthood in Poland, she tentatively speculates that being away from the homeland increases her aspiration to *look after the tradition* (1). Eliza's traditional stance is mainly expressed through epistemic means, e.g. evaluation and comparison (1–2), but it is also indexed through 'affect', e.g. the affective verb *wanna* (5). In this statement, like in Extract 4.1 above, Eliza echoes migrant discourses of displacement, which tend to position the homeland as the main 'centre' of normativity – 'evaluating authority' (Blommaert, 2010: 39). What is being done in the receiving country continues to be oriented to the idealised sending country. Consequently, as argued by Rabikowska (2010: 386) in her research on ritualisation of food among Polish migrants in London, 'for migrants

the expression of collective identity becomes more important and more urgent than for the members of the nation at home'. This seems to be reflected in Eliza's statement.

Additionally, the use of national labels in both extracts (*Polish Easter*, Extract 4.1, *Polish way,* Extract 4.2) reveals how the speakers imagine their entire nations as following homogenous sociocultural practices. In this case, such essentialist representations seem to be intensified by the speakers' migratory experience and their desire for continuity with the pre-migrant past. The participants' statements of continuity included references to the past, demonstrating how food offers what Raman (2011: 166) calls *frameworks of memory* – 'it mediates between our present selves and our pre-migrant lives'. This is reflected in the following extract of naturally occurring data, in which Gabi recalls her mother's culinary practices.

Extract 4.3 – 'This is the salad that *babcia* made'

Figure 4.1 – *Video-recording 1 (Easter, England, 2011). From bottom-right corner (clock-wise): Liam, Eliza, Gabi, John, Adam. Gabi and John with their son Adam are celebrating Easter at their friends' house, Eliza and Liam's.*

1	Eliza:	*dobre Adam?*
2		is it good Adam?
3	Adam:	*tak*
4		yes
5	Gabi:	it's Polish Easter Adam
6	Adam:	yea:h
7	Eliza:	yea:h (copying Adam's intonation)
8		(fragment omitted)
9	Gabi:	this is the salad that *babcia* made
10		granny
11	Eliza:	*co Kicia* (speaking to her cat)
12		what's up Kicia?
13	Gabi:	*Adam to babcia zrobiła też kiedyś (.) ci smakowało (.) taka sałatka*
14		Adam granny made it once too (.) you liked it (.) that salad
15	Adam:	what?
16	Gabi:	*ta sałatka*
17		this salad (points to the salad, Figure 4.1)
18	Adam:	aha

This extract illustrates how replicated food practices can evoke memories from the past. Reminding Adam that the salad they are eating is the one his Polish *babcia* (9) used to make, Gabi not only displays the continuity of her eating habits, but simultaneously socialises her son into these practices. As Adam (Polish-British) lives in Britain, his exposure to 'Polishness' is limited. Communicating that *it's Polish Easter* (5), Gabi helps her child retain the memory of this experience; through such indexicality, Adam may start associating these practices with Polish tradition. Additionally, Gabi encourages her son to taste the traditional Easter salad and when he fails to react, she repeats her utterance in Polish (13). With no response from Adam, Gabi resorts to nonverbal means – points to the dish (Figure 4.1). Through such nonverbal means and the use of Polish language, Gabi potentially allows Adam to build further associations with Polish repertoires. It is both sharing Polish food and the linguistic resources that may contribute to Adam's socialisation into Polish sociocultural practices. Studying socialisation of ethnic minority children into Danish schools, Karrebæk (2012: 2) observes that 'discourse about food is actually doubly constructive of belonging'. This potential for identity construction seems observable in the above interaction between Adam and his mother, who attempts to infuse him with culture-specific food discourses.

Whether Gabi's 'cultural lessons' will lead to Adam's future replication of Polish culinary practices is uncertain. Nevertheless, by adopting a 'teacher's' role, Gabi seems to display her service to tradition and attempt to ensure its continuity beyond her generation. Therefore, the dissemination of Polish tradition could potentially occur here both across space (within the same generation, onto her British partner) and across time (passed onto descendants, here her son, Adam). This is how one's traditional stancetaking can peer into the future. It will be interesting to relate these performances of traditionality to the same speakers' anti-traditional, postmodern discourses in Chapter 5.

Stating continuity is expressed in the data not only through native food consumption but also through performances of food-related rituals. Despite arguable secularism of the recorded/discussed celebrations with three out of five participant Polish-British families being agnostic (see F1, F2 and F4 in Appendix 1), and one being half-agnostic/half-Buddhist (see F5 in Appendix 1), one family (see F3 in Appendix 1) continues to practise a clearly religious rite – meal prayers, as illustrated in Extract 4.4 below. In this fragment, the family (F3) open their

celebratory meal with the grace. The family members usually take turns in leading meal prayers. This time the part is assigned by Mirek to Ela, his and Kuba's mother, who came for a visit from Poland with Leon, Mirek and Kuba's father.

Extract 4.4 – 'Maybe this time Mum can do the prayer?'

Figure 4.2 – *Video-recording 2 (family reunion, England, 2011). Kuba and Carol with Mirek and Kamila are hosting their visiting relatives from Poland, Ela and Leon (Mirek and Kuba's parents).*

1	Mirek:	okay maybe this time Mum can do the prayer (.) *modlitwa*?
2		prayer
3	Ela:	*ojciec*
4		Father (looks at Leon)
5	All:	(laughter)
6		(fragment omitted)
7	Ela:	*Mirek no to ty*
8		Mirek then it's you
9	Mirek:	no no (.) <u>*Mama*</u>
10		Mum
11	Ela:	*o nie (.) ja się nie czuję na siłach (.) <u>ty</u>*
12		oh no (.) I don't feel up for it (.) <u>you</u>
13	Kamila:	Mr Leon?
14	Mirek:	in the name of the Father the Son and the Holy Spirit
15		[
16	All:	(make the sign of the cross, Figure 4.2)
17		(10.0)
18	Mirek:	God (2.0) make us aware of this special occasion of all of us
19		having so different life coming together now here (2.0) let us
20		be aware that it won't last but let us enjoy it and (2.0) feel each
21		other during this dinner and afterwards when we go out (3.0)
22		so that we remember this and (2.0) it stays with us (.) amen
23	All:	amen (make the sign of the cross)

Acting as a 'guard' of tradition and encouraging his mother to lead the ritual, Mirek exhibits his traditional stance. Despite the interrogative mode of his suggestion and hedging with *maybe* and the modal verb *can* (1), Mirek's utterance seems to function as a command – a direct instruction to commence a prayer (though it is rejected by Ela, 3). Urban (2001: 155) explains that explicit instructions remain 'at the service of maintenance of tradition', exemplifying it with a Yanomamö

headman, who orders his fellows to help him clean the plaza (2001: 150). Similarly, in the above extract, Mirek's suggestion propels the ritual of praying, and hence ensures the continuity of that practice.

Apart from the above epistemic stance predicates, the ritual carries affective stance markers, which seem to project the speakers' traditional positioning. These include references to feelings and their remembrance – the family are to *enjoy* the time together, *feel each other* and *remember* this event (20–22). Additionally, the prayer contains various linguistic resources which may create the feeling of unity, for example, the collective determiner 'all' (*all of us*, 18), adverb *together* (19) and reciprocal pronoun *each other* (20–21). Also the 'we'/'us' rhetoric is prominent with Mirek's repeated use of the 'solidarity' pronoun 'we', both in its nominative form – *we* (21–22), and objective form – *us* (18–20, 22). As Mirek prays on everyone's behalf, his traditional stance is ascribed to the entire family.

In terms of the prayer's structure, all three stages of ritual proposed by van Gennep (1960 [1909]) are distinguishable: the sign of the cross marks the *separation stage* (14–16) as the speakers enter the new space and separate themselves from the ordinary; what follows is the *transition stage*, in which the liminal realm of prayer offers catharsis; and finally, the *incorporation stage*, when speakers re-enter the ordinary sociocultal space. By following this religious script, similarly to Sicilian migrants who perform their native religious festivals in Germany to 'reproduce symbolic religious spaces of their homeland' (Valentin, 2009: 32), the migrant participants in the above interaction seem to make a statement of continuity. In other words, the prayer allows them to re-enact the religious scripts acquired in the homeland, thus marking the continuity of their religious identity. Moreover, the ritual seems to re-establish the familial identity of the speakers – it is a *special occasion* for them to be reunite despite their *different life* (18–19). During the interview, the participants reflected on this ritual:

Extract 4.5 – 'It was a good way of saying: "Listen guys, we care…" '

Interview 2 with Kuba and Carol, and Mirek and Kamila. Question 10: I've noticed that you prayed before your meals, can you tell me more about that?

1	Mirek:	yeah it was part of the ritual
2	Kuba:	every Sunday it was a different person (.) I think Mirek initiated
3		it [Ca: hm] and I think it was a good introduction (.) a nice touch
4		I suppose

```
5    Carol:   yeah but it's very odd for me not because I'm not religious (.)
6             because my religion is neither here nor there (.) but because
7             British people are not that open (.) we just don't like to talk
8             about those kind of things (.) so that was really difficult for me
9             to adapt to (.) I'm not used to that Christian structure around
10            meal times (.) why around the meal time? (.) it makes sense
11            around a communal time but not around dinner
12            [
13   Mirek:   yeah but it's a table (.) we're kind of gathering together yeah?
14   Carol:   yeah I liked the tradition (.) I just found it a bit uncomfortable
15   Kuba:    but I think it was a good way of saying 'Listen guys we care
16            about you, if you are happy we are happy, if you are upset we
17            are upset' and I think it's a good thing
18            (2.0)
19   Carol:   but it's not the way to do things (.) you should be there for them
20            all week not just at the end when you gonna say like a few
21            words (.) is it another Polish thing or just a religious thing?
22   Kuba:    okay
23   Carol:   sorry I'm just being honest
```

This exchange shows how statements of continuity with traditional practices can be subject to ongoing negotiation in these transnational households. When Mirek and Kuba explain why cultivating meal prayers is important to them, pointing to the 'bonding' idea behind the ritual (13, 15–17), Carol positions herself somewhat against this *Christian structure around meal times* (9–10) replicated by her Polish partner and flatmates. As she observes, *British people are not that open* (7), and while she appreciates the ritual, she finds it *uncomfortable* (14). Carol's position seems to adhere to Kotthoff's (2007: 173) observation that Western cultures aim to remain 'antiritualistic'. While in this case the division between Eastern and Western Europe is less prominent, the speakers do perceive differences in the level of ritualisation and spirituality between their native countries. How the speakers discursively construct 'ritualistic' Poland versus 'non-ritualistic' Britain is further explored in Chapters 5 and 6.

Arguably, such encountered contrasts in the receiving country and potential oppositions may intensify the migrants' desire to preserve their ritual practices, driving their traditional stance projections. In the same interview one migrant speaker reported that his need for such displays of traditionality and religiousness may stem from his fear of losing security, which is illustrated below.

Extract 4.6 – 'I'm kind of afraid to feel like losing this kind of security'

Interview 2 with Kuba and Carol, and Mirek and Kamila. The account followed on from Question 6: Has the way you celebrate changed since you moved to the UK and got together?

```
1    Carol:   maybe you feel the need to keep your identity because you are
2             in a different culture and I don't know how that feels because
3             I'm immersed in mine
4    Mirek:   yeah maybe (.) and that's probably why I'm kind of afraid to
5             feel like losing this kind of security associated with being
6             abroad
7    Carol:   yeah that's true (.) because the only time I do feel moderately
8             proud to be British is when I'm abroad (.) when I'm beset by
9             this other culture I do feel proud to be British so I'm just
10            contradicting everything I previously said (laughs)
11   All:     (laugh)
```

In the above exchange, Mirek seems to construct his homeland as a sociocultural 'centre' (Blommaert *et al.*, 2005a–b). It is that distant, idealised location that grants him security and identity, while being abroad may at times be associated with 'fear' of *losing this kind of security* (5). Thus, it seems that Mirek's displays of traditional stance and his 'statements of continuity' (Janowski, 2012) are predicated on his longing for feeling secure in a migrant context. As observed by Carol (7–8), such alignment with one's sociocultural heritage may also become prominent in the context of tourism. The data which I analyse in Chapters 5 and 7 will show how such discourses of 'fear of transition' and 'identity loss' intertwined with the speakers' contrasting projections of openness to 'change' and cosmopolitanism.

In this section, I have demonstrated how the speakers project their traditional stance through displays of their continuity with certain ritualised culinary practices, as illustrated with naturally occurring data (Extracts 4.3–4.4). Such traditional positioning surfaced further in the speakers' reflexive accounts on their reproduction of native food practices, which I exemplified with the relevant interview data (Extracts 4.1–4.2, 4.5–4.6). To further explore the speakers' projections of traditional positioning, next, I present the data in which traditionality is frequently romanticised by the speakers and seems to stem from their nostalgic pursuit of the authentic.

4.2   *Displays of nostalgia and authenticity*

Nostalgic food narratives and pursuit of culinary authenticity in migratory contexts have been widely researched. For example, Codesal examines how Ecuadorian migrants authenticate their foodscapes in New York through their ritualised consumption of a traditional dish – *cuy* (guinea pig). Sent over from the homeland, this authentic food can 'nurture a love bond besieged by distance' (Codesal, 2010: 9). A similar nostalgic angle is observable in Ray's (2004) study on food memoires in Bengali-American households. While like Janowski (2012) I want to avoid overemphasising nostalgia for authentic home foods among migrants, such romanticisation of native culinary practices occurred in my data and I examine it in this section. I discuss how the speakers' food-related interactions at times convey their nostalgia for the native.

The displays of nostalgia and authenticity seem mutually perpetuating – the speakers' nostalgia, i.e. romanticisation of the past, drives their displays of what is perceived as authentic practices; in turn, the authenticity experienced during these performances may invite further nostalgic reminiscing. I argue that such displays constitute further projections of traditional stance among the participants. While in the first two data extracts below these projections are arguably more salient on the migrant side (Polish partners), I discuss how such displays of traditionality may ultimately become part of the shared sociocultural repertoires in these families, and thus be ascribed to other family members.

To move on to the data, Extract 4.7 below exemplifies how the reproduced culinary practices can invite the speakers' references to authenticity as well as encourage them to disseminate their native ways, thus indexing their traditional positioning.

Extract 4.7 – 'I've got the feel of true Polish Easter'

Figure 4.3a–b – *Video-recording 1 (Easter, England, 2011). From bottom-right corner (clock-wise): Liam, Eliza, Gabi, John and Adam (Gabi and John's son).*

1	Eliza:	I really recommend this radish sauce
2	Gabi:	(trying the sauce, Figure 4.3a) o:h thanks Eliza (.) I've got the
3		feel of true Polish Easter (laughs)
4	John:	(laughs)
5	Eliza:	that's <u>so</u> nice guys (picking up the jar) try it (.) it's lovely
6	Liam:	(tastes the sauce off Eliza's plate)
7	John:	what is it?
8	Gabi:	yeah I've just tried it
9	Eliza:	it's radish but mixed with (passing the jar to John) it's not pure
10		radish
11	Gabi:	and have it with some meat (throws a slice of ham on John's
12		plate, Figure 4.3b)
13	John:	all right
14	Eliza:	it's almost like a radish sauce you know
15	Liam:	I'm not a big fan of radish

The taste of traditional food awakens Gabi's memories of the Easter celebrations from her pre-migrant past in Poland. As the food passes through her mouth (Figure 4.3a), Gabi thanks Eliza (host) for this experience, nostalgically stating that it gives her *the feel of true Polish Easter* (2). Thus, the event seems to allow her to experience 'existential authenticity' – 'being true to oneself' (Wang, 1999: 358). Gabi's statement echoes nostalgia, which surfaces through the affective reference to feelings (*feel*) and the epistemic evaluation of how authentic her experience is (*true*). Likewise, Eliza's affective comments on the horseradish sauce potentially carry such nostalgic appeal to what she perceives as authentic culinary recipes, which is demonstrated through her use of affective adjectives (*nice*, *lovely*) and intensifier *so* (5). Such romanticisation of home foods and the desire for the authentic could be seen as an index of traditional stance. The participants not only nostalgically recreate what they perceive as Polish culinary tradition, but they also attend to the dissemination of their food practices. Both Eliza and Gabi encourage

their British partners to taste the Polish products, appraising their specialness (8, 9–10) and providing instructions on how they should be consumed (11). How the speakers perform such 'culinary guiding' for their foreign partners is analysed in more depth in Section 4.4.

Despite celebrating in England, thanks to their memories and interaction, both Gabi and Eliza can experience an imaginary 'travel' to their homeland. Just as pilgrims in Østergaard and Christensen's (2010: 244) study engage in ritualised walking to 're-contextualise themselves and their lives', the participants in my study re-discover themselves in the liminality offered by the consumption of what they perceive as traditional cuisine. Studying Greek migrants' discourses of 'national belonging' evoked by food memories, Sutton (2001: 102) concludes that 'food does not simply symbolise social bonds and divisions; it participates in their creation and re-creation'. Ensuring they consume what they imagine as typical Polish Easter foods, Eliza and Gabi semiotically re-create what in their eyes is authentic 'Polishness'. Again, this shows how through their food practices the speakers reconstruct their imaginary belonging to larger social groups, which is further exhibited by their use of national labelling – *Polish Easter* (2).

Performances of culinary authenticity may resemble what Appadurai (1996: 78) refers to as 'armchair nostalgia' – displaying longing for what in fact has never been lost or had. Such staged nostalgia and authenticity also seem to carry traditional stance. I illustrate it with Extract 4.8 below, in which Maja reflects on her recent Christmas Eve celebrations in England (2011), reporting how she attempted to recreate abroad a Christmas dish from her homeland, carp, though it does not belong to her family's culinary repertoire.

Extract 4.8 – 'We are making it really Polish-style this time'

Interview 3 with Maja and Miles. The account followed on from Question 2:
So your last Christmas, how did it go?

1	Maja:	when I initially told my mum quite excited over the phone that
2		'We are making it <u>rea:lly</u> Polish-style this time (.) we are doing
3		the fish' and she said 'Are you kidding me? I never do this one,
4		it's disgusting' and I thought 'Oh'
5	Miles:	(referring to Maja's family in Poland) you always have salmon
6		don't you?
7	Maja:	yeah we've got salmon
8	All:	(laugh)
9	Miles:	there we go

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10    Maja:    but I guess I'll still promote carp (laughs slightly) as a
11              Polish thing [Mi: uhum] one really ought to try it and make up
12              their own minds
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Maja's traditional stance emerges through represented discourse, when she quotes the phone-call conversation with her mother who lives in Poland. Using her own 'exteriorised voice' (Dervin and Riikonen, 2009), Maja projects her alignment with what she calls a *really Polish-style* of celebrating Christmas, that is having fish, specifically carp (2). Concurrently, she quotes her mother, whose 'anti-carp' attitude represents a contrasting, non-traditional stance. Such 'multivoicedness' (Bakhtin, 1981) and contrast seem to amplify Maja's expression of her traditional positioning.

It is interesting that Maja puts carp on show not only in front of her British husband, Miles, but also in front of her in-group members (her family in Poland). Paradoxically, as pointed out by Miles (5–6), Maja's family never have carp for Christmas in Poland. Thus, it seems that Maja disseminates stereotypical traditional culinary practices that never used to be her own, which highlights the tension between authenticity and nostalgia. Though it remains debatable how authentically Polish the carp dish is, for Maja it constitutes a means for authenticating her Christmas celebrations abroad, hence fulfilling her nostalgia for native food practices, real or imagined. For that reason, as Maja declares in her final comment, she will *still promote carp as a Polish thing* (10–11).

This is a pertinent example of how stereotypes attached to different nations and cultures are reproduced also by natives themselves. It reveals how migrants often 'fabricate' their collective memory of the homeland through 'armchair nostalgia' (Appadurai, 1996: 78). Though they may be aware of superficiality of such representations, they continue to perform 'staged authenticity' (MacCannell, 1973), i.e. theatered display of certain sociocultural repertoires, to satisfy their nostalgia for the past. The exchange also illustrates the inherent 'dialogism' (Bakhtin, 1981) of utterances. It highlights how stancetaking (here traditional positioning) is always predicated on multiple internal and external voices.

While the above displays of authenticity are performed on a relatively small scale, more public celebrations such as weddings can emphasise the social aspect of authenticity. This is demonstrated in Extract 4.9, which features one of

the traditional Polish wedding rituals – 'the bread and salt blessing' (for background information see Appendix 4).

Extract 4.9 – *'Żeby wam nigdy nie zabrakło chleba i soli'*
'May you never lack bread or salt'

Figure 4.4a–b *– Video-recording 3 (Peter and Beata's Wedding, Poland, 2007). The newlyweds are greeted at the reception venue by the venue manager (VM), who is wearing national clothes (Figure 4.4a, left). Following a widespread welcoming ritual, which continues to be practised at Polish weddings, she is carrying a tray with bread and salt to welcome the newlyweds. The ritual is interpreted by the bridesmaid.*

1	VM:	*witam serdecznie*
2		welcome
3	Bride:	*Laura przetłumacz dobrze?*
4		Laura interpret okay? (addressing the interpreter/bridesmaid)
5	Interpreter:	*przepraszam*
6		excuse me (trying to get to the front)
7	VM:	*witam serdecznie (.) życzę wszystkiego dobrego na nowej*
8		*drodze życia*
9		[
10	Interpreter:	welcome (.) I wish you all the
11		best on your new way of life
12	VM:	*dużo zdrowia szczęścia radości i miłości*
13		[
14	Interpreter:	a lot of health luck happiness and love
15	VM:	*żeby wam nigdy nie zabrakło chleba i soli*
16		[
17	Interpreter:	may you never lack
18		bread or salt
19	VM:	*proszę umoczyć chlebuś (.) troszkę ugryźć i zostawić resztę*
20		please dip the bread (.) have a small bite and leave the rest
21	Bride:	(takes a piece of bread, dips it in salt and tastes it)
22		[
23	Groom:	(uncertain watches the Bride and looks at the interpreter)
24	Interpreter:	just take a bite and then leave the bread
25	Groom:	(dips the bread in the salt and takes a bite, Figure 4.4b)
26	Newlyweds:	(after the ritual, the couple drink champagne and break the
27		glasses, which is supposed to bring them luck)

Whereas it is apparent from the above exchange that Peter is novice to the Polish bread and salt ritual, the interview with the couple verified that both of them opted to perform it. As this traditional wedding ritual was the couple's conscious choice, it could be argued that Beata and Peter used this aspect of their wedding celebration to project their traditional stance. Thus, while the ritual comes from Beata's sociocultural repertoire, the couple made a joint decision to display it during their wedding reception, hence it seems to project their *joint* traditional positioning. This projection is not direct – it is performed on their behalf by the venue manager. Her welcoming speech, which includes references to the traditional societal values such as *health, luck, happiness* and *love* (14), effectively indexes the couple's 'voice of tradition'. In Turner's (1957) terms, this public rite becomes a 'social drama'*,* reflecting the prevailing social beliefs.

Such life events, which resemble theatrical spectacles, not only represent collective life but also dramatise it (Chaney, 1993). During the ritual, various artefacts are used to theatrically authenticate the couples' traditional stance, e.g. the bread and salt gift. Equated with 'food' among Christians, Muslims and Jews, bread stands not only for material prosperity but also constitutes a 'divine substance' (E. Anderson, 2005: 180). Through this material manifestation, the ritual carries symbolic meanings recognisable by the audience. Thus, the rite enables the newlyweds to mark not just their traditionality on the individual level, but it also displays the traditional stance of the larger social groups they affiliate with.

Interestingly, as Beata is Buddhist and Peter is agnostic, their display of this ritual with a religious reference (specifically referencing Catholicism in this Polish context) may be more about 'pleasing' Beata's Polish family. This staged authenticity may be further driven by the foreign guests and their desire to consume the Other, reminiscent of Urry's (2002 [1990]) 'tourist gaze'. Here, the hosts (Poles) may be staging their 'folk' image to satisfy the British visitors' craving for exotic sights. The ritual semiotically authenticates the hosts' traditional stance for the visitors (and the locals) through multiple references to folklore, e.g. the venue manager's folk outfit, folk music and traditional food artefacts. As Welsch (1999: 198) puts it, '[a]uthenticity has become folklore, it is ownness simulated for others – to whom the indigene himself belongs'.

During the interview, Beata and Peter confirmed their intentionality behind staging the 'authentic', not just in the above ritual but throughout their wedding celebrations. The interview data evidenced that the staging of what the partners saw as Polish 'authenticity' was driven not just by Beata, but also by her British partner, Peter. This supports my interpretations regarding the couple's *joint* projection of traditional stance in Extract 4.9 above.

Extract 4.10 – 'It was really a showpiece of Polish cooking'

Interview 4 with Beata and Peter. Inspired by Question 9: <u>What is the role of food during your celebrations?</u>, the couple talk about their wedding in Poland.

1	Peter:	it was really a showpiece of Polish cooking (.) you agree
2		Beata? [B: uhum] when we got married I think it was really
3		important that the food was good Polish food but I'm thinking
4		from the perspective of people who came from here cos the
5		most or all of them never been to Poland before so it was yeah
6		really big difference (2.0) and Beata your family from *Kraśnik**
7		also commentated that the food was very good so for them it
8		must have been different too?
9	Beata:	yes it was like a feast really yeah? like enjoyment [P: uhum] of
10		being together but also enjoying the taste of food (.) Polish
11		food (.) it was like traditional cooking (.) like a *karczma*
12		inn
13		so there was quite a lot of meat and then (.) the <u>pig</u> turned up
14		about 11 o'clock with fire
15	Peter:	yeah it was a part of tradition
16	Beata:	yeah and I was 'Oh I can't eat that' (.) it was so: <u>tasty</u> (laughs)

*a town in Poland

Both Peter and Beata report that the culinary practices included at their wedding were intentionally traditional – *it was like traditional cooking,* Beata (11); *it was a part of tradition*, Peter (15). Additionally, Peter evaluates it as *a showpiece of Polish cooking* (1), which was staged particularly for the foreign guests, who never visited Poland before, but also for Beata's relatives from other regions of Poland (2–6). Stressing the importance of preparing *good Polish food* (3), Peter seems to reproduce discourses of traditionality and authenticity, potentially indexing his identification with these values and also indirectly attributing such traditional positioning to his wife. These projections seem to be magnified through the evidential marker *really*, which is repeatedly used in the couple's epistemic evaluations (1–2, 6, 9).

Beata expresses her alignment with Peter's stance, emphasising the authenticity of their 'culinary show' through various comparisons – *like a feast* (9), *like traditional cookin*g, *like a karczma* (11). Additionally Beata's traditional positioning is indexed affectively through phonological lengthening (16), the intensifying adverb *so* (16), additional emphasis (13, 16) and a quantifier – *a lot of* (13), which she uses when describing the traditionality of her wedding cuisine. Beata's alignment with Peter's stance means that the couple jointly construct authenticity of food as a factor determining the guests' enjoyment of the event (9–10).

To summarise this section, the speakers' references to authenticity and displays of what they perceive as authentic artefacts/practices seem to exhibit their pursuit of authentic experiences. The above discursive negotiations show how 'authenticity is not inherent to food [and food practices] but is constructed in the way we evaluate [them]' (Johnston and Baumann, 2015: 86). While the speakers' displays often resemble staged authenticity and nostalgia, they nevertheless may index their appeal to traditionality, thus reconstructing their sociocultural identities. Below, I discuss how the speakers' ritualised food-interactions recreate national discourses, which may further project their traditionality, and reshape their national identities.

4.3   Constructing national 'we'

The participants' traditional stance also found its manifestations in their national discourses, which resounded during their displays of continuity with the past and nostalgic displays of authenticity. To explore how the food-related interactions projected the speakers' national identities, in this section, I analyse the speakers' use of the personal pronoun 'we' and national labelling, which have been extensively researched (e.g. Urban, 2001; De Fina, 2003; Bucholtz and Hall, 2005). For instance, Urban (2001: 95) claims that through the repeated use of pronoun 'we' in public discourses 'a "people" comes to exist as a recognised social entity'. Similarly, Bucholtz and Hall's (2005: 594) principle of 'indexicality' shows how 'linguistic forms are used to construct identity positions'. To illustrate, personal pronouns ('we'/'us' versus 'they'/'them') and overt mentions of identity categories/labels (such as national labels) can index speakers' identification with

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certain social groups (e.g. regions/nations). The data presented in this section exemplify how the speakers' food-interactions, which involve such use of personal pronouns and categorisation/labelling, can project the speakers' identification with what they perceive as their nations. These discourses at times seem to reproduce the 'we–you' opposition, demarcating an imaginary line between 'us' and 'them' (Lister, 2004: 101) in these transnational families.

To move on to specific examples in the data, in the first exchange below Maja reproduces the national 'we'-discourse when explaining the nuances behind the Polish traditional dish that the couple are consuming – *bigos* (stew made of sauerkraut, mushrooms and sometimes meat).

Extract 4.11 'No, normally we wouldn't eat *bigos* on that day'

Figure 4.5 – *Video-recording 4 (Maja and Miles's Christmas Eve, England, 2011).*

1	Miles:	so what *bigos* is this?
2	Maja:	it's a vegetarian option without sausage
3	Miles:	(doubtingly) do you have vegetarian *bigos*?
4		[
5	Maja:	yeah (.) no we don't (smiles)
6	Miles:	what? so normally you have the *bigos* with meat
7	Maja:	no no (.) normally we wouldn't eat *bigos* on that day
8	Miles:	really? why not?
9	Maja:	because it's got meat (.) but we would eat cabbage (.)
10		sauerkraut [Mi: okay] with e:h peas (.) *kapusta z grochem*
11		sauerkraut with peas
12		yeah with some sort of chick peas
13	Miles:	(cringes) really?
14	Maja:	that's one of the dishes (.) it's not the main one
15	Miles:	okay

When describing to her British husband her native Christmas cuisine, Maja repeatedly uses the first-person plural pronoun *we* (5, 7, 9). Analysing the abundant use of this pronoun in Weinberger's (U.S. Secretary of Defence under Ronald Regan) political article published in *Foreign Affairs* in 1986, Urban (2001:

106) claims that it reproduces the idea of States as a united, homogenous nation. Likewise, Maja's non-political, private speech seems to circulate the 'we' of her nation, Poland. While the dissemination force of a publically circulated speech is far greater, Maja's private utterances also recycle discourses of homogenous nations, in this case in terms of Christmas Eve food practices. In De Fina's (2003: 54) words, 'pronominal choice and alternation convey particular kinds of speaker involvement, but may also index particular views about the self and its role in the social world'. In the above extract, Maja's 'we's' construct her Self and her in-group as traditional. Though agnostic herself, she also circulates the image of religious Poles, who fast and stick to meat-free dishes on Christmas Eve.

The exchange inadvertently draws a demarcation line between Maja's and Miles's background – 'religious' Poland and 'secular' Britain. This way the interaction may contribute to the construction of their divergent national Selves. However, since Maja is not religious, the exchange may not really constitute them as members of two separate groups. Nevertheless, Maja contributes to the circulation of stereotypes attached to her nation, here specifically those culinary ones. Saying *we wouldn't eat bigos on that day…we would eat…sauerkraut with peas* (7–10), Maja constructs her homeland as uniform and following the same culinary practices (while in fact she herself is eating what is essentially *bigos* without peas). Thus, the exchange also reveals how it can be natives themselves who recycle certain mythical 'truths' about their countries.

Similar statements surface across the data and speakers in relation to other culinary traditions, revealing how at times they visualise their food practices as uniformly practised by their entire nations. This shows how 'collective memory' is used by social actors to help them make meaning of who they are. It is especially salient among migrants, enabling them to reconnect with their pre-migrant lives (Raman, 2011: 166), and to perform 'long-distance nationalism' (Anderson, 1998: 74). Additionally, the extract demonstrates how the speakers index 'expertise' on their respective sociocultural repertoires. Through various epistemic means (providing assertive replies to Miles's questions and corrections), Maja positions herself as an 'expert' in Polish cuisine. Uncovering the secrets of Polish traditional cuisine in front of Miles, Maja also fulfils her culinary 'guide/teacher' role (as demonstrated also by Gabi and Eliza, Extracts 4.3, 4.7). This act of passing on her culinary legacy seems to further demonstrate her traditional stance.

In the following extract, which features a toasting ritual, national discourses intertwine with religious discourses. The speakers' appeal to the idealised concepts of nation and the divine could be seen as a re-enactment of their traditional positioning.

Extract 4.12 – 'To Polish-English friendship!'

Figure 4.6 *– Video-recording 3 (Peter and Beata's wedding, Poland, 2007). The afterparty. One of the guests, Janek, invites Peter, the groom, to have a shot of vodka.*

1	Janek:	(stands by the groom with a shot of vodka)
2	Peter:	(notices Janek and picks up his shot glass)
3	Janek:	*za przyjaźń polsko-angielską*
4		to Polish-English friendship (raises his glass)
5	Both:	(clink)
6	Peter:	*a racja Janek*
7		ah you're right Janek (patting and embracing Janek, Figure 4.6)
8	Janek:	*za przyjaźń Polską*
9		to Polish friendship
10	Peter:	*racja*
11		you're right
12	Janek:	*niech pan Bóg obdarzy nasze kraje <Polskę w szczególności>*
13		may the Lord bestow wealth upon our countries <Poland in particular>
14	Table:	(laughter)
15	Both:	(drink the shot)

The use of national labels (e.g. *Polish-English friendship,* 4; *Poland,* 13) in this exchange again reveals the speakers' tendency to imagine Self as part of a nation – group that is idealistically cohesive and uniform. Such indexicality reproduces 'imagined communities' (Anderson, 2006 [1983]), demonstrating how nations are purely 'mental constructs' (Wodak *et al.,* 1999), existing only in people's discourses, through which they are continuously reinforced. Moreover, through his reference to the divine, which is to bestow prosperity upon both countries, Janek also circulates religious discourses. In its spiritual undertone, the toast resembles the Georgian style of toasting, which according to Kotthoff (2007: 182) borders on a prayer. Invoking a religious formula (*May the Lord...,* 13), Janek indexes his

religious identity not only on an individual level but also on a national level by speaking on behalf of the entire country. Moreover, Janek's punchline, which follows the religious formula, could be disclosing the economic gap between England and Poland. According to him, it is particularly Poland which should be bestowed with wealth (13). With this remark Janek may want to imply a division between the 'affluent' Western Europe and the 'underprivileged' Eastern Europe, though this could be a joke irrespective of this disparity. This jovial punchline reduces the solemnness of the toast, meeting with alignment from the audience (a few Polish guests sitting nearby), who respond with laugher (14).

Thus, despite its brevity and 'back-stage' setting, the above ritual carries ceremonialism and metacultural salience. Apart from replicating a 'male-bonding' type of ritual through joint alcohol consumption and embracing (for research on alcohol and masculinity see Hunt, MacKenzie and Joe-Laider, 2005), Janek and Peter perform comradeship on a collective, in-group level. Upon Janek's toasting intention to *Polish-English friendship* (4), with which Peter aligns repeatedly (6, 10), the speakers become as if embodiments of their nations, Poland and England, which come into amicable contact. Hence, on one hand, this vodka drinking ritual marks Janek and Peter as members of different nations, on the other, it also indexes their new shared belonging to the transnational family established through this wedding.

In this section, I have demonstrated how the national 'we'-discourses can intertwine with other expressions of traditional stance, such as epistemic references to traditional 'values', e.g. religion, friendship and masculinity. In Chapter 5, I will show how, apart from traditional positioning, the data also include the speakers' somewhat contrasting cosmopolitan projections. First, however, Section 4.4 below explores the last theme in the current chapter, namely acts of self-exoticising (i.e. staging Self as exotic in front of the Other), which could also be interpreted as the speakers' traditional positioning.

4.4   Exoticising Self in front of the Other

In her study of Polish encounters with the Irish foodscapes, Coakley (2012) shows how the context of migration invites Polish migrants to perform 'culinary tourism' (e.g. Heldke, 2003; Molz, 2007) – exploration of foreign foodscapes. Such food adventuring in a migratory context can be bidirectional: it is not only the migrants who engage with the local foods, but also the locals may be tempted to taste the cuisines introduced by the migrants. These mutual culinary explorations tend to involve self-exoticising – the side performing the role of a 'culinary guide' stages their culinary practices in front of the Other. In this section, I discuss how such culinary self-exoticising becomes a recurrent practice in the participant transnational families, whose members discursively construct a 'guide-tourist' relationship. Guiding each other through their respective foreign foodscapes, the speakers mutually frame their cuisines as exotic. I demonstrate how such self-exoticising discourses also seem to carry the speakers' traditional stance.

To illustrate, Extract 4.13 below shows how Miles prepares a typical Christmas turkey meal for his Polish wife. As the dish constitutes a novelty for Maja, it becomes her initiation to Miles's Christmas repertoire. Such staging carries Miles self-exoticising and potentially conveys his alignment with his culinary tradition.

Extract 4.13 – 'First time I'm having a proper turkey meal'

Figure 4.7 – *Video-recording 5 (Maja and Miles's Christmas Day celebration, England, 2010).*

1   Miles: (burns his hand when wrapping the turkey for resting)
2   Maja: au:ch (laughs)
3   Miles: (writhes in pain and laughs slightly)
4   Maja: smile (laughs) should I do it?
5   Miles: it's <u>hot</u> Maja
6   Maja: I know
7   Miles: it's <u>hot</u>

8	Maja:	it's fine ((I can manage)) you can go to the other room and
9		smile a bit (laughs)
10	Miles:	(leaving the kitchen) I'm fine honey (seeing Maja taking out
11		more tin foil) it's just to cover it up Maja (.) you don't have to
12		keep the heat in okay?
13		(fragment omitted)
14	Miles:	(points to Maja's chair) come and sit down
15	Maja:	yes (.) so we can start eating yeah?
16	Miles:	(giggles) <u>yes</u> we can <u>start</u> <u>eating</u>
17	Maja:	(sits down to have the starter)
18		(fragment omitted)
19	Maja:	oh pigs in blankets (.) that was supposed to be a starter too?
20	Miles:	yes it <u>was</u> supposed to be a starter
21	Maja:	(goes to fetch the pigs in blankets and returns to the table)
22		okay (moves her upper body when examining the plate) <u>exciting</u>
23		(1.0) first time I'm having a proper turkey meal (raises a toast)
24	Miles:	(raises his glass) that's TO US AGAIN
25	Both:	(clink glasses, Figure 4.7)

During the preparation and consumption of the dish, Miles repeatedly marks his expertise in what he displays as traditional British Christmas cuisine. The culinary 'host-tourist'/'guide-tourist' relationship becomes observable with Maja seeking confirmation through questions (15, 19) and Miles confidently answering those (16, 20). This way he positions himself as an expert in traditional British food, which is further marked through the additional emphasis in each of these assertive responses. Even the clumsy hand-burning incident (1–3) does not undermine his 'guide' role. Miles still issues health and safety warnings (5, 7), provides cooking guidelines (11–12) and instructs Maja to sit down to commence eating (14).

Maja presents excitement about Miles's foodscape and performs the tourist-like 'gaze' (Urry, 2002 [1990]) – she curiously examines her plate and moves her upper body (21–22), performing a sort of dance in anticipation of the novel dish. Announcing that this is her first *proper turkey meal,* she raises a toast to celebrate it (23). It seems then that displays of traditional stance in transnational families can be additionally driven by the foreign partners. It is under their pursuit of exoticism and 'gaze' that the locals stage their traditional culinary practices. Extract 4.14 below shows similar excitement on the part of Miles, when the following year Maja prepares her exotic Christmas food, carp, a fish that is generally considered inedible in Miles's country.

Extract 4.14 – 'Well at least I can say I've eaten carp'

Figure 4.8 – *Video-recording 4 (Maja and Miles's Christmas Eve, England, 2011).*

1	Miles:	goodness gracious (.) it's quite bony
2	Maja:	but <u>really</u> watch out with that plenty of bones
3	Miles:	yeah I'm eating the mushrooms first
4	Maja:	okay (1.0) bit of bread?
5	Miles:	uhum
6		(2.0)
7	Miles:	well at least I can say I've eaten carp rather than
8	Maja:	(laughs slightly) well we
9		[
10	Miles:	than take your mum's approach and not bother
11		(.) does she ever make it?
12	Maja:	she might do it in the jelly you don't like

Similarly to Miles in the previous extract, Maja puts the Polish carp dish on show, framing it as exotic in front of Miles. She positions herself as a 'carp expert' and takes on the role of a 'culinary guide', warning Miles against abundant bones in the fish (2). Thus, simultaneously Maja creates an aura of hazard, which further exoticises the dish. The carp is exotic to Miles not only in terms of being 'foreign' (not belonging to the British culinary repertoire), but it is also exotic as 'norm-breaking' (Johnston and Baumann, 2015: 96) – the bony fish creates a health hazard when eaten (additional 'deviancy' comes from the fact that carp tends to be kept in Britain as a pet in ponds).

Despite the tedious (and dangerous) experience of consuming the bony carp, Miles seems proud that he dares to sample this foreign dish. By 'eating difference' (Molz, 2007: 77), he demonstrates his 'willingness to engage with the Other' (Hannerz, 1990: 239). Observing that even Maja's mother neglects to prepare the dish (12–13), Miles further emphasises his heroic accomplishment and projects himself as a 'food adventurer' (Heldke, 2003). Thus, this culinary exchange concurrently indexes Maja's traditional stance and allows Miles to position himself as a 'ready-to-take-the-risk' cosmopolitan, which is reminiscent of

Beck's (1992: 21) 'risk society' – proneness and preparedness of postmodern individuals to face the hazards of the modernised world.

When reporting similar displays of traditional food practices, Beata and Peter evaluate their relatives' perceptions in relation to these staged culinary repertoires. Thus, this couple's self-exoticising seems to further surface here through ascribing an exoticising stance to their relatives, who are reported to embrace the exotic foodscapes brought to their plates.

Extract 4.15 – 'Showing taste of Polish *Wigilia*'

Interview 4 with Beata and Peter. Inspired by Question 6: <u>How would you compare Polish and British celebrations of major holidays?</u>, the couple talk about their Christmas celebrations.

```
1    Beata:   they enjoyed the roast when we invited my brother and my
2             mum
3             [
4    Peter:   oh it was on the Christmas day wasn't it? that I cooked a roast
5             dinner
6    Beata:   yes and we (.) Peter cooked roast dinner (.) I think they loved
7             the food yeah? and pulling [P: crackers] it seems they enjoyed
8             it (.) to see something new (.) and with all people it was like that
9             remember?
10   Peter:   uhum
11            (1.0)
12   Beata:   and opposite (.) we had last Christmas your sister round here
13            and we tried to celebrate it like the Polish (.) with bread sharing
14            and with that showing kind of taste of Polish Wigilia
15                                                         Christmas Eve
16            of course we didn't look at the stars (.) we missed that but there
17            was sharing bread and (.) oh you read poetry instead of the
18            Bible remember?
19   Peter:   o:h yeah
20   Beata:   and we had a couple not twelve dishes like (nostalgically)
21            pierogi z kapustą (.) barszcz (.) ryba po grecku (.) jakaś tam
22            sałatka po Wiślańsku
23            ravioli with cabbage (.) borscht (.) Greek-style fish (.) some
24            Polish-style salad
25            they really enjoyed this (.) the flavour was different
26   Peter:   yeah
```

Similarly to Maja and Miles (see Extracts 4.13–4.14), Beata and Peter frame exoticism of their culinary traditions, not just in front of each other but also in front of their visiting families/friends. Beata reports how Peter's roast dinner and British Christmas crackers were received enthusiastically by her Polish family as

something new (8). Stating that *with all people it was like that* (8), Beata reveals that such culinary shows are recurrently performed by Peter for their Polish visitors to let them literally taste 'Britishness'. Likewise, the British relatives on Peter's side are introduced to Polish culinary practices. For example, in the context of Christmas celebrations they are offered the *taste of Polish Wigilia* (14). Although Beata is Buddhist, even some rituals with a Catholic reference from her homeland become displayed, e.g. wafer sharing referred to by her as *bread sharing* (13) (for further information on this ritual see Appendix 4). Also the traditional Bible reading performed by Catholic Poles during Christmas Eve is echoed in the couple's celebrations, though in a secularised form – poetry reading (17–18).

Highlighting through affective vocabulary and additional emphasis the enjoyment experienced by her family (*they loved the food*, 6) and Peter's family (*they really enjoyed this*, 25) when encountering these novel foodscapes, Beata seems to exoticise both Polish and British cuisine. Simultaneously, she ascribes an exoticising stance to the couple's relatives on both sides, presenting them as embracing *something new* (8) and *different* (25). The stance ascription may further augment Beata's own exoticising of traditional culinary repertoires, which seems to index her traditional positioning.

In sum, the exchanges analysed in this section demonstrate how projections of traditional stance through native food displays tend to lead to self-exoticising. The transnationals exoticise their cuisines in front of their foreign partners and visiting relatives, who are eager to consume this difference. It could be argued that both sides benefit from such displays – natives frame Self as exotic/unique, while foreigners present their cosmopolitan predispositions to consume the Other (Szerszynski and Urry, 2002). Below, I summarise the main points presented in this chapter.

4.5   Summary

In this chapter, I first explored how the speakers' ritualised culinary interactions reveal their aspiration to retain continuity with their sociocultural legacy, and thus carry their traditional stance (Section 4.1). The motives behind replication and dissemination of native food traditions in these transnational families seem diverse. For the migrant partners, projections of traditionality seem to be

intensified due to their separation from the homeland. Feelings of displacement and nostalgia may magnify migrants' wish to re-enact food rituals from their past (e.g. Codesal, 2010; Rabikowska, 2010), which was illustrated in Section 4.2. As argued by Janowski (2012: 175), 'food not only reflects change and continuity; it is used deliberately by migrants to make statements of continuity or change'. This intentionality behind the speakers' culinary performances is strongly reflected across the above data, for instance, in relation to culinary practices during Easter (Extracts 4.1–4.2), Christmas (Extract 4.8), or a wedding (Extracts 4.9–4.10) ('statements of change' are analysed separately in Chapter 5).

The participant transnational families replicate and disseminate only selected food practices, which reveals their agency in constructing their identities. The choice behind the replicated native culinary practices/foods requires the speakers' 'reflexivity' (Giddens, 1991) – being selective necessitates their self-deliberation. This reflexivity adheres to Giddens' (1991: 84) theory of Self as a 'reflexive project' – the participants do construct their celebratory events 'through multiple choices rather than fixed guidelines for actions'. For instance, Maja consciously chooses to replicate and disseminate carp consumption on Christmas Eve, and reflects on this choice (Extract 4.8). Such continuous reflexivity also demonstrates the speakers' attempts to negotiate a 'common ground' (Brown and Levinson, 1987 [1978]: 103), here surfacing in the partners' mutual sharing of their various foodscapes. The speakers' agency becomes further visible when they take on a tradition 'guard/guide' role (e.g. Extracts 4.3–4.4) and use imperative-like utterances 'to activate the cultural patterns' (Urban, 2001: 151) in this culinary context.

Food practices are considered a common site for projections of affiliation to larger social groups (Karrebæk, 2012: 3). My data also shows how culinary interactions occasion a discursive reconstruction of different collective identities. Whether it is a religious and familial identity re-enacted through meal prayers (Extract 4.3), societal identity displayed through conformism to values such as traditionality/hospitality/marriage (e.g. Extract 4.9), gendered identity emerging through male-bonding toasts (Extract 4.12), or national identity resounding in 'we'-discourses (as analysed in Section 4.3), these projections seem to carry the speakers' traditional positioning. It could be argued that such displays of the traditional are determined by the ritual 'genre' (Fairclough, 1992). However,

transnational contact in particular invites such commodification of tradition and authenticity (e.g. Shepherd, 2002). As I have demonstrated in the above analysis, the transnational families in my study also seem to deliberately utilise commodified representations of their culinary legacy to negotiate their divergent sociocultural repertoires.

The analysis also reveals that the speakers' displays of traditional stance gain prominence when re-enacted in front of the 'gazing' Other. What sometimes emerges in such performances is self-exoticising, which I analysed in Section 4.4. Occasionally, as the speakers re-discover the previously taken-for-granted, or even abandoned food practices (e.g. carp consumption by Maja, Extracts 4.8, 4.14), their native cuisines seem to acquire a new exotic dimension. Such displays of difference seem to offer a form of 'symbolic power' (Bourdieu, 1977), here specifically through embodied 'cultural capital' – 'long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body' (Bourdieu, 1986: 47). Staging foodscapes not only allows natives to present Self as unique and authentic, but it also enables the foreign side to accentuate their cosmopolitan spirit. Thus, both sides can benefit from such staged exoticism and use it to negotiate their image in front of their foreign partners and broader audiences. In Chapter 5, I discuss how at times the participants adopt certain culinary practices of the other side, or even display them as their own, thus staging and commodifying further what was once staged and commodified by their self-exoticising partners.

In terms of specific stancetaking resources, apart from imperative mood (Extracts 4.4, 4.7, 4.9), traditional stance was expressed in the above data epistemically through modality (Extract 4.1), references to cultural knowledge (e.g. Beata, Extract 4.10; Maja, Extract 4.11), assertiveness of evaluations/answers (Gabi, Extract 4.3; Miles, 4.13) and comparisons (Beata, Extract 4.10). These epistemic predicates became salient when the speakers presented expertise in their traditional culinary practices, adopting the role of a 'culinary guide' (see Extracts 4.13–4.14). As envisaged, the discourses of nostalgia invited expressions of affect, which surfaced through affective vocabulary (e.g. Extract 4.7), emphatic stress (e.g. Extract 4.15), phonological lengthening (e.g. Extract 4.8) and quantifiers (e.g. Extract 4.10).

To conclude, the examined ritualised interactions emerge as more than 'phatic communion' (Malinowski, 1972 [1923]), which they may seem to represent.

While relying on formulaic scripts, they constitute a powerful stancetaking tool. The analysed food rituals convey the participants' subject positions, which in this case tailor their traditional social image during these transnational interactions.

Returning to the introductory paragraph, the somewhat sinister speculations about 'identity crisis' (e.g. Bendle, 2002) and inevitable homogenisation of the world culture (Naz *et al*., 2011) remain debatable. As speculated by Hall (1991, 34), globalisation may actually invite '[t]he return to the local'. More recently Park (2009: 168) similarly argued that 'globalization may not necessarily override the distinctive characteristics of the local'. My analysis demonstrates that local traditionality and authenticity continue to be sought for and displayed through ritualisation in transnational contact. Considering that transnational encounters are proliferating and sociocultural networks are expanding (e.g. Vertovec, 2007; Blommaert, 2010), one could argue that global mobility could in fact be leading to acts of revitalisation or at least staging of what is visualised as local traditions and cultures, as presented in this chapter. Thus, the local and the global seem to remain in an ongoing 'dialectic' (Giddens, 1991: 22), which my study reflects. While this chapter explored the discourses of traditionality, which accentuated the local, in Chapter 5 below, I explore how at times the participants position themselves against their traditional culinary ways and prefer to identify with novel foodscapes encountered through their transnational experience.

Chapter 5 – Projecting 'postmodern' stance through culinary talk and practices in transnational families

Following the analysis of traditional stance projected through the participants' 'statements of continuity' (Janowski, 2012) with their ritual culinary practices, in this chapter I explore how food talk and practices can also index the speakers' *discontinuity* with the traditional. None of these stances are absolute – the speakers seem to continuously shift their positions. Although the structure of the thesis could suggest a linear progression of the speakers' positioning from traditional (Chapter 4) to anti-traditional stance (Chapter 5), stance projections, and thus identification, are approached in this study as dynamic, complex processes. According to Hall (1990: 226–227), identity should not be visualised as a straight line moving from point A to point B, and my research adheres to this argument.

In this part of the study, I specifically focus on those 'stance' acts (Du Bois, 2007) which index the speakers' disalignment with certain native culinary habits (Section 5.1) and alignment with specific foreign food practices (Section 5.2). As these projections contrast with the traditional positioning analysed in Chapter 4, it could imply that the speakers strategically choose their sociocultural alliances depending on the context. Furthermore, I argue that such demonstrations of departure from the old and immersion in the novel foodscapes could be interpreted as the speakers' acts of 'postmodern' positioning – displays of disalignment with tradition and preference for cosmopolitanism (Giddens, 1991: 190–195). This positioning can further surface when the speakers downplay traditional culinaro-celebratory practices. These anti-traditional projections are included in Section 5.3 for a broader perspective on the speakers' potential postmodern positioning.

It has to be stressed that the label 'postmodern' is used to mean that these acts of positioning seem to circulate discourses of postmodernity – the interlinked discourses of choice, anti-traditionality, individualism and cosmopolitanism. It does not imply that the speakers necessarily represent postmodern approach in 'etic', scientific terms, nor that they are aware that their positioning resembles that of a

postmodern individual. Although, as I show in the analysis, one participant does display such awareness.

To explore potential postmodern stance projections, I first examine how food interactions signal the speakers' occasional departure from 'old' culinary Self (Section 5.1). Building on theories of *self-othering* – non-stigmatising mocking of one's in-group members and one's own Self (Jaworski and Coupland, 2005: 685), I analyse how the participants deliberately abandon some native food practices or at times even position themselves against them, though this positioning shifts. Nevertheless, through such repeated stancetaking the speakers may seem to disalign with their 'old' culinary Self, and thus construct it as the Other – membership they do not always identify with. Yet, I show that such acts of self-othering do not necessarily result in distancing Self from the in-group members – conversely, these mocking acts may be a reflection of solidarity with them. Moreover, it is recognised that the abandonment of native culinary practices is not always deliberate and may have other practical causes, e.g. inaccessibility of food ingredients or lack of cooking skills. Thus, this part of the analysis allows me to discuss whether and how the speakers' interactions mark their agency in the construction of their identities.

Next, in Section 5.2, I analyse how the speakers explore foreign culinary habits represented by other members of their transnational families. Seeing them as 'fresh' and 'liberating', the speakers at times display their shaping allegiances with those novel foodscapes. Thus acquired culinary repertoires become new sources of identity for them. This is recurrently indexed in the data through what I call culinary 'going native' – the speakers' performances of their symbolic competence in the culinary repertoire of the Other (cf. Jaworski, 2009; Thurlow and Jaworski, 2010 on 'going native' acts in the context of tourism). Again, it needs to be emphasised that while recurrent, such displays do not mark permanent shifts in the speakers' positioning. Some of the exotic practices that are pursued here become 'othered' on other occasions. Nonetheless, I argue that the speakers' salient pursuit of exoticism projects their cosmopolitan predispositions, characteristic of a postmodern individual (Giddens, 1991: 190–195).

Shifts towards postmodern stance further emerge in the speakers' 'reflexivity' – strategic monitoring of the Self combined with 'discursive interpretations' of that behaviour (Giddens, 1991: 35). Through their conscious

food choices the speakers seem to display their agency in relation to broader sociocultural discourses. Lyotard (1984 [1979]: xxiv) argues that postmodern positioning surfaces in social actors' 'incredulity towards meta-narratives' – broadly circulated ideologies, here particularly those of tradition, ritualisation and collectivism. Drawing on this definition, I discuss how the speakers' statements of sociocultural transition and rejection of 'meta-narratives' could be interpreted as their postmodern pursuit of individualism. Through their reflexive statements the participants seem to reject 'large-scale theoretical interpretations purportedly of universal application' (Harvey, 1989: 9), seeking individual self-expressions. Therefore, this analysis complements the former chapter by examining the speakers' somewhat contradictory discourses of postmodernity, which coincide in the data with the previously analysed discourses of tradition.

5.1   Postmodern stance through culinary self-othering

As noted in the Introduction, studies on transnational communication tend to examine othering in its primordial, stigmatising sense, i.e. distancing Self from the Other, hence adhering to Spivak's (1985) early theories. This process of 'demarcating "us" and "them" ' (Lister, 2004: 101), may involve stereotyping, and thus brings negative connotations. Outlining the early perceptions on othering, N. Coupland (2000: 5) defines it as 'the process of representing an individual or a social group *to render them* as distant, alien or deviant' (original emphasis). Some research shows more positive conceptualisations of othering. For example, Rampton (1995a–b) studies interactions among adolescents in multicultural settings, which are rich in instances of 'jocular abuse'. While resembling othering, jocular abuse has positive consequences in multicultural friendship groups – it constitutes an effective tool for managing interactions and diminishing distance among peers (Rampton, 1995b: 494). Instances of jocular abuse of the Other abound in my data and are analysed in Chapter 6.

This section, however, examines a different type of othering – othering aimed at one's Self, i.e. self-othering, which is also recurrent across the participant families. Self-othering often resembles jocular abuse (Jaworski and Coupland, 2005: 685). Thus, in this analysis I collapse the two terms – jocular abuse and self-othering, accommodating them under the term 'jocular self-othering'. This way I want to

emphasise that the examined acts may not imply 'true' or permanent distancing from Self. Though resembling othering, like in Rampton's (1995a–b) studies, these acts appear to be used for positive purposes in the examined transnational interactions and any potential stigmatisation seems pretended.

Moving on to data analysis, Extract 5.1 below demonstrates how in transnational families some culinary exchanges occasion such non-stigmatising mockery of Self.

Extract 5.1 – 'Why do Polish people take their sausage everywhere?'

Interview 1 with Eliza and Liam, and their friends, Gabi and John. The exchange was inspired by Question 8: What is the role of food during your celebrations and in your relationship?

1	Gabi:	my first present for your dad remember? (laughs)
2	John:	no
3	Gabi:	didn't know them well (.) I was there second time when I went to
4		spend Christmas with them (laughs) it was a big sausage (.)
5		*Krakowska** (laughs)
6	Inter.:	(laughs)
7	Gabi:	and flowers for your mum (laughs)
8	Eliza:	(laughs) <u>very roma:ntic</u>
9	Gabi:	I have to laugh about this now (laughs)
10	Inter.:	(laughs)
11	Eliza:	did he like it?
12		[
13	Gabi:	why do Polish people take their sausage everywhere? (laughs)
14	E. & Inter.:	(laugh)
15	Gabi:	can you imagine (.) British people like (('Here's some sausage
16		for you')) (rolling with laughter)
17		[
18	Eliza:	(laughs) yeah that's very true actually
19	Gabi:	'Here is some s-' (laughs) crazy <u>why</u>? (laughs)
20	Eliza:	(laughs) I never thought about that actually
21	Gabi:	(laughs) we're a bit obsessed about our sausage
22	Eliza:	yeah we are obsessed about our sausage (.) we like our sausage

*a type of Polish sausage

Recalling her stereotypical present (Polish sausage), Gabi situates her story at a specific moment in the past – the second time at her British in-laws' at Christmas time (3–4), contrasting it with her current perceptions on the 'sausage' gesture – *I have to laugh about this now* (9). These time markers, which clearly signal the present and the past, project Gabi's shifting stance on the practice. Thus, the story

could be seen as a display of Gabi's sociocultural trajectory – she narrates her progression from a 'naive' Polish migrant, who clings to and exoticises mundane native food products, to a more culturally-aware, reflexive, and thus possibly postmodern, transnational individual.

Gabi's rhetorical question *Why do Polish people take their sausage everywhere?* (13) presents a clear instance of jocular self-othering. Being Polish herself and speaking in the third person plural (*Polish people*, *their*) rather than first person plural ('we'/'our'), Gabi seems to construct her in-group as an out-group – the membership she does not associate with on this occasion. Thus, her othering is directed towards her Self. The generalisation that Gabi resorts to (*Polish people*) attributes the 'sausage' habit to the entire nation. Through membership categorisation, which Sacks (1992: 40) calls the 'central machinery of social organisation', Gabi constructs Polish people as a uniform group, implying that they all give 'sausage' as a present to foreigners. Scheibman (2007: 129) explains that such broadening of an assertion can augment 'the expressive power or authority of that assertion'. Consequently, generalisations reinforce speakers' stance, 'expand[ing] the reference class on which a particular claim is based' (Scheibman, 2007: 129). Gabi's rhetorical question, which generalises Polish 'odd' ways and is additionally strengthened affectively through a hyperbole (*everywhere*) and laughter, allows her to highlight her divergent, potentially more postmodern stance to that she sees as representative of her in-group.

This self-othering carries jocularity, especially when Gabi mocks the Polish ritual of offering sausage as a present to British people (15–16). It is not certain if the quoted utterance is to mimic the reaction of the Other (British people) when receiving such a present or the reverse situation of British people offering a 'sausage' gift. Either way, Gabi's mockery is aimed at her own Self, the Self who used to exoticise Polish sausage, and also her in-group members who may continue this practice, which she now finds *crazy* (19). While ridiculing the Polish obsession with native meats, interestingly Gabi uses pronouns *we* and *our* (21), still displaying some solidarity with her in-group members. She summarises: *We're a bit obsessed about our sausage*. Also the tense choice (*are* – the present form of verb 'to be') could suggest here that in fact the mocked 'sausage' practice is not a habit in the past for Gabi.

Gabi's jocular self-othering is supported by Eliza, who continuously aligns with her affectively through laughter and epistemically through supportive statements. For instance, she concurs by saying *that's very true* (18), adding extra affirmation through the evidential adverb *actually*. Further alignment is detectable in Eliza's repetition (22), when she directly echoes Gabi's claim about the national obsession.

The complexity of this exchange constitutes a good illustration of Du Bois' (2007: 143–144) model of 'stance triangle' (see Figure 2.1, Section 2.3.1) – both Gabi and Eliza simultaneously perform 'evaluation' of an object of stance (here the Polish habit of sausage-giving to foreigners), 'position' themselves towards it and mutually calibrate their stances through 'alignment'. Potentially, Gabi's stancetaking becomes further complicated in its 'dialogicality' through her engagement with previous utterances (Du Bois, 2007: 140). Gabi not only positions herself towards other subjects, but also towards her 'former' Self (although it is uncertain if the practice is entirely abandoned by her). Such intertextual stancetaking beyond the immediate turn-by-turn context can shape more enduring identities (Rubin Damari, 2010: 609). Similarly to her generalisations, Gabi's references to personal experience and inner transition seem to augment her shifting stance, here surfacing as somewhat 'westernised', postmodern positioning.

The speakers' mockery of Self in the data involved comparisons with the 'better' Other. Whereas self-othering was performed across the participants, it was particularly prominent on the Polish side. Fascinated with what they perceived as more 'modern' culinary ways of their British partners, Polish speakers at times constructed their national consumption habits as backward, as exemplified below.

Extract 5.2 – 'You just drink vodka or nothing'

Interview 1 with Eliza and Liam, and their friends, Gabi and John. The exchange was inspired by Question 4: How would you compare Polish and British celebrations of major holidays?

```
1    Gabi:   I think here you leave it up to people (.) you don't wanna do too
2            much [E: =structure] or planning whereas I think in Poland
3            you've got that entertainer (.) like the band entertaining with
4            games and stuff (.) here's more whatever people like (.) it's not
5            so (.) same with drinking (.) you don't have to drink vodka you
6            can go to the bar and buy yourself whatever you want
```

7	Eliza:	well here it's more (1.0) it's about=
8	Liam:	=wine and champagne
9	Gabi:	yeah
10	Eliza:	yeah (.) actually last time we were like 'Oh why can't we have a
11		drink of whisky if we want to' and it turned out there was a little
12		bar with whisky
13		[
14	Liam:	yeah (.) 'A glass of wine would be really nice around now' but
15		then I'd think better of it [E: yeah] cos I had a lot more vodka to
16		drink
17	E. & G.	(laugh)
18	Eliza:	yeah you learned it the hard way
19	Gabi:	so you don't have very much choice do you? you just drink
20		vodka or nothing
21		[
22	Liam:	'Even one beer (.) just one beer' (.) 'No no stick to vodka'
23	Gabi:	Yeah

Comparing alcohol consumption at British and Polish wedding receptions, Gabi again exhibits disalignment with her native habits. Depicting Polish weddings as meticulously structured and dominated by vodka drinking, she juxtaposes them with British receptions, which offer more choice, especially in terms of consumed beverages. While one could take Gabi's statements as simply indicative of her changing taste, it is clearly not about Gabi's preference for particular beverages, but rather about the rules governing their consumption. What the exchange reveals is Gabi's pursuit of a less conservative approach and freedom of choice, characteristic of a post/late-modern society (Giddens, 1991, 1999). According to Giddens (1999: 5), 'the disappearance of tradition...expands the domain of choice'. Choice is expected and sought for, therefore the limits imposed by traditions become questioned, as demonstrated in this exchange.

Similarly to the previous excerpt, Gabi resorts to generalisations in her comparison of Polish and British drinking practices at wedding receptions, which emphasise her anti-traditional, pro-liberal positioning. For example, she uses generic 'you' utterances (1–6, 19–20), which 'universalise experience in conversations' (Scheibman, 2007: 120), and generalises about 'space' through adverbials of place (*here*, 1, 4). Additionally, her stance is stressed affectively through hyperboles (*whatever,* 4, 6; *nothing*, 20). The remaining speakers align with Gabi, jointly constructing this postmodern stance. Both Eliza and Liam use represented discourse, i.e. quotes, which imitate their former utterances. Self-

quoting their own derogatory perceptions of imposing vodka drinking at Polish wedding receptions (10–11, 14, 22), Eliza and Liam provide additional 'evidence' to support Gabi's claim. As Holt (1996: 241) puts it, represented discourse 'lends an air of objectivity to an account'. Even self-quotes can make statements sound more authoritative (Clift, 2006: 572). Likewise, in the above exchange, self-quotes may help Eliza and Liam authenticate their stance as they join Gabi in this construction of Polish weddings as conservative if not primitive in terms of drinking practices.

Clear collaboration in the production of this stance is observable when Eliza's evaluative comment (7) is completed by Liam (8), whose comment then meets with ratification from Gabi and Eliza (9, 10). Through their agreement with Liam's claim that British weddings are more about *wine and champagne*, Gabi and Eliza simultaneously display their new allegiance with the more 'chic' customs of the receiving country. Their appreciation for the British approach to wedding receptions, which in their eyes is more progressive, may reflect the speakers' pursuit of novel, liberal ways, and hence could be interpreted as their projection of a postmodern stance. Moreover, the speakers may be reproducing broader discourses of 'poorer', and conservative Eastern-European countries (here specifically Poland) versus more affluent, liberal Great Britain and the Western Europe it belongs to. Similar discourses of economic inequality between Poland and Britain are detectable in other extracts (e.g. Extract 6.1).

While one may argue against such broad readings based on one single interaction, as in the previous extract, the speakers' utterances reveal intertextual stancetaking beyond this immediate interaction. The longitudinal aspect of their positioning surfaces through represented discourse, which incorporates the speakers' similar 'voices' (Bakhtin, 1981) from the past. As discussed by Rubin Damari (2009: 29), 'by invoking one's own internal dialogue [from the past], a speaker may, in addition to aligning [one]self with another speaker, also create alignment with [one]self'. In this extract, such intertextuality demonstrates how the speakers' self-othering is not a one-off occasion; it is a more enduring stance that has been developing over time, potentially constructing the speaker's postmodern 'ethos' (Johnstone, 2009: 46) – 'discursive display of consistent personal identity, rooted in a speaker's unique personal biography'. Nevertheless, this 'ethos' seems flexible. On other occasions, the same speakers present their alignment with

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traditional culinary practices, even those related to wedding receptions and vodka consumption (see Extract 7.7), which are mocked above.

The following fragment demonstrates how drinking practices represented by in-group members can with time become a source of shame for Polish migrants. In this case, negative positioning towards such embarrassing native ways is ascribed to the migrants by a member of the receiving country and incites the migrants' self-othering.

Extract 5.3 – 'The moment he gets on a plane to go back to Poland, he says: "I wanna be British…" '

Interview 2 with Kuba and Carol, and Mirek and Kamila. The exchange was inspired by the question posed by Kamila: Where does it come from, this feeling proud about your country, nationality?

1	Carol:	I find Kuba funny because if there is like a sport on (.) if
2		anything to do with Poland is on he'll suddenly be like a little
3		nationalist even though he'll deny it and yet the moment he
4		gets on a plane to go back to Poland he says 'I wanna be
5		British (.) I wanna be British (.) <u>o:h dear</u> I wanna be British' so
6		it's the opposite then
7	All:	(laugh)
8	Kamila:	I'm the same (laughs) that's true
9	Mirek:	I have to s- (.) I have a similar thing
10	Kuba:	on the plane especially
11	Mirek:	yeah with all those gentlemen with moustache
12	Kuba:	yeah beer drinking
13		[
14	Carol:	yeah is it the plane that's the borderland? (laughs)
15	Mirek:	beer drinking=
16	Kuba:	=at <u>six o'clock</u> in the morning yeah
17	Inter.:	hold on (.) you both have a moustache
18	All:	(laugh out loud)
19	Mirek:	(laughing) no we're talking about a decent moustache like
20		proper
21	Inter.:	sorry I couldn't resist (laughs)
22	All:	(laugh)
23	Kuba:	wearing sandals with thick socks on
24	Mirek:	(laughs)
25	Kuba:	the backpack
26	Mirek:	(laughs) yeah huge bags on Ryanair
27	Kamila:	yeah there are things you like about your country but there
28		are things you hate

While attributing stances to others is considered 'characteristic of conflict talk' (Coupland and Coupland, 2009: 229), in this exchange it emerges as ratified

mockery. When Kuba's Welsh partner, Carol, ridicules his contradictory positioning in relation to his nationality and theatrically quotes his anti-national utterance (5–6), her stance attribution meets with acceptance from the target. Moreover, Kuba uses this ascribed stance as an opportunity to perform jocular self-othering.

Interestingly, all migrants claim the negative positioning attributed to Kuba by Carol – Kamila (8) Mirek (9) and Kuba (10). Additionally, they align affectively with one another through laughter (e.g. 7–8), hyperboles (*all those gentlemen*, Mirek, 11; *at six o'clock in the morning,* Kuba, 10), and extreme affective verbs (*love, hate*, Kamila, 27–28). Collaboratively sketching the image of a stereotypical Pole, who drinks excessively on a plane, the brothers (Kuba and Mirek) complete each other's utterances (15–16), repeat (12, 15) or paraphrase them (25–26). Their collaboration seems to augment their stereotypical generalisations, further highlighting this self-othering act.

While the exchange comes across as non-malicious self-othering, one could argue that through such stereotyping the migrants situate themselves above their in-group. Derogatively evaluating the flying etiquette of typical co-passengers on flights to Poland in terms of two common cultural markers – consumption habits (Douglas, 1975) and the aesthetics of dressing (Crane, 2000), the speakers re-enact their superiority over the 'mass', thus potentially distancing themselves from their in-group members. This somewhat elitist positioning is detectable in their disalignment with the crude drinking habits of *all those gentlemen*, who drink beer on the plane *at six o'clock in the morning* (16), and look rough – wear a *decent moustache, backpack*, *huge bags* and *sandals with thick socks* (19–26). Just as elitist travellers have been found to position themselves above barbarian tourists (Jaworski and Thurlow, 2009b), in this exchange the transnationals also seem to take a stance of superiority. Positioning themselves against other passengers' 'incompetence' in flying, they simultaneously highlight their expertise in 'doing being' an aeroplane passenger, which Lash and Urry (1994: 253) see as 'emblematic of modernity'.

The migrants agree that it is this particular context of flying back to Poland that stimulates such self-othering. Thus, the aircraft resembles the *borderland*, as observed by Carol (14); it emerges as a 'liminal' (Turner, 1974a–b, 1977), transitory space, in which the participants experience sudden shifts in their identification. Paradoxically, in this case the physical movement towards the

homeland evokes in the migrants feelings of distancing from it. However, such shifts in positioning are not absolute. Interestingly, as observed by Carol (1–3), Kuba's anti-national projections do not rule out his contradictory displays of 'hot nationalism' (Billig, 1995) during sports events. This demonstrates that speakers themselves may be aware of their fluctuating positioning.

Whereas in the above extracts the participants' self-othering suggests some intentionality behind moving away from certain native culinary practices, occasionally the speakers' reflexive accounts revealed that such departure was partly dictated by external factors. In Extract 5.4 below, Maja gives reasons for not following Polish culinary ways, namely the unavailability of certain ingredients and their elevated prices in Britain.

Extract 5.4 – 'I'm not willing to go to a Polish shop and pay more'

Interview 3 with Maja and Miles. The exchange was inspired by Question 6: Do you think your eating habits have changed since you moved to the UK and got together?

```
1   Maja:   there are certain products I can't get hold of (.) actually it's not just
2           to do with my laziness but I'm not willing to go to a Polish shop
3           and pay more (.) because you can get some of those products but
4           they will just overcharge you (.) whereas in Tesco you can get like
5           half of those products so if I rea:lly need something badly then I'll
6           have it but other than that
```

Giddens (1991: 424) explains that in late modernity 'market-governed freedom of individual choice becomes an enveloping framework of individual self-expression'. Hence, social actors want to think of themselves as embracing the available choices, and thus remaining in control of their lives. As Giddens (1991: 81) ironically claims, 'we have no choice but choose'. Maja's reflection on her changing eating habits is a good illustration of a postmodern approach to consumption. Reporting her conscious refusal to purchase overpriced Polish products in England, she projects her postmodern aptitude to make choices. Through her self-reflexivity she frames her unique narrative, not succumbing to the imposed 'meta-narratives' (Lyotard, 1984 [1979]: xxiv) – in this case, the meta-narrative of traditional cooking.

In sum, the data in this section show how the speakers' interactions mark their shifting identification, which sometimes involve explicit positioning against their 'old' culinary Self (individual or collective), as illustrated particularly in

Extracts 5.1–5.3. What is/used to be a part of Self may become mocked and discursively constructed as the Other. However, such projections of departure from certain native consumption practices, and thus tradition, tend to be jocular and fleeting. The speakers' acts of self-othering seem non-stigmatising and rather function as a tool for negotiating their interactions and identities. This self-othering may be enacted not so much to build social distance from the speakers' in-group members, but to diminish potential social distance in relation to their foreign spouses and/or the receiving country. Additionally, by mocking certain conservative ways from Eastern-European Poland, the speakers seem to display themselves as 'westernised', open-minded transnationals. Occasionally, shifts in culinary repertoires are partly determined by practical reasons (e.g. limited access to native food products). However, ultimately they also involve reflexive decision-making – see Maja's refusal to purchase overpriced foods in Extract 5.4. Such projections carry discourses of 'choice' (Giddens, 1991), and thus potentially convey the speakers' postmodern positioning.

Such potential postmodern positioning emerges also when the speakers perform 'going native' acts – eagerly engage with foreign foodscapes, which I address in the following section.

5.2 *Postmodern stance through culinary 'going native'*

In Section 5.1, I have analysed how the speakers perform self-othering acts in the culinary context. The speakers' shifting positions towards their own foodscapes concurrently reflect and shape their positioning towards others' food repertoires. As the members of these transnational families at times depart from their native food practices to explore the culinary practices of their foreign partners, they may become attracted to those novel foodscapes. The data show that alongside occasional resentment towards the culinary Other, the participants eagerly adopt some culinary practices of the opposite side and/or even display them as their own. Thus, what in one context is 'othered'/'exoticised', on other occasions can be projected by the speakers as part of their culinary repertoires, offering them new potential for self-identification.

These displays of new allegiances emerge in the data through the participants' recurrent performances of symbolic competence in the food

repertoires of their foreign partners. Analysing these acts, I adapt the term 'going native', seeing some analogy between these symbolic culinary performances and what Malinowski (1922) considers the researcher's active participation in the foreign cultures under study. Indeed, members in transnational families resemble 'explorers' discovering the Other's culinary practices. Imagining them as exotic, they immerse themselves in these new foodscapes. The term 'going native' is also used by Jaworski (2009) and Thurlow and Jaworski (2010) to describe instances of tourists fleetingly performing symbolic competence in the language of the visited country. Such linguistic 'going native' is also present in the data and will be analysed in Chapter 7 (Extracts 7.9–7.11). However, in the current section, I focus on *culinary* 'going native'. Similarly to the self-othering acts presented in Section 5.1, 'going native' (and exoticising of the Other, which it tends to involve), can potentially reflect the speakers' postmodern stance. To explore this potential, I analyse the transnational partners' positioning acts towards the Other and self-reflexivity they convey. As I demonstrate, these interactions also reveal broader metacultural commentaries.

Moving on to the data analysis, Extract 5.5 below represents an instance of 'going native', with the participants putting on show the newly acquired culinary practices of their new locality.

Extract 5.5 – 'I thought I would make something British'

Figure 5.1 – *Video-recording 2 (family visit, England, 2011). Kuba and Carol with Mirek and Kamila are hosting a meal for their relatives visiting from Poland, Ela and Leon (Mirek and Kuba's parents).*

```
1   Mirek:   okay baked potatoes (.) these are the fillings (.) so you take a
2            potato you either cut it in half or make a huge hole in the middle
3            and put some filling inside (.) this is cottage cheese (.) tuna (.)
4            and these are salads (.) that's curry dressing slightly spicy
5            Indian-like (.) that's thousand island-like dressing (.) and that's
6            Kuba's (.) we had it yesterday (stands up) and as this is a
7            celebration of Dad's birthday I thought that we may have some
8            Chicago yeah?
9   Leon:    oh yeah Chicago
```

10	Mirek:	(turns the music on) okay enjoy
11		(fragment omitted)
12	Ela:	*skórka jest nawet dobra wiecie?*
13		the skin is even good you know?
14	Mirek:	*no ja mówię (.) skórka jest <u>najlepsza</u>* (.) the skin of the potato
15		that's what I mean (.) the skin is <u>the best</u>
16	Kuba:	what? you <u>can't</u> eat this (jokingly)
17	Mirek:	you can eat it
18	Kamila:	cannot?
19	Carol:	yeah you can you can
20	Ela:	is it traditional English food Carol?
21	Carol:	I don't know
22	Kuba:	((check it on the Internet?))
23	Mirek:	well they have it in every pub
24	Carol:	yeah I guess so
25		(fragment omitted)
26	Leon:	<*o ziemniaki pyszne synek*>
27		<oh delicious potatoes sonny>
28	Kuba:	<tasty>
29	Leon:	more than tasty (.) <u>delicious</u>
30	Mirek:	glad you like it (2.0) very simple but I thought I would make
31		something British
32	Leon:	are they British?
33	Mirek:	possibly because they have so many here (.) very different
34		recipes (.) maybe American but definitely
35		[
36	Ela:	but it's a good idea this with potatoes
37	Mirek:	it's a different idea yeah
38	Carol:	uhm
39	Leon:	you put some salt pepper ((whatever))?
40	Mirek:	yeah you have to like salt them (.) not salt them (.) gently
41		spread olive oil and then spices
42		[
43	Kamila:	oil and spices yeah?
44	Mirek:	some marjoram (.) pepper (.) paprika

During this meal, the hosts choose to serve jacket potatoes to their visitors from the homeland, Poland. Migrants – Mirek, Kuba and Kamila display the dish as typically British, arguably to impress their visiting relatives with the newly adopted culinary practices of the receiving country. Highlighting their culinary proficiency in the local cuisine, the hosts seem to perform culinary 'going native'. It seems that the new locality and its foodscapes begin to constitute novel vistas for the migrants' self-identification. What initially was foreign is gradually being explored, adopted to finally become displayed as part of the migrants' culinary repertoires. This way the speakers may exhibit their new cultural allegiances, as a result of which the perceived Otherness appears to permeate Selfhood.

Like Gabi in Extract 4.7 and Maja in Extract 4.11, Mirek acts as a 'culinary guide', explaining in detail to the 'novice' how the dish should be assembled and eaten (1–6). The impressed visitors on numerous occasions compliment the food. For example, Ela is amazed that even the skin of the potato is tasty (12). This leads to a joking comment from Kuba (16), who denies that the potato skin is suitable for consumption, sarcastically echoing the old-fashioned belief from the homeland that potato skin is 'inedible'. Potentially, through his sarcasm Kuba distances himself from the thinking represented by his in-group members, projecting his novel, cosmopolitan 'connoisseurship of [food]' (Szerszynski and Urry, 2002: 470).

Following Urban's (2001: 3) and Tomlinson's (2002: 25) theorising that cultural products carry commentaries on 'culture' itself, it could be claimed that the whole meal becomes a reflexivity 'feast'. To talk about specific artefacts, here it is the dish, jacket potatoes, that surfaces as reflexively salient, being the conscious choice of the hosts. Moreover, the food stimulates further reflexivity, which surfaces in Ela's question directed to Carol – *Is it traditional English food?* (20). Being the only British national at the table, Carol is ascribed an 'expert' stance by Ela. As Carol is reluctant to assess if the dish is British, Mirek furnishes evidential information asserting that *they have it in every pub* (23). The contrast between Mirek's bold assertion despite being non-native and Carol's hesitation despite being local is quite prominent. It highlights the migrants' aspirations for expertise in the local cuisine, which may be less relevant for the locals themselves.

The compliment offered by Leon (26) triggers further reflexivity and Mirek reveals his intentions behind the food choice – *I thought I would make something British* (30–31). This time he assigns the British label to jacket potatoes more tentatively – he hedges his statement with *possibly* and mentions other potential origins. When Mirek concludes with an unfinished statement – *Maybe American but definitely...* (34)*,* one could imagine this sentence finishing: 'but definitely not Polish'. When I later asked him to finish this statement, Mirek responded: *but definitely not something I tried anywhere else*. Whether originally American or British, the 'exotic' dish has entered Mirek's culinary repertoire and he wants to share it with his visitors from Poland. It is interesting that Carol remains quiet throughout this last exchange, probably less excited about what in her eyes is simple *pub food* (see her evaluation during the interview, Extract 5.6 below) and

potentially not wanting to spoil this British culinary performance by her Polish flatmates.

The exchange also demonstrates the processes of cultural replication and dissemination which, along with reflexivity, are central to Urban's (2001) theory of 'metaculture'. Reproducing this recipe in front of the visitors from the homeland and literally passing it onto them (40–44), the hosts not only accomplish self-presentation of the 'new' Self, but also disseminate the novel food practice beyond its locality. It could be argued that such culinary 'going native' combined with the speakers' reflexivity, indexes their cosmopolitan aspirations, simultaneously projecting their postmodern stance.

When interviewed after the event, the participants admitted to staging for their visitors what they perceived as British food, as illustrated below.

Extract 5.6 – '...because it's British and that's the main motivation'

Interview 2 with Kuba and Carol, and Mirek and Kamila. Question 2: So the visit that you recorded, how did it go (jacket potatoes seemed to be a big hit)?

1	All:	(laugh)
2	Kuba:	(competing with Mirek) well they were alright (.) we had a meal
3		the day before when <u>we</u> made food and I think it was better
4		than jacket potatoes and whatever else was there (.) but yeah
5	Carol:	there was too much cheese (.) your mum was really upset
6		about it
7	Kuba:	apparently but my dad liked it
8	Mirek:	well pasta bake is your signature meal (1.0) jacket potatoes is
9		the meal I make for anybody who comes here because it's
10		British and that's the main motivation
11	Carol:	is it really British?
12	Mirek:	yeah (1.0) pretty British I would say
13		[
14	Carol:	really?
15	Kuba:	and healthy
16	Carol:	(2.0) it's pub food [M: laughs] (ironically) <I think maybe it's
17		healthy?> (giggles)
18	Kamila:	yeah but parents enjoyed it because it was new for them

During this exchange Mirek discloses his intentions behind preparing jacket potatoes for the visitors – it is the meal he makes for everybody who comes over *because it's British* (9–10). This time Carol questions whether the dish is British (11). Similarly to the exchange during the meal, Mirek fairly confidently evaluates jacket potatoes as *pretty British* (12). When Kuba aligns with his brother adding

that the dish is *healthy* (15), Carol cannot help a sarcastic, de-exoticising comment that it is in fact *pub food* (16), rarely associated with healthiness. Finally, Kamila stresses the 'novelty factor', claiming that parents enjoyed the dish because *it was new to them* (18), whatever its origin. Hence, the participants' self-reflexivity elicited during the interview adheres to my interpretations of the spontaneously occurring video-data (Extract 5.5). The migrants admit to their exoticising stance, confirming the displays of the newly adopted local cuisine for visitors from the homeland.

A similar act of culinary 'going native' is performed by Eliza, who displays a full English breakfast in front of her brother visiting from Poland. This time the British side, Eliza's partner Liam, co-constructs this culinary display.

Extract 5.7 – 'You must definitely try it with beans, English-style'

Figure 5.2 – Video-recording 7 (Family reunion, England, 2011). From bottom-left corner (clock-wise): Eliza, Liam and Kacper, Eliza's brother.

1	Eliza:	this is kind of English full breakfast that we sort of eat (.) because
2		there is like at least two more (.) three more things (.) you can
3		have it with mushrooms (.) with=
4	Liam:	=hash browns
5	Eliza:	hash browns (.) hash browns are *takie ziemniaczane placuszki*
6		sort of small potato scones
7	Kacper:	uhum
8	Eliza:	*trochę jak ryba smakują*
9		they taste a bit like fish
10	Liam:	the third thing is that black?
11	Eliza:	yeah I'm thinking black pudding (.) *kaszanka* taka w plasterkach*
12		sort of *kaszanka* in slices
13		(2.0)
14	Eliza:	*o a tu masz fasolkę (.) musisz spróbować z fasolką koniecznie*
15		oh and here you have beans (.) you must definitely try it with beans
16		(passes the bowl to Kacper, Figure 5.2)
17	Kacper:	*dzięki*
18		thanks
19	Eliza:	*po angielsku (.) spróbuj*
20		English-style (.) try it
21	Kacper:	*dobra*

```
22              okay
23    Eliza:    I'm saying to him that he definitely needs to try beans
24    Liam:     oh yeah (.) you've got to have beans for a full English
25              (fragment omitted)
26    Eliza:    I never used to like English full breakfast but Liam didn't like
27              scrambled egg (.) jajecznicy nie lubił
28                            he didn't like scrambled egg
29    Liam:     it's not that I didn't like scrambled egg it was just that I wasn't
30              used to your version**
31    Eliza:    yeah because of=
32    Liam:     =big bits of onion
33    Eliza:    because if he eats scrambled eggs it's just eggs (2.0) the nice
34              thing about full English is that it keeps you going for the whole day
35              (.) do you like it Kacper?
36    Kacper:   uhum
```

*'Polish-style' black pudding
**'Polish-style' scrambled egg is often made with onion, sausage and/or mushrooms

Throughout this exchange Eliza positions herself as an 'expert' on full English breakfasts – she lists the dish components and describes them to her brother (Polish), who is new to the concept. Her 'expert' stancetaking is exhibited mainly epistemically, for instance through deontic modality (*you must definitely try it with beans,* 15), comparisons (5, 8, 11), opinion stating (*I'm thinking black pudding*, 11), and evaluation (*it keeps you going for the whole day*, 34). Additionally, her expertise is emphasised semiotically through gesture (e.g. passing the beans to Kacper), or even the food presentation (arrangement on the plate). Therefore, similarly to Mirek in Extract 5.5, Eliza acts as a 'culinary guide' during the meal, leading Kacper through this foreign foodscape, which she is now familiar with.

Eliza's partner, Liam, co-constructs this exoticising 'show' of British cuisine. The couple display various 'collaborative floor' strategies (Edelsky, 1993 [1981]); Coates, 1997 [1995]) – when jointly listing the breakfast components, they complete each other's utterances (3–4), repeat them (4–5), or guess the utterances to come (10). A clear act of co-constructed stancetaking occurs when Eliza interprets for Liam what has been said in Polish to accommodate him (23). Moreover, she ascribes an 'expert' stance to him, when she seeks a confirmation that what she said about beans is correct. As a 'student' of Liam in British cuisine, Eliza may also want to please him by circulating the knowledge he once passed onto her. This potentially displays asymmetry between her non-native, newly acquired expertise on full English breakfasts and Liam's 'superior', native

knowledge. Nonetheless, the couple jointly exhibit this local speciality in front of the visitor from abroad. Displaying this stereotypical dish imagined as traditionally British, they stage their culinary 'authenticity' (MacCannell, 1973), 'keeping up appearances for the Other' (Dervin and Gao, 2012b: 562).

Eliza's performance of symbolic competence in the local cuisine resembles culinary 'going native'. Displaying the dish as part of her own culinary repertoire, Eliza symbolically marks the sociocultural shift she has undergone through her migration and transitional relationship. Like jacket potatoes in Extract 5.5 or carp in Extracts 4.8 and 4.14, here it is full English breakfast which is elevated to a national emblem. It becomes a 'waved flag' that Eliza raises up in front of her brother (Kacper) to present her new, 'British' Self. Thus, it could be said that Eliza performs Billig's (1995) 'hot nationalism', however, on this occasion she indexes her new allegiance with the receiving country. The use of nation labels (e.g. *English-style*, 20) again seems to reflect how social actors tend to perceive nations as homogenous. Such discourses can reproduce 'the image of their communion' (Anderson, 2006 [1983]: 6), here in culinary terms.

During the interview with Eliza and Liam and their friends, Gabi and John, culinary 'going native' emerged as a recurrent practice in their households, which is illustrated in Extract 5.8.

Extract 5.8 – 'Marmite, peanut butter, roast'

Interview 1 with Eliza and Liam, and their friends, Gabi and John. Question 7:
When you've got people coming to visit for example from Poland, how do you
entertain them?

```
1    Gabi:   we buy different British ales don't we? [J: yeah] we make full
2            English for everyone to taste
3                          [
4    John            marmite
5    Gabi:   ma:rmite (.) and you do your roast
6                          [              [
7    John:                 peanut butter    roast yeah
8    Gabi:   so we want to show English
9                    [                [
10   Eliza:  lemon zest        lemon?
11   Liam:   lemon curd (.) your brother loves lemon curd
12                  [
13   Eliza:  curd that's it
14   Gabi:   oh I don't do that
15   Liam:   your sister loved mince pies she never had them
16   Eliza:  yeah it's more (.) it's not about food really
```

17	Gabi:	we are quite <u>a lot</u> about food aren't we? (giggles) and drinks (.)
18		we <u>wanna</u> show everyone the=
19	Liam:	=the British cuisine
20	Gabi:	yeah that British cuisine it's <u>not</u> that bad
21		[
22	Liam:	which isn't really that cruel
23	Gabi:	oh we always try curry and laugh this is a part of English
24		cuisine [J: yeah] and my mum loves it and each time she
25		comes she wants a curry

In this exchange, all speakers contribute to the discursive framing of a typical British 'culinary show'. However, arguably it is Gabi who is most involved in reporting her tendency to stage British food, and thus to perform 'going native'. It emerges through her *high-involvement style* – employment of discursive features that 'put the signalling load on interpersonal involvement' (Tannen, 2005 [1984]: 40). These features include Gabi's swift topic shifts, fast turn-taking and eagerness to tell the story. Indicative are also her 'expressive paralinguistics', i.e. expressive intonation, pitch, amplitude and rhythm (Tannen, 2005 [1984]: 33). For instance, Gabi lays an extra emphasis on her utterances (17–18), uses phonological lengthening (5), and laughs (17). This high-involvement style highlights Gabi's eagerness to 'go native' and to appear competent in British cuisine.

On a few occasions, Gabi stresses the intentions behind such food displays through affective verbs – we *want to* show English (8), we *wanna* show everyone...the British cuisine (18, 20). She confirms that her and John put British food on show for Polish visitors. Interestingly, the displays are also intended to elevate the reputation of British cuisine (*We wanna show…that British cuisine, it's not that bad*, 18–20). This reputation is implied to be poor also by Liam (Eliza's British partner), through his attuned, fully-overlapped comment – *…which isn't really that cruel* (22). Simultaneously voiced, their utterances suggest that they both encountered critical evaluations of British cuisine from Polish nationals, though they could be just echoing general stereotypes about British food circulated internationally. Reporting her desire to present this part of 'Britishness' in a favourable light, Gabi seems to perform a symbolic act of loyalty towards the receiving country.

Apart from full English, it is marmite, roast, lemon curd and ales that are displayed as 'quintessence' of British cuisine, and must be tasted by visitors for a complete British culinary experience. Nonetheless, the speakers seem to be partly

aware of the complexity of British cuisine. Closing the exchange, Gabi mentions *curry* (23–25), which is added to the list of 'exotic' British foods to be tried by Polish visitors, despite its different origin. The speakers' awareness of it shows how they play with the notion of 'Britishness'. It also reveals how, for Polish partners, 'Britishness' may in fact be about what is not Polish rather than what is British.

This extract further demonstrates how the speakers' stances can be inconsistent. While in Extract 5.1 Gabi mocks excessive displays of native cuisine among co-migrants, in the above fragment she mirrors this practice by putting on show her new 'British' culinary Self in the same superficial manner. Therefore, while the exchange carries postmodern positioning through the speakers' reflexivity, 'choice' discourse (Giddens, 1991) and cosmopolitan appeal (Szerszynski and Urry, 2002), inadvertently it also discursively recreates Anderson's 'imagined communities' (2006 [1983]) and circulates ideologies of tradition. It seems that the speakers, particularly the migrant side, paradoxically replace the imagined traditionality from the homeland with a new one – that of the receiving country.

'Going native' was reported also by the British side in relation to the culinary practices of their Polish partners. Some instances of exoticising of Polish cuisine have already been illustrated in the analysis in Section 4.4. As signalled in Chapter 4, such practices are mutually perpetuating – staging Self is encouraged by the 'gazing' Other (Urry, 2002 [1990]), who craves the exotic and seeks to 'go native'. The following extract illustrates this correlation between the participants' 'going native' and self-exoticising on the part of locals.

Extract 5.9 – 'Right, bring it on!'

Interview 1 with Eliza and Liam, and their friends, Gabi and John. The exchange was inspired by Question 4: How would you compare Polish and British celebrations of major holidays?

1	Eliza:	I find English weddings much shorter
2	Gabi:	yeah
3	Liam:	especially the ceremonies
4	Eliza:	ceremonies yeah and I can compare from Liam's point of
5		view I know that he was really proud because at the first
6		wedding he managed to stay up till two and then we went
7		home
8	Liam:	I wasn't proud that I was up at two

```
9    Eliza:   no you weren't proud but last time we were there till five or six
10            and he was really proud that he stayed up
11   Liam:    that's cos all your family (.) some kind of thing's been built up
12            about me like 'Oh he is English (.) can't handle vodka'
13   All:     (laugh)
14   Liam:    so I'm like 'RIGHT (.) BRING IT ON (.) I'll show you the lot'
15   All:     (laugh)
```

Reflecting on his recent wedding experience in Poland, Liam reveals feeling pressurised by Eliza's family to adjust to the local vodka consumption habits. Liam uses 'represented discourse' (Johansson, 2000: 78), i.e. quotes external voices, to perform his disalignment with the 'jocular abuse' (Rampton, 1995b) he was subject to during the event, being stereotypically branded as an Englishman who *can't handle vodka* (12). Emotionally loaded with 'expressive paralinguistics' (Tannen, 2005 [1984]) – loudness, marked voice quality and extra emphasis (14), his self-quotes reveal how this symbolic act of vodka drinking was performed by him to satisfy the 'gazing', self-exoticising locals (Eliza's Polish family). Such provoked 'going native' exemplifies how transnational contact involves 'the mutual gaze' (Maoz, 2006: 222) – the tourist and local gazes co-exist and 'feed' each other.

To summarise this section, through their willingness to 'go native', the speakers reveal their postmodern aptitude to swiftly navigate between various foodscapes they encounter through their transnational contact. The above exchanges also illustrate how crossing into Otherness can be only momentary (Rampton, 1995a: 14) – social actors can effortlessly shift back and forth between various sociocultural repertoires depending on the context. For members in transnational families such shifts seem to constitute an everyday occurrence. As a result, what the speakers may perceive as separate Self and Other continuously permeate, which I discuss further when summarising this chapter (Section 5.4).

In Section 5.3 below, I explore how the speakers' culinary interactions project postmodern positioning through downplaying traditional culinaro-celebratory practices, emphasising their modern, secular approach to them and declaring postmodernist spirit at large.

5.3 Postmodern stance through downplaying tradition

The participants' postmodern stance seems also detectable in their anti-traditional and post-national discourses in the culinary context, which I examine in this section. The exchanges presented below also touch on broader aspects of traditional celebrations and national affiliations that culinary practices are related to, hence they are relevant to the discussion on the speakers' postmodern stance projections.

In the following extract, all the speakers seem to voice their relaxed approach to traditional ways of celebrating Easter.

Extract 5.10 – 'It's not much about tradition'

Interview 1 with Eliza and Liam, and their friends, Gabi and John. The exchange followed on from Question 2: So the Easter you recorded, how did it go?

1	Gabi:	normally Eliza does all the Polish dishes (laughs) [E: yes]
2		I can't do many Polish dishes anymore (.) well I never did
3	Eliza:	no Gabi lived in Germany for a few years
4	Inter.:	a:h okay
5		[
6	Gabi:	so if we have Polish dishes it's either from Eliza or from
7		my mum (.) I don't do much (3.0) and then what we do? it's
8		more like we're here (.) just a social isn't it?
9	Eliza:	yeah just relaxed really
10	Gabi:	it's not much about tradition (.) a bit
11	Eliza:	well it's to be together [G: yeah] isn't it?
12	Liam:	yeah (.) and it's not about tradition for me and John anyway
13	Eliza:	no
14	Gabi:	(laughs)
15	Liam:	tradition is chocolate [G: yeah] in some form

Reflecting on her last Easter, Gabi declares her incompetence in Polish cuisine. Evaluating their Easter celebrations as *a social* (8), she emphasises her secular approach to the holiday, which is highlighted through a 'downgrader' (Wilamová, 2005: 89) – *just* (8). All the speakers align with Gabi that their celebrations are *not much about tradition* (10). For example, Eliza echoes Gabi's stance by rephrasing her evaluation (*just relaxed really*, 9) and by further stressing the general socialising aspect of the holiday – *it's to be together* (11). Likewise, Liam displays his alignment by directly repeating Gabi's claim (12). Additionally, he emphasises that lack of the traditional dimension particularly applies to him and John (British).

His claim becomes augmented by his synecdoche (*tradition is chocolate,* 15), through which he reductively describes British Easter tradition with its constituent part – chocolate. Engaging in such reflexivity on sociocultural repertoires is characteristic of postmodern individuals (Giddens, 1991: 35). In postmodernity, people become 'reflexive subjects' (Lash and Urry, 1994), eagerly analysing their sociocultural condition. Displaying 'incredulity' (Lyotard, 1984 [1979]: xxiv) towards 'large-scale interpretations' (Harvey, 1989: 9), the participants construct their own narratives of unique, postmodern Self. Upon the speakers' reflexivity, their stances undergo shifts, demonstrating how stance is 'an emergent product which is shaped by and itself shapes the unfolding development of interaction' (Wu, 2004: 3). On this occasion, the participants choose to circulate discourses of anti-traditionality, potentially further projecting their postmodern positioning.

Extract 5.11 below illustrates how tradition and the cultural scripts imposed by it may be framed by social actors as a 'burden'.

Extract 5.11 – 'I'd love to actually free myself from tradition'

Interview 1 with Eliza and Liam, and their friends, Gabi and John. The exchange was inspired by Question 5: <u>Has the way you celebrate changed since you moved to the UK and got together?</u>

1	Gabi:	I'd love to actually free myself from tradition (.) I'd like to be
2		able to do like English people do (.) just go and travel for
3		Christmas holiday (.) use that holiday (2.0) but I don't know if
4		I would be able to do that (laughs)
5	Eliza:	well in an ideal world I would do the same but yeah it's ehm
6		money and holiday time as in time off work so yeah
7	Gabi:	yeah

While not strictly about food practices, the exchange concerns the related topic of traditional celebrating, revealing the speakers' stance on their cultural legacy at large. Stating metaphorically that she would like to *free* herself from it (1), Gabi constructs tradition as a kind of prison. Hsiao and Su (2010: 1380) argue that metaphorical expressions and the emotions they carry 'increase speakers' intersubjectification to indicate their stance for interactive purposes'. Apart from the metaphor, Gabi's statement includes other affective stance predicates such as affective verbs (*love*, *like*), which further magnify her wish to escape tradition.

Lines 2–3 bring a comparison with British people, who are generalised as 'tradition-free'. Their western, secular approach to Christmas holidays seems to

constitute a source of aspiration for Gabi. Although she would like to 'be like the Other', her conclusive remark stresses the inescapability of her imprisonment in tradition (4). Eliza aligns with Gabi's positive evaluation of the British secular approach to Christmas holidays, also seeing it as an *ideal* scenario (5). However, similarly to Gabi, she doubts its feasibility, unmasking the impracticalities of the alternative, non-traditional way of celebrating – *money and holiday time*.

The above extract illustrates how epistemic stancetaking can be loaded with affect, making Ochs' (1996; see also Wu, 2004) 'affective' and 'epistemic' distinction not always practical, as previously observed by Du Bois and Kärkkäinen (2012: 442). Positioning themselves against the traditional way of celebrating Christmas, the speakers affectively and epistemically construct a 'tradition-free' world as an unattainable dream. Thus, their epistemic and affective stance predicates are mutually perpetuating, and jointly highlight the speakers' anti-traditional, postmodern projections.

Apart from downplaying traditionality, the data included transnational families' verbalised claims to (post)modernity. In the extract below, the speakers' postmodern stance emerges in their relaxed approach towards laborious Christmas preparations but it is also verbally self-ascribed by the partners, as they attach a label of 'modernity' to their culinary practices.

Extract 5.12 – 'It's a modern Christmas miracle'

Figure 5.3 –Video-recording 6 (Maja and Miles's Christmas Day celebration, England, 2011).

```
1    Miles:   soups look like they're quite a winner (1.0) with that liquidiser I
2             found=
3    Maja:    (breathy laughter) =and managed to get it to work
4    Miles:   well there you go (.) YA:Y
5    Maja:    Christmas miracle (smiles)
6    Miles:   (laughs) that was what you put on Facebook yesterday wasn't
7             it? [Ma: hm] (laughs) 'A Christmas miracle (.) I'm cooking'
8    Maja:    yep (laughs) mostly it was cooked out of a jar but hey (laughs)
9    Miles:   shh (.) it's a modern Christmas miracle
10   Maja:    uhum
```

11	Miles:	mind *żurek** looks quite easy to make
12	Maja:	yeah just open the packet (chuckles)
13	Miles:	(laughs)

a Polish soup made of soured rye flour and meat

In this exchange, the couple joke about their Christmas meal preparations. Particularly Maja exhibits her relaxed attitude to traditional recipes. Openly admitting to the shortcuts she resorts to, such as cooking *out of a jar* (8) and *packet* (12), Maja suggests her lack of traditional cooking skills. Unmasking her convenience cooking, Maja could be constructing her anti-traditional, postmodern stance towards culinary practices and potentially towards traditional scripts at large, e.g. those related to societal and gender roles. For example, she could be positioning herself against the 'domestic goddess' stereotype, which demands cooking skills from women.

Miles seems to co-construct Maja's stance of anti-traditionality. Incorporating her exteriorised postmodern voice through represented discourse ('*A Christmas miracle – I'm cooking'),* Miles reveals Maja's convergent positioning in a different context (social media). His utterance seems to not only reinforce the stance already taken by Maja, but it could also be conveying his attuned positioning. This reading is supported by Miles's collaboration displayed throughout the exchange – he laughs along with Maja (6–7, 13), uses enthusiastic interjection *YA:Y* (4), and a conspiratory onomatopoeia *shh* (9), acting as an 'accomplice' in her convenience cooking 'crime'. Moreover, Miles builds on Maja's sarcastic comment from her Facebook post, and rephrasing it, he ironically brands their celebratory meal as a <u>*modern*</u> *Christmas miracle* (9).

A particularly powerful postmodern statement came from Carol, who explicitly claimed post-national positioning, as illustrated below.

Extract 5.13 – 'I'm kind of a postmodernist'

Interview 2 with Kuba and Carol, and Mirek and Kamila. The participants' self-driven discussion on identities/nationalities.

1	Mirek:	I think that those separate identities and nationalities (.) it's
2		maybe too general but that's what Europe is beginning to have
3		a problem with and it's totally different in States which were
4		built on the idea of mixing and combined marriages of different
5		nationalities whereas here we still (.) as we discussed in the

6		morning (.) we still keep our nationalities pretty important and
7		there are still some borderlines that are no longer present in
8		States
9	Carol:	yeah but in Britain I don't think nationalities (.) we were talking
10		about it only yesterday how I <u>don't</u> feel Welsh (.) I <u>don't</u> like to
11		be considered Welsh
12	Mirek:	cos you started with United Kingdom yeah? you were with the
13		United Kingdom
14	Carol:	yeah but I don't particularly care about being British either (.)
15		I personally don't believe in boundaries and I'm kind of a
16		postmodernist in that respect
17	Mirek:	yeah that's how it should be

Whereas not referring to food practices, the above exchange reflects how at times the speakers display awareness of their postmodern positioning. Framing *separate identities and nationalities* as problematic (Mirek, 1–3) and undesirable (Carol, 9–11, 14–16), both Mirek and Carol on this occasion project their post-national beliefs, characteristic of postmodern positioning. This postmodern stance is particularly prominent in Carol's utterances. Her strong disalignment with 'Welshness', 'Britishness' and boundaries in general, is emotionally loaded through affective verbs and additional emphasis (*I <u>don't</u> feel, I <u>don't</u> like,* 10; *I don't...care, I don't believe*, 14–15). Interestingly, Carol shows awareness of her postmodern discourse by explicitly branding her positioning as *postmodernist* (16), which stance Mirek aligns with –*That's how it should be* (17).

While Carol marks her stance on an individual level, Mirek's utterances additionally reconstruct his collective identity as a European. Opting for the personal pronoun *we* (5–6), Mirek somewhat identifies himself with Europe. However, his comparison with liberal, 'boundary-free' States (7–8) seems to index his disalignment with European conservatism. This is better illustrated when Mirek distances himself from the European emphasis on separate nationalities, by speaking of Europe in third person singular, and negatively contrasting it with the 'open-to-mixing' USA (1–5).

This account on identities and nationalities was self-driven by the participants, demonstrating their aptitude to engage in self-deliberation, which is seen as typical of postmodern, reflexive individuals (Lash and Urry, 1994: 31). Additionally, the exchange reveals that such reflexivity is recurrent and constitutes an integral part of their existence – …*as we discussed in the morning* (5–6); *We were talking about it only yesterday* (9–10). As the speakers repeatedly re-position

themselves towards their nationalities and the idea of nation in general, their identities (individual and collective) becomes 'reflexively organised, in an open fashion, and on a continuous basis' (Giddens, 1991: 91).

In Section 5.4 below, I summarise the above projections of postmodern positioning, discussing what they reveal about the speakers' representations of their cultures, traditions and nations.

5.4   Summary

Whereas the data in Chapter 4 showed how transnationals may desire to make deliberate 'statements of continuity' (Janowski, 2012) through their performances of traditional culinary practices, the current chapter reveals that the speakers concurrently index 'statements of change'. To exhibit their transforming sociocultural repertoires, the speakers at times choose to distance themselves from their native foodscapes, performing self-othering, as demonstrated in Section 5.1. Stating who they are not anymore, the transnationals index their fluctuating identities. Correspondingly, they project their 'new' culinary loyalties. This is recurrently performed by the participants in the data through 'going native', as shown in Section 5.2. Such performances of symbolic competence in foreign foodscapes, particularly by the migrant side, could be interpreted as highlighting the speakers' desire to disassociate with their 'former' culinary ways.

Whether discursive distancing from the homeland and shifting towards the receiving country leads to what is seen as Self becoming the Other and/or the Other becoming Self remains disputable. Studying positioning towards tradition among Polish migrants in Iceland, Wojtyńska (2011: 125) stresses that there exists 'a gap between declarations and practice'. When juxtaposed with Chapter 4, the data in the current chapter unmasks how the speakers' stances can be inconsistent and somewhat conflicting. It is apparent that in these transnational relationships the Self-Other dichotomy becomes ever more blurred, even if it continues to be framed by the partners, who tend to 'see culture everywhere' (Breindenbach and Nyíri, 2009; Dervin, 2013). Although at times the speakers may think of themselves as bounded entities belonging to specific locations/cultures, through their constant shifts between various sociocultural repertoires, what counts as Self and the Other increasingly blurs. This seems to contest the

functionality of this binary opposition, as previously criticised by Butler (1993) in the context of sexual identities, or by Bhabha (2004 [1994]) in relation to cultural identities.

To relate my analysis to Anderson's (2006 [1983]) idea of 'imagined communities', it seems that the analysed 'statements of change' also echo discourses of homogenous nations, traditions and cultures (as do the speakers' 'statements of continuity' analysed in Chapter 4). However, the participants' displays of transition seem to additionally carry postmodern discourses as they index the speakers' openness to change and ability to embrace the perceived sociocultural differences in their partners. Repeatedly engaging in self-reflexivity and displaying their agency in utilising the 'expansion of choice' (Giddens, 1999: 5), the participants construct their postmodern stance. Particularly powerful postmodern statements have been illustrated in Section 5.3. In those exchanges, the speakers downplayed tradition by projecting their secular, individualised approach to certain traditional culinaro-celebratory practices (e.g. *it's just a social…it's not much about tradition*, Gabi, Extract 5.10). The data in Section 5.3 has also exemplified how some participants evaluate their culinaro-celebratory practices as 'modern' (*it's a modern Christmas miracle,* Miles, Extract 5.12), or even explicitly declare their post-national, postmodernist outlook (*I don't believe in boundaries…I'm kind of postmodernist*, Carol, Extract 5.13). This demonstrates that, at times, the speakers consciously reject 'imagined communities' and opt for postmodern discourses. Nevertheless, this positioning is not absolute – these projections continuously overlap with other stances (e.g. contrasting traditional acts examined in Chapter 4), which highlights the ever-changing and dialogic (Bakhtin, 1981) nature of the speakers' identities.

In the following chapter, I explore how the participants minimise difference and perform a transnational, cosmopolitan coupledom/family by employing various discursive strategies, which paradoxically include forms of othering. Not unlike Piller (2002), I will demonstrate how the speakers re-enact hybridity by 'merging' their sociocultural repertoires. While such discourses of 'mixing'/'merging' may still reflect 'seeing culture everywhere' (Breindenbach and Nyíri, 2009; Dervin, 2013) and essentialising it, I argue that this way the speakers construct 'third spaces' (Bhabha, 2004 [1994]), in which Self-Other opposition ultimately falls into

insignificance. It is in those spaces that the transnationals find their new, unique cultural meanings to identify with.

Chapter 6 – Projecting 'othering' stance through culinary talk and practices in transnational families

In this chapter, I explore how the participants position themselves in relation to differences they observe in the culinary legacies of their foreign partners. As already stressed, a stance act (Du Bois, 2007), i.e. alignment or disalignment, is bidirectional (van Langenhove and Harré, 1999: 22). Thus, positioning towards other speakers concurrently reveals self-positioning. Although positioning towards others may seem mainly constructive of identity on the individual level, I demonstrate how the speakers' stancetaking towards difference is *mutual* and hence, as a shared discursive practice, constitutes a salient index of their joint identity as a transnational family. Therefore, the negotiation of the seemingly divisive sociocultural aspects could paradoxically express and reinforce the participants' joint identity on the couple/family level.

As signalled in Chapter 1, early research on identification in transnational families (e.g. Romano, 1997; Breger and Hill, 1998) has been criticised (cf. Piller, 2002: 186; Bystydzienski, 2011: 6) for portraying such relationships as dysfunctional due to 'cultural differences' between their members. In response to overstressing miscommunication in intermarriage, scholars such as Piller (2002, 2007), Bystydzienski (2011), Dervin (2011, 2013) and Gonçalves (2013) have adopted a different approach. Their works focus on how transnational families successfully negotiate differences, discursively shaping their 'common ground' (Brown and Levinson, 1987 [1978]: 103), i.e. a shared system of values and wants.

The present study also explores how, through construction of joint identities, the members of transnational families can potentially transcend perceived differences. Whereas this chapter is concerned with discourses of difference, it is not to say that discourses of similarity are not present in the data – they are addressed in Chapter 7. First, however, I examine how difference may be constructed by transnationals as a positive phenomenon and/or be employed in interactions strategically, potentially for positive purposes. Whilst transnational partners tend to feel the need to neutralise difference (see Piller, 2002: 219), my

data show that at times they in fact deliberately highlight that perceived divergence.

The deliberateness of such discursive strategies is debatable. However, when contrasted with instances of downplaying differences on other occasions (which will be explored in Chapter 7), the social actors' agency becomes prominent. The transnational families do seem to strategically choose when to up-play and downplay differences. This may lead to projections of contradictory stances (Du Bois, 2007), as already illustrated with traditional versus postmodern discourses in Chapters 4–5. The contrasting discourses of difference and similarity explored in Chapters 6 and 7, respectively, will further demonstrate this inherent dynamism of identification processes during transnational contact.

A discursive strategy of highlighting difference which is recurrent among the participants is their mutual 'othering' (Spivak, 1985), here in the culinary context. As already stressed in the analysis of self-othering acts in Chapter 5 (Section 5.1), this study transcends the prevailing approach to othering as distancing (cf. Lister, 2004: 101) and inferiorising (cf. Schwalbe, Holden and Schrock, 2000: 422) by demonstrating how othering can be jovial in transnational relationships. Othering in the data appears *jocular* and resembles what Rampton (1995a–b) calls 'jocular abuse' – light-hearted mockery of the Other, which in reality expresses and enforces *familiarity* between speakers. It also echoes 'mock impoliteness' when the interlocutors understand that what is being said is 'untrue' (Leech, 1983: 144), and that 'conditions that sustain genuine impoliteness do not apply' (Culpeper, 2011: 208).

From a less positive angle, the speakers' othering may seem to echo *cultural differentialism*, which treats differences as 'uncrossable boundaries' (Taguieff, 2001 [1987]: 247). To operationalise 'cultural differentialism', in his research on racism and antiracism in Britain, Martin (2010, 2013) lists its three components:

- preference for cultural homogeneity,
- belief that peaceful coexistence of different cultures in the same social space is impossible,
- subtle sense of moral superiority of one's own culture (Martin, 2013: 64).

My study draws on the above criteria when examining how the transnational families circulate and/or oppose differentialist discourses in their interactions. The analyses of jocular self-othering and 'going native' acts in Chapter 5 have demonstrated how the participants at times choose to emphasise their 'disalignment' with the native and 'alignment' (Du Bois, 2007) with the foreign, potentially exhibiting the postmodern discourses of non-traditionality and pursuit of the exotic. In this chapter, I explore the speakers' instances of mutual 'culinary othering' – positioning themselves *against* the culinary practices of their foreign partners. While such positioning can be seen as constructive of difference between the speakers, their othering/stereotyping acts seem light-hearted and may be potentially unifying. Even when discursively framing difference as prominent and/or 'uncrossable', the partners inadvertently engage in reflexivity on their condition, ultimately performing 'being' a 'successful' transnational relationship, despite those differences. Such performances seem to project the participants' hybrid but unified transnational coupledom/family. Thus, the speakers' overt reflections on divergence and up-playing it, may paradoxically oppose differentialist discourses, highlighting how the transnational families are at ease with difference. They may help the families to negotiate their culinary legacies and to establish their 'common ground' (Brown and Levinson, 1987 [1978]: 103).

Therefore, not unlike Dervin (2013: 1), I argue that the analysed jocular othering in the culinary context and stereotypes that it involves play a crucial role in reconstructing the speakers' identities on the couple/family level. While relying on the essentialist Self-Other opposition, paradoxically these othering interactions may allow the participants to transcend the perceived boundaries, opposing differentialist ideologies, which are 'haunted by the threat of the destruction of identities through inter-breeding' (Taguieff 1993-1994: 101). Through their mutual culinary othering/stereotyping, the speakers seem to ironically construct their 'successful' transnational family.

Moving on to the data analysis, below I present the participants' interactions in which mutual culinary othering emerges as a recurrent discursive strategy. The exchanges in the data seem to represent a varying degree of othering. In some interactions the speakers only jovially highlighted the differences between their respective culinary repertoires, without implying their strangeness/oddness, which I analyse in Section 6.1. Other acts of jocular othering seemed to emphasise the

strangeness/oddness of the opposite side's foodscapes, which I demonstrate in Section 6.2. Finally, in Section 6.3, I explore how the speakers' othering seemed to jocularly imply not just strangeness but possibly inferiority of the other side, and thus their own superiority. It must be noted that these themes overlap and that the division is only used for organisation purposes rather than to suggest separateness of these discourses. Moreover, the othering acts are not only about stance towards Otherness – 'the Other only exists relative to the Self, and vice versa' (Staszak, 2008: 2). Hence, while I focus on stancetaking in relation to culinary Otherness, these acts inadvertently index the speakers' self-perceptions.

6.1   Jocular othering of culinary difference

It seems that if othering occurs in intimate transnational relationships (and relationships in general) it has to prevail in its non-stigmatising form for partners to effectively negotiate their subject positions. Even when jovial, othering reveals the speakers' approach to the perceived cultural differences. The data show that othering in the culinary context may highlight difference between the members of the participant transnational families. However, arguably this divergence is approached by the speakers light-heartedly, as I illustrate in Extract 6.1 below.

Extract 6.1 – 'The entire cake rack will come out, sandwiches will be produced en masse!'

Interview 3 with Maja and Miles. Inspired by Question 7: <u>What is the role of food during your celebrations and in your relationship?</u>. the couple discuss what they see as different styles of hospitality in their countries.

1	Miles:	there's a big difference in approaches to food (.) I mean like
2		Spanish (.) if you go to someone's house it's not (soft voice)
3		'Would you like a biscuit and a cup of coffee?' (dramatically)
4		the entire cake rack will come out [Ma: I don't mind] sandwiches
5		will be produced en masse okay? it would (.) that doesn't
6		happen in British households
7	Maja:	why not? [Mi: well] you want to save money on your guests
8		isn't it?
9		[
10	Miles:	<u>no</u> <u>not at all</u> (.) I think (breathes out heavily) now I'll try to
11		analyse this cos I never had to think about it before (1.0) I think
12		it's in the Polish and the Spanish eh societies it's showing how
13		<u>hospitable</u> they are by just pulling every (dramatically) 'Here's
14		our <u>enti:re</u> quantity of our cupboards on our table that's how

15		<u>great</u> a host we are' [Ma: <u>yeah</u>] I think in Britain it's just you
16		know (.) just a modest approach okay?
17		(fragment omitted)
18	Miles:	I don't know if it's eh because Poland and Spain are generally
19		kind of poorer cultures (1.0) so that's how they demonstrate
20		this?
21	Maja:	what do you mean poorer? (chuckling)
22	Miles:	what? generally as in
23		[
24	Maja:	you mean economically-wise?
25	Miles:	yeah yeah
26	Maja:	well we're getting better now (.) less rubbish bankers than you
27		have (laughs)
28	Miles:	yeah but
29		[
30	Maja:	and we got Euro 2012 (giggles)
31	Miles:	yes that's very good
32	Maja:	uhum (with satisfaction)

To illustrate the *difference in approaches to food* (1) in Poland and Britain, Miles evaluates divergent hospitality practices in each country. The difference he frames becomes highlighted with Miles affectively exaggerating the volume of food offered to visitors in Polish (and Spanish) households – *the <u>enti:re</u> cake rack will come out, sandwiches will be produced <u>en masse</u>* (4–5). He then contrasts lavish Polish (and Spanish) hospitality with *a modest approach* (16) in Britain. Although Miles's positioning resembles othering, the comical effect achieved through dramatisation seems to lessen its stigmatising potential. This is reflected in Maja's relaxed retort (*I don't mind*, 4) and her mocking counter-othering – *You want to save money on your guests* (7–8).

Maja's cheeky response appears to sanction further othering and Miles continues to mock Polish 'overhospitality'. This time it surfaces through represented discourse – Miles incorporates other voices in his utterance. He quotes 'typical' British hosts (*Would you like a biscuit…?,* 3) versus 'typical' Polish hosts (*Here's our enti:re quantity of our cupboards…*, 13). This is an apt illustration of how quotations can in fact be 'icons of credible utterances from culturally specific types of personas' rather than 'actual words of actual speakers' (Koven, 2001: 514). Such hypothetical utterances can convey typicality and detachment on the part of the speaker (Myers, 1999a: 382–385). This may allow Miles to make his statement more objective (Holt, 1996: 241) and to authenticate it (Holt, 2009). Nevertheless, with hypothetical speech being characteristic for non-serious talk

(Myers, 1999b), Miles's performance can sustain a jocular *key* – 'tone, manner or spirit' (Hymes, 1974: 57). In case this 'key' is not detected by Maja, Miles additionally employs various mitigation strategies, which soften the speech for the hearer (Fraser, 1980: 341). To illustrate, he mitigates his utterances with multiple *hedges* (Lakoff, 1973), e.g. *kind of* (19), *just* (16), and attitudinal hedges (*I mean*, 1; *I think*, 10–11, 15), which function as 'subjectivizers' (Blum-Kulka, 1997: 148). Mitigation is also sensed in his solidarity markers (e.g. *you know*, 16), some of which are additionally hedged through a questioning intonation (*okay?*, 5, 16).

Indeed, Maja does not seem to take Miles's comments as stigmatising. She admits to the lavishness of Polish hosting (15). Her responses carry some defensiveness, for instance, she uses the out-group pronouns *you* and *your* when implying the stinginess of British hosts (7). However, this 'counter-othering' seems jocular and could hardly be interpreted as Maja's attempt to build social distance from Miles. Likewise, in response to Miles's speculation that 'overhospitality' in Poland and Spain stem from the fact that they are *poorer cultures* (18–19), Maja insists on clarifying that this 'poverty' relates to economics (21), which could also seem self-protective. However, the tone of her counter-othering that follows remains jocular – *We're getting better now, less rubbish bankers than you have* (26–27). It is indexed through her laughter (27) and playful bragging – *And we got Euro 2012* (30). Therefore, while Miles's speculations about Polish (and Spanish) 'overhospitality' stemming from their 'economic poverty' may seem to convey 'a subtle sense of moral superiority of [his] own culture' (Martin, 2013: 64), his mitigation strategies (see above) and Maja's mocking responses make such reading less convincing. What this act of mutual jocular othering demonstrates is how these transnational partners effectively 'signpost' their utterances for example through represented discourse (3, 14–15), various mitigation moves (see above), or laughter (27, 30). This way they can strategically navigate also through challenging topics, here economic inequality between their countries.

Whereas the above exchange relates to general culinary practices such as hospitality, othering in the data referred also to specific food products during specific celebrations. Below, two transnational couples reflect on their Easter food repertoires, which leads to mutual othering between the partners representing the Polish and British side.

Extract 6.2 – 'Everything with gherkin'

Interview 1 with Eliza and Liam, and their friends, Gabi and John.
Question 1: <u>Tell me how you usually celebrate Easter?</u>

1	Gabi:	we always have something Polish
2	Eliza:	uhm
3	Liam:	e:ggs
4	Gabi:	I think mostly Polish isn't it?
5	Liam:	everything with gherkin
6		[
7	Gabi:	cos English (.) there's not much tradition (.) the only English
8		tradition we have is the chocolate isn't it? (.) chocolate Easter
9		eggs [Li: yeah] the rest is Polish
10	John:	yeah I just do what I'm told (.) I don't have much to say
11	All:	(laugh)
12	Eliza:	you could say that too Liam couldn't you?
13		[
14	Liam:	well I had certain amount of say on
15		the amount of gherkins that didn't go with the food
16	Eliza:	yeah (.) Liam hates gherkins (giggles)
17	Inter.:	oh the Polish sour cucumber things
18	Gabi:	so you don't like the salad with mayonnaise?
19	Liam:	I've become a bit more accustomed to it I'd say but the
20		overpowering gherkin taste
21	All:	(laugh)

Gabi's remark that the only available Easter tradition in Britain is *chocolate* (7–9) seems to somewhat diminish the British way of celebrating to the consumption of *chocolate Easter eggs*. This could imply that she frames Polish tradition as more versatile and richer (similar 'diminishing' comments on British Easter are voiced by Maja, Extract 7.4). Nevertheless, Gabi's evaluation is not received as stigmatising by the British side. Both her partner, John, and Eliza's partner, Liam, align and confirm the Polish-British asymmetry in terms of the traditions cultivated in their households (Liam, 9; John, 10). To emphasise it, John reveals his minimal input, sarcastically declaring being 'power-deprived' during Easter arrangements (*I just do what I'm told,* 10), which meets with collective laughter (11).

Counterbalancing the Polish side's implications of British 'traditionlessness', the British partners, particularly Liam, jest about the unsophistication of the culinary repertoire during Polish Easter. His mockery of its plainness is detectable in the one-word, phonologically-lengthened utterance (*e:ggs,* 3), which could be taken as a synecdoche – Polish Easter cuisine becomes reductively described by Liam with its constituent part – 'eggs'. A similar effect is achieved through Liam's

hyperbole – *everything with gherkin* (5). Roberts and Kreuz (1994: 161) find that hyperbole is more often utilised to emphasise negative rather than positive emotions. However, their study also shows how it is used 'to be humorous'. Indeed Liam's hyperboles, while conveying his dis-preference for the predominance of gherkins and eggs in Polish Easter dishes, could hardly be taken as serious or stigmatising. In contrast, stereotyping seems to create here a humorous exchange and reveals the speakers' firm joking relationship.

The exchange thus demonstrates how the speakers' seemingly negative, stereotypical evaluations of their foreign partners' culinary practices can be voiced strategically to negotiate their divergent cultural backgrounds through humour. Such mutual jocular othering demonstrates that discourses of national identity do not have to undermine the performance of couple identity in transnational relationships. Conversely, it seems that at times the partners playfully highlight perceived differences between sociocultural practices from their native countries to index their acceptance of them, apparently not always feeling the need to neutralise them. It could be argued that this strategy renders them effective communicators and attuned partners. Potentially, it could constitute even more effective a technique than their attempts to construct similarity/downplay difference, which Piller focuses on (though see Piller's mention of 'claiming difference', 2002: 217–218), and which I discuss in Chapter 7.

The othering act below, while only loosely related to culinary practices, further demonstrates how the transnational couples are not afraid to emphasise difference and to jest about it, even if it touches upon taboo topics such as religion.

Extract 6.3 – 'English just go to the pub'

Interview 1 with Eliza and Liam, and their friends, Gabi and John. Inspired by Question 4: How would you compare Polish and British celebrations of major holidays?, the couples compare Christmas in Britain and Poland.

```
1   Gabi:   it's different the day before isn't it? Christmas Eve is a:ll religious
2           and fasting and church (.) and English just go to the pub (laughs)
3   Liam:   that is the church
4           [
5   John:   that's an English church
6   Gabi:   yeah (laughs)
7   All:    (laugh)
```

Even though, like her interlocutors, Gabi (Polish) considers herself agnostic, her evaluative comment *English just go to the pub* (2) could be interpreted as othering her partner's in-group (the British). This potential distancing could surface further as Gabi contrasts the perceived secularism of British Christmas celebrations with the Polish ways, which according to her are *religious* and instead involve *fasting* and *church* (2). However, the phonologically-lengthened affective quantifier *a:ll* in line 1 may carry a dose of sarcasm, and thus conversely index Gabi's distancing towards that religious dimension. Thus, on this occasion Gabi could in fact be othering her in-group members. What seems like her mocking of the British secular approach could actually be a display of her alignment with it (which Gabi also exhibits in other exchanges, see Extract 5.2). As in the previous extract, no offence is taken by those 'othered' – the British side. Both Liam and John align with the 'secular' stance ascribed by Gabi to their in-group members, further joking that the pub is *the church* (Liam, 3), *an English church* (John, 5). This is how othering may create a joking exchange, reflecting the speakers' alignment. Thus, again, the speakers' acts of highlighting differences between their culinaro-celebratory repertoires may paradoxically re-affirm their collective identity on the couple level, and also as friends.

Extract 6.4 below illustrates a similar act of highlighting difference, which refers not only to the culinary aspect but also to other sociocultural practices, specifically at Christmas time. This time the difference is not only emphasised, but also framed in a positive light.

Extract 6.4 – 'Ten courses of herring instead of a turkey?'

Interview 2 with Kuba and Carol, and Mirek and Kamila. Inspired by Question 4: How would you compare Polish and British celebrations of major holidays?, the couples compare Christmas in Britain and Poland.

1	Carol:	obviously in Poland it's very religious and in Britain even if you
2		are religious=
3	Mirek:	=you're not really (laughs)
4	Carol:	yeah it's more about family time (2.0) the meal=
5	Kuba:	=presents
6	Carol:	and presents (.) I'm not gonna deny it's about presents (.) it's
7		about Christmas trees and watching cheesy films and I'm not
8		gonna say Queen's speech (.) we don't really do that (.) but
9		cos Christmas is so special that's one of those celebrations
10		that you're not gonna easily accept other people's traditions

11		[Ka: uhum] you're just gonna see it as a strange thing (.) I
12		mean (.) come on (.) <u>ten</u> courses of herring
13	All:	(laugh)
14	Carol:	(putting on a dramatic voice) instead of a <u>turkey?</u> (giggles)
15	Kamila:	yeah
16	Mirek:	but that's maybe just *Gdynia** more than generally Poland?
17	Kuba:	oh we <u>do</u> eat fish at Christmas Eve <u>everywhere</u>
18	Mirek:	yeah that's true (.) maybe not particularly herring but it's fish
19		(fragment omitted)
20	Carol:	(about her Christmas experience in Poland) but it was amazing
21		(.) it was <u>different</u> but it was like a cultural learning (.) obviously I
22		missed my family and all that but it was <u>such</u> a lovely experience
23		cos it was <u>so different</u>

*a port city in Poland

In this exchange, Carol (Kuba's Welsh partner) compares, in her view, religiousness of Polish Christmas with the secularism she perceives in British Christmas celebrations. Her unfinished utterance (*even if you are religious [in Britain]…*, 2) is completed by Mirek (Polish, Kuba's brother) with a latched comment (=*you're not really*, 3). Mirek's alignment with Carol's positioning could be interpreted as his othering of British 'non-religiousness'. A similar latched and aligned utterance comes from Kuba (Carol's Polish partner) regarding the material side of British celebrations (=*presents*, 5). Yet, Carol does not seem to take their remarks as stigmatising, herself continuing to frame British Christmas as a secular, material holiday (6–7), and thus different from the 'pious' celebrations in Poland. This could suggest that although the speakers circulate the discourses of different cultures, they do not necessarily perceive them as competing. Nor do they display 'preference for cultural homogeneity' (Martin, 2013: 64), which may contest potential differentialism conveyed in their utterances.

Furthermore, Carol shifts the focus to a more light-hearted topic – Christmas foods (12), which may defuse the seriousness of the previously discussed aspects. To playfully highlight the differences between Christmas celebrations in each country, she puts on a dramatic voice, theatrically contrasting British Christmas turkey with multiple fish dishes served on Polish Christmas Eve. While one could read it as Carol's expression of 'a subtle sense of superiority of [her] own culture' (Martin, 2013: 64), her dramatic tone becomes a 'key', which allows the recipients to infer her 'communicative motivation' (Coupland, 2007: 114). The comic effect may be strengthened by her reference to stereotypical

Christmas foods (turkey in Britain and fish in Poland). This shows how stereotypes can in fact be employed jokingly, creating humour and rapport between the speakers. According to Dervin (2013: 3), stereotyping enables transnational couples to 'negotiate their identity, intimacy, relationships and every day lives'.

Nevertheless, it is apparent that in this exchange difference is reconstructed by the speakers, particularly by Carol who emphasises how *different* each way of celebrating is (21, 23). All the speakers seem to contribute to the construction of this dissimilarity. Apart from Mirek's and Kuba's initial comments about the secularism of British Christmas (3, 5), which are attuned with Carol's stance, the Polish speakers potentially further align with her differentiating evaluations through laughter (13). Also the speakers' use of personal pronouns (e.g. Mirek's *you*, 3; Carol's *we*, 8) implies that they may conceive their nations as different communities, each with a 'deep, horizontal comradeship' (Anderson, 2006 [1983]: 7). Although the speakers agree that differences between their sociocultural backgrounds exist, they also appear to be at ease with this dissimilarity. This can be detected in their general alignment and the 'playful projection of identities' (Coupland, 2007: 144) signalled through their 'keying' (Hymes, 1974: 57).

Moreover, Carol frames the 'difference' of Polish Christmas celebrations in a positive light. She points to the enriching aspect of coming into contact with a divergent way of celebrating, evaluating it as a *cultural learning* and *lovely experience* (21–22). Her stance is highlighted affectively through the 'extreme positive adjective' (Kreuz and Roberts, 1995: 25) – *amazing* (20), additional emphatic stress (21–23), and affective quantifiers *such* and *so* (22–23). Thus, what could be seen as an act of mutual othering and distancing, paradoxically emerges as a playful performance of a transnational family (all the speakers) and transnational coupledom (Carol and Kuba), in which difference is acknowledged, joked about and embraced.

In this section, I have explored how members in the transnational families frame their respective culinary repertoires as divergent, both in the everyday context (Extract 6.1), and during specific celebrations (Extracts 6.2–6.4). These potentially othering acts tend to be humorously 'keyed' (Hymes, 1974), for instance through represented discourse (e.g. Extract 6.1), hyperboles (e.g. Extract 6.2), or laughter (Extracts 6.1–6.4). Such discursive features comically dramatise these performances, which results in shared humour, rather than in distancing

between the speakers. Thus, the jocular othering acts seem to exhibit the speakers' enjoyment of difference, which the speakers sometimes voice directly, as declared by Carol in Extract 6.4. In Section 6.2 below, I explore how the speakers' discourses of cultural differences could potentially imply strangeness/oddness of the foreign partners' foodscapes. However, again I demonstrate the unifying potential of such othering in these transnational relationships.

6.2   Jocular othering of culinary strangeness

In the previous section, I have analysed how the speakers' acts of jocular othering highlight differences between their culinary repertoires, which nevertheless involves negotiation of their 'common ground', and thus of their shared identity. In this section, I show that such othering in transnational relationships may remain light-hearted even when the partners emphasise the strangeness/oddness of the other side. Hence, likewise, this may reflect the speakers' well-established joking relationship and ultimately *minimise* perceived differences in these transnational families.

In Extract 6.5 below the speakers' jocular othering concerns everyday eating habits – the consumption of cereal and sandwiches at breakfast time. Apparently even mundane culinary practices represented by a transnational family can invite its members' reflexivity. Moreover, they can be discursively constructed as 'abnormal', and thus strange/odd, as demonstrated below by Carol.

Extract 6.5 – 'Is that normal?'

Interview 2 with Kuba and Carol, Mirek and Kamila. Question 7: <u>Do you think your eating habits have changed since you moved to the UK and got together?</u>

1	Kuba:	I don't think my eating habits have changed (.) I still put milk first
2		then cereal (.) I still eat sandwiches for breakfast
3	Carol:	yes is that normal?
4	All:	(laugh)
5	Carol:	please tell me because I think it's <u>really</u> weird (laughs)
6	Kamila:	<u>why</u> weird? what's weird?
7		[
8	Carol:	because (1.0) <u>all</u> my family find it <u>absolutely</u>
9		<u>astonishing</u> that Kuba will get up all that milk (.) fill it right to the
10		brim and (softly) spri:nkle <u>ce:real</u> on top

11	Mirek:	(laughs)
12	Kamila:	really?
13	Mirek:	you do the same don't you? (addressing the interviewer)
14	Inter.:	(laughing) I don't eat cereal
15	Kuba:	o:h that's=
16	Carol:	=that's such a shame (laughs)
17	Mirek:	but if you were you would first pour milk?
18	Kuba:	(laughs)
19	Inter.:	I mean I sometimes have cereal with my yogurt and yes
20	Kuba:	you put yogurt first then
21	Inter.:	yeah and then (1.0) sprinkle some cereal on that
22		[[
23	Mirek:	you sprinkle cereal? there you go (laughs)
24	All:	(laugh)
25	Inter.:	but because I don't like when my cereal gets soggy so it's more
26		about te:xture
27	Kamila:	how are you having it Carol?
28	Carol:	well we put a large proportion of cereal and a tiny bit of milk (.)
29		just a splash (.) whereas my mother had to start buying <u>huge</u>
30		amounts of milk which you would <u>never</u> expect because he
31		lo:ves those <u>hu:ge fu:ll bowls</u> and gets through a litre for
32		breakfast (laughs)
33	Kuba:	that's not true but
34	Carol:	o:h we:ll (.) Dad wasn't happy with the milk issue (laughs)
35		it's bizarre (.) I really <u>did not</u> believe for a second that could be
36		a Polish thing (.) I thought it was just you being really weird

In this exchange, Carol (Kuba's Welsh partner) aims her jocular othering at the breakfast habits represented by Kuba (and potentially by other Polish speakers – Mirek and Kamila). Carol's positioning is detectable in her slightly sarcastic, rhetorical question, which implies abnormality of the Polish speakers' breakfast ways – *Is that normal?* (3). It is also directly conveyed through her negative evaluations – *it's <u>really</u> weird* (5), *it's bizarre* (35). All these statements show minimal *redress* (Brown and Levinson, 1987 [1978]: 74) – attempt to lessen the impact of an utterance. In contrast, the force of Carol's evaluative comments is potentially even strengthened through multiple hyperboles, e.g. <u>*absolutely astonishing*</u> (8–9), <u>*huge*</u> *amounts of milk* (29–30), or <u>*a litre*</u> *for breakfast* (31–32). Moreover, her exaggerations are augmented affectively through additional emphatic stress, phonological lengthening and affective verbs (<u>*love:s those hu:ge,*</u> <u>*fu:ll bowls*</u>, 31). Such *bald on-record* evaluations, i.e. unmitigated statements, may threaten Kuba's *positive face* (public self-image), ignoring his need to be 'appreciated and approved of' (Brown and Levinson, 1987 [1978]: 66–74).

However, the lack of redress in Carol's othering seems to have the opposite effect – it enhances the humour and evokes a joking, familial relationship. Similarly to the previous extracts, the jovial tone of othering reverberates throughout the exchange. All the speakers seem to enter a *play frame* (Bateson, 1972 [1955]: 190–197) – a special psychological perspective, which makes them aware that what is said/done is not 'real', though paradoxically can be 'true', creating 'a paradox of play'. Being in a play frame is signalled through laughter, both on the side of the 'otherer' (5, 32, 34) and the 'othered' (4, 18, 24), and through numerous hyperboles used by Carol (see above). Also the humorous attempt of those 'othered' to frame their 'habit' of sprinkling cereal on top of milk as a 'Polish norm' by ascribing it onto the Polish interviewer (13–23) adds to the comical effect, sustaining the 'play frame'. This is how jocular othering, while seemingly constructing strangeness, can rather exhibit a shared in-group membership and a 'common ground' (Brown and Levinson's (1987 [1978]: 103) among members of transnational families/couples, reconstructing their identity on the family/couple level.

Interestingly, jocular othering can at times appear self-induced by the speakers, as exemplified below.

Extract 6.6 – 'A sandwich is something in between two pieces of bread'

Interview 2 with Kuba and Carol, and Mirek and Kamila. The exchange continued straight after that in the previous extract.

1	Kuba:	sandwiches as well yeah?
2	Mirek:	sandwiches=
3	Kuba:	=for breakfast yeah
4	Mirek:	yeah
5	Carol:	even though they are not sandwiches (.) they've got <u>one</u> layer
6		of bread (.) it's <u>not</u> a sandwich (laughs) [Ku: it's not true]
7		a sandwich is something in between two pieces of bread
8	Kamila:	oh
9	Kuba:	no it's not
10	Mirek:	it's more like a non-toasted toast yeah?
11	Kuba:	(giggles)
12	Carol:	yeah and then you've got the <u>silly</u> issue with toast being bread
13	All:	(laugh)

Inspired by Carol's jocular othering presented in Extract 6.5, Kuba and Mirek seem to cooperatively induce further othering from Carol in relation to their food

repertoires. Their 'winding-up' works and Carol disaligns with the Polish-style, canapé-like, open sandwiches being called 'sandwiches' as they do not meet the criteria of a sandwich in her British frame of reference – *a sandwich is something in between two pieces of bread* (7). Carol's utterances suggest that similar jocular othering of the speakers' 'strange' eating habits is recurrent in their household. For instance, the present tense used in her final comment (12) implies that the *silly issue* with bread is ongoing. Therefore, also in this transnational family jocular culinary othering emerges as recurrent, bidirectional, and even encouraged.

The above exchanges (Extracts 6.5–6.6) exemplify well how transnational families/couples at times experience 'seeing culture everywhere' (Breidenbach and Nyíri, 2009; see also Dervin, 2013), apparently even in a bowl of cereal or a sandwich. This illustrates the process of constructing stereotypes. For instance, when in Extract 6.5 the interviewer (Polish) declares that she does not eat cereal (with milk), the interviewees seem disappointed (see Kuba's sigh and Carol's evaluation, 15–16) as it prevents them from constructing sprinkling cereal on top of milk as a Polish norm. However, when they find an analogy in the interviewer's consumption of cereal with yogurt (19–23), some speakers seem to see it as sufficient to consider putting cereal on top of milk/yogurt as a Polish practice (*there you go*, Mirek, 23). Also, Carol's use of past tense – *I did not believe for a second that could be a Polish thing...I thought…* (35–36), could imply that after this interaction her opinion has changed. Thus, the participants seem to rely on stereotypes or even invent them. Such mythical national patterns become 'pictures in [their] heads', through which the speakers can more effectively orient in a complex social world (Lippmann, 1977 [1922]: 18). Even when mutually highlighting the strangeness of the other side and seemingly negatively loaded, stereotypical representations seem to help the transnational families to manage their interactions and to construe their vibrant sociocultural repertoires.

Some instances of jocular othering of culinary strangeness related to specific food practices during celebratory events. Below, Maja and Miles discuss a Polish culinary practice reproduced during their Christmas Eve celebrations.

Extract 6.7 – 'Has there ever been the time…?'

Interview 3 with Maja and Miles. The exchange followed on from Question 4: How would you compare Polish and British celebrations of major holidays?

1	Maja:	what about those little things we do or I try to remember [Mi: okay]
2		like leaving the empty plate*?
3	Miles:	oh sorry I blanked that one
4	Maja:	(giggles) yeah cos it's something new for you
5	Miles:	it's a bit crazy as well
6	Maja:	<u>why</u> bit crazy? you know long long time ago there might've been
7		somebody who's cold knocking on the door
8		[
9	Miles:	has (.) has there <u>ever</u> been the time when someone's turned
10		up at the door and taken that extra plate? (laughs)
11		[
12	Maja:	o:h my <u>God</u> (.) yes there was Miles
13	Miles:	in your family has anyone ever
14		[
15	Maja:	YES my uncle [Mi: ah] yeah (claps her
16		hands) <u>there</u> you go (laughs)
17	Miles:	right there you go (.) it worked once (.) for how many years? (laughs)
18	Maja:	well that doesn't matter (laughs)
19	All:	(laugh)
20	Maja:	(laughing) anyway so it's quite hard to introduce some of those
21		Polish traditions into our household with Miles's (.) well (.)
22		dismissive attitude (giggles)
23	Miles:	(breathy laughter) <it's cra:zy>

*a practice in Poland, which involves laying an extra plate on the Christmas Eve table for an unexpected guest (see Appendix 4)

When Maja enthusiastically observes that the Polish Christmas Eve practice of leaving a spare plate for a potential drifter is *new* to her British husband, Miles performs an act of othering, evaluating the foreign custom as *crazy* (5). Subsequently, he poses irony-infused questions: *Has there <u>ever</u> been the time when someone's…taken that extra plate?* (9–10); *In your family has anyone ever...?* (13). Through such rhetorical questions Miles might be trying to disclose the 'irrationality' of this foreign practice. To counter-argue, Maja recalls one occasion when the empty place played its role beyond symbolism. However, her counter-argument seems feeble and results in joint laughter (20–22). While at times Miles's othering may seem aggressive, Maja's positioning to it reflects the couple's well-established joking relationship, and their mutual understanding of how far they can 'push' their othering acts.

At first glance, the affective stance predicates such as additional emphasis (6, 9, 12, 16), phonological lengthening (12, 23), and speech overlaps (8, 11, 14) could also imply conflict talk. However, the speakers' laughter, which is present throughout the exchange, signals the humorous 'key' (Hymes, 1974: 57), i.e. tone of interaction. Even Maja's interjection (*o:h my god*, 12), and loudness (*YES*, 15), while used to emphasise a contrasting position, do not shift that 'key'. Also her concluding remark (20–22) is framed with laughter and jesting. When Maja ascribes an othering stance to Miles by reporting his *dismissive attitude* and her struggles to introduce *Polish traditions* into their household, she seems to be doing it for a comical effect. This reading is supported by the remaining data, which show that apart from his dislike of certain Polish foods, Miles does not object to the reproduced Polish culinary traditions. In contrast, occasionally it is Maja who displays some reluctance towards specific culinary practices from her homeland. Analogously to the playing monkeys observed by Bateson (1972 [1955]: 185) in a San Francisco zoo, both Maja and Miles know that their mutual 'bites', on the second level, are not 'bites' but 'play'.

A recurrent topic inspiring mutual playful 'biting' in the transnational families is food and drink consumption at Polish wedding receptions. In Chapter 5, I illustrated how alcohol consumption by in-group members invites self-othering acts from the Polish side within (Extract 5.2) and outwith the wedding context (Extract 5.3). Such othering is also performed by the British side as demonstrated below.

Extract 6.8 – 'That's ridiculous! Nobody's gonna dance, it's far too early, no one is drunk enough'

Interview 4 with Beata and Peter. The exchange was inspired by Question 3: So how did the wedding go?

1	Beata:	it was interesting about the alcohol that
2	Peter:	oh yeah (.) no wine was drunk on the Polish side or barely at
3		all and I remember people coming and watching the way the
4		vodka was going
5	All:	(laugh)
6		(fragment omitted)
7	Peter:	after we gave our first dance there was general dancing and
8		it was only about 5 o'clock in the afternoon (.) I thought
9		'That's <u>ridiculous</u> (.) <u>nobody's</u> gonna dance (.) it's <u>far</u> too early
10		(.) <u>no one</u> is drunk enough' (laughs) and <u>everybody</u> was out
11		there dancing (.) none of the English were it was just all
12		Polish people
13	Inter.:	(laughs)

14   Beata: YES (laughs)
    15   Peter: it was funny

Reflecting on their wedding reception in Poland, Peter (British) notes that *no wine* (2) was consumed on Beata's side. Recalling how the British guests were *watching the way vodka was going* (3–4), he frames the Polish alcohol consumption practices as somewhat exotic, and constituting a 'spectacle' for the British audience. Peter's subtle othering could be sensed in his hyperbole *no* (2), which emphasises the contrast between Polish guests' profuse consumption of vodka versus British guests' consumption of a more refined beverage (wine), which is also expressed by other participants, see Extract 5.2).

However, again the 'key' of Peter's othering remains jocular, and his evaluation is mitigated (*or barely at all,* 3–4). Moreover, Peter jokes about the related practices of dancing at the wedding reception. His affective, emphatically-stressed evaluations (*ridiculous*, *far too early*), and exaggerated epistemic statements (*nobody's gonna dance, no one is drunk enough)* contained in his self-quote (9–10) could again be interpreted as Peter's framing of Polish celebratory ways as strange. Yet, stressing strangeness seems to have a positive effect – it signals Peter's humorous 'keying' (Hymes, 1974: 57), and is received by the Polish side with laughter (13–14).

To summarise this section, while the breakfast practices of her Polish partner/flatmates seem *weird* to Carol (Extracts 6.5–6.6), the Polish Christmas Eve 'spare plate' practice seems *crazy* to Miles (Extract 6.7), and vodka consumption at Beata and his wedding in Poland may seem extraordinary to Peter (*I remember people coming and watching the way the vodka was going*, Extract 6.8), all these othering acts culminate in humour. Both sides effectively signpost their utterances through jocular 'keying', which is marked in the above exchanges through laughter, humorous hyperboles and the tone of voice the 'otherers' adopt. Moreover, the 'othered' happily engage in such exchanges and even self-induce them (see Extract 6.6). This illustrates how, in these transnational relationships, perceived sociocultural differences can not only be lived with but actually enjoyed. This adheres to Rampton's (1995a: 302) claims about peers in multiethnic settings, who learn to 'enjoy and overcome differences in language or cultural style'. Such enjoyment of 'living with difference', or even with strangeness in the

context of transnational families emerges not just in the above extracts but throughout the exchanges examined in this thesis. Even when the speakers' potentially position themselves as superior to the other side, it does not seem to threaten that enjoyment, which I discuss in the following section.

6.3   Jocular othering of culinary inferiority

Some acts of culinary othering in the data, though jocular, may seem to represent the other side's practices not just as different or strange/odd (as presented in Sections 6.1–6.2, respectively), but also as somewhat 'inferior'. Consequently, they may carry 'a subtle sense of moral superiority of one's own culture' (Martin, 2013: 64). However, even those potentially inferiorising acts seem to be embraced by both sides in these transnational relationships, which I discuss in this section.

The first extract presents how such potential culinary superiority is framed by the British side in relation to a food practice reproduced at Christmas in Poland by those who adhere to tradition, specifically the naming of the purchased live carp (the fish is subsequently killed and consumed on Christmas Eve). Miles's disalignment could be seen as framing this culinary habit in his wife's homeland not just as different or odd, but also as inferior in its food naming 'deviancy'.

Extract 6.9 – 'What's the Polish obsession...'

Figure 6.1 – *Video-recording 5 (Maja and Miles's Christmas Day celebration, England, 2010).*

1	Miles:	(wrapping the turkey) what's the Polish obsession (burns his hand)
2		(fragment omitted)
3	Maja:	so you were asking about Polish obsession with what?
4	Miles:	well naming (.) you apparently name fish? [Ma: well] when I was
5		listening to that podcast on *Polskie* radio (sits down)
6		Polish
7		(fragment omitted)
8	Maja:	well I'm not sure how it's now but when I was little we used to
9		have carp [Mi: yeah] so whoever brought it put it in the bath with

10		water and you know if you got kids around they will obviously (.)
11		[Mi: yep] try to make a pet out of it and call it names
12	Miles:	do you mean it's as simple as that? [Ma: yes] cos there were thirty
13		odd children on the radio and they said they name animals before
14		they eat them so it's
15	Maja:	well (5.0) (shrugs, Figure 6.1) I mean if you live on a farm and
16		you've got them all for instance like a cow [Mi: yeah] living with
17		you for ten years [Mi: yeah] then you do name it
18	Miles:	okay

Attending to his British 'unnamed' Christmas turkey, Miles asks Maja about what he believes is a Polish 'custom' – naming animals before eating them. While aware that it concerns specifically carp naming in the context of Polish Christmas Eve, Miles overgeneralises this alleged practice by calling it a *Polish obsession* (1). By ascribing negative values to the Other (Polish 'deviancy' of naming animals before eating them), Miles could be simultaneously attributing positive values to Self – British 'normality' – here, refraining from giving names to animals intended as food. Thus, disaligning with the 'savage' Other (carp-naming Poles), and framing them as somewhat inferior in terms of their approach to the human-animal relationship, Miles may achieve a positive self-presentation.

Although Miles's question could be conveying subtle superiority, concurrently it displays his interest in Maja's divergent background. According to Brown and Levinson (1987 [1978]: 102), exhibiting interest in the interlocutors and joking are both strategies for claiming a 'common ground' with them. Indeed, Maja is keen to address Miles's inquisitiveness and reminds him about his unfinished question (3), even though the beginning of it – *What's the Polish obsession…* – revealed a looming confrontation. Furthermore, in response to Miles's othering, Maja adopts a 'de-exoticising' stance – she tries to normalise what Miles sensationalises. Her brief narrative (8–11) re-frames the carp naming as 'child's play', de-exoticising what Miles tries to frame as taboo. A similar 'de-exoticising' effect comes with Maja's final riposte – her cow naming example (15–17). The additional emphasis in pronunciation (*you do name it*) adds irony to her response. While indices of humour are less prominent in this othering act when compared with the former extracts, Maja's ironical riposte frames the exchange as an amicable interaction. Apart from Miles's burnt hand, no wounds seem to be incurred in this othering act.

A similar instance of jocular othering comes from Miles, when the following year for the first time he consumes carp at their celebrations of Polish Christmas Eve in England. Again his othering could be seen as framing this part of the Polish culinary repertoire as inferior, on this occasion in terms of aesthetics.

Extract 6.10 – 'Oh god, that's an ugly looking fish'

Figure 6.2 – *Video-recording 4 (Maja and Miles's Christmas Eve, England, 2011).*

1	Miles:	oh god (.) that's an ugly looking fish
2	Maja:	(rolls her eyes) I mean is that first time you saw an actual fish
3		(gesticulating) that's what they look like Miles
4	Miles:	no that's a particularly ugly looking fish
5	Maja:	(with a raised voice and gesticulating, Figure 6.2) well the other
6		fish look the same (.) pair of eyes (.) mouth (.) that's about it (.)
7		don't insult my carp (.) I called him Bob
8	Miles:	Bob the carp
9	Maja:	yeah
10	Miles:	(singing in tune with 'Bob the Builder') Bo:b the ca:rper (.) didn't
11		work
12		(fragment omitted)
13	Maja:	(eating the carp) but it's perfect for people who want to save
14		money because you can eat that for hours so one carp for a
15		family (.) it's a credit crunch menu (giggles)
16	Miles:	(laughs) it's also an entertainment [Ma: uhum] bloody hell
17		(breathes heavily removing the fish bones)
18	Maja:	shall I bring *bigos**? (jokingly)
19	Miles:	(breathy laughter) never again
20	Maja:	(agreeing) uhum (2.0) well until next Christmas (giggles)
21	Miles	(smiles) yeah I forgot

* '*Polish-style' stew made of sauerkraut, mushrooms and sometimes meat*

Miles's othering of Polish culinary aesthetics (specifically carp), similarly to his othering act of the carp naming practice (Extract 6.9) could be interpreted as a projection of his culinary 'superiority', and potentially his 'elitist' stance. His positioning may echo the discourses of 'less-developed' Eastern-European countries (Poland), where carp is still consumed (though less commonly), versus

more progressive Western Europe (Britain), where it belongs to 'the medieval times' (Morris, 2008; though see the same article for carp revival in Britain). Whether such inferiorising is implied or not, Miles's act of othering undeniably occasions the partners' negotiation of what they perceive as divergent culinary backgrounds, helping them make meaning of who they are.

When Miles negatively evaluates carp as *a particularly ugly looking fish* (4), affectively marking his statement with emphatic stress and an affective adjective (*ugly*), Maja attempts to normalise what he tries to exoticise. She disaligns with him, claiming that *other fish look the same*, after which she provides a simplified anatomical description to frame carp as a 'normal' fish (5–6). Ultimately potential frictions become defused when Maja pretends to take an insult on behalf of her named carp, Bob. Here she may be alluding to the practice that Miles perceives as 'deviant' – carp naming (see the former extract). Moreover, her ironic evaluation of the bony carp as a *credit crunch menu* (15) demonstrates that at times she can mock the dish herself and align with Miles's negative evaluations of it.

Further comical effect surfaces when Miles recontextualises the well-known children's song 'Bob the Builder' (10), moving this 'text-in-context...to another' (Linell, 1998: 154). Singing *Bo:b the ca:rper* Miles creates what Cook (2001: 193–196) calls *intra-generic intertextuality* – his text mimics another text within the same genre, 'song'. As Miles recontextualises the cartoon character in a new, culinary, real-life context, his utterance becomes intertextual also *inter-generically*, i.e. it contains the voice of a different genre (Cook, 2001: 193–196). This recontextualisation signals the joking tone of Miles's othering. Thus, again, a potentially inferiorising exchange emerges as an act of jocular abuse, which can reaffirm 'social convergence' (Kotthoff, 1996: 299–301) between the speakers.

The final two extracts in this section present how the speakers may discursively frame the 'inferiority' of the culinary Other in terms of the quality and quantity of their foods. Yet, again, such exchanges are humorously keyed and mitigated.

Extract 6.11 – 'I don't say…they just pulled it out of a can of dog food'

Interview 3 with Maja and Miles. The exchange was inspired by Question 4:
<u>*How would you compare Polish and British celebrations of major holidays?*</u>

```
1    Miles:   the foods would tend to be focused on many dishes whereas
2             in Britain it would be a number of sma:ller but kind of maybe
3             (1.0) er more fancy dishes would it be?
4    Maja:    well you would just
5                                 [
6    Miles:                        I mean uhm like wedding meals (.) in Poland it
7             tends to be a lot (.) in Britain it would tend to be kind of a
8             smaller number (.) you know that's (.) the theory is smaller
9             number of kind of real high-quality dishes (.) now we've been
10            to weddings where it's just been a smaller number of dishes so
11            that's (.) but I think the theory is just you know (.) a really good
12            kind of quality meal (.) whereas the Polish ones they were
13            good they were nice but there was just lots (.) it was (.) focus
14            was on volume wasn't it?
15   Maja:    okay well they tasted nice to me
16   Miles:   no no I'm not saying (.) I don't say they taste bad or they just
17            pulled it out of a can of dog food (.) no I'm not saying
18                                                    [
19   Maja:                                            is that what you're thinking?
20            thank you (.) you're racist
21                        [
22   Miles:               I'm not saying that (coughs) what I'm saying is
23            that they had a greater kind of thought for the sheer volume
24            of food isn't it?
25   Maja:    well we like our food as you can tell (laughs)
26   Miles:   that's a first (sarcastically)
```

Juxtaposing the focus of Polish foods on *quantity* (1) with a *smaller number...of real high quality of dishes* in Britain (9), Miles may be discursively constructing inferiority of the culinary practices in his wife's homeland. He supports this argument with his personal experience (Polish weddings he attended), and emphasises it through repetitions (7–8, 12–14, 23–24). However, these 'highlighting' devices seem to be overpowered by Miles's mitigation work, which is particularly salient, and includes:

- hesitations: *er* (3), *uhm* (6)

- phonological lengthening: *sma:ller* (2)

- question tags: *would it be?* (3), *wasn't it?* (14), *isn't it?* (24)

- potential adverbs: *maybe* (2)

- 'tentativisers' (Wilamová, 2005: 90) – 'markers of intentional vagueness': *kind of* (2, 7, 12, 23)

- 'downgraders' (Wilamová, 2005: 89): *just* (11, 13)

- 'attitudinal hedges' (Wilamová, 2005: 88)/'subjectivizers' (Blum-Kulka, 1997: 148): *I mean* (6), *I think* (11)

- modals and other mitigating verbs: *would* (1–3, 7), *tend* (1, 7)

- solidarity markers: *you know* (8, 11), *now* (9)

Apart from the above mitigating moves, Miles uses a *disclaimer* (12–13)*,* which can 'ward off and defeat in advance doubts and negative typifications' (Hewitt and Stokes, 1975: 3). By first attributing positive values to Polish foods (*they were nice but...,* 13), Miles 'credentialises' (Hewitt and Stokes, 1975: 4) what he is going to say next, knowing it may discredit Polish food. Such 'clausal mitigators' realised through 'but-clauses' allow the interlocutors to 'achieve a partial agreement and hence maintain harmonious relations' (Wilamová, 2005: 87).

It could be argued that Miles's mitigation and denying statements echo what van Dijk (1992) sees as common tactics for 'denial of racism'. Denying that what is being said carries an ethnic/racial prejudice is believed to help social actors achieve a positive self-presentation on an individual and in-group level (van Dijk, 1992: 89). While his statements could hardly be taken as racist, Miles seems to provisionally resort to denial, which varies in intensity. It is expressed through explicit negations, for example: *(No) I'm not saying...* (16–17, 22), *I don't say...* (16), and through clarifications – *What I'm saying...* (22–24). Conversely, it can also be very subtle. To illustrate, Miles infuses with doubt his statement about *real high quality* (9) of food at British weddings as opposed to the quantity-focused dishes at Polish weddings. Emphasising that his claim is just a *theory* (8, 11), and exemplifying how easily it can be undermined, Miles performs what van Dijk (1992: 106) considers another common tactic for denying prejudice, i.e. presupposing his own doubt.

Despite all his mitigation and denial work, Maja openly calls Miles *racist* (21). If one did not know the speakers and were not familiar with their discursive style, this othering act could be seen as turning 'not so jocular' (Rampton, 1995a: 179). Yet, while Maja attempts to slightly counter Miles's othering (4, 15), in the end all she does is provide what Abdallah-Pretceille (1986; quoted in Dervin, 2013:

4) calls a 'cultural alibi', i.e. a stereotypical explanation for one's strange habits/traditions. To justify the 'quantity-over-quality' of Polish dishes, which is 'othered' by Miles, Maja simply stereotypes Poland's national appreciation of food – *Well, we like our food* (25). Her relaxed response and the non-confrontational tone of the couple's exchanges that follow in the interview suggest that no real offence takes place, which Maja confirmed when I later discussed this excerpt with her.

In terms of power relations, one could apply here Tannen's (1992: 24–25) theory that women predominantly aim to build collaboration in interaction, while male speakers focus on displaying dominance, approaching conversation as a 'struggle'. While the above interaction may support this claim with Miles being the 'otherer' and Maja acting as a 'defuser', further on in the same interview the partners swap their roles (Extract 6.12 below). Besides, the remaining data show that othering acts are performed not just by the male but also the female speakers (e.g. Carol, Extracts 6.4–6.5). Likewise, while othering may appear relatively more prominent on the British side, it is also performed by the Polish partners, as demonstrated by Maja in Extract 6.12 below (see also Gabi, Extracts 6.2–6.3).

Extract 6.12 – 'English-style of large'

Interview 3 with Maja and Miles. Question 8: <u>You mentioned the food at your wedding.</u> The couple talk about their wedding reception in the UK (they hosted another reception in Poland).

```
1  Miles:   we had a large buffet didn't we?
2  Maja:    yeah
3  Miles:   and I think I didn't get a spoon
4           [
5  Maja:    (whispering to the interviewer) <wasn't much (.) English-style
6           of large>
7  Miles:   ay it was nice (.) nice buffet
8  Maja:    yeah yeah it was nice <well>
```

Later in the same interview Maja seems to 'take revenge' for Miles's comments on the volume of Polish food (Extract 6.11) by othering the 'scarcity' of food during British celebrations. Echoing Miles's jocular othering, she stereotypes the volume of food during British celebrations as insufficient. When Miles evaluates their British wedding reception buffet as *large* (1), she outwardly aligns with him (*yeah,* 2) only to immediately whisper her contrasting opinion to the interviewer – <*wasn't*

much, English-style of large> (5). Maja's act of othering belongs to what Goffman (1959: 19) calls the *backstage* – it is delivered 'behind the scene'. Whispered to the insider (interviewer, Polish), it simultaneously marks Miles as the outsider. Whispering could be seen as used by Maja to prevent Miles from interfering with her stance projection. However, potentially her evaluation is deliberately made audible to him to disclose her divergent positioning. In contrast, at the *frontstage* (Goffman, 1959: 19), and in full voice, Maja playfully continues to agree with Miles (8), constructing their symbolic alignment as a couple. Yet, again she steps into the backstage, where her mask is 'temporarily lifted' (Goffman, 1959: 114), and finishes her seemingly aligning utterance with a contrastive, whispered *well* (8)*. This way she marks a shift in her *footing* – 'alignment, or set, or stance, or posture, or projected self' (Goffman, 1981: 128)*.

Like Miles's othering of the quality of Polish celebratory food (Extract 6.11), Maja's act of othering aimed at the insufficient quantity of food at British weddings could be seen as inferiorising and projecting her superiority. However, the jovial delivery of Maja's positioning, involving her swift movements between the 'frontstage' and 'backstage', creates a humorous effect. This seems to lessen the stigmatising potential of her mockery – Miles does not receive her comment as stigmatising, and unprovoked, he continues to describe their wedding reception (7). This othering interaction exhibits how stancetaking is performed by speakers strategically, allowing them to concurrently re-enact various identities and roles. Here, Maja seems to concurrently project her identification with in-group members (Polish people) and her identity on the couple level.

In sum, in this section, I have explored how the transnational partners perform acts of othering, which may not only frame the other side's culinary repertoires as different or strange (as presented in Sections 6.1–6.2), but also as somewhat inferior. By implying inferiority of the Other in culinary terms, the speakers may simultaneously present themselves and their foodscapes as superior. Nevertheless, I have argued that even those seemingly inferiorising acts ultimately constitute a discursive tool for negotiating differences between the speakers and become a testimony to their firm joking relationships. I further comment on this potential of othering when summarising this chapter in Section 6.4 below.

6.4   Summary

The culinary othering acts analysed in this chapter demonstrate how the speakers skilfully manage the perceived sociocultural differences in their transnational families. While occasionally these exchanges could be seen as constructive of difference and echoing differentialist discourses, it is apparent that divergence is often deliberately emphasised for humorous effects. Returning to Martin's (2013: 64) criteria of 'cultural differentialism', the above othering acts do not seem to display the speakers' 'preference for cultural homogeneity'. Conversely, they could imply the participants' appreciation for/interest in 'cultural *hetero*geneity'. Through their successful negotiation of it, the transnational families can demonstrate that the 'peaceful coexistence of different cultures in the same social space is *[not]* impossible' (Martin, 2013: 64; my emphasis).

This 'peaceful coexistence' does not seem to be disturbed even by the acts which seem fairly inferiorising, like those in Section 6.3. However, as observed by Rampton (1998: 298), mocking rituals work by 'suspending considerations of truth and falsity', and thus should not be taken as offence. Studying ritual insults, Labov (1972: 332) explains that being 'not intended as factual statements, they are not to be denied'. In the above analysis, the reactions displayed by those 'othered' suggest a mutual understanding between the speakers that the othering is not intended as stigmatising (see also Culpeper, 1996: 352, 2011: 208). Even when 'otherers' show minimal 'redress' and perform 'face threatening acts' (Brown and Levinson, 1987 [1978]: 70) through explicit negative evaluations (e.g. Carol, Extract 6.5), their statements tend not to be taken seriously and culminate in laughter. This shows how the relationships in these transnational families 'cannot be endangered even by seemingly rude utterances' (Kienpointner, 1997: 262).

The speakers sometimes show 'redress' (Brown and Levinson, 1987 [1978]: 74) to signal the 'key' (Hymes, 1974: 57) of their othering. To achieve it, they employ various mitigation moves, which can lessen the discriminatory potential of their acts (e.g. Miles, Extract 6.11). In response, the 'targeted' side may disalign with the 'otherers' through counter-arguments or counter-othering (e.g. Maja, Extract 6.12), displaying some defensiveness. However, the counter-arguments/counter-othering performed in the above extracts seem to be in jest. In their feebleness, they show the ability of those 'othered' to distance themselves

from Self, diffusing potential disagreements during the interactions. Moreover, such self-distancing can be projected by the 'othered' side through playfully self-induced othering acts (see Kuba and Mirek, Extract 6.6). This further demonstrates the speakers' skilful handling of othering and their understanding that no seriousness applies.

Such well-developed discursive strategies in these transnational families may oppose the ideology that transnational relationships are challenging due to cultural differences and miscommunication, which was the prevailing belief in early work on the topic (cf. Romano 1997; Breger and Hill, 1998), and still resounds in more recent studies (cf. Lauth Bacas, 2002 on 'constraints' experienced by Greek-German couples in Athens; Moscato *et al*., 2014 on the impact of discrimination on life satisfaction in transnational families in Italy). The speakers' othering does not represent malign social distancing but instead seems to convey the 'difference is good' message. Thus, ironically it may reflect the speakers' well-established joking relationships, in which perceived difference, strangeness or even 'deviancy' of the other side can be effectively negotiated and mutually embraced.

Extracts 6.9–6.10 additionally show how sometimes the othering side may almost seek 'deviancy' and 'primitivism' in the culinary Other. These exchanges demonstrate how othering can frame the exoticism of foreign partners in transnational families. While exoticism, i.e. 'giving value to the Other', tends to be associated with the West displaying fascination with the East (Staszak, 2008: 6), I argue that even at the intersection of relatively proximate sociocultural fields such as Western Europe (Britain) and Eastern Europe (Poland) the transnationals can perform exoticising acts, echoing ideas of Occidentalism and Orientalism (cf. Said, 1978), respectively. As demonstrated in Extracts 6.9–6.10, Miles seems to construct the Eastern-European Poland with its exotic food practices as 'the Orient', 'characterised by [its] barbarity, [its] savageness and [its] race' (Staszak, 2008: 4). Both the carp naming practice (Extract 6.9) and the consumption of this *ugly* fish (Extract 6.10) do not belong to Miles's Western culinary legacy, thus appear exotic to him. Highlighting their 'primitivism', Miles exoticises the foodscapes from his Eastern-European wife's background. Therefore, my study shows that exoticising can occur between same-race partners and when they do not represent Western versus Eastern background in a global sense. Here, I also build upon Piller's work (2002) by showing how exoticising can be expressed in

other ways than through direct evaluative statements which apply the exotic label onto the Other, as demonstrated in this chapter.

Finally, stancetaking towards the culinary Other simultaneously reveals one's stance towards Self. While othering acts are believed to 'comfort the Self in its feeling of superiority' (Staszak, 2008: 1), those examined above seem to primarily exhibit the families'/couples' shared joking relationship, and how they successfully function despite the perceived differences. Hence, rather than stigmatising the other side, the speakers' othering projects their joint identity on the couple/family level. Seemingly drawing a demarcation line between the Other and Self, through their mutual othering the speakers discursively construct their joint identity as a transnational family/couple. This way they may paradoxically minimise difference by *highlighting* it.

In the final analytic chapter I examine other discursive strategies for negotiating sociocultural repertoires in transnational families, namely claiming sociocultural similarity and performing 'mixing' in culinaro-celebratory terms. This analysis will encompass also the speakers' appeal to post-national identities, which seems to emerge in their discourses of individualism and cosmopolitanism.

Chapter 7 – Projecting 'de-othering' stance through culinary talk and practices in transnational families

The analysis in Chapter 6 showed that, on certain occasions, sociocultural differences are jocularly exaggerated in the transnational families through jocular othering. Displaying the speakers' well-established joking relationship, those acts appeared to project their joint identity as a hybrid family/couple. Through those interactions the transnational families seemed to transcend the borders of 'exclusive nation[s]' (Clifford, 1994: 322), constructing 'third spaces' (Bhabha, 2004 [1994]: 55) – zones with unique sociocultural meanings.

This chapter complements the above analysis by examining what could be called a '*de*-othering' stance – the speakers' acts of 'positioning' and 'alignment' (Du Bois, 2007: 143–144) *against* such potential differences. De-othering may also surface through acts of 'evaluation' (Du Bois, 2007: 143–144) which frame similarity/proximity between the speakers, here in culinary terms. Seemingly in contrast to highlighting differences (analysed in Chapter 6), such stancetaking acts, perhaps more predictably, may also minimise the perceived sociocultural boundaries between the speakers. By *downplaying* rather than up-playing differences, the transnational families likewise index their hybrid identities.

One of the discursive tactics for downplaying/neutralising divergences in transnational relationships is construction of similarity (Piller, 2002: 189–203). This can be achieved for instance through the speakers' evaluative comments explicitly framing their sociocultural practices as similar/not dissimilar. Such similarity/lack of dissimilarity may likewise be constructed through references to proximity or negating distance. Piller (2002: 193) also shows how European transnational couples evoke proximity through contrasting it with the different level of sociocultural distance that they would be facing in a hypothetical relationship with a non-European/non-Western partner. The latter strategy does not appear in my data. Also the partners' explicit references to similarity/proximity are relatively less prominent than their statements neutralising dissimilarity/distance. However, in Section 7.1, I demonstrate that both of these discursive strategies (framing

similarity and downplaying differences) could minimise the perceived sociocultural boundaries between the family members.

The cultural differences may become neutralised also through the speakers' projections of their shared identity as a transnational, hybrid relationship. In Section 7.2, I explore how it could emerge in the speakers' displays/reflexive accounts of successful 'mixing', i.e. combining of their sociocultural repertoires, which are particularly salient in the data. Transnational couples' talk on mixing/compromising is also examined by Piller (2002: 211–214), hence I refer to those findings throughout my analysis. Relevant will also be the concept of 'crossing' (Rampton, 1995a–b), i.e. employment of linguistic and semiotic repertoires of ethnically different speakers. In my study, crossing is explored in intra-racial and transnational contact (Polish-British families) as the family members' mutual engagement with their respective sociocultural repertoires. Such crossing is present in the data not just in culinary terms. While English language dominates the analysed interactions, occasionally the partners simultaneously employ both Polish and English repertoires, which I also exemplify in the analysis. This way the transnational families seem to create what Li (2011) describes as a 'translanguaging space', exhibited through their 'creative and critical use of the full range of their socio-cultural resources' (Li, 2011: 1222). In this space, 'different identities, values and practices [do not] simply co-exist, but combine together to generate new identities, values and practices' (Li, 2011: 1223).

Differences between the speakers can also be neutralised through their shared appeal to post-national characteristics, such as individualism and cosmopolitanism (Piller, 2002: 202). Whereas the speakers' individual cosmopolitan projections have already been briefly mentioned in Chapter 5, in this chapter (Section 7.3), I focus on how the partners recurrently position themselves *jointly* as cosmopolitan relationships with individualised sociocultural repertoires in the food context. The key characteristics of a cosmopolitan outlined by Szerszynski and Urry (2002: 470) include: 'extensive mobility', 'capacity to consume', 'curiosity', 'willingness to take risks', 'ability to map one's own society and culture', 'the semiotic skill to interpret images of various others' and 'openness to other peoples and cultures'. Applying these criteria, in this final part of the analysis I will explore how the transnational families display a cosmopolitan aptitude to look beyond their native foodscapes by accentuating their 'intellectual

and aesthetic stance of openness toward divergent cultural experiences'
(Hannerz, 1990: 239). In Piller's work (2002: 202) transnational couples are
reported to call themselves 'citizens of the world'. The families in my study did not
make such explicit claims to cosmopolitanism in the context of food. However, less
overt expressions of cosmopolitan spirit emerged through the speakers' reflexivity,
i.e. 'discursive interpretations' of their own and others' behaviour (Giddens, 1991:
35). By problematising their cultural expressions and appealing to post-national
characteristics, which stem from discourses of globalisation (Piller, 2002: 199), the
families frame their shared, unique identification as a hybrid, cosmopolitan
family/couple.

When analysing the above discourses, I address the partners' joint
construction of their de-othering stance. Whereas Chapters 4–5 centred on the
speakers' individual identities, similarly to Chapter 6 this analysis explores how the
participants do identity work on the couple/family level. Repeatedly performed,
stancetaking can project more enduring subject positions (Jaffe, 2009: 11),
creating one's 'ethos of self' (Johnstone, 2009: 30). Thus, by recycling discourses
of similarity, mixing and/or cosmopolitanism, the speakers could reconstruct their
joint, post-national 'ethos', exhibiting their identification beyond nations, cultures
and traditions (which does not rule out their discourses of tradition, as
demonstrated in Chapter 4).

Since I examine how the partners co-construct such post-national, de-
othering stance, their 'collaborative floor' strategies (Edelsky, 1993 [1981]);
Coates, 1997 [1995]) will be particularly relevant. This 'shared space...co-
constructed as…the voice of the [couple/family] rather than the individual' (Coates,
1997 [1995]: 70), can emerge through laughter, joking, latched utterances,
paraphrasing, overlaps, matched performances (e.g. of multivoicing, stylisation,
translanguaging), and nonverbal collaboration. Not only do these strategies reflect
the speakers' shared positioning, but they also display a discursive collaboration
developing as part of their intimate relationship. Through 'talk-as-play' (Coates,
1997 [1995]: 85) the speakers index 'being on the same wavelength' (Edelsky,
1993 [1981]: 196) and construct their shared appeal to hybridity, cosmopolitanism
and/or individualism.

It must be emphasised that discourses of similarity, hybridity and
cosmopolitanism do not rule out essentialism. Particularly the concept of *cultural*

hybridisation, i.e. mixing/blending of cultures, has been criticised for being 'predicated on the notion of culture as text, as substance', and thus resembling 'confused essentialism' (Friedman, 1995: 82). My analysis could also seem to treat culinary repertoires as clearly delineated. Yet, in contrast, I focus on the speakers' ongoing 'dialectical reorganisation' (Bhabha, 2004 [1994]: 55), i.e. reconstruction of the former cultural meanings within those culinary repertoires, which may result in the creation of the aforementioned 'third spaces'. In Bhabha's (2004 [1994]: 2) words, 'we find ourselves in the moment of transit where space and time cross to produce complex figures of difference and identity, past and present, inside and outside, inclusion and exclusion'. The data in this chapter will further reflect these complex processes in the transnational families.

The idea of 'third space' may seem essentialist itself and presupposing the existence of prior, clear-cut spaces that then become 'reinterpreted'. However, Bhabha (2004 [1994]: 54–55) stresses that:

> cultural statements and systems are constructed in the
> contradictory and ambivalent space of enunciation...[making]
> the inherent originality or 'purity' of cultures...untenable.

Like the emergent 'third spaces', those prior 'ingredients' are treated as fluid by Bhabha, who rejects the conceptualisation of cultures as inherently 'pure', as does my study. 'Third spaces', as observed by Piller (2002: 213), have 'a counter-hegemonic quality which undermines essentialist notions of a unitary national and cultural identity'. The theory allows me to explore how the speakers discursively create unique sociocultural zones through their performances of culinary similarity, mixing and cosmopolitanism. My analysis may thus demonstrate the speakers' dynamic, agentive identities without falling into the essentialist trap.

Nevertheless, notwithstanding the analyst's position, the participants at times continue to visualise cultures as fixed and tied to specific geographical locations. However, their recurrent displays of similarity, mixing, and appeal to individualism and cosmopolitanism seem to minimise those perceived differences between the family members. Like the jocular othering examined in Chapter 6, such positioning acts seem to construct these transnational relationships as hybrid

but unified. Thus, again the speakers' somewhat essentialist talk could ultimately result in de-essentialising the notions of culture, tradition and nation.

By downplaying differences in their relationships, the speakers seem to oppose 'cultural differentialism', which in Chapter 6 I defined after Martin (2013: 64) as:

- preference for cultural homogeneity,
- belief that peaceful coexistence of different cultures in the same social space is impossible,
- a subtle sense of moral superiority of one's own culture.

Thus, the participants' interactions appear to carry *anti*-differentialist positioning. To illustrate, the speakers' discourses of similarity (Section 7.1) suggest that, on certain occasions, they choose not to perceive their culinary legacies as divergent. This is somewhat contradictory to their discourses highlighting those differences, which I analysed in Chapter 6. Yet, both discursive strategies seem to ultimately reveal the speakers' appreciation for cultural *hetero*geneity and display their reflexive engagement with it. Likewise, the speakers' performances of culinary mixing (Section 7.2) and cosmopolitan predispositions (Section 7.3) accentuate that, reversing Martin's (2013) definition above, the 'peaceful coexistence of different cultures in the same social space is *[not]* impossible', nor is 'the sense of moral *[equality]*' between the speakers (my emphasis).

To proceed to the analysis, below I first explore how the members of the participant Polish-British families discursively frame proximity/likeness between their sociocultural repertoires. Subsequently, I examine how differences may also be neutralised through the speakers' performances of 'culinary mixing' – combining of their culinary practices. These interactions could demonstrate that different sociocultural repertoires may coexist in the same social space, even a household. Through their anti-differentialist discourses the families may (re)produce their 'non-clashing' hybridity, as also shown by Piller (2002: 189). Finally, I address the speakers' cosmopolitan discourses, which seem to project their shared, post-national identity. Similarly to Chapter 6, the current analysis centres on the participants' interactions elicited during the interviews. The discourses of similarity explored in Section 7.1 come from the audio-data only.

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However, the analyses of mixing/crossing and cosmopolitan performances (Sections 7.2–7.3) include also video-data.

7.1   Performing culinary likeness in transnational families

Alongside jocular othering in which sociocultural differences are highlighted (but simultaneously potentially minimised), the participants also voice discourses of similarity. In this section, I explore how the members of these Polish-British families discursively frame proximity/likeness between their culinaro-celebratory repertoires. In Chapter 6, I argued that the speakers are at ease with the perceived differences between their foodscapes and do not always feel the need to neutralise them. This is not to say that the families in my study never downplay divergences. As in Piller's work (2002), my participants at times choose to approximate their sociocultural repertoires and discursively construct them as similar. This is achieved through downplaying/negating culinary differences, on one hand, and by claiming culinary similarities, on the other. Representing two 'side[s] of the same coin' (Piller, 2002: 203), these strategies (downplaying difference and claiming similarity) may overlap, thus I address them side by side. However, the first excerpt represents primarily downplaying of the differences.

Extract 7.1 – 'Nothing noticeable'

Interview 1 with Eliza and Liam, and their friends, Gabi and John. Question 4:
How would you compare Polish and British celebrations of major holidays?

1	Liam:	I suppose Christmas is a different day in terms of the main
2		meal (.) Christmas Eve isn't it? food isn't too dissimilar really
3		maybe (.) I'm sure it is but nothing noticeable
4	Eliza:	I found there's a bit less food on English Christmas than Polish
5	Gabi:	hm
6	Liam:	I think that's standard for everything
7	Eliza:	yeah that's true

In this exchange, Liam epistemically frames Polish and British celebratory food as not *too dissimilar* (2), adopting a de-othering, anti-differentialist stance. He downplays the differences between the two culinary repertoires, evaluating them as *nothing noticeable* (3). Somewhat contradictorily on other occasions Liam highlights such perceived differences (see his jocular othering of Polish Easter

foods, Extract 6.2), which demonstrates how one's stance, and thus identity '[is] not unified around a coherent "Self" ' (Hall, 1992: 277).

It could be for this reason that Liam's statement about Polish-British culinary similarity contains various 'hedges' (Lakoff, 1973), i.e. mitigating devices. Following Wilamová's (2005) classification, they include: 'downgraders' (*too*, *really*), 'pragmatic idioms' (*maybe*), and 'clausal mitigators' (but-clause: *I'm sure they are but...*). These discursive strategies exhibit Liam's tentativeness to adopt an absolute position. Also, since his interlocutors may hold a divergent position, Liam's mitigation allows him to 'minimise the size of imposition' (Wilamová, 2005: 89) of his stance.

Indeed, Liam's Polish partner, Eliza, slightly disaligns with his statement, emphasising the differences in the quantity of Christmas food (4) in each country. However, as Liam evaluates the high volume of food as *standard* (6) for Polish celebrations, these differences seem also neutralised by him. While Liam's response does not carry a direct disalignment with Eliza, it frames the large quantity of food during Polish celebrations as a well-established fact, thus de-exoticising it. Eliza's final alignment with Liam's evaluation (7) shows how the partners 'calibrate' (Du Bois, 2007: 144) their stances to eventually jointly normalise the 'quantity' issue. Mutually downplaying the differences between their foodscapes, the speakers display being 'on the same wavelength' (Edelsky, 1993 [1981]: 196), and project their shared de-othering stance.

Differences between Polish and British culinary practices are also downplayed by the transnational families through the analogous tactic of framing similarity. In the following exchange it is the Polish partner who performs such de-othering.

Extract 7.2 – 'I think it's similar in Britain'

Interview 3 with Maja and Miles. Question 7: <u>What is the role of food during your celebrations and your relationship?</u>

1	Maja:	I'd say that's one of the main points (laughs)
2	Miles:	a focal point
3	Maja:	highlight yeah (.) to me it's always been about food during
4		Polish celebrations (.) alcoholic drinks and meeting people
5		round the table and I think it's similar in Britain [Mi: uhum]
6		even weddings (.) although you don't get as much food as at
7		Polish weddings but still it's about food [Mi: uhum] drinks (.)
8		meeting people and having fun so I don't think Polish and

9	English culture differ that much (.) but when you actually look
10	at it then they do have very detailed differences but overall it's
11	about getting together

Maja and Miles agree that food occupies the central stage during their celebrations. The partners co-construct this shared positioning, for instance through paraphrasing, when in three consecutive turns (1–3) they evaluate the celebratory food using synonymous expressions: *one of the main points* (1), *focal point* (2), and *highlight* (3). Their aligned stance surfaces further when, through minimal responses (*uhum*, 5, 7), Miles agrees with Maja's attempts to approximate their culinary repertoires.

The claim to similarity is based here on a larger perspective – Maja evaluates Polish and British celebratory practices as *similar* in their focus on *food, alcoholic drinks* and *meeting people around the table* (3–5). Similar practices of neutralising sociocultural differences through 'up-scaling', i.e. evoking a large-scale perspective are reported by Pittam and Gallois (2009: 33) in their study on how heterosexuals negotiate their proximity with homosexual individuals (the out-group). Here, Maja and Miles construct their sociocultural likeness by highlighting their shared overall motives for celebrations not only on the individual level (as partners) but also on the collective level (as Polish/British nationals), thus potentially reducing the visualised distance between their respective in-groups.

While both partners recognise some differences between Polish and British culinary practices (e.g. the volume of food at wedding receptions), analogously to Liam and Eliza in Extract 7.1, Maja and Miles jointly diminish these differences. Here de-othering concerns not just food but sociocultural repertoires in general. This is demonstrated in Maja's final evaluation: *I don't think that Polish and English culture differ that much* (9). Not only any existing differences are labelled by Maja as *very detailed* (10), but they are also framed as secondary when juxtaposed with the overall picture – *it's still about food* (7–8); *it's about getting together* (10–11). Thus, claims to similarity intertwine here with downplaying differences. Performed by Maja and Miles collaboratively, both strategies construct their 'voice of the [couple] rather than the individual' (Coates, 1997 [1995]: 70), projecting their shared identity as a hybrid and attuned relationship.

Likeness between culinary repertoires in Poland and Britain is framed by Maja also beyond the celebratory context, as illustrated below. This time it is attempted through drawing analogies between the two foodscapes.

Extract 7.3 – 'That sort of thing is like a second breakfast but just with a biscuit here'

Interview 3 with Maja and Miles. The account followed after the exchange in the previous extract, Extract 7.2.

1	Maja:	that got me thinking cos at work we always (.) quite a lot of my
2		British colleagues have their morning break around ten o'clock
3		(.) have a cup of tea or coffee and then a biscuit or two and I'm
4		(.) oh it's a waste of time for two biscuits
5	All:	(laugh)
6	Maja:	so that's I guess their tradition (.) how they were raised (.) like
7		in Poland as a child I was given sandwiches to school and
8		around elevenish o'clock we had the second breakfast
9	Miles:	(chuckles) you're hobbits
10	Maja:	haha we are <u>not</u> (.) so I guess that sort of thing is like a second
11		breakfast but just with a biscuit here

Inspired by their preceding exchange on Polish and British hosting practices (Extract 6.1), Maja reflects on morning tea and biscuit breaks in the British work environment. While the former practices (hosting) are evaluated by both partners as very different in each country, in this exchange, which follows immediately afterwards, Maja seems to counter-balance the previously mentioned sociocultural differences. It is demonstrated through the similarity she draws between Polish pre-noon snack (the so-called *second breakfast,* 8) and the British concept of the morning tea and biscuit break.

The pronominal choice (*they/their,* 6, versus *we,* 8, 10) and deixis of place (*in Poland,* 7 versus *here,* 11) may express Maja's distancing from the receiving country. De Fina (2003: 52) observes that 'by manipulating pronouns speakers can...convey subtle social meanings that relate to their social identities'. Through her pronominal choice, Maja assigns herself and her spouse's in-group members (the British) to separate social categories, contributing to the construction of their divergent identities. Yet, the analogy she depicts between Polish and British everyday culinary habits concurrently allows her to frame similarity between their backgrounds, and thus potentially diminishes the perceived sociocultural distance between them. This way Maja performs her and Miles's shared identity on the

couple level. Though Miles's collaboration in claiming similarity is less prominent than in Extracts 7.2–7.3, he still contributes to this display of 'sharedness' – 'shared preferences, attitudes, motives, norms, identities' (Tindale and Kameda, 2000: 124). It resounds in Miles's 'talk-as-play' (Coates, 1997 [1995]: 85), exhibited through his 'ritual insult' (Labov, 1972: 332)) – *You're hobbits* (9).

Interestingly, in the same interview the couple disagree about the level of likeness between their culinaro-celebratory practices during Easter.

Extract 7.4 – 'Yeah, little things'

Interview 3 with Maja and Miles. The account was inspired by Question 5: Has the way you celebrate changed since you moved to the UK and got together?

1	Miles:	Easter isn't that different
2	Maja:	well you experienced Easter in Poland (.) remember the basket*
3		and eggs? you don't get that
4		[
5	Miles:	yeah little things
6	Maja:	little? they are <u>massive</u>
7	Miles:	yeah the baskets (.) but it's not so far removed
8	Maja:	no it <u>is</u> cos if you compare it with Easter here you just get
9		school holidays (.) two weeks off (.) some chocolate eggs and
10		watch telly or go for walks [Mi: uhum] or if you're lucky you go
11		to Spain (laughs) but in Poland you would actually go to <u>church</u>
12		[Mi: yeah yeah] with a basket

*referring to the Easter ritual of blessing food in church in Poland, see Appendix 4

On this occasion it is Miles who downplays differences between Polish and British repertoires, specifically in the context of Easter. Epistemically evaluating them as not *that different* (1), *not so far removed* (7), and downscaling potential differences by branding them as *little things* (5), he seems to project a de-othering, anti-differentialist stance, i.e. he represents his and Maja's sociocultural repertoires as not that divergent. Whereas in the former two extracts Maja presents a parallel de-othering stance, in this interaction she disaligns with Miles. She highlights differences between their Easter practices, exemplifying it with a specific Polish Easter custom absent from the British repertoire – having Easter foods blessed in church (2–3). Maja's contrasting stance is marked affectively through her emphatically-stressed negation – *No, it is* (8). In her rationale (8–12), the 'infamous' British *chocolate eggs* (9) yet again are mentioned, diminishing British Easter as religion-/tradition-deprived in contrast with Polish 'pious', custom-rich

celebrations involving food blessing (see parallel evaluations from Beata and Gabi, Extracts 6.2–6.3).

It transpires again how stancetaking is inherently contradictory – in this analysis it is discourses of similarity that intertwine with contrasting othering discourses (see also traditional versus postmodern projections presented in Chapters 4 and 5, respectively). While here such contrasting stancetaking occurs across two speakers, contradictions also emerge within the same individuals. During a single interview, a given speaker may project a certain stance (see Maja's displays of de-othering stance in Extracts 7.2–7.3) to then shortly present a different positioning, disaligning with analogous projections from other speakers (as presented by Maja in relation to Miles's de-othering stance in this extract). Thus, the speakers' perceptions of similarities (and differences) seem relative – they continuously fluctuate, being shaped by and shaping an ongoing dialogue, which 'extends into the boundless past and boundless future' (Bakhtin, 1986: 170). Although on this occasion Miles's similarity talk is slightly countered by Maja's stress on differences, arguably the couple's negotiation still allows them to 'calibrate' (Du Bois, 2007: 144) their stances, and thus reduce potential sociocultural distance between them. Therefore, this exchange shows how discourses of similarity can intertwine with contrasting othering talk, without jeopardising the speakers' display of joint identification as a hybrid couple.

To sum up this section, the data demonstrate that the speakers' perceptions of likeness between their foodscapes vary in intensity. Occasionally, they explicitly evaluate their culinaro-celebratory repertoires as *similar* (Extract 7.2). On one occasion it is achieved through drawing an analogy between the everyday food practices in each country (Extract 7.3). More recurrent are statements neutralising differences, either through negation of dissimilarity (*isn't too dissimilar*, Extract 7.1), or by downplaying differences (*nothing noticeable*, Extract 7.1; *I don't think Polish and English culture differ that much*, Extract 7.2; *Easter isn't that different…it's not so far removed*, Extract 7.4).

The speakers' perceptions of sociocultural likeness/proximity emerge as relative. They are continuously re-evaluated in relation to prior acts of positioning, which 'project, assign, propose, constrain, define, or otherwise shape the [current] subject positions' (Jaffe, 2009: 8) of interlocutors. This relativity surfaces particularly in the last exchange (Extract 7.4), which demonstrates how the same

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speakers can frame certain aspects of their sociocultural repertoires as similar/same only to then position themselves against parallel claims from others. While in Extract 7.2 Maja frames Polish and British celebrations as similar in their food focus and in Extract 7.3 she draws analogies between everyday eating habits in each country, further on in the interview she disaligns with a similar de-othering stance performed by Miles in relation to Easter celebrations (Extract 7.4). As Maja's and Miles's stancetaking acts relate to slightly different dimensions of their sociocultural fields they may not be directly opposed. They may show that certain aspects of those fields are more easily negotiated, while the similarity of other dimensions can be strongly rejected. For instance, Piller (2002: 190) argues that 'religious identities may be...presented as more distant than different national identities'. This also emerges in my data – the Polish speakers (e.g. Maja, Extract 7.4) seem less inclined to accept their British partners' claims to similarity in the context of Easter, as their native religious celebrations appear distant from the British approach, which to them seems secular.

Apart from claiming similarity/downplaying difference, the participants more recurrently perform 'culinary mixing', which I define and examine below. This less overt strategy could constitute a more convincing tactic for marking the speakers' joint identification on the family/couple level.

7.2   *Performing culinary mixing in transnational families*

In this section, I discuss how the transnational families' de-othering stance could further emerge in their performances of 'culinary mixing', i.e. combining of what they interpret as their divergent culinary repertoires. Such displays could project/reproduce the speakers' hybridity as part of their sociocultural 'sharedness' (Tindale and Kameda, 2000). As stressed in the introduction to this chapter, discourses of cultural mixing could echo essentialist conceptualisation of cultures as separate entities. However, I demonstrate how culinary mixing performances could have a de-essentialising effect. Rather than demarcate sociocultural boundaries, they can help the speakers to construct a 'common ground' (Brown and Levinson, 1987 [1978]: 102), and thus exhibit their 'successful' transnational family/coupledom. This may likewise oppose the ideology that intermarriage

results in miscommunication due to cultural differences, as presented in earlier works on the subject (cf. Romano, 1997; Frame, 2004).

The analysed data show that the transnational families display a flexible approach to their food practices, reflexively adapting and/or merging them. This way the speakers may create novel spaces for their sociocultural identities. In Extract 7.5 below Maja and Miles perform culinary mixing during their Christmas celebrations. While the couple have had a roast turkey dinner, celebrating 'British-style', Maja suggests counting the dishes they consumed, which is a Christmas custom in Poland (see Appendix 4) – a 'traditional' Christmas Eve meal consists of twelve meat-free dishes (in reference to the biblical twelve Apostles).

Extract 7.5 – 'Let's count how many we had'

Figure 7.1 *– Video-recording 5 (Maja and Miles's Christmas Day celebration, England, 2010).*

1	Maja:	let's count how many we had
2	Miles:	what?
3	Maja:	there's a turkey (starts counting on her fingers, Figure 7.1)
4		turkey stuffing (.) vegetables (.) we had four different ones (.)
5		Brussels sprouts
6	Miles:	uhum
7	Maja:	ehm (hesitating)
8	Miles:	(whistles) starter
9	Maja:	starter (.) Yorkshire pudding
10	Miles:	yeah
11	Maja:	the dessert
12		[
13	Miles:	the starter was composed of [Ma: yeah] you can make
14		twelve if you cheat
15	Maja:	yeah easily
16	Miles:	'Is it four different vegetables?' (.) 'No that's one <u>dish</u> worth of
17		vegetables' (.) you'd count it as four wouldn't you?
18	Maja:	phew (.) well
19	Miles:	if you were cheating
20	Maja:	yeah (smiles)
21	Miles:	well

In this exchange, Maja attempts to incorporate the Polish Christmas Eve practice of 'dish counting' into the Christmas meal prepared by her British husband. Through an imperative (*let's*, 1), she can 'activate the cultural patterns' (Urban, 2001: 151) and propel the reproduction of this Christmas practice from her homeland in a new, British context. Miles's question (*What?*, 2) shows that initially he is confused by Maja's suggestion, potentially as he does not associate the practice with the British Christmas repertoire. Nevertheless, he eventually recalls this recently acquired 'cultural pattern' and the partners jointly count the consumed dishes, integrating the Polish practice into this novel context, and therefore 'enacting and reconstituting culture' (Coupland, 2007: 107).

However, similarly to his othering of the Polish Christmas Eve 'empty seat' (Extract 6.7) and 'carp naming' practices (Extract 6.9), Miles positions himself slightly against this custom by disclosing its pointlessness – *you can make twelve if you cheat* (13–14). While one could read it as his attempt to conspiratorially make the tradition work, Miles's further utterances suggest that he is sceptical about such forced counting in the name of tradition (16–17). This scepticism emerges in his inner dialogue integrated into his utterance through 'represented discourse' (Johansson, 2000: 78), which seems to demonstrate his own voices – *Is it four different vegetables? No, that's one <u>dish</u>.* The assertiveness of his self-provided question/answer sequence and additional emphasis (<u>dish</u>) further support such reading.

Despite Miles's subtle disalignment with the dish-counting practice, the exchange shows how incongruity arising from essentialist differences is overcome through the agreement the partners build. While unmasking the irrationality of Maja's native culinary practice and potentially threatening her 'face' (Goffman, 1955), Miles simultaneously displays interest in his wife's background. Not only does he perform the counting with Maja but he also engages in reflexivity on the practice (16–17), trying to make meaning of it, and thus to build a 'common ground' (Brown and Levinson, 1987 [1978]: 102) with his Polish partner. Also, Maja's alignment with Miles's somewhat negative evaluations demonstrates how the partners successfully manage to transcend differences through their deliberation on/appropriation of their sociocultural repertoires. It could be argued that through such performances the couple merge what they perceive as different culinaro-celebratory repertoires, constructing their unique 'little ritual' – ritual that

'leak[s] beyond the full-blown ritual events' (Haviland, 2009: 21). Constituting a part of their novel system of meanings predicated on compromise, such individualised rituals can contribute to creating a 'third space', in which the couple continuously re-adjust former sociocultural signs (Bhabha, 2004 [1994]: 55).

A similar merging of the partners' culinary legacies in the context of Christmas dinner occurs when they celebrate the following year. On this occasion, Maja integrates into this British Christmas celebration the Polish Christmas Eve tradition of leaving a spare plate for a potential drifter (the couple also reflected on this practice in Extract 6.7).

Extract 7.6 – 'Bit of a cultural mixture'

Figure 7.2 – *Video-recording 6 (Maja and Miles's Christmas Day celebration, England, 2011).*

1	Miles:	you still laid the plate for (points to the spare plate, Figure 7.2)
2	Maja:	we:ll it wasn't deliberate (.) sort of forgot about it (giggles)
3	Miles:	(laughs) obviously the old habits die hard
4	Maja:	yeah (laughs) bit of a cultural mixture (breathy laughter) [Mi: hm]
5		do you
6		[
7	Miles:	(jokingly) of course I took this into account and overmade the
8		soup (laughs)
9	Maja:	(laughs)
10	Miles:	it's about enough to fill up this bowl
11		[
12	Maja:	but if somebody knocks on the door today (.) eh eh (.) it's British
13		Christmas no one's invited (laughs)
14	Miles:	(putting on a nasty voice) 'GET OFF (.) GO ON (.) WHAT DO
15		YOU WANT?'
16	Maja:	hm but do you think it's better to mix [Mi: uhum] to choose one
17		day and have it all or stick to those two different days (.) you've
18		got Christmas Eve Polish-style and Christmas Day English-style?
19	Miles:	you can't do full on both
20	Maja:	(shakes her head) too much food (giggles)
21	Miles:	it's <u>too much</u> food (laughs) you can't do twelve dishes Polish-
22		style and have an English dinner the next day

Miles immediately notices the spare plate, which does not belong to his native frame of reference in the context of Christmas but is part of his Polish wife's Christmas repertoire (and now also part of their joint celebrations of Polish Christmas Eve, which they had the day before). The accidental nature of this *cultural mixture* (4) creates humour and both partners adopt a jocular 'key' (Hymes, 1974: 57), i.e. tone of interaction – they laugh together (2–4, 8–9) and joke about the occurrence (Miles, 7–8; Maja, 12–13). This jocular 'keying' allows the partners to signpost their 'communicative motivation' (Coupland, 2007: 114), revealing their mutual relaxed approach to this and, potentially, to other ritualised culinary practices.

With the 'communicative motivation' established, Maja's further statement, which mockingly draws stereotypes of British inhospitality (12–13), could hardly be read as malign. Though it resembles othering, it evokes more 'mock impoliteness' in which the interactants understand that 'the contextual conditions that sustain genuine impoliteness do not apply' (Culpeper, 2011: 208). Miles knows that what is being said is 'untrue' (Leech, 1983: 144) – he understands that Maja implies the British inhospitality only in jest. It is demonstrated by his matched performance of Maja's mockery – his act of jocular self-othering. In lines 14–15, Miles puts on a nasty voice of an iconic British host who is unwelcoming to unexpected guests (in contrast to Polish hosts who are constructed as hospitable). Thus, again the speakers introduce an additional voice in their interaction through 'represented discourse' (Johansson, 2000: 78), though this time it seems to be a voice of other speakers (compare with Miles's own voices in Extract 7.5. Such 'polyphonic' (Bakhtin, 1981), i.e. containing many voices, jocular othering and self-othering contribute to 'establishing or maintaining a bond of familiarity' (Leech, 1983: 144) between the speakers. Moreover, as Maja and Miles simultaneously engage with their two culinary legacies, the interaction constructs their dynamic identification as a transnational, hybrid couple, who can swiftly 'cross' (Rampton, 1995a–b) between the available sociocultural repertoires.

The couple's perceptions of their hybridity seem to be reflected in their self-reflexivity. For instance, Maja refers to the occurrence as a *cultural mixture* (4), echoing somewhat essentialist discourses of cultural mixing. This is further demonstrated in lines 16–18, when she engages her husband in this 'self-deliberation' (Delanty, 2011: 634–635). Through their reflexivity, both speakers

exhibit their awareness of various Christmas repertoires available to them. They agree that utilising them *full on* (22) is impractical (*it's too much food,* 23–24), yet neither sees it as a problem and both approach it light-heartedly with laughter. Moreover, it is apparent that despite the partners' attempts to keep their repertoires separate, they inadvertently permeate each other as illustrated by the aforementioned 'leakage' of the spare plate practice and the reflexivity it invited. Upon the couple's meta-commentaries, their respective culinaro-celebratory repertoires become re-interpreted and accorded to their unique transnational trajectories, thus downplaying the homogenous, essentialist image of culture.

Some acts of culinary mixing clearly resulted from the participants' self-reflexivity prior to a given performance, as shown in the following extract.

Extract 7.7 – 'So that I'm not left out'

Interview 1 with Eliza and Liam, and their friends, Gabi and John. As Gabi and John are getting married shortly, the interviewer prompts the couple to say more about it: <u>So your wedding is coming up.</u>

1	Gabi:	most of it will be English because it's here (.) for example
2		we wouldn't do speeches in Poland we will do it here
3		because obviously John wants to do a speech [J: yes] and
4		his dad (.) so because of that my mum and my brother will
5		do one so that I'm not left out (laughs) but what we're gonna
6		do from Polish tradition is the welcoming thing by the
7		parents with bread and salt (speaking about her mother) I
8		don't know what she's going to bring (.) bread and vodka (.)
9		bread and salt (.) then we gonna do like a shot of vodka for
10		everyone
11	Liam:	just one?
12	Gabi:	two (laughs)
13	Liam:	(laughs)
14	Gabi:	(jokingly) can you manage two? just about (laughs)
15	Liam:	I think with all the practice now yeah

Reflecting on the schedule of her and John's future wedding celebrations in Britain, Gabi evaluates the event as mostly *English* (1). However, some elements from the *Polish tradition* (6) have also been planned. For example, the newlyweds will be welcomed at the wedding reception by the parents with 'bread and salt' (this custom was also performed at Beata and Peter's wedding, Extract 4.9). While in Extract 4.9 the ritual was reproduced in its native setting, Poland, on this occasion it will be 'recontextualised' (Linell, 1998: 154–155) in Britain. The bread and salt greeting will thus become a 'moveable sign of Otherness' (Molz, 2007:

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78). Even the Polish tradition of vodka drinking (which invited Gabi and Eliza's joint self-othering in Extract 5.2) will be symbolically incorporated on this occasion. Hence, both practices will be intentionally re-enacted to index her 'Polishness' at this British-Polish wedding in Britain.

The couple's hybridised wedding will show that, in contrast to differentialist ideologies, the 'peaceful coexistence' (Martin, 2013: 64) of their different culinary and other sociocultural repertoires (e.g. wedding speeches) in one space is achievable. It seems that this hybridisation and adaptation stemming from their pre-event reflexivity may allow the couple to accentuate on the day that no-one is *left out* (5), and thus mark the 'equality' of their transnational relationship. Moreover, performed publically, this display of hybridity may contribute to the promotion of 'increasingly fluid forms of cultural and linguistic hybridisation' (Pujolar, 2007: 90), beyond private settings. Thus, this reflexive account reveals how hybridity becomes a sort of commodity – it will allow the couple to individualise their wedding, ensuring its 'uniqueness'. Re-enacting their vibrant, 'hyphenated identities' (Eriksen, 2007: 101) derived from their transnational relationship, the partners may achieve a positive self-presentation. This could indicate that cultural hybridity offers a socio-economic value, and like multilingual skills, is 'subject to commodification and marketization' (Pujolar, 2007: 90).

Culinary merging/compromising was performed by transnational families also in a more literal sense, i.e. in relation to specific food recipes, as exemplified below.

Extract 7.8 – 'I made scrambled egg one way, you made it your way, now it's slowly becoming closer together'

Interview 1 with Eliza and Liam, and their friends, Gabi and John. The exchange was inspired by Question 8: What is the role of food during your celebrations and in your relationship?

1	Eliza:	when we started going out my ritual in my family was to have
2		breakfast on Sunday and that's a Sunday for me (.) I always
3		had scrambled egg with my family and I made Liam my
4		scrambled egg and it was with a lot of onion and mushroom
5		and he didn't like it and I nearly cried [L: (laughs)] I was really
6		depressed (.) I was like 'He doesn't like my scrambled egg and
7		it's my Sunday'
8	All:	(laugh)
9	Liam:	<u>clearly</u> it wasn't <u>really</u>

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10   Eliza:   yeah it was and then we basically changed it (.) now we do
11            have our Sunday breakfast but it's different (.) yeah it's
12            changed but that's a beauty of it
13   Liam:    well I think we probably try (.) I made scrambled egg one way
14            (.) you made it your way (.) now it's slowly=
15   Eliza:   =merging
16   Liam:    becoming closer together (.) I mean in the way they are
17            [E: yeah] cos I used to have mine just egg (.) really kind of dry
18            (.) and yours was really runny with all the stuff in it
19   Eliza:   I always remember I was really upset about it cos it was like
20            my ritual and he wasn't liking my ritual
21   Liam:    I was like 'Okay (.) I'll eat it (.) Mmmm' (pretending it's tasty)
22   All:     (laugh)
23   Eliza:   yeah it's a big one actually
```

In this exchange, Eliza stresses how important it was to her for her British partner to recognise the family ritual from her pre-migrant past in Poland. Her self-quotation (6) allows Eliza to convey her disappointment at the time and to define herself through her 'exteriorised voice' (Dervin and Riikonen, 2009: 128) – *I was like 'He doesn't like my scrambled egg'*. In Sacks' (2013) words, 'memory is dialogic and arises not only from direct experience but from the intercourse of many minds'. This 'constructed dialogue' (Tannen, 1986) in Eliza's narrative demonstrates how her identity results from multiple positions she has been taking across time and space.

While the speakers could potentially frame adding onion and mushroom to scrambled egg as a Polish norm and the egg-only version as typically British, in this interaction there is no reference to nationality/culture – the partners see themselves as 'just two people', to quote a self-evaluation from a transnational couple in Piller's (2002: 197) study. The partners' different preparation of scrambled egg is constructed as dependent on their individual/familial preferences. How certain practices are 'put down to the individual personalities and not to cultural variation' in transnational relationships is also addressed by Piller (2002: 197–198). As presented above, the transnational couples/families seem to strategically choose when to position themselves as 'culturally different' and when to downplay potential cultural variations by constructing them as their individual ways rather than cultural norms. Thus, this exchange also includes discourses of achieving culinary mixing (*merging*, 15) and proximity (*becoming closer together*, 16), but in a less cultural/national sense. The slowly attuning

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version of scrambled egg becomes Eliza and Liam's private 'little ritual' (Haviland, 2009: 21). It is part of their shaping 'third space', in which they may transcend national and cultural borders through discourses of individualisation, reading 'the same signs anew' (Bhabha, 2004 [1994]: 55) and putting their unique stamp on them.

Occasionally, the speakers' acts of culinary mixing were complemented by linguistic 'crossing' (Rampton, 1995a–b), as presented in Extracts 7.9–7.11 below. Since 'mixing' of linguistic repertoires is not central to this analysis, I interpret these three excerpts jointly, and in brief.

Extract 7.9 – 'I will learn somehow'

Figure 7.3 – *Video-recording 5 (Maja and Miles's Christmas Day celebration, England, 2010).*

1	Maja:	let's try that wine
2	Miles:	to <u>US</u>
3	Maja:	Merry Christmas
4	Both:	(clink glasses)
5	Miles:	Merry Christmas (.) *Wesołych Świąt*
6		Merry Christmas
7	Maja:	yeah well done (laughs slightly)
8	Miles:	*i*
9		and
10	Maja:	go on
11	Miles:	*+Szczęśliwe:go Nowe:go Roku*
12		Happy New Year
13		(makes a downward movement with his arm after each word)
14		[
15	Maja:	(makes spiral gestures as Miles syllables the Polish phrase,
16		Figure 7.3) *i Szczęśliwego Nowego Roku*
17		and a Happy New Year
18	Miles:	oh yes (.) I'll learn somehow
19	Maja:	(giggles)

Extract 7.10 – 'Damn, I'm good!'

Figure 7.4 – Video-recording 4 (Maja and Miles's Christmas Eve, England, 2011).

```
1    Maja:    okay (.) so Wesołych Świąt
2                      {Happy Holidays}*
3    Miles:   Wesołych Świąt
4             {Happy Holidays}
5    Maja:    (looks encouragingly at Miles and gesticulates)
6    Miles:   Bożego Narodzenia
7             {of god's birth}
8                      [
9    Maja:         yeah
10   Miles:   YES (performs a fist pump, Figure 7.4)
11            [
12   Maja:    fantastic
13   Miles:   oh damn (.) I'm good
```

*word-by-word translation, showing the difference between the Polish expression and its English equivalent

Extract 7.11 – 'Okay, bon appetite! *Smacznego*!'

Figure 7.5 – Video-recording 6 (Maja and Miles's Christmas Day celebration, England, 2011).

```
1    Maja:    okay (.) bon appetite (.) smacznego
2                                  enjoy your meal
3    Miles:   dziękuję (.) wzajemnie
4             thank you (.) likewise
```

The above three interactions demonstrate how the creative potential of drink-/food-related rituals (here toasting and wishes) can be used by transnational families to

display their hybridity. Maja and Miles generally communicate in English, however occasionally they use Polish, as illustrated in the above exchanges.

In Extract 7.9 it is Miles who initiates the switch 'inter-sententially' (Poplack, 1980), i.e. outside a sentence, clause or phrase, repeating the formulaic Merry Christmas in Polish – *Wesołych Świąt* (5). In the other two extracts it is invited by Maja 'intra-sententially' (Poplack, 1980), i.e. within the same clause – *Okay, so Wesołych Świąt* (Extract 7.10) and within the same sentence – *Okay, bon appetite!* (Extract 7.11) as well as inter-sententially – *Okay, bon appetite! Smacznego!* (Extract 7.11). Both the self-motivated and prompted use of Polish displays Miles's recognition of Maja's native linguistic repertoire. As argued by Chiaro (2007: 218), in transnational relationships partners appreciate when the other side makes an effort to speak their language. It is apparent that Maja is pleased with Miles's attempts to say Christmas wishes in Polish. For instance, she encourages Miles to continue: verbally (*go on*, 8, Extract 7.9) and nonverbally, through her gaze and gesture (12–13, Extract 7.9; 5, Extract 7.10). Moreover, she praises him (*well done*, 7, Extract 7.9), and positively evaluates his performance using an affective adjective (*fantastic*, 12, Extract 7.10).

Miles's translanguaging represents a 'positive politeness' strategy – it becomes a symbolic 'gift' (Brown and Levinson, 1987 [1978]: 102) for the hearer, Maja. Simultaneously, Miles can present his 'symbolic competence' (Kramsch, 2006) in Polish linguistic, and also sociocultural, repertoire and 'enact fleetingly [this] new ethnolinguistic identity' (Jaworski, 2009: 667). Maja, analogously, can stress her fluency in both repertoires (Polish and British/English), and in Extract 7.11 she additionally marks her symbolic competence in French language (*bon appetite,* 1). Thus, the translanguaging acts allow the partners to perform 'face-work' (Goffman, 1955), i.e. attend to their public image through a positive, individual self-presentation. However, they also construct the partners' identity on the couple level, by highlighting their hybrid, communicatively-attuned relationship, and shared appeal to polyglot skills.

To summarise this section, the presented data show that projections of hybridity are prominent in the participants' culinary interactions. It could be argued that similarly to the previously examined discourses constructing similarity (Section 7.1), the above acts of culinary mixing and crossing, which result in translanguaging, allow transnational partners to frame their hybrid relationship as

'successful'. Rampton (1995b: 507) argues that through crossing speakers can temporarily denaturalise their 'ethnolinguistic inheritance', this way 'cultivat[ing] a spectacular, dynamic, heteroglossic marginality'. However, for partners in transnational relationships such 'heretical discourse' (Rampton, 1995b: 507) is more than temporary stepping into their respective sociocultural repertoires. Their interactions construct a 'translanguaging space' (Li, 2011), which offers a 'sense of connectedness with others' (Li, 2011: 1234). In this shared space the members of these transnational families can discursively construct their unique 'third space', which presents them with 'the possibility of a new representation, of meaning-making and agency' (Bhatt, 2008: 182).

7.3   *Performing cosmopolitan coupledom/family*

Whereas the speakers' individual projections of cosmopolitanism were mentioned in Chapter 5, in this section, I show how the members of the participant families *co-construct* their cosmopolitan stance. Moreover, this analysis focuses on the speakers' projections of their shared openness towards global culinary repertoires, not just those represented by their foreign partners. Displaying their joint cosmopolitan 'search for contrasts rather than similarities' (Hannerz, 1990: 239), the speakers' interactions can potentially further oppose differentialist discourses. Their projections of shared cosmopolitan predispositions and ability to compromise native foodscapes could allow them to contest ideologies of culturally clashing intermarriage.

How the transnational families'/couples' displays of hybridity go beyond their native foodscapes, incorporating global influences and resulting in individualised culinary creations, is illustrated in Extract 7.12 below. While consuming a fasting version of *bigos* (Polish-style stew made of sauerkraut and mushrooms) at their Christmas Eve, the couple talk about a more exciting meat version of it to be consumed the following day, which turns out to incorporate non-Polish ingredients.

Extract 7.12 – '...cos I put chorizo in it'

Figure 7.6 – Video-recording 4 (Maja and Miles's Christmas Eve, England, 2011).

1	Miles:	are we having the meat one tomorrow?
2	Maja:	yeah it's much nicer actually (with a mischievous voice)
3		<cos I put chorizo in it>
4	Miles:	(smiles, Figure 7.6) oh you're <u>e:vil</u>
5	Maja:	uhum (with satisfaction)
6	Miles:	make me wait till tomorrow to get the nice one
7	Maja:	yeah

The dish to come transpires to be particularly exciting when Maja reveals that she adventurously used Spanish chorizo instead of Polish sausage. The utterance is delivered by her in a quiet, slightly mischievous voice (3), which could suggest that she is aware of its 'heretical' form and the teasing effect that her revelation may have. Indeed, Miles reveals impatience about waiting for the *nice bigos* (6) – he jocularly calls Maja *e:vil* (4), which is affectively marked through phonological lengthening. This act of ritual abuse and semiotic creativity (through combining of various foodscapes), seems to showcase the partners' shared cosmopolitan predispositions. Their already complex food repertoires become additionally infused with influences from other sociocultural fields, which here results in Polish-style *bigos* being hybridised with a Spanish ingredient (chorizo).

While this culinary adventurism may be the product of circumstances (the unavailability of certain Polish ingredients in Britain, reported by Maja in Extract 5.4), it nevertheless shows how the couple are ready to alter, and thus to individualise, their native recipes. This way they somewhat compromise the 'authenticity' of their culinary legacies – with its Spanish ingredient, their *bigos* arguably ceases to be traditional. However, what the partners' seem to achieve instead is 'existential authenticity', i.e. 'being...true to oneself' (N. Wang, 1999: 358), here surfacing through their enjoyment of this individualised, cosmopolitan culinary expression, which may offer them unique sources of identity. As argued in

Chapter 5, by showing their sociocultural flexibility and non-orthodox approach towards traditional culinary practices, the partners may echo anti-traditional, postmodern discourses. Simultaneously, they seem to project a cosmopolitan 'stance of openness' (Hannerz, 1990: 239), which inspires them to transcend already 'exotic' foodscapes of their foreign spouses to encompass other culinary repertoires brought about by global flows.

A similar co-constructed appeal to cosmopolitanism emerges in the interview with Kuba (Polish) and Carol (Welsh), who likewise accentuate the global character of their cuisine. Additionally, the couple emphasise individualism behind their food choices. Hence, the couple's reflexivity on their culinary repertoires reveals their shared cosmopolitan spirit and 'metacognitive knowledge' of it.

Extract 7.13 – 'We just eat what we like'

Interview 2 with Kuba and Carol, and Mirek and Kamila. The exchange was inspired by Question 8: <u>What is the role of food in your celebrations and your relationship?</u>

1	Carol:	we don't eat Polish or British food do we? (.) we tend to eat=
2	Kuba:	=we just eat what we like
3	Carol:	yeah
4	Kuba:	and it's a bit of everything (.) a bit of Italian (.) Chinese (.) British
5		perhaps now and then
6	Carol:	yeah but I've never had pasta in your family so that must be my
7		influence because I ate a lot of pasta through my life
8	Kuba:	I must say when I was on my own I ate a lot of pasta as well (.)
9		cheap and easy to make

The couple align that they *don't eat Polish or British food* (1), potentially implying their culinary adventurism. Reporting the 'variety' of their culinary repertoires, which include world cuisines (4–5)*,* the partners index their 'capacity to consume' (Szerszynski and Urry, 2002: 470), here also literally. The couple's interaction seems to project their joint cosmopolitan stance, though less directly than in Piller's data (2002: 202–203). Cosmopolitanism emerges here not through the speakers' indexical labelling of themselves as 'cosmopolitan', but in their reflexivity – 'cultivation of an attitude of critical deliberation and self-problematisation' (Delanty, 2011: 652).

This display of identities through reflexivity adheres to Bucholtz and Hall's (2005: 594) 'principle of indexicality' under which identity emerges in interaction

not only through overt use of labels and categories, but also through exhibited affective and epistemic positions. Another index comes from the pronominal choice. Both Kuba and Carol use the inclusive, 'solidarity' pronoun *we* when discussing their food preferences (1–2), which may further construct their identity on the couple level. It may also oppose differentialist discourses and allow the speakers to transcend imagined sociocultural borders by emphasising their individual culinary choices rather than succumbing to specific cuisines – *We just eat what we like* (2).

Discourses of cosmopolitanism and individualism also resound in Beata and Peter's reflections which, similarly to Carol and Kuba's exchange in Extract 7.13, project their ability to look beyond their native cuisines. The extract below additionally demonstrates how partners sometimes ascribe a cosmopolitan stance to each other.

Extract 7.14 – 'The five elements in Chinese cooking'

Interview 4 with Beata and Peter. Question 8: <u>Do you think your eating habits have changed since you moved to the UK and got together?</u>

1	Peter:	I definitely eat more (.) obviously a bit of Polish food but you
2		don't cook that much of it really Beata do you?
3	Beata:	uhum (agreeing)
4	Peter:	is there anything British that we eat (.) things I cook? roast and
5		stuff
6	Beata:	I like your roast (.) I like roast Sunday (.) really good when
7		having guests around
8		(fragment omitted)
9	Peter:	you often cook by the Chinese (.) what's that? the five=
10	Beata:	=the five elements in Chinese cooking
11	Peter:	five elements
12	Beata:	well this is the way you cook (.) it doesn't mean you cook
13		Chinese food (.) I always complicate this (.) it's just the way of
14		healthy cooking (3.0) yeah I think we make effort to cook (.)
15		we cook everyday (.) we love to eat
16	Peter:	but it's a mix of stuff
17	Beata:	yeah not necessarily Polish food

In this exchange, Peter attributes a cosmopolitan stance onto Beata, who according to him does not cling to her native cuisine (2) and follows a more 'exotic' way of cooking – the *five elements in Chinese cooking*. Beata aligns with the position ascribed to her, which is demonstrated through her minimal response (*uhum*, 3) and also through her latched comment (10), with which she completes

Peter's statement. Her alignment is further displayed when she echoes Peter's claim (16) about the variety of food they consume – *Yeah, it's not necessarily Polish food* (17). Moreover, Beata affectively highlights her openness also towards British foodscapes – *I like your roast* (6).

When Beata explains the concept of 'five Chinese elements' (12–14), it becomes apparent through the adverbial of frequency (*always*, 13) that her act of self-reflexivity is not 'one-off' (for the role of adverbials in the construction of longitudinal stance see Rubin Damari 2010). Beata unmasks her ongoing 'reflexive condition in which the perspective of others is incorporated into [her] own identity, interests or orientation in the world', which constitutes the fundamental characteristic of cosmopolitanism (Delanty, 2011: 634). Thanks to her cosmopolitan perspective and deliberation, Beata tailors her individualised style of cooking. While undoubtedly followed by others, the way of cooking becomes personalised by Beata, who stresses that it is not so much about cooking Chinese food but about *healthy cooking* (14). Her discourse of individualism encompasses her husband through the inclusive pronoun *we*, constructing their reflexive culinary identity on the couple level – *we cook everyday, we love to eat* (15).

An analogous performance of reflexive, cosmopolitan coupledom is delivered by Miles and Maja in Extract 7.15 below. While the couple co-construct their cosmopolitan stance, again the exchange includes attribution of this stance by the British partner (Miles), which on this occasion seems to additionally carry a self-exoticising discourse.

Extract 7.15 – 'Well, it's Italian, Spanish, Mexican...'

Interview 3 with Maja and Miles. Question 6: Do you think your eating habits have changed since you moved to the UK and got together?

1	Maja:	we met and lived in Germany together so we've already been
2		cooking different things [Mi: uhum] that weren't really English or
3		Polish so when I got to England we just carried on (.) recipe was
4		in the fridge and we get the cook book in case of Miles and in my
5		case just put it in the pot and hope for the best
6	Miles:	I think you are really understating your change in diet (.) you'll
7		happily eat curries you'll happily eat Chinese food [Ma: okay] fish
8		and chips (.) we do go out and go fine dining (.) we love that kind
9		of thing [Ma: oh yeah] so I think what you eat is <u>so</u> much wider
10		(.) the Polish cuisine (.) we can't (.) a lot of it is quite difficult to
11		make so *pierogi** is=
12	Maja:	=time-consuming

13		(fragment omitted)
14	Miles:	I think you're underplaying your shift in diet
15	Maja:	I guess so (.) like with Indian food (.) I tried Chinese when I
16		came here (.) it was fine I liked it (.) but the Indian was the last
17		one I gave into because it was too spicy (.) I couldn't take it but
18		now I can take the medium one [Mi: yeah] can't do vindaloo yet
19		but
20	Miles:	don't worry (.) only crazy people can
21	Maja:	what else?
22	Miles:	well it's Italian (.) Spanish (.) Mexican (.) Turkish?
23	Maja:	a variety of food

Polish-style dumplings/ravioli

Like Carol and Kuba in Extract 7.13, Maja and Miles display their culinary adventurism and connoisseurship. Relating it to their physical mobility (the couple first met and lived together in Germany), Maja highlights how their food repertoire has been shaped through their experience of various contexts. As argued by Giddens (1991: 190), 'a cosmopolitan person is one precisely who draws strength from being at home in a variety of contexts', and Maja seems to project such a cosmopolitan predisposition of her and Miles's household.

Similarly to Extract 7.14, a cosmopolitan stance is also expressed by the speakers through stance attribution, here performed by Miles. Epistemically evaluating Maja's report as an understatement (6), which he then repeats through a paraphrase (*you're underplaying your shift in diet*, 14), Miles highlights the culinary change Maja has undergone through her encounter with the global foodscapes available in Britain, her new location – *you'll happily eat curries, you'll happily eat Chinese food* (6–7). Maja aligns with Miles, illustrating her culinary development with the Indian curry – *I couldn't take it but now I can take the medium one* (17–18). However, as observed by Miles, their culinary repertoire goes beyond Chinese and Indian – *it's Italian, Spanish, Mexican, Turkish* (22), and this list is not finite as implied by his rising intonation. Miles's strong attribution of a cosmopolitan stance to his Polish partner, expressed through repetition (6, 14) and emphatic stress (*what you eat is so much wider*, 9), could be interpreted as his act of self-exoticising – it is thanks to the vibrant, international foodscapes offered by his homeland that Maja was able to enrich her culinary repertoire.

The interactions examined in this section show how culinary reflexivity and adventurism become common denominators for the members of these transnational families, contributing to their sociocultural 'sharedness' (Tindale and

Kameda, 2000: 124). Their joint construction of this cosmopolitan stance further reflects the dynamics of identification in transnational families/coupledom. It shows how it arises through the speakers' positions taken at the intersection of complex interrelations between past and presence, here and there, traditional and modern, authentic and staged, individual and collective, local and global.

7.4   Summary

In this chapter, I discussed how at times transnational families/couples adopt a de-othering stance in their food-related interactions, i.e. project 'positioning' and 'alignment' (Du Bois, 2007: 143–144) *against* potential differences between their culinaro-cultural repertoires. While seemingly contrasting with their jocular othering (examined in Chapter 6), these de-othering performances, also, and perhaps more naturally, can minimise perceived sociocultural distance between the speakers. The current analysis demonstrated how the culinary interactions reproduce discourses of similarity, mixing and cosmopolitanism through which the participants index their hybrid but shared identity (see also Piller, 2002). Emphasising their attuned, non-clashing hybridity, in which there is space for 'sharedness' (Tindale and Kameda, 2000: 124), compromise and individualism, the speakers project their continuously evolving identities beyond the essentialist sources such as nations, cultures and traditions.

One could say that this research engineered such performances of sociocultural similarities/differences (Section 7.1), mixing (Section 7.2), and cosmopolitan projections (Section 7.3). While the interaction in Extract 7.1 was prompted by a question asking for a comparison, the partners were free to opt either for similarity or difference talk, or to reject the question altogether. Moreover, even when the questions did not imply it, the participants produced such accounts of differences/similarities (see Extracts 7.2–7.4), performed their mixing/hybridity semiotically (e.g. Extracts 7.6–7.7) and linguistically (Extracts 7.9–7.11), and further reflected on it in the naturally occurring video-data (e.g. Extracts 7.13–7.15). The projections of cosmopolitanism seem unlikely to have been suggested in any way. Therefore, the reproduced discourses of difference/similarity, hybridisation and cosmopolitanism (and the related individualisation) are unlikely to be 'an artefact of the research context' (Piller, 2002: 204). Such salient,

participant-driven construction of similarity, successful mixing, cosmopolitan and post-national appeal could mean that the speakers may feel the need to 'legitimise', i.e. to defend/justify, their intermarriage and hybrid repertoires (Piller, 2002: 188).

Discourses of successful mixing, cosmopolitanism and individualism seem particularly prominent in the data. This, conversely, could suggest that thriving transnational coupledom (e.g. Killian, 2009: xix; Dervin, 2013: 131) is slowly viewed as a positive phenomenon rather than an abyss of miscommunication. To use hooks' (1992: 424) metaphorical description of ethnicity as 'seasoning that can liven up the dull dish that is mainstream white culture' (hooks, 1992: 424), intermarriage could become such 'spice' for the mainstream homogamous culture, and thus be framed as 'desire' (Piller, 2008). Analogously to the legitimation of multilingualism and code-switching (Bhatt, 2008: 179), exoticism of intermarriage could slowly become normalised. As private interactions, like those presented above, and more public discourses (e.g. in the media) jointly continue to project de-othering and de-exoticising stance, exogamy and hybridisation could become the norm.

Chapter 8 – Summary of stance predicates and discussion

In this chapter, I collate the individual analyses of the speakers' most salient stances (presented in Chapters 4–7), which were conditionally termed: traditional stance, postmodern stance, othering stance and de-othering stance, respectively. While each of those stances was analysed separately to ensure clear organisation, they all echoed throughout the data, illustrating the complexity of the speakers' identities. None of the stances seemed absolute but rather emerged as fleeting projections, intertwining with other, often contrasting positions, adopted depending on the situation.

Therefore, the first two sections of this chapter juxtapose the speakers' somewhat contradictory projections: traditional versus postmodern stance (Section 8.1) and othering versus de-othering stance (Section 8.2). I discuss how those stances emerged at the intersection of various epistemic and affective stance predicates (Ochs, 1996: 410), such as evaluative statements, represented discourse, pronominal choice, affective vocabulary, mockery and expressive paralinguistics. Subsequently, in Section 8.3, I discuss the dynamism of identification processes in the transnational families, relating them to theories of 'dialogism' of stancetaking (e.g. Kärkkäinen, 2006; Du Bois, 2007; Rubin Damari, 2010), and the Bakhtinian (1981) idea of polyphonic speech. Finally, in Section 8.4, I consider how, on one hand, the speakers circulated national 'we'-discourses, evoking Anderson's idea of 'imagined communities' (2006 [1983]), and, on the other, reflexively de-essentialised the concepts of nation, tradition and culture.

8.1   Traditional versus postmodern stance

All members of the participant transnational families at times presented 'alignment' (Du Bois, 2007: 144) with certain traditional culinary practices. This emerged through their positive evaluations of the traditional and/or negative evaluations of departures from it. Less directly, the speakers aligned with tradition semiotically through ritualised replication/dissemination of food practices, which were

conceptualised/designed by them as traditional. While scrutinised in Chapter 4, the appeal to traditionality is echoed across the analysis, intertwining with projections of other, potentially contrasting stances. Somewhat contrasting with the appeal to traditionality seemed the speakers' anti-traditional/secular, individualistic and cosmopolitan positioning. As pursuit of anti-traditionality, secularism, individualism and cosmopolitanism are emblematic of postmodernity (Giddens, 1991: 190–195), that positioning was labelled as postmodern stance.

In Section 8.1.1 below, I first collate the references to traditionality and postmodernity, which occurred across the analysis, discussing how they may project the speakers' traditional/postmodern positioning. Next, in Section 8.1.2, I present more indirect indices of each positioning (traditional and postmodern), which emerged through the speakers' alignment with certain traditional and/or postmodern discourses. In Section 8.1.3, I discuss how specific epistemic and affective predicates seemed to highlight both traditional and postmodern stance projections. Finally, in Section 8.1.4, I comment on how these interweaving appeals to traditionality and postmodernity reflect and shape the interplay of ritualisation and secularism in the participant families.

8.1.1   Direct and indirect references to traditionality and postmodernity

In this section, I gather various references to traditionality and postmodernity which surfaced in the data to discuss how they may project somewhat contradictory positioning from the speakers.

To begin with references to traditionality, the speakers' interactions included explicit branding of certain food-related practices/artefacts as traditional or representing tradition. Less directly, traditionality was oriented to through the speakers' references to 'replication', 'authenticity' and/or 'primitiveness' of these practices/artefacts. Table 8.1 below illustrates both types of references to the traditional.

TYPE OF REFERENCE TO TRADITION	SPEAKER	EXAMPLE IN THE DATA	EXTRACT
direct - through tradition-related vocabulary	Eliza	*I look after <u>tradition</u> more*	4.2
	Peter	*It was a part of <u>tradition</u>*	4.10
	Beata	*It was like <u>traditional</u> cooking*	4.10
	Ela	*Is it <u>traditional</u> English food?*	5.5
	Carol	*...you're not gonna easily accept other people's <u>traditions</u>*	6.4
	Maja	*...it's quite hard to introduce some of those Polish <u>traditions</u> into our household*	6.7
	Gabi	*From Polish <u>tradition</u> I think is the welcoming thing with bread and salt*	7.7
indirect - references to the related phenomena, e.g. 'replication', 'authenticity', 'primitiveness'	Gabi	*This is the salad that <u>babcia [=granny] made</u>*	4.3
	Mirek	*It was part of the <u>ritual</u> (on meal prayers)*	4.5
	Gabi	*I've got the feel of <u>true</u> Polish Easter*	4.7
	Beata	*It was like a <u>feast</u>...like a <u>karczma</u> [=inn]... the <u>pig</u> turned up...with fire*	4.10
	Maja	*...<u>normally</u> we wouldn't eat bigos on that day [Christmas Eve]*	4.11

Table 8.1 *– Direct and indirect references to tradition*

While references to traditionality were abundant (see Table 8.1 above), an explicit reference to postmodernity came only from one participant during a post-nationalist positioning act – *I don't believe in boundaries and I'm kind of a <u>postmodernist</u>* (Carol, Extract 5.13). In relation to culinary practices specifically, also only one speaker, Miles, jokingly attached a 'modern' label to his and Maja's 'shortcut' preparation of their Christmas meal – *It's a <u>modern</u> Christmas miracle* (Extract 5.12). Therefore, in comparison with the evaluations of traditionality, (post)modernity might not have been the discourse that the speakers were necessarily aware of. This could mean that despite their increasing postmodern predispositions (which, as I discuss below, are exhibited in less explicit ways in the data), the speakers may be more exposed to traditionality talk in their societies rather than to explicit references to postmodernity.

With 'the semiotic link between linguistic forms and social meanings' (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005: 594), framing sociocultural phenomena or one's practices as 'traditional' or '(post)modern' (though the latter occurred only twice), reflected not only the speakers' perceptions of tradition/postmodernity, but also

broader societal discourses on these phenomena. Such referencing of tradition does not need to equate with the speakers' appeal to traditionality/postmodernity. However, below I present how the participants conveyed their alignment with the traditional and the postmodern through their declarations and, more indirectly, through their reflexivity. During my analysis I kept in mind that there may be a 'gap between declarations and practice' (Wojtyńska, 2011: 125), thus the speakers' declarations of following/rejecting tradition were subject to discourse analysis rather than taken at face-value. Such statements were not considered indicative of consistent traditionality/anti-traditionality either. For example, Gabi's evaluation of her experience of *true Polish Easter* (Extract 4.7), did not rule out her anti-traditional, postmodern declarations on other occasions: *I'd love to free myself from tradition* (Extract 5.11); *It's not much about tradition* (Extract 5.10). Though treated with reservation, those inconsistent statements unmasked the dialogism of the speakers' stancetaking, showing how it is not 'the output of a unitary speaker' (Blommaert and Rampton, 2011: 6).

To illustrate the speakers' declarations of following tradition, Eliza repeatedly stressed the importance of cultivating it – *It's more important for us* (Extract 4.1), *I look after tradition more* (Extract 4.2). Likewise, Maja and Beata stated their attempts to preserve some traditions – *We are making it really Polish-style* (Maja, Extract 4.8); *We tried to celebrate it like the Polish* (Beata, Extract 4.15), and to disseminate them – *I will still promote carp as a Polish thing* (Maja, Extract 4.8); …*showing taste of Polish Wigilia [Christmas Eve]* (Beata, Extract 4.15). While such declarations were mainly delivered by female speakers, male speakers also expressed their intention to reproduce specific traditions (see for instance Mirek and Kuba on meal prayers, Extract 4.5). Interestingly, such declarations of wanting to follow traditions did not come from British partners, and in Section 8.1.4 I comment on this asymmetry.

Moving on to postmodern declarations, although it only came from Carol (*I'm kind of a postmodernist,* Extract 5.13), the appeal to postmodernity potentially found its manifestation in the speakers' epistemic claims to cosmopolitan adventurism (Szerszynski and Urry, 2002: 470). All the participants commented on the diversity of their culinary repertoires, indexing their aptitude to venture beyond home cuisines. This was for instance performed by Miles (Extract 4.14), who demonstrated his willingness to consume exotic carp on Polish Christmas Eve,

positioning himself as an adventurous 'culinary tourist' (Molz, 2007). Not only did Miles perform 'eating difference' (Molz, 2007: 77), but he also willingly faced the risk by consuming this bony fish. His venturing into exotic Polish foodscapes brings to mind Beck's (1992: 21) idea of 'risk society', according to which postmodern individuals increasingly (and voluntarily) encounter hazard in the more industrialised world. The speakers also declared their culinary cosmopolitanism beyond their already diversified repertoires. This was demonstrated by Carol – *We don't eat Polish or British food* (affirmed by her partner, Kuba, Extract 7.13), or by Maja and Miles – *We met and lived in Germany so we've already been cooking different things that weren't really English or Polish* (Extract 7.15). Similar voices came from Beata and Peter – *You often cook by...the five elements in Chinese cooking* (Extract 7.14). Whereas again such overt claims may or may not reflect the reality, they revealed the speakers' desire to display their culinary connoisseurship, characteristic of a (post)modern, cosmopolitan individual (Szerszynski and Urry, 2002: 470). Likewise, they carried the participants' appeal to individualism through their culinary experimentations.

In this section, I have discussed how the speakers referred to the traditional and postmodern. It is apparent that direct references to tradition outnumbered those to postmodernity, potentially showing that postmodernity might not have been the discourse that the speakers were necessarily conscious of. Though the same disproportion applied to the declarations of following tradition versus postmodern outlook, I argued that the speakers' recurrent cosmopolitan statements highlighted the latter. In Sections 8.1.2–8.1.3 below I discuss less direct projections of the speakers' traditional and postmodern positioning, which emerged through their multiple epistemic (based on knowledge/experience) and affective (relating to feelings/emotions) markers, respectively. The analysis showed that epistemicity continuously intertwined with affect in the examined interactions. Thus, the division in two separate sections below is applied only for organisational purposes and does not reflect separateness of those markers.

8.1.2 *Epistemic alignment with traditionality and postmodernity*

In this section, I discuss how the speakers' 'alignment' (Du Bois, 2007: 144) with traditionality and postmodernity surfaced less directly in their interactions through epistemicity – projections of knowledge, experience and/or expertise (Ochs, 1996: 410). To briefly overview potential epistemic markers, most commonly they have a declarative form (e.g. evaluations/opinion stating), which may include comparison building, negations or paraphrasing. Epistemicity may likewise emerge through imperative mood (e.g. orders/suggestions) or interrogative mood (e.g. tag/rhetorical questions). Indicative may also be the use of modality, represented discourse, stance attribution or appeal to certain characteristics, e.g. traditionality/cosmopolitanism (for a full outline of the markers which I explored see Table 3.3).

To move on to specific examples of epistemic markers of postmodern positioning in the data, it surfaced in the speakers' appeal to 'choice' (Giddens, 1991; Lash and Urry, 1994), which seemed to convey their rejection of 'meta-narratives' (Lyotard, 1984 [1979]: xxiv). To illustrate, in Extract 5.2 Gabi negatively evaluated the 'vodka regime' at Polish weddings – *You don't have much choice…You just drink vodka or nothing,* contrasting it with a more liberal approach in Britain. This positioning was shared by other speakers (Eliza, Liam), who jointly conveyed their preference for a variety of beverages at weddings, disaligning with traditional, impractical vodka practices, which cannot satisfy all tastes. As observed by Giddens (1999: 5) 'the disappearance of tradition...expands the domain of choice', which seemed to be reflected in the participants' discourse. The impracticality of following fixed traditional culinary practices was also implied by Maja, who pointed to inaccessibility and/or overpricing of Polish ingredients in Britain (Extract 5.4). Here, Maja's postmodern positioning emerged through her self-presentation as a strategic consumer, who utilises the 'enveloping framework of individual self-expression' offered by the market in late modernity (Giddens, 1991: 424). Although Maja's choice was dictated by economic factors (unavailability/elevated prices of certain imported products), nevertheless she framed herself as a postmodern, mindful client through her epistemic statement – *I'm not willing to go to a Polish shop and pay more* (Extract 5.4).

Conversely, the speakers continued to replicate what they perceived as their traditional culinary practices, and thus indirectly revealed their epistemic alignment with traditionality. To ensure reproduction/dissemination of certain food rituals the speakers prompted others to perform them. Predominantly, those prompts were not in imperative mood. However, they seemed to function as imperatives despite their tentative form (e.g. *Maybe this time Mum can do the prayer?*, Mirek, Extract 4.4*). More 'bald on-record' (Brown and Levinson, 1987 [1978]) prompts were expressed through 'commissive/directive modality' (Palmer, 2001) – We're not gonna have a roast; We have to do a Polish Easter*, Extract 4.1. Imperatives also occurred (*That's so nice guys, try it!; Have it with some meat!*, Extract 4.7). Through such prompts the speakers 'activate[d] cultural patterns', and thus 'impart[ed] incremental force' (Urban, 2001: 151) to discourses of traditionality. Hence, they remained 'at the service of maintenance of tradition' (Urban, 2001: 155), acting as 'guards' of what they perceived as their culinary legacies.

Concurrently, the participants acted as tradition 'conduits' (Urban, 2001: 33), disseminating their native culinary practices in space and time. This dissemination was possible thanks to epistemicity – based on the speakers' knowledge and experience. This was illustrated when the speakers discursively and/or semiotically passed on their culinary foodscapes to foreign spouses (e.g. see Eliza and Gabi presenting their native Easter ways to their British partners, Liam and John, Extract 4.7, or Miles serving a Christmas turkey to his Polish wife, Maja, Extract 4.13). Moreover, the speakers' intent to circulate traditional culinary practices was not restricted to their native legacies. This was shown when the transnationals passed onto their visiting Polish relatives the newly acquired recipes from the receiving country, Britain – e.g. full English breakfast (Extracts 5.7–5.8) or jacket potatoes (Extracts 5.5–5.6). This could suggest that the speakers attached value to traditionality at large, beyond their native ways (in Section 8.2 I discuss how such displays of culinary Otherness may simultaneously project the speakers' appeal to cosmopolitanism). Dissemination was also attempted across generations as performed by Gabi, who socialised her Polish-British son into *Polish Easter* (Extract 4.3). Thus, acting as 'guard' of culinary practices, on those occasions the speakers exhibited their adherence to tradition and their intent to perpetuate it.

For the migrant side (Polish participants), occasional displays of traditionality might have been heightened by their experience of migration to Britain (see Eliza's statement: *tradition...is becoming important for me because I am not in Poland and I wanna make sure I do it the Polish way,* Extract 4.2). While again such epistemic statements cannot be taken for granted, they reflected the pervasiveness of discourses of tradition, which attach value to sociocultural continuity. However, the potential increase in the migrants' appeal to the traditional also emerged less directly (and perhaps more convincingly) in the speakers' epistemic evaluations on their new setting (Britain). The receiving country was occasionally reported to evoke feelings of 'fear'/'insecurity' (e.g. Mirek, Extract 4.6: *I'm afraid to feel like losing this kind of security*), which in turn intensified the speakers' desire to preserve continuity with their pre-migratory past. In those 'statements of continuity' (Janowski, 2012), the foodscapes of the new locality were at times rejected and/or framed as 'wrong' (see Eliza and Gabi's refusal to have British roast dinner instead of the traditional Polish-style meal at Easter time, Extract 4.1). Those acts of positioning adhered to former research depicting migrants' nostalgic desire to replicate food rituals from their past upon feelings of displacement (e.g. Codesal, 2010; Rabikowska, 2010). Highlighting on certain occasions their traditional food practices as the 'right' way, the speakers potentially further projected their traditional positioning, temporarily constructing their homeland as the 'centre' of normativity (Blommaert *et al.*, 2005a–b), i.e. the indicator of norms and patterns against which any divergent sets are evaluated. In Section 8.2, I will discuss how the speakers' appeal to cosmopolitanism sometimes subdued this 'single-centre' model for the sake of 'polycentricity', in which 'multiple normative complexes are simultaneously at work' (Blommaert, 2010: 61).

The British side demonstrated analogous epistemic projections of appeal to traditionality. For instance, the video-data showed ritualised replication and dissemination of roast dinner and cracker pulling at Christmas time, staged by the British side as typically British (e.g. Miles, Extract 4.13). Both practices were also reported by other British participants (e.g. Peter, Extract 4.15; John, Extract 5.8). Replication of chocolate egg hunts at Easter time, also perceived as British, was mentioned in the interview data (e.g. Extract 6.2). Other performances of traditionality beyond the Christmas/Easter context included replication of full

English breakfast, performed by Liam (and Eliza) for a visiting relative from Poland (Extract 5.7). Similar displays of British foods for visitors from Poland were reported in Extract 5.8.

Contrastingly, some participants' epistemic statements blatantly unmasked their lack of traditional cooking skills, potentially further projecting a postmodern approach. For instance, Gabi reflected on how her transnational trajectories (she first migrated from Poland to Germany before moving to Britain) shaped her foodscapes – *I can't do many Polish dishes* (Extract 5.10)*.* Similar positioning to traditional cooking resounded in Maja's reflections, who repeatedly joked about her lack of culinary commitment: *A Christmas miracle – I'm cooking!* (Extract 5.12); *…just put it in the pot and hope for the best* (Extract 7.15), or about her convenience cooking: *mostly it was cooked out of a jar but hey; …just open the packet* (Extract 5.12). Through such sarcasm, Maja seemed to epistemically disalign with the 'domestic goddess' role, marking her postmodern resistance to such stereotypically assigned gender roles. Analogously, her husband repeatedly emphasised his fondness of cooking, further opposing this stereotype, and thus projecting the partners' shared postmodern positioning.

Conversely, at times the participants displayed their expertise in the recently discovered culinary practices of the other side as part of their own food repertoires, performing what resembled 'going native' – staging their symbolic competence in the local cuisine. For instance, when hosting visitors from Poland in his new location (Britain), Mirek consciously opted for jacket potatoes, seeing it as a *really* British recipe – *because it's British and that's the main motivation* (Extract 5.6). Thus, unassuming jacket potatoes allowed Mirek to exhibit his postmodern flexibility and cosmopolitan capacity to derive 'strength from being at home in a variety of contexts' (Giddens, 1991: 190). Analogously, Eliza staged a full English breakfast for her brother visiting from Poland: *You must try it with beans, English-style!* (Extract 5.7). Also Gabi (and John) admitted to displays of what they perceived as iconic British foods in front of visitors from Poland (Extract 5.8). Displaying foods stereotypically imagined as British, the speakers performed 'keeping up appearances for the Other' (Dervin and Gao, 2012b: 562), staging the local authenticity. This way the speakers could achieve a positive self-presentation as cosmopolitans, bringing on to the plate western, somewhat 'occidental' experiences to the visitors from Eastern Europe. Symbolic competence in the local

cuisine was also staged by the British side when exploring foodscapes in Poland, for instance by Liam, who reported showcasing his competence in vodka drinking at a wedding in Poland (Extract 5.9). On that occasion 'going native' was largely performed upon the 'gaze' (Urry, 2002 [1990]) of the self-exoticising locals (Eliza's Polish family) – *...thing's been built up about me like 'Oh he is English, can't handle vodka', so I'm like 'Right, bring it on!'.* Those recurrent epistemic projections of traditionality and postmodernity were frequently augmented by multiple affective' markers – references to feelings and emotions (Ochs, 1996: 410), which I discuss below.

8.1.3   Affective alignment with traditionality and postmodernity

This section focuses on how the speakers' discourses of tradition and postmodernity were emphasised through references to affect. The speakers' alignment with traditional culinary practices was most commonly detectable in their emotionally-loaded vocabulary: affective verbs (e.g. Extract 4.2*: I wanna make sure I do it the Polish way*) or affective nouns/adjectives (e.g. Extract 4.7*: I've got the feel of true Polish Easter*). Table 8.2 below collates examples of recurrent markers of affect, which suggested the speakers' nostalgic appeal to tradition.

AFFECTIVE STANCE PREDICATE	SPEAKER	EXAMPLE IN THE DATA	EXTRACT
affective verb	Eliza	*I wanna make sure I do it the Polish way* (on celebrating Easter)	4.2
	Beata	*They enjoyed the roast dinner...they loved the food* (on British guests' impressions of Polish Christmas food)	4.15
affective noun	Gabi	*I've got the feel of true Polish Easter*	4.7
	Beata	*It was like a feast really...like enjoyment of being together…enjoying the taste of food* (on her and Peter's wedding in Poland)	4.10
	Peter	*It was really a showpiece of Polish cooking* (on his and Beata's wedding in Poland)	4.10
affective adjective	Kuba	*It was a good introduction, a nice touch* (on meal prayers)	4.5
	Maja	*Exciting, first time I'm having a proper turkey meal* (at her first 'British' Christmas)	4.8

	Peter	*It was really <u>important</u> that the food was <u>good</u> Polish food* (on food at his and Beata's wedding in Poland)	4.10
intensifying adverb	Eliza	*It's more important for us…<u>definitely</u>* (on preparing Polish-style Easter)	4.1
	Maja	*We are making it <u>really</u> Polish-style* (on her and Miles's 'Polish' Christmas Eve in Britain)	4.8
emphatic stress through e.g. inversion/hyperbole	Kuba	*We <u>do</u> eat fish at Christmas Eve <u>everywhere</u> [in Poland]*	6.4
additional emphasis	Eliza	*We're <u>not</u> gonna have a roast* (on the prospect of having roast dinner instead of 'Polish' Easter meal)	4.1
	Beata	*.. they <u>really</u> enjoyed this, the flavour was <u>different</u>* (on British guests' impressions of Polish Christmas food)	4.15
phonological lengthening	Maja	*We're making it rea:lly Polish-style* (on her and Miles's Christmas Eve in Britain)	4.8
	Beata	*It was <u>so:</u> tasty* (on roast big at her and Peter's wedding in Poland)	4.15

***Table 8.2** – Affective predicates of the speakers' traditional stance projections*

Likewise, the participants' negative evaluations of departures from traditionality and authenticity were predicated on affect, further projecting their traditional stance in some contexts. This was demonstrated for example by Eliza and Gabi, who affectively emphasised their disalignment with substituting their *Polish Easter* meal with a roast dinner – *That's just <u>wrong</u>, we have to do a Polish Easter* (Extract 4.1). Also Carol jovially contrasted her 'legitimate' British Christmas cuisine with an 'abnormal' Polish equivalent – …*ten courses of herring instead of a turkey?* (Extract 6.4).

Occasionally the speakers displayed affective disalignment with non-traditionality/inauthenticity beyond their own culinary ways, potentially revealing their appreciation of traditionality/authenticity in general (see e.g. Miles on Maja's family not following the practice of carp eating at Christmas Eve, Extract 4.14: *At least I can say I've eaten carp rather than take your mum's approach and not bother*). Thus, affect highlighted not only the speakers' positive epistemic evaluations but also those negative ones. According to Du Bois and Kärkkäinen (2012*:* 442) affective stance predicates are 'relevant to any act of stancetaking'. This has been demonstrated across the data – as discussed below affect also

accompanied the speakers' projections of the other examined stances (postmodern, othering and de-othering).

Similarly to the traditional stance projections, the acts carrying postmodern positioning tended to be predicated with affect. For example, the participants' use of affective vocabulary, metaphorical expressions, hyperboles and sarcasm in their anti-traditional and/or cosmopolitan statements seemed to highlight their postmodern positioning. This was demonstrated in Gabi's anti-traditional statement through affective verbs and metaphorical framing of tradition as 'prison' – *I'd love to* actually *free myself from tradition* (Extract 5.11). Exemplary markers of affect surfacing in the speakers' projections of what resembled postmodern stance are collated in Table 8.3 below.

AFFECTIVE STANCE PREDICATE	SPEAKER	EXAMPLE IN THE DATA	EXTRACT
affective verb	Gabi	*I'd like to be able to do like English people do, just go and travel for Christmas*	5.11
	Carol	*I personally don't believe in boundaries and I'm kind of a postmodernist in that respect...I don't like to be considered Welsh*	5.13
affective noun	Mirek	*it's British and that's the main motivation* (on serving jacket potatoes to visitors from Poland)	5.6
affective adjective	Gabi	*It's crazy! We are a bit obsessed about our sausage*	5.1
intensifying adverb	Eliza	*Yeah just relaxed really* (on her and Liam's Easter celebrations)	5.10
'downgrader' (Wilamová, 2005: 89)	Gabi	*...just a social...it's not much about tradition* (on her and John's Easter celebrations)	5.10
metaphorical expression and synecdoche	Gabi	*I'd love to actually free myself from tradition*	5.11
	Liam	*Tradition is chocolate* (somewhat reductively on Easter celebrations in Britain)	5.10
sarcasm and irony	Maja	*A Christmas miracle – I'm cooking!...Yeah, just open the packet*	5.12
rhetorical question	Gabi	*Why do Polish people take their sausage everywhere?*	5.1
emphatic stress through hyperboles, overgeneralizations (e.g. impersonal subject 'you/one')	Gabi	*You just drink vodka or nothing* (on vodka regime at Polish weddings)	5.2
	Mirek & Kuba	*All those gentlemen...beer drinking at 6 o'clock in the morning* (on crude consumption habits of their in-group members in the air travel context)	5.3

additional emphasis	Miles	*It's a <u>modern</u> Christmas miracle* (on his and Maja's convenience Christmas cooking)	5.12
	Carol	*I <u>don't</u> like to be considered Welsh* (when declaring her post-national/postmodern disbelief in boundaries)	5.13
phonological lengthening	Maja	*...if I <u>rea:lly</u> need something badly then I'll have it, but other than that...* (on buying overpriced Polish products in Britain)	5.4

***Table 8.3** – Affective predicates of the speakers' postmodern stance projections*

Affect was particularly noticeable in the speakers' mockery acts through which the participants jovially positioned themselves against certain, in their view, irrational/impractical traditional food practices. Here, the speakers frequently resorted to sarcasm, hyperboles and overgeneralisations to dramatise their mocking acts. That light-hearted, ritual abuse (Rampton, 1995a–b) was aimed frequently at Self, as the speakers re-evaluated native culinary practices upon their contact with new foodscapes represented by their partners. To illustrate, in Extract 5.1 Gabi, collaboratively with Eliza, mocked their in-group members' (Poles) practice of offering Polish sausage as a present to foreigners. Posing a rhetorical question – *Why do Polish people take their sausage everywhere?,* Gabi performed a jocular act of self-othering. Concurrently, she exhibited postmodern, heightened sociocultural awareness, distancing herself from naive exoticising of stereotypical home products (however, see Gabi's somewhat contradictory acts of exoticising British culinary repertoires in front of her Polish relatives, Extract 5.8). Self-othering was also enacted by Mirek and Kuba, who mocked their in–group members' crude drinking habits in the context of air travel – *all those gentlemen with moustache...beer drinking...at six o'clock in the morning* (Extract 5.3). In a similar manner to elitist travellers positioning themselves above 'barbarian' tourists (e.g. Jaworski and Thurlow, 2009b), here the speakers exhibited their stance of superiority towards those (Polish) flight passengers who, in their view, constitute the 'masses' in terms of various cultural markers – consumption habits, aesthetics and travelling style. This way the speakers marked their capacity to perform 'being' an aeroplane passenger, 'emblematic of modernity' (Lash and Urry, 1994: 253).

Unsurprisingly, the speakers also affectively mocked traditional culinary practices of the Other. Those acts seemed indicative of postmodern positioning too, especially when 'more western', anti-ritualistic, secular British partners

mocked the traditional, religiously-referenced culinary practices from Eastern-European Poland. However, since those mocking exchanges seemed to be stimulated by the experience of Otherness, they are discussed when outlining the speakers' positioning towards difference (Section 8.2).

8.1.4   The interplay of ritualisation and secularism

The data revealed how the speakers' appeal to ritualisation intersected with their secular positioning. It seems that the ritualised practices replicated and disseminated by the participants during their celebrations originated mainly from the Polish side's sociocultural repertoires. The participants themselves reflected on this asymmetry – *the only English tradition we have is…chocolate eggs* (Gabi, affirmed by Liam, Extract 6.2*); [in Poland] Christmas Eve is like all religious and fasting…English just go to the pub* (Gabi, affirmed by John and Liam, Extract 6.3*).* Thus, ritualisation in the context of Polish celebrations was framed as particularly prominent due to what the speakers saw as strong religious (Catholic) legacy when contrasted with what they perceived as secular British repertoires. Such discourses of British secularism are in line with previous research in which Western cultures were depicted as 'antiritualistic' (e.g. Douglas, 1982; Kotthoff, 2007: 173).

Although the majority of the participant families considered themselves agnostic (apart from Family 3 and Buddhist Beata in Family 5), they seemed to at times attach sociocultural value to ritualisation. This was demonstrated through their replication of religiously referenced culinary practices such as 'the bread and salt' blessing (see Beata and Peter's wedding in Poland, Extract 4.9; Gabi and John's plans for their upcoming wedding in Britain, Extract 7.7). Other examples included the ritual of wafer sharing, reported by Beata and Peter (Extract 4.15). Arguably, the above practices were perceived as meaningful beyond the religious messages to the agnostic couples, thus suiting their secular celebrations. Nevertheless, some agnostic families also adhered to the clearly Catholic fasting rule through their consumption of fasting dishes and non-alcoholic drinks during 'Polish-style' Christmas Eve (Maja and Miles, Extract 4.11), which could suggest that the speakers valued ritualisation despite their religious orientation.

Nonetheless, most of the practices with a religious reference were omitted by all but one family (Family 3), potentially implying the prevailing secular positioning among the participants. Thus, while the Polish customs of Easter food blessing, spotting the first star in the sky and reading the Bible before the Christmas Eve supper were referenced in the data, they were not replicated or reported to be replicated by the participants (apart from Family 3). Yet, the latter practice occurred in a secularised version (see Peter and Beata report reading poetry instead of the Bible on their Christmas Eve, Extract 4.15).

To sum up this section, whether underpinned by religious beliefs or not, ritualisation and traditionality, seem to be continually projected by the speakers as sources of identity. Paradoxically, on other occasions the same participants displayed anti-traditionalism and anti-ritualisation, appealing to individualism and secularism, and circulating contrasting postmodern discourses of choice and independence from religious 'meta-narratives' (Lyotard, 1984 [1979]: xxiv). Section 8.2 below discusses two other potentially contrasting stances prominently projected by the participants, namely othering and de-othering stance.

8.2 *Othering versus de-othering stance*

Having juxtaposed and discussed the speakers' projections of traditional versus postmodern positioning in Section 8.1, I next turn my discussion to other potentially contrasting stance acts, which I focused on in Chapters 6 and 7 – othering and de-othering acts, respectively.

As demonstrated in Chapters 6 and 7, the analysed food-related interactions occasioned the transnational partners' negotiation of perceived differences/similarities between their culinary legacies. This negotiation entailed othering acts, which can mark an imaginary boundary between what one sees as Self (familiar/normal) and the Other – 'distant, alien or deviant' (N. Coupland, 2000: 5). Repeatedly re-enacted, such positioning may highlight sociocultural distance between the speakers, and thus was labelled as othering stance. However, the presented acts were argued not to represent othering in its stigmatising sense, as frequently conceptualised in research (Schwalbe *et al.*, 2000: 422; Staszak, 2008: 2). Though predicated on drawing differences between Self and Other, and technically resembling othering, the analysed exchanges

seemed to rather constitute 'ritual abuse' (Rampton 1995a–b) – light-hearted mockery of the Other. Seemingly drawing an 'imaginary border 'between "us" and "them" ' (Lister, 2004: 101), those jocular othering acts paradoxically surfaced as a useful discursive strategy for transnational couples. Rather than lead to sociocultural distancing, ironically they allowed the partners to construct their 'common ground' (Brown and Levinson, 1987 [1978]: 103), reflecting and reinforcing their joking rapport.

A strategy somewhat contrasting to jocular othering (highlighting difference), was the speakers' de-othering, i.e. acts of anti-differentialist positioning. Similarly to the ritual abuse, yet probably less surprisingly, these projections also seemed to minimise the perceived distance between the family members. The de-othering acts highlighted the speakers' aptitude to negotiate/neutralise perceived differences between them (though, as already mentioned, the jocular *othering* ultimately might have had a similar *de-othering*/distance-neutralising effect). De-othering positioning contributed to the transnational families' construction of their 'sharedness' (Tindale and Kameda, 2000: 124). Shared sociocultural spaces were exhibited through projections of: 1) proximity between the family members' sociocultural backgrounds, 2) hybridity, and 3) shared sociocultural goals, here particularly their joint appeal to cosmopolitanism and individualism. Below, I use specific examples from the data to discuss the interplay of difference and similarity in the examined interactions.

8.2.1   The interplay of difference and similarity

The speakers displayed an othering stance by explicitly branding their respective culinary legacies as 'different' (e.g. Gabi, Extract 6.3; Carol, Extract 6.4; Liam, Extract 7.1). However, such overt evaluations seemed to be used for positive purposes. This was illustrated by Carol, who emphasised difference between her and her Polish partner's (and his relatives') Christmas repertoires in order to frame the latter in a positive light – *It was different but it was like a cultural learning...such a lovely experience* (Extract 6.4). Difference was also framed as positive by Beata, when she evaluated her own culinary repertoire from the perspective of her British husband's family: *They really enjoyed this, the flavour was different!* (Extract 4.15). Thus, on those occasions referencing difference was far from stigmatising, but

rather conveyed the speakers' enjoyment of 'living with difference' (Rampton, 1995a: 302), potentially *minimising* the perceived distance between them.

Upon their reflexive comparisons the participants occasionally concluded that their food repertoires were not that divergent, exhibiting what I called a de-othering stance. Hence, in contrast to othering, sometimes the speakers framed the similarity of their culinary repertoires (see also Piller, 2002: 203). This was sporadically performed through direct references to similarity, e.g. *It's always been about food during Polish celebrations...I think <u>it's similar</u> in Britain* (Maja, Extract 7.2). Occasionally, similarity was evoked when the speakers drew analogies between their culinary practices, mapping their food habits onto the other side's culinary repertoires. This was illustrated by Maja (Extract 7.3), who equated the practice of second breakfast in Poland with the tea and biscuit break practiced at her British work environment. On other occasions, the partners framed their sociocultural proximity by negating or belittling difference (see also Piller, 2002: 203). This was demonstrated for example by Maja – *I don't think that Polish and English cultures differ that much* (Extract 7.2), and by her partner, Miles – *Easter…<u>is not so far removed</u>* (Extract 7.4). A similar evaluation negating culinary dissimilarity came from Liam – *Food <u>isn't too dissimilar</u>,* who further downplayed potential differences by evaluating them as *nothing noticeable* (Extract 7.1).

As overt claims to similarity/negating dissimilarity were infrequent and tentative, it could suggest that the participants were aware of the 'excessive differentialism' (Dervin, forth.: 2) – prevailing discourses of cultural differences. Thus, the speakers might have exercised caution in labelling their sociocultural repertoires as similar/the same, fearing that such claims could be easily refuted. This happened for instance with Miles's claim to similarity (*Easter <u>isn't that different</u>*, Extract 7.4) as on this occasion his Polish partner, Maja, instantly disaligned. This could suggest that the Polish speakers perceived their native Easter repertoires as different, due to, in their view, the more pertinent religious dimension of it. These results adhere to Piller's (2002: 190) claim that 'religious identities may be...presented as more distant than different national identities'.

Below, I discuss how the speakers' othering and de-othering projections were highlighted through various epistemic and affective markers.

8.2.2 Epistemic and affective markers of othering and de-othering stance

Sections 8.1.2–8.1.3 reviewed how the speakers' traditional and postmodern projections were predicated both on affect and epistemicity, the two main indices of stance (Ochs, 1996: 410). In this section, I discuss how othering and de-othering stance acts likewise combined epistemic and affective markers.

As for epistemicity, apart from the most recurrent epistemic predicates in the data (evaluations/opinion stating, see Table 8.4 below), the use of 'represented discourse' (Johansson, 2000) was also prominent. By incorporating other voices, the speakers epistemically highlighted their othering acts. The evoked 'credible utterances from culturally specific types of personas' (Koven, 2001: 514), potentially objectified and authenticated the speakers' othering statements (Mayes, 1990; Holt, 1996) – e.g. *Here's our entire quantity of our cupboards on our table!* (Miles parodying 'typical' Polish hosts, Extract 6.1). Sarcasm and rhetorical questions were also salient, through which the speakers ritually mocked certain food practices of their foreign partners. Those epistemic markers showed how the members of these transnational families used their knowledge/experience of their respective sociocultural fields to highlight differences between them. Table 8.4 below collates recurrent epistemic markers in the speakers' othering acts.

EPISTEMIC PREDICATE OF OTHERING STANCE	SPEAKER	EXAMPLE IN THE DATA	EXTRACT
declarative mode (e.g. evaluations, negations, corrections, comparisons)	Gabi	*There's not much tradition* (somewhat othering the perceived secularism of British Easter)	6.2
	Carol	*It's not a sandwich. A sandwich is something in between two pieces of bread* (on Polish-style open sandwiches)	6.6
	Miles	*In Poland it tends to be a lot, in Britain it would be...smaller number of real high quality dishes* (on wedding food)	6.11
interrogative mode (e.g. rhetorical questions)	Carol	*Is that normal?* (on Polish family members' breakfast habits)	6.5
	Miles	*Has there ever been the time when someone's...taken that extra plate?* (on the 'spare plate' practice at Polish Christmas Eve)	6.7

imperative mode (e.g. orders, suggestions)	Miles	*Never again!* (on carp consumption)	6.10
represented discourse	Miles	*Here's our entire quantity of our cupboards on our table!* *Is it four different vegetables? No, that's one dish.*	6.1 7.5
sarcasm, irony and parody	Miles	*It's also an entertainment...* (on laborious consumption of bony carp)	6.10
	Maja	*English-style of large* (on small-size buffet at her and Miles's wedding in Britain)	6.12

Table 8.4 – *Epistemic predicates of the speakers' othering stance projections*

Those othering stance projections, which were predicated on epistemicity, likewise tended to be marked with affect. For instance, negative evaluations of the opposite side's culinary practices included negatively marked affective nouns (e.g. *What's the Polish obsession about...[naming carp],* Miles, Extract 6.9) and affective adjectives (e.g. *It's a bit crazy,* Miles on the spare plate practice at Polish Christmas Eve, Extract 6.7). Occasionally, affective adjectives were further highlighted through intensifying adverbs, e.g.: *It's really weird* (Carol on breakfast practices of her Polish partner's family, Extract 6.5); *That's a particularly ugly looking fish* (Miles on carp consumed at Polish Christmas Eve, Extract 6.10). Hyperboles were also recurrent, which exaggerated the differences the speakers perceived between their culinary legacies, e.g. *Sandwiches will be produced en masse* (Miles on Polish over-hospitality, Extract 6.1); *Everything with gherkin!* (Liam, Extract 6.2). Differences were also exaggerated through synecdoche (*eggs,* Liam reductively describing Polish Easter cuisine with its constituent part, Extract 6.2) and rhetorical questions (e.g. *Is that normal?,* Carol, Extract 6.5).

The othering acts, like the projections of other stancetaking (traditional, postmodern and de-othering), often combined multiple markers of affect simultaneously. For instance, the above quoted utterance from Miles, which mocked Polish over-hospitality (*Here's our entire quantity of our cupboards on our table!*, Extract 6.1), contained various affective markers, e.g. dramatisation through an external voice (typical Polish hosts) and an array of 'expressive paralinguistics' (Tannen, 2005 [1984]: 40) – expressive intonation/pitch, phonological lengthening and additional stress (e.g. *enti:re*). Likewise, Carol's comparison of Polish and British Christmas cuisines was simultaneously highlighted through rhetorical questioning, rising intonation, high pitch and additional emphasis – *Ten courses of*

herring instead of a <u>turkey?</u> (Extract 6.4). Table 8.5 below collates those often overlapping markers of affect in the speakers' othering projections.

AFFECTIVE PREDICATE OF OTHERING STANCE	SPEAKER	EXAMPLE IN THE DATA	EXTRACT
affective verb	Carol	*he <u>loves</u> those huge full bowls* (sarcastically on Kuba's cereal consumption)	6.5
affective noun	Miles	*What's the Polish <u>obsession</u> about...* [naming carp]	6.9
affective adjective	Miles	*It's a bit <u>crazy</u>* (on the 'spare plate' practice at Polish Christmas Eve)	6.7
intensifying adverb	Carol	*It's <u>really</u> weird* (on Polish family members' breakfast practices)	6.5
repetition	Miles	*<u>No no</u> that's a particularly ugly looking fish* (on carp)	6.10
exclamation	Miles	*<u>Oh god!</u> That's an ugly looking fish* (on carp)	6.10
swearing	Miles	*<u>Bloody hell!</u>* (on laborious consumption of carp)	6.10
'downgrader' (Wilamová, 2005: 89)	Gabi	*English <u>just</u> go to the pub* (on perceived secularism of British Easter)	6.3
dramatisation through external voices	Peter	*I thought 'That's ridiculous, nobody's gonna dance!...No one is drunk enough'* (on his and Beata's wedding in Poland)	6.8
empathic stress through e.g. hyperboles, synecdoches	Liam	*<u>Eggs</u>...<u>everything</u> with gherkin* (reductively on Polish Easter cuisine)	6.2
'expressive paralinguistics' (Tannen, 2005 [1984]: 40) **– pitch, intonation, rhythm**	Carol	*Ten courses of herring instead of a <u>turkey?</u>* (comparing Polish and British Christmas repertoires)	6.4
phonological lengthening	Carol	*...he lo:ves those hu:ge fu:ll bowls* (sarcastically on Kuba's cereal consumption)	6.5

Table 8.5 – Affective predicates of the speakers' othering stance projections

Whereas the above utterances stemmed from the perceived differences between Self and Other and resembled othering, they all remained within a 'play frame' (Bateson, 1972 [1955]: 190–191). The speakers skilfully signalled/recognised their light-heartedness – this ritual abuse culminated in joint laughter and no offence appeared to be taken by the 'othered' side. As jocular othering was performed mutually, both sides seemed to appreciate the non-stigmatising character of it.

This interpretation was supported by self-induced othering, when some speakers provoked further mockery from the other side (e.g. see Kuba and Mirek, Extract 6.6). Hence, the transnational families embraced jocular othering, showing that they are not afraid to highlight the perceived differences between their sociocultural repertoires. Their jocular othering acts could oppose the idea of 'cultural differentialism' that the 'peaceful coexistence of different cultures in the same social space is impossible' (Martin, 2013: 64).

Some othering acts potentially framed inferiority of the Other (see Section 6.3), and seemed 'not-so-jocular' as also discussed by Rampton (1995a: 179) in his work on jocular abuse among adolescents. However, again the speakers seemed to effectively signpost their utterance with mitigating devices to lessen the potential negative reception of their mockery, and to signal their non-malign intentions. This was exemplified by Miles (Extract 6.11), who applied multiple mitigating devices to his derogatory evaluations of the culinary practices in his wife's (Maja's) homeland – a 'disclaimer' (Hewitt and Stokes, 1975), mitigating verbs, 'attitudinal hedges' (Blum-Kulka, 1997), 'tenativizers' and 'downgarders' (Wilamová, 2005). Consequently, his statements implying quantity-over-quality of Polish foods were tentative. Their reduced othering impact was best confirmed by the recipient's reaction – Maja's non-confrontational, self-stereotyping comment (*Well, we like our food*), and her playful mocking revenge (*English-style of large*, Extract 6.12).

In terms of de-othering stance, it surfaced prominently when the members of transnational families projected shared aspects of their identification, in particular their hybridity. It was displayed most often through strategic employment of their own and the other side's sociocultural repertoires, which seemed to neutralise the imagined borderline between the two. Those acts allowed the transnationals to display their 'sharedness' (Tindale and Kameda, 2000: 124) through their 'hyphenated identities' (Eriksen, 2007: 101), which are continuously reconstructed at the intersection of multiple sociocultural repertoires. Hybridity was performed on various levels: reflexively, linguistically and semiotically, which I discuss in more detail below.

The transnational families marked their hybridity reflexively when engaging in meta-talk on their hybrid endeavours (e.g. Maja, Extract 7.6: *Do you think it's better to mix?*). Combining their culinary legacies was affectively and epistemically

framed by the speakers in a positive light, as leading to unique creations (e.g. *It's changed but that's the beauty of it*, Eliza, Extract 7.8; *We…combine them…make something unique*, Maja, Extract 9.1). Some speakers affectively highlighted their wish to ensure 'equality' during reproduction of each side's culinaro-celebratory practices (e.g. *…so that I'm not left out,* Gabi on combining Polish and British culinary rituals at her and John's wedding, Extract 7.7).

Those reflexive accounts of hybridity included mixing-related vocabulary, e.g.: *Bit of a cultural mixture* (Maja, Extract 7.6); *they are slowly...merging* (Liam and Eliza, Extract 7.8). Therefore, it could be argued that the speakers recycled somewhat essentialist discourses of cultural mixing/hybridity in which sociocultural repertoires are perceived as fixed entities (Friedman, 1995: 82). However, despite this potential essentialism, ultimately through their reflexivity the transnational families achieved a 'dialectical reorganisation' (Bhabha, 2004 [1994]: 55) of their sociocultural repertoires, displaying an 'attitude of critical deliberation' (Delanty, 2011: 652). Problematising the former cultural meanings, the speakers reconstructed them, creating their unique 'third spaces' (Bhabha, 2004 [1994]: 55). Those spaces endowed them with endless potential for 'meaning-making and agency' (Bhatt, 2008: 182), and thus for exclusive sources of identity, here specifically as a hybrid but united couple.

The participants also marked their hybridity linguistically, alternating between Polish and English repertoires. As such interactions are recurrent, these repertoires may ultimately constitute a shared space for the partners in these transnational relationships. Thus, while in my work I have referred to Rampton's (1995a–b) idea of crossing, it could be argued this concept creates the impression of 'bounded and owned languages' (Canagarajah, 2013b: 15), and may not aptly reflect the analysed acts of linguistic hybridity. Following a less fixed approach to 'languages' (Rubdy and Alsagoff, 2014: 6), the aforementioned interactions potentially resembled more 'translanguaging' (e.g. Garcia, 2009a–b), as they enabled the transnational families to display their more enduring linguistic hybridity. It was demonstrated for instance by Maja and Miles (Extracts 7.9–7.11), when they collaboratively used Polish during their English-dominated Christmas celebratory meals. Translanguaging was also performed by Peter (British), who used his Polish repertoire at his and Beata's wedding in Poland (Extract 4.12). In each of the above examples, translanguaging involved both epistemicity

(references to linguistic knowledge) and affect. Being a 'pleasing' recognition of the other side's linguistic background (Chiaro, 2007: 218), it constituted a symbolic 'gift' (Brown and Levinson, 1987 [1978]: 102) for the interlocutor. Moreover, it marked a performance of the speakers' 'symbolic competence' (Kramsch, 2006) in their foreign interlocutors' linguistic repertoire, resembling tourists' 'enact[ment] [of]... a new ethnolinguistic identity' of the visited locality (Jaworski, 2009: 675).

The speakers also marked their hybridity semiotically by physically engaging with food artefacts perceived as constituent of the other side's culinary repertoires. This was exercised most recurrently through mutual preparation/consumption of dishes visualised as each side's cuisine. To illustrate, the stereotypically Polish Christmas dish – carp – was prepared by Maja for Miles to introduce him to her Christmas culinary repertoire (Extract 4.14). Conversely, Miles cooked for Maja what he perceived as traditional Christmas food – roast turkey – thus allowing her to also physically engage with his Christmas repertoire (Extract 4.13). Such acts of hybridity on the semiotic level surfaced across the participants, being performed during their video-recorded celebrations (e.g. see John and Liam engaging with their Polish partners' Easter script reproduced in Britain, Extract 4.7, or Peter performing culinary practices considered as Polish at his and Beata's wedding in Poland, Extract 4.9). While in the last two examples described above, this engagement with the other side's repertoires was 'one-way' (venturing into Polish repertoires), the interview data confirmed the bidirectionality of such acts. For instance, the Polish side reported similar engagement with the repertoires of their British partners (see Eliza and Gabi, Extract 5.8, and Beata, Extract 4.15 reflecting on their consumption of British iconic food artefacts). Though at times their respective culinary repertoires seemed to be perceived by the participants as separate, they inadvertently permeated each other (e.g. see Maja and Miles incorporating Polish Christmas Eve practices into their British-style celebrations: Extracts 7.5–7.6).

The participants' 'heretical discourse' (Rampton, 1995b: 507) emerging through their linguistic, semiotic and reflexive crossing, allowed them to display their awareness of and competence in what they visualised as two sets of sociocultural repertoires. This way the speakers constructed their shared spaces and indexed their hybrid identity on the couple/family level. Positioning themselves as a transnational family/couple united in their hybridity, the speakers projected a

de-othering stance. Their crossing acts seemed to oppose the orthodox 'one-speaker-one-code' ideology, 'eras[ing] the boundary that constitutes the two languages [and sociocultural repertoires] as distinct' (Bailey, 2007: 259).

In sum, while seemingly contrasting, both the jocular othering acts and the displays of hybridity may ultimately minimise difference between the members of these transnational families, by presenting their successful negotiation of their complex sociocultural repertoires. Below, I discuss how perceived differences could be further neutralised through cosmopolitan discourses, which, similarly to displays of hybridity, seemed to constitute a common denominator for the participants.

8.2.3   Transcending Self and Other through cosmopolitan discourses

The speakers' de-othering positioning further surfaced in their discourses of cosmopolitanism, through which they seemed to convey a message: 'the Other is [not] something that threatens me, but…something that could enrich me' (Beck, interviewed by Rantanen, 2005). Following Szerszynski and Urry's (2002: 470) characterisation of a cosmopolitan individual, the participants recurrently exhibited their 'extensive mobility', 'capacity to consume', 'curiosity', 'willingness to take risks', 'an ability to map [their] own society and culture', 'the semiotic skill to interpret images of various others' and 'an openness to other peoples and cultures'. Examples of the speakers' projections of cosmopolitanism are collated in Table 8.6 below.

CHARACTERISTIC OF A COSMOPOLITAN (based on Szerszynski and Urry's criteria, 2002: 470)	SPEAKER	EXAMPLE IN THE DATA	EXTRACT
extensive mobility	Gabi	*I'd like to…just go and travel for Christmas*	5.11
	Maja & Miles	*We met and lived in Germany...*	7.15
capacity to consume (also literally) many places and environments on route; curiosity, aptitude to experiment	Mirek	*I thought I would make something British* (on jacket potatoes)	5.5
	Maja	*…we've already been cooking different things that weren't really English or Polish...I tried Chinese when I came here*	7.15

willingness to take risks	Miles	*Goodness gracious! It's quite bony!* *...At least I can say I've eaten carp*	4.14
	Liam	*So I'm like 'Right, bring it on!* (on venturing extreme vodka drinking at Polish weddings)	5.9
ability to map one's own society/culture and to interpret images of various others	Gabi & Eliza	*We are a bit obsessed about our sausage*	5.1
	Mirek, Kuba & Kamila	*...those gentlemen with moustache, beer drinking...at 6 o'clock in the morning* (on in-group plane passengers)	5.3
openness to other peoples/cultures	Carol	*It was different but it was like a cultural learning* (on experiencing Christmas in Poland)	6.4
	Peter & Beata	*You often cook by...five elements in Chinese cooking*	7.14
	Miles	*Well, it's Italian, Spanish, Mexican...*	7.15

Table 8.6 – *Projections of the speakers' appeal to cosmopolitanism*

The participants recurrently positioned themselves as open-minded individuals willing to venture into foreign foodscapes beyond their already transnational repertoires. Their cosmopolitan projections were mainly predicated on the epistemic – references to knowledge/experience. However, as with the projections of other stances, they included affective markers – positive and negative. Positive affect surfaced when the speakers appealed to cosmopolitanism through e.g.: affective verbs (*I'd like to...like English people...just go and travel for Christmas*, Gabi, Extract 5.11), affective adjectives (*lovely experience,* Carol on her Christmas in Poland, Extract 6.4) and hyperboles (*it's a bit of everything really, a bit of Italian, Chinese...,* Kuba on his and Carol's culinary repertoires, Extract 7.13). Conversely, negative affect marked the speakers' disalignment with the 'non-cosmopolitan', for instance through hyperboles – *All those gentlemen...beer drinking...at 6 o'clock in the morning* (Mirek and Kuba on their in-group incompetent fliers, Extract 5.3), and affective adjectives (*We are a bit obsessed about our sausage,* Gabi and Eliza, Extract 5.1).

Such collaboratively constructed epistemic and affective appeal to cosmopolitanism seemed to constitute another source of shared identity for the participants. In Delanty's (2011: 634) words, the speakers exhibited a 'reflexive condition in which the perspective of others is incorporated into [their] own identity, interests or orientation in the world'. Those performances highlighted

'polycentricity' (Blommaert, 2010) of the speakers' discursive spaces – on those occasions the single 'evaluating authority' model (Blommaert, 2010: 39) represented by the individual speakers' background was subdued. Instead, they skilfully oriented to multiple sociocultural centres, marking their ability to approach cultural meanings with various interpretative 'scales' (Blommaert *et al.*, 2005a–b).

By emphasising their joint cosmopolitan and 'polycentric' perspective, the members of the transnational families temporarily neutralised potential differences stemming from their divergent backgrounds. Thus, the participants fleetingly lifted the imaginary border between Self and the Other – the border which on other occasions was demarcated by them, for instance through othering acts. These contradictory acts of positioning lead me to discuss below the dialogism of the speakers' identification.

8.3   *Contradiction and dialogism in stancetaking*

The data showed how contradiction remains an integral part of stancetaking, and thus of identities in the transnational families. Inconsistency in the speakers' positioning surfaced in their somewhat contrasting traditional/national and anti-traditional/anti-national projections (as illustrated by Gabi's traditional stance in Extract 4.7 versus her postmodern positioning in Extract 5.11). Despite their apparent postmodern projections, the speakers continue to recycle discourses of traditionality and nation, attaching value to them. This adheres to Pujolar's (2007: 90) claim that:

> dubbing the contemporary world as 'post-national' does not mean
> that nations, nationalism or nation-states are no longer relevant or
> are receding in favour of an international, transnational or
> cosmopolitan era.

Occasionally, the participants seemed conscious of discrepancies in their traditional/national versus anti-traditional/anti-national stancetaking. This was for example exhibited by Carol (Extract 4.6) who evaluated her own statements as contradictory: …*when I'm beset by this other culture I do feel proud to be British so I'm just contradicting everything I previously said* (compare with Carol's statement

in Extract 5.13: *I don't particularly care about being British*). Carol also ascribed contradictory stancetaking to her partner, Kuba*: if there is like a sport on…he will suddenly be like a little nationalist…yet the moment he gets on a plane to go back to Poland he says 'I wanna be British!'* (Extract 5.3). Therefore, it seems that such contrasting stances are not mutually exclusive. They can co-exist within the same speakers' discourses, of which the speakers may be aware.

Similar contrast emerged when the participants on one hand highlighted sociocultural differences between them (Chapter 6) and on the other tried to downplay them. The latter was performed by framing similarity of their sociocultural repertoires (Section 7.1), or by projecting their shared hybrid (Section 7.2), and cosmopolitan identities (Section 7.3). Nonetheless, I argue that those seemingly contrasting acts (highlighting difference versus neutralising it) were employed for the same distance-diminishing purposes. Through humorously 'keyed' (Hymes, 1974: 57) othering the transnational families displayed being at ease with difference (Rampton, 1995a: 302), thus highlighting their well-established joking rapport and 'common ground' (Brown and Levinson, 1987 [1978]: 103). Therefore, in this case the incongruity between highlighting versus belittling difference remained debatable.

Visibly contradictory positioning surfaced when the same speakers at times exoticised their sociocultural repertoires only to normalise and de-exoticise them on other occasions. This was illustrated by Maja, who first staged her native Christmas Eve carp dish as 'exotic' in front of her British husband (Extract 4.14), and later disaligned with a similar exoticising stance from him, normalising what she previously displayed as 'exotic' (*The other fish look the same!,* Extract 6.10). A similar inconsistency emerged in Gabi's statements, when she disaligned with self-exoticising stance of her in-group members (*Why do Polish people take their sausage everywhere?,* Extract 5.1) to then admit to analogous stereotyping of the culinary foodscapes of her new locality in front of visitors from her homeland (*We buy different British ales…make full English*, Extract 5.8).

The speakers' self-othering towards in-group members analysed in Section 5.1 versus their recurrent national 'we'-discourses (see Section 4.3) also seemed somewhat contradictory. Those inconsistencies highlighted how the members of transnational families continuously negotiate their affiliations to larger collectives, shifting the imaginary line between their divergent backgrounds and redefining Self

and the Other. This shows how individuals project 'contradictory identities, pulling in different directions' (Hall, 1992: 277), thus both Self and the Other remain 'unfulfilled project[s]' (Z. Bauman, 2000: 29).

Whereas stancetaking is inherently dialogic (Kärkkäinen, 2006: 706), i.e. always engaging with prior stances (Du Bois, 2007: 138), the analysed data proved particularly 'polyphonic' (Bakhtin, 1981). Apart from voicing broader discourses of tradition, nation, difference, postmodernity, hybridity and cosmopolitanism, the speakers repeatedly engaged with their own former positioning in regard to those phenomena. Those voices were 'recontextualised' (Linell, 1998: 154) into their exchanges through 'represented discourse' (Johansson, 2000: 78), i.e. real or imagined quotes. The quotes were attributed to interlocutors, who were: 1) immediately present, e.g. Carol quoting her partner, Kuba, Extract 5.3; 2) distant, e.g. Maja quoting her mother living in Poland, Extract 4.8; or 3) imagined, 'culturally specific types of personas' (Koven, 2001: 514) – see Gabi quoting imaginary British people, Extract 5.1, or Miles quoting fictional Polish hosts, Extract 5.3. The recontextualised utterances recurrently represented self-quotes (e.g. Eliza, Extracts 4.1, 5.2, 7.8, and Liam, Extracts 5.2, 5.9, 7.8), or were tailored as such (see Kuba designing a self-quote, Extract 4.5). These 'exteriorised voices' (Dervin and Riikonen, 2009) demonstrated how the speakers remained in constant dialogue not just with others, but also with their various Selves. Self-quoting enabled the speakers to authenticate their claims (Clift, 2006: 572). For instance, Kuba stressed his alignment with traditional meal prayers: *…it was a good way of saying…'Listen, I do care what's happening in your life'* (Extract 4.5), while Eliza expressed her postmodern appeal to 'choice' in terms of wedding culinary repertoires – *…we were like 'Oh why can't we have a drink of whisky if we want to'* (Extract 5.2). Occasionally, self-quotation highlighted the speakers' changing positioning. Such shift surfaced through Peter's self-quote of his initial exoticising stance towards culinaro-celebratory practices at Polish weddings – *I thought 'That's ridiculous, nobody's gonna dance…no one is drunk enough'* (Extract 6.8).

In sum, the 'polyphony' (Bakhtin, 1981) of the analysed interactions demonstrated how the speakers' stances, while performed repeatedly, were projected fleetingly and strategically depending on the context. Their fragmentariness highlighted the 'dialogism' (Kärkkäinen, 2006: 706; Du Bois,

2007: 138) and the fluidity of the speakers' identification. Hence, it appears debatable whether one could talk about the transnational families' traditional, postmodern, othering or de-othering 'ethos' (Johnstone, 2009: 46), i.e. discursive projection of a stable identity. The participants' identities seem far from consistent, ever arising from 'many minds' (O. Sacks on memory, 2013), and 'voices' (Bakhtin, 1981).

8.4   Essentialist national 'we'-discourses versus reflexivity

The participants' culinary interactions frequently framed their nations' inner coherence. Visualising unified nations surfaced semiotically through reproduction of culinary practices, which were idealistically imagined by the speakers as representative of their entire homeland. This was particularly prominent when the families celebrated annual holidays (specifically, Christmas and Easter), or other 'social dramas' (Turner, 1957), e.g. weddings. On the linguistic level, discourses of nationalism surfaced in the speakers' unproblematic use of national labels, particularly in their projections of traditional stance (e.g. *Polish way*, Eliza, Extracts 1.1; 4.2; *Polish Easter*, Gabi, Extracts 4.3, 4.7 and Eliza, Extract 4.1; *Polish-style*, *Polish thing*, Maja, Extract 4.8; *Polish food*, Peter and Beata, Extract 4.10; *Polish-English friendship*, Janek, Extract 4.12; *really British*, Mirek, Extract 5.6; *English-style*, Eliza, Extract 5.7; *British cuisine*, Liam and Gabi, Extract 5.8). Through such national 'we'-discourses, the speakers attributed certain culinary practices to their entire nations. Hence, they seemed to presume a 'direct "I"/"we" reciprocity of identity despite internal differentiation within [their] nation[s]' (Pickering, 2001: 89).

This also surfaced in the speakers' pronominal choice, which can project certain perceptions of Self (and the Other) as well as its relation to the world (De Fina, 2003: 54). Opting for the solidarity pronouns 'we'/'us'/'our', which carry nationalist discourses (Billig, 1995: 93), the participants indexed themselves as part of a national collective, which occasionally also implied uniform religious convictions (e.g. Maja about fasting on Christmas Eve: *No, normally we wouldn't eat bigos on that day because it's got meat,* Extract 4.11; Janek raising a toast: *May the Lord bestow wealth upon our countries!,* Extract 4.12). Such discourses suggested that at times the speakers essentialised their nations and foodscapes, romantically visualising them as homogenous. Those projections reflected how

nations and sociocultural repertoires constitute perceptual entities (e.g. Wodak *et al.,* 1999), and evoke 'horizontal comradeship' of social groups (Anderson, 2006 [1983]: 7).

Pronominal choice also marked the speakers' othering stance, as they defined Self ('us') against Other (you'). 'We' versus 'you'/'they' personal pronouns (and their possessive – 'our' versus 'your'/'their', and objective forms – 'us' versus 'you'/'them') were frequently employed in the comparisons between what the interactants saw as their divergent foodscapes. For instance, they were used in Maja and Miles's mutual othering of hospitality and economics in their countries – Miles mocking Polish 'over-hospitality': ...*because Poland and Spain are generally kind of poorer cultures, so that's how* <u>they</u> *demonstrate this?*; Maja's response: <u>You</u> *just want to save money on* <u>your</u> *guests...*<u>We</u>*'re getting better...less rubbish bankers than* <u>you</u> *have!* (Extract 6.1). Through their strategic use of personal pronouns, the participants temporarily defined their affiliation to divergent social groups. Thus, as also shown by Bystydzienski (2011: 78), the speakers continued to invoke separate, essentialist identities, despite 'conditions of exchange and fluidity' in their transnational interactions.

Yet, through their typically postmodern reflexivity, the speakers also displayed awareness of essentialism behind such homogenising discourses. It surfaced in their reflections on regional variations in food practices, as illustrated by Peter's comment on the food at his and Beata's wedding in Olsztyn, Poland (*...for them [=Beata's family from Kraśnik] it must have been different too?*, Extract 4.10)*,* or Mirek's remark on herring consumption at Christmas Eve in Poland (*But that's maybe just Gdynia more than generally Poland?,* Extract 6.4). Family-specific food preferences and rituals were also discussed (e.g. consumption of salmon instead of carp at Christmas Eve by Maja's family in Poland, Extract 4.8; Sunday scrambled egg ritual in Eliza's family, Extract 7.8), further de-homogenising culinary practices by individualising them. Therefore, while circulating discourses of homogenous nations, the participants concurrently exhibited 'postmodernist scepticism of essentialist understandings of culture' (Rubdy and Alsgoff, 2014: 8). For instance, they recognised the superficiality of labelling on a national level, openly problematising it. This was demonstrated by Gabi (Polish) reflecting on what she and her British partner Liam display as British for Polish visitors (*We always try curry and laugh this is a part of English cuisine*,

Extract 5.8), and Carol, who questioned labelling jacket potatoes as British – *Is it really British?* (Extract 5.6). On those occasions the speakers emerged as postmodern, reflexive individuals, disembedding their sociocultural repertoires 'from local contexts of interaction and…restructuring [them] across indefinite spans of time-space' (Giddens, 1991: 21). The speakers' 'self-problematisation' (Delanty, 2011: 652) allowed them to reinterpret their former cultural meanings, thus potentially reconstructing and 'deepening…the Self' (Lash and Urry, 1994: 31).

In this chapter, I have discussed the findings of my study by bringing together the individual analyses from Chapters 4–7. In order to demonstrate the dynamics of the speakers' positioning, I have juxtaposed their potentially contrasting stance acts: traditional versus postmodern (Section 8.1), and othering versus de-othering projections (Section 8.2). The last two sections offered commentaries on the dialogic nature of the speakers' stancetaking across all the analytic chapters (Section 8.3), and on the issue of potential essentialism behind the speakers' discourses (Section 8.4). Next, I return to the research questions and present my concluding remarks.

Chapter 9 – Conclusion

This final chapter revisits the research questions posed in the Introduction (Chapter 1) to present conclusions and contributions resulting from my study. It also considers the study's caveats and potential to generate future research.

The study addressed the following research questions:

RQ1*: How do the culinary interactions between the speakers project their reflexivity and stancetaking on their sociocultural repertoires?*

RQ2*: What stancetaking acts emerge during the speakers' culinary interactions and how do they reflect/shape their identities?*

RQ3*: What do the speakers' interactions in the culinary context reveal about the problematic notions of Self and Other?*

RQ4*: What do the speakers' culinary interactions suggest about broader societal discourses on the problematic concepts of nation, tradition and culture?*

Sections 9.1–9.3 present concluding remarks on the first three research questions, respectively (see RQ1–RQ3 above). The conclusions presented in Sections 9.4–9.6 relate jointly to the final research question (see RQ4 above). First, Section 9.4 comments on the discourses of Otherness and hybridity, which are prominent in the data. Subsequently, in Section 9.5, I conclude how the study results adhere to the theory of 'third space' (Bhabha, 2004 [1994]; Bhatt, 2008) and the cognate idea of transculturality (Welsch, 1999; Hepp, 2009). In Section 9.6, I proceed to conclusions on how the speakers' identification processes seem to be simultaneously framed through the developing trends of individualism and secularism (e.g. Warde, 1997; Bauman, 2001), and the somewhat contrasting pursuit of authenticity/traditionality (e.g. N. Coupland, 2003: 417; Pine and Gilmore, 2007: xii). Finally, Section 9.7 points to some limitations of the study and offers perspectives on how they could be addressed through future research.

9.1   Food-related interactions as stance and reflexivity

One of the central questions of this study was: *How do the culinary interactions between the speakers project their reflexivity and stancetaking on their sociocultural repertoires?* (see RQ1 above, p. 239). To address this question, I explored the dynamics of 'stancetaking' (e.g. Du Bois, 2007; Englebretson, 2007) in transnational families in the culinary context, analysing how it impacts on the speakers' representations of their own and their interlocutors' sociocultural images. The data demonstrated that culinary interactions transcend the topic of food per se, carrying the speakers' stance and deeper meta-messages.

The examined culinary interactions displayed and reproduced the complex systems of meanings represented by the participants' foodscapes. Those seemingly trivial exchanges reflected and shaped the transnational families' understanding of their sociocultural fields. Reconstructing broader discourses of tradition, culture and nation, the culinary interactions emerged as 'big talk' (J. Coupland, 2000), rather than represented 'aimless, social intercourse' (Malinowski, 1972 [1923]: 149). They stimulated the speakers' reflexivity, which 'increasingly constitutes self-identity in late-modern societies' (Adams, 2006: 512). As argued by N. Coupland (2014: 283), self-problematisation remains central to sociolinguistic change. Indeed the analysed reflexive culinary talk not only reflected and shaped the speakers' highly multivoiced (Bakhtin, 1981) stancetaking but it also reproduced broader societal discourses on nations, cultures and traditions (I summarise these discourses in Sections 9.4–9.6). Below, I discuss how the speakers' reflexivity reflected the agentive aspect of their identities.

9.2   Strategic identification in transnational families

Through RQ2, I investigated *What stancetaking acts emerge during the speakers' culinary interactions and how do they reflect/shape their identities?* Primarily the research illustrated the dynamics of identification in transnational contact rather than provided definite answers on what the speakers identify themselves with or how similar/different their respective sociocultural repertoires are. The study complemented the existing studies on the discursive negotiation of social

distance/proximity in transnational families (e.g. Piller, 2002, 2007, 2008; Rubin Damari, 2009, 2010; Dervin, 2013; Gonçalves, 2013), by analysing it through 'stance' theories (e.g. Du Bois, 2007) in the culinary context.

As discussed in Chapter 8, all speakers seemed to project multiple stances, and the study focused on those most salient ones: traditional, postmodern, othering and de-othering positioning. In those projections, 'affect' continuously overlapped with 'epistemic' claims (references to knowledge). This confirmed that the affective-epistemic distinction suggested by Ochs (1996) was not always feasible in the data, as previously suggested by Du Bois and Kärkkäinen *(*2012: 442). Measuring the degree of those projections (traditional, postmodern, othering and de-othering), or the affect-epistemicity ratio, was not the goal of the study. What this qualitative study highlighted instead is that the speakers, individually and/or jointly as couples/families, seemed to strategically index such often contradictory stances depending on the social roles they adopted and/or goals they wanted to achieve. Thus, their positioning remained 'responsive to interactional requirements and social contexts within which [the] speakers and recipients interact[ed]' (Kärkkäinen, 2003: 24).

Though exhibited recurrently, none of the emergent stances represented an absolute positioning. Nor did there appear to be a linear progression from traditional to postmodern positioning, or from othering to de-othering positioning. Whereas my analysis did reveal the transnational partners' individualising discourses, which may potentially neutralise cultural differences, it would be superficial to propose that 'gradually…differences are put down to the individual personalities' (Hardach-Pinke, 1988, quoted in Piller, 2002: 197). To claim such a one-way shift (or a lack of it) would require longitudinal research. Nonetheless, this linear progression is undermined in another way – although all but one participant couple (Couple 3) at the time of the interview recordings (2012) had been together for 6+ years, they still at times highlighted perceived differences between their sociocultural repertoires despite their long-term relationship.

The data further showed that the transnational partners' displays of divergent nationality and different sociocultural background (e.g. through reproduction of native culinary practices, national 'we'-discourses, othering and exoticising talk) co-occurred with contrasting projections of 'sharedness' (Tindale

and Kameda, 2000: 124), marked for instance through the speakers' joint appeal to the post-national, individual and/or cosmopolitan. This could suggest that the 'culture-card' (Hinnenkamp, 1987: 176), 'nation-card' (Calhoun, 1997: 46), 'individual-card' and 'cosmopolitan-card' all continue to be tactically used by the partners, regardless of the length of their relationship.

Through these various 'cards', the participants emerged as strategic players. Their interactions, in Certeaudian terms, 'establish[ed] a present relative to a time and place…and…posit[ed] a contract with the other (the interlocutor) in network of places and relations' (Certeau, 1984: xiii). While the speakers' positioning at times reproduced dominant societal discourses, evoking Bourdieu's (1977: 164) concept of 'doxa' (belief that an individual's stance is always determined by the prevailing ideologies), the speakers' reflexivity and creativity seemed to oppose such determinism. Creatively hybridising sociocultural meanings (Bhabha, 2004 [1994]: 55), the transnational families exhibited their agency in constructing their identities. This highlights how identities are 'strategically negotiated according to changing social contexts' (Canagarajah, 2005: 438). Like sociocultural repertoires, identities are subject to 'perpetual reshufflings' (Blommaert, 2013: 194) as increasingly reflexive individuals attentively mould them through ongoing negotiation, re-scaling and hybridisation.

9.3   Contesting Self-Other dichotomy in transnational families

With RQ3 (*What do the speakers' interactions in the culinary context reveal about the problematic notions of Self and Other?*), I aimed to contribute to the debate on the problematic concepts of Self and Other. The strategic, dynamic and contradictory side of identity, which emerged in the data, highlighted the relativity of social distance and Self-Other opposition in the transnational families, and potentially transnational contact at large. Recurrently, the participants marked that distance through mutual othering or exoticising – for instance, Poland was repeatedly framed by both Polish and British partners as Orient-like (Said, 1978), while Britain emerged as Occident – more westernised, secularised locality. Through such staging and reflexivity the speakers adopted 'the role of *the other* and…look[ed] back at *oneself* from that perspective' (Bauman, 1992: 48; my emphasis), which revealed the elusiveness of Self-Other division.

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This relativity of sociocultural distance and contestation of the clear-cut Self-Other dichotomy further surfaced when the speakers embraced the sociocultural repertoires of their foreign spouses, thus reducing the potential distance between their backgrounds. The imagined boundaries between the speakers could also be paradoxically neutralised through their recurrent othering acts. Whereas in general 'the "othered" are unequally positioned in relation to those who do the "othering" ' (Pickering, 2001: 73), with the examined othering being bidirectional and humorously 'keyed' (Hymes, 1974: 57), this asymmetry seemed less apparent. The potential power struggles appeared secondary as the mockery remained non-stigmatising or at least seemed to be received as such by the 'othered'. Hence, in contrast, ritual abuse potentially 'foster[ed] social intimacy' (Culpeper, 1996: 352) between the speakers, and thus unified rather than divided them, again blurring the Self-Other opposition.

Therefore, the data highlight how it is the speakers' discourses that determine how 'other' the Other is and how 'familiar' Self is, depicting the limitations of the Self-Other division. This was illustrated by the recurrent acts of self-othering, which constructed some aspect of the speakers' own image as foreign/distant (see Chapter 5, Section 5.1). Conversely, attracted by Otherness, the participants repeatedly claimed the repertoires of the other side through 'going native' acts (see Chapter 5, Section 5.2). Those acts unmasked how the imagined concepts of Self and Other continuously fluctuate in the speakers' interaction, and thus, like identities, are not static (e.g. Bhabha, 2004 [1994]: 74; Staszak, 2008: 2).

To address the final research question (RQ4, see p. 239 above), in Sections 9.4–9.6 below, I conclude what the transnational families' identification processes may reveal about broader social discourses. First, in Section 9.4, I comment on how the examined interactions reflected and reproduced the commodification of sociocultural Otherness and hybridity.

9.4　Commodification of Otherness and hybridity

The analysed transnational interactions shed light on broader societal discourses on nation, culture and tradition, and thus address the final research question (RQ4). In this section, I conclude how the speakers' recurrent discourses on

culture and cultural differences reflect broader assumptions about these phenomena.

As shown in previous studies (e.g. Piller, 2002; Bystydzienski, 2011), the transnational partners in my research at times attempted to downplay their cultural differences by framing their sociocultural proximity. Less expectedly, the data additionally revealed how the speakers purposefully *claimed* divergence, which in the context of intermarriage has only been briefly examined by Piller (2002: 217– 219). By highlighting divergence, the transnational families projected their aptitude to dwell with it and to embrace it, as do peers in multiethnic school settings (Rampton, 1995a–b). The speakers willingly re-enacted and 'consumed' (also literally) sociocultural difference, thus elevating it to the form of a commodity, which empowered them – 'by eating the Other…one asserts power and privilege' (hooks, 1992: 36). Thus, the food practices perceived as quintessentially British (e.g. jacket potatoes, full English breakfast, Christmas turkey) or Polish (Christmas Eve carp, 'bread and salt' ritual, vodka) were all transformed by the reflexive participants into commodities through staging. They contributed to the speakers' positive 'self-image' (Goffman, 1959) as 'open-to-difference' individuals. Moreover, the speakers highlighted engagement with Otherness in global terms, transcending their immediate, already transnational repertoires (see Section 7.2). This predisposition for culinary adventurism on a worldwide scale also seemed to constitute a commodity for the transnationals, and thus offered symbolic value.

Similarly to Otherness, the transnational families recurrently commodified their hybrid identities. This was exhibited collaboratively by the speakers through displays of their diversified culinary repertoires. Their complex foodscapes resembled what Bourdieu (1986) describes as 'cultural capital'. When staging these versatile culinary repertoires, the speakers sometimes also displayed their 'linguistic capital' (Bourdieu, 1986) through 'translanguaging' (Garcia, 2009a–b). Those complex interactions highlighted that sociolinguistic repertoires 'cannot be assigned to one or another code' (Garcia, 2014: 112). That staged culinary and linguistic hybridity seemed to equip the speakers with 'symbolic power' (Bourdieu, 1977) – it allowed them to achieve a positive self-presentation (Goffman, 1959), both as individuals and on the couple/family level.

Such salient commodification of Otherness and hybridity could indicate a shift in societal approaches to intermarriage. Although Dervin (2011; quoted in

Dervin, 2013) observes that intermarriage may still constitute a 'taboo', thriving transnational relationships (Piller, 2011: 113; Ogiermann, 2013a: 435) could slowly become viewed as the 'norm'. With the increasing commodification of Otherness and bi-/multilingualism (Pujolar, 2007: 90), intermarriage could gradually be considered a positive phenomenon across social classes and societies. This has been reflected in recent studies on representations of transnational families in the media (e.g. Dervin and Gao, 2012a–b), in which transnational relationships are 'depicted positively' (Dervin, 2013: 131). Corporal and sociocultural mobility, which are an integral part of life in transnational families, could grant their members with similar 'prestige' to that offered by mobility in the context of travel (e.g. Thurlow and Jaworski, 2006; Jaworski and Thurlow, 2009b).

9.5   Towards third spaces and transculturality

To further conclude what the study communicates *about broader societal discourses on the problematic concepts of nation, tradition and culture* (see RQ4, p. 239), the data showed how the members of these transnational families seemed to successfully 'appropriate' (Bhabha, 2004 [1994]: 55) what they perceived as their divergent culinary legacies, and collaboratively created new cultural meanings. Those novel creations potentially offered them unique sources of identity beyond essentialist traditions, nations and languages, challenging the discourses of 'culture as a homogenizing, unifying force' (Bhabha, 2004 [1994]: 37). Through their transcultural interactions, the speakers created a novel discursive space, 'which enables other positions to emerge...displaces the histories that constitute it, and sets up new structures of authority' (Bhabha, 1990: 211). Hence, the participants' interactions seemed to elevate hybridity from the pessimistic vision of 'belonging neither here nor there', to the optimistic 'release from dominant structures' (Rampton, 1999: 359), and potential for 'new representation…meaning making and…agency' (Bhatt, 2008: 182).

The 'third spaces' created through the transnational families' interactions reflected how 'a boundary is not that at which something stops but, as the Greeks recognised, the boundary is that from which something begins its presencing' (Heidegger, 1971: 164). Hence, the study mirrored the processes of deterritorialisation, under which new cultural forms are 'increasingly generated and

communicated across various territories' (Hepp, 2009: 18), resulting in the 'insertion of culture in new time-space contexts' (Inda and Rosaldo, 2008: 14). The speakers' hybridised cultural forms appeared to transcend specific territories, and thus 'separatist ideas of culture', demonstrating how identity arises from continuous 'transcultural permeations' (Welsch, 1999: 197–203). Below, I present my final conclusions in relation to RQ4 (see p. 239).

9.6   *Towards post-national, post-traditional identification?*

Could the cosmopolitan and hybridisation discourses circulated by the reflexive transnational families imply an increasing pursuit of post-national and post-traditional identification among contemporary individuals? According to Adams (2006: 512) 'the binding power of tradition and social structure has ebbed away…resulting in a post-traditional and individualizing society'. Similarly, Fenton's (2007) work on British adolescents' attitudes to nationality suggests 'the appearance of non-national generation' (2007: 336). In contrast, Meijl (2008: 166) argues that increased global heterogeneity 'has incited a large-scale revival of cultural traditions at local levels'.

My study revealed how in transnational context nationality is not always 'an important marker, embraced with enthusiasm' (Fenton, 2007: 321). During their reflexive culinary interaction the participants repeatedly disaligned with the national in favour of broader identity sources, which surfaced in their hybrid and cosmopolitan projections (Chapter 7). Despite the speakers' salient postmodern positioning resounding in their appeal to reflexivity, individualisation and cosmopolitanism (Chapter 5), discourses of nation continued to echo throughout the examined interactions. They surfaced for instance through the speakers' pronominal choice, use of national labels, othering exchanges. Those epistemic markers tended to intertwine with affect, reflecting the speakers' occasional romanticisation of their 'imagined communities' (Anderson, 2006 [1983]).

Likewise, the participants continued to project their appeal to traditionality, staging it and nostalgically reflecting on it (see Chapter 4). Those traditional displays might have stemmed from the speakers' pursuit of authenticity, increasingly sought by contemporary social actors (e.g. Pine and Gilmore, 2007: xii) as a 'counterdose to the loss of "true self" in public roles and public spheres in

modern Western society' (N. Wang, 1999: 358). How authentic the staged culinary practices were remains debatable. As Welsch (1999: 198) puts it, 'authenticity has become folklore, it is ownness simulated for others – to whom the indigene himself belongs'. Yet, when considered from the perspective of 'existential authenticity' (N. Wang, 1999; Steiner and Reisinger, 2006), the created 'third spaces' (Bhabha, 2004 [1994]) seemed to offer the speakers authentic experiences. Even when based on stereotyped representations, those simulated cultural forms allowed for the negotiation of complex sociocultural repertoires in those families (see also Dervin, 2011 and 2013 on stereotypes), and thus seemed genuine in their own right.

In contrast, the speakers recurrently positioned themselves as indifferent towards tradition, downplayed it or openly disaligned with it (Section 5.3). Anti-traditional, postmodern positioning further surfaced when the speakers emphasised their individual preferences and/or created 'little rituals' unique to their hybrid families (see Sections 7.2–7.3), which 'leak[ed] beyond the full-blown ritual events' (Haviland, 2009: 21). This way the families demonstrated their strong appeal to 'choice', emphasising on those occasions how their 'life course becomes a passage no longer governed by tradition' (Lash and Urry, 1994: 39). That appeal to 'choice' further emerged at the intersection of the speakers' contradictory voices, when they strategically chose whether to highlight their anti-traditional or traditional positioning and their national or post-national identities.

Therefore, the study demonstrated that traditional and postmodern voices are not mutually exclusive. As in art, architecture or cuisine, the old can be married with the modern, the traditional and the postmodern can, and do, coexist in the discourses of increasingly reflexive, multivoiced individuals. This interplay is reflected in the excerpt below:

Extract 9.1 – 'Make something new, make something unique'

Interview 3 with Maja and Miles. Question 5: Has the way you celebrate changed since you moved to the UK and got together?

1	Maja:	since we got together we've tried to combine both English and
2		Polish traditions
3	Miles:	that's the both worlds
4	Maja:	yeah really
5	Miles:	as far as possible
6	Maja:	and if we can't then we help ourselves with some Italian
7		tagliatelle or tortellini

8	(fragment omitted)
9	it's definitely different but it's not different that it's bad (.) we try
10	to keep some of those traditions alive (.) combine them (.)
11	make something new (.) make something unique

Like Maja and Miles above, all the participants continued to circulate discourses of tradition and nation. However, the prominence of their cosmopolitan, hybrid, individualistic projections could imply that the transnational families leaned towards post-national, 'third-space' identification.

9.7   Limitations and future research

Space-time-language context

This study touched upon the interactions within Polish-British families beyond the British context (one event was recorded in Poland and the events which occurred in Britain also referred to the Polish context or included visitors from Poland). However, a more in-depth analysis of how these families interact in Polish settings could shed more light on how context shapes the speakers' discourses. It would also be revealing to investigate how Polish-British relationships negotiate their identities on 'neutral ground' – in locations other than Britain or Poland. Like the use of a lingua franca 'modifies "the power game" and hierarchy in intercultural communication' (Dervin, 2013: 5), similarly a neutral sociocultural context, which does not represent the native/natural setting of either of the partners, could impact on the dynamics of interactions in these families.

Moreover, this study could be built on by examining identification processes among members of Polish-British families representing next generations. While my study included interactions with one couple's child (Family 2) and touched upon socialisation practices in Polish-British families, this angle was not the focus of the current research. In its breadth, the topic of identity among offspring in transnational families constitutes potential material for a separate study and could complement this analysis of stancetaking among adult family members.

Additionally, future research could build on my study by exploring interactions in bilingual/multilingual Polish-British families, whose discourses could show even higher levels of complexity. However, bilingual Polish-British couples

remain rare due to the relative difficulty of Polish language for Anglophones, with Polish and English deriving from different families of languages (Balto-Slavic and Germanic, respectively). Nonetheless, if Polish population in Britain continues to increase and Polish-British social networks expand, Polish language could gradually gain more popularity and exposure, potentially encouraging British partners in such families to learn it. This could be further motivated by the partners' bilingual offspring – in the families with bilingual children in my study (Families 2 and 5), the British partners displayed a comparatively wider Polish repertoire.

Demographic

For practical reasons (access to participants, translation issues) the present study was limited to Polish-British families. Apart from Gonçalves' work (2013) and this study, the topic of food-interactions in transnational families remains still relatively unexplored. Thus, there is potential to contribute to this research by focusing on transnational relationships in which partners originate from other backgrounds.

My research did not attempt to ascribe the examined discursive strategies exclusively to transnational families. To what extent the emergent interactional patterns may be characteristic to transnational families could be tested by contrasting them with interactions among 'same-background' relationships in the migratory context (e.g. Polish-Polish couples living either in Britain or British-British couples living in Poland) which, while not formed through intermarriage, are also exposed to transnational contact. Finally, further comparison could be achieved by examining 'same-background' families in their homeland context. According to Bystydzienski (2011: 45), 'every person comes into an intimate partnership with a different set of personal and social experiences that require some adjustment'. Breger and Hill (1998: 7) similarly argued that 'all [partnerships] could be said to be cross-cultural in some way'. Thus, an exploration of food-related interactions among 'same-background' families would offer an additional perspective on identification processes in intimate relationships in the culinary context.

Food-related interactions

This study focused on food-related interaction during various celebratory occasions, the least scripted of which seemed family reunions (Video-recordings 2 and 7). Whereas the interview data also stimulated interactions in relation to everyday food practices, it would be interesting to focus future research on food-related interactions in a daily context. This could be executed by analysing video-recorded everyday meals of transnational couples to explore if similar stancetaking processes unfold in a non-celebratory context. Such analysis could reveal if discourses of nation, tradition and difference/similarity are driven by the celebratory context, or whether they leak to everyday food interactions, as I suggested based on some exchanges transcending celebratory food practices (Extracts 6.1, 6.5–6.6, 7.13–7.15).

Food, transculturality and cosmopolitanism

With food practices constituting only one of many dimensions of sociocultural expression, it could be argued that the research findings in relation to the speakers' transcultural and cosmopolitan projections are somewhat limited by the study's focus on culinary interactions. The participants' interactions in other domains (e.g. health, sport, education) could project dominant nationalist positioning, or invite other stances altogether. However, the study did not aim to measure which of the recurrent stances prevails in the examined interactions and my speculations about the speakers' potentially more prominent appeal to transcultural and post-national identification are tentative (see Section 9.5–9.6). Instead, the goal was to grasp the dynamism of the speakers' stance acts, which was illustrated by their intertwining national discourses versus their claims to transculturality and cosmopolitanism. Nevertheless, future research could complement the current study by exploring interactions in transnational families beyond the culinary context to examine if the family members circulate similar discourses in relation to other domains of life.

Gender dynamics

While some researchers argue that in transnational relationships gender constitutes a secondary space for negotiation of the partners' identities as compared for instance with 'class difference' (Bystydzienski, 2011: 15), my study showed that at times the culinary context occasioned the negotiation of gender roles (e.g. Extracts 5.12, 7.15). As I related to those issues only briefly, a study focusing on identification in relation to gender in transnational families could offer a valuable contribution to the field. Such research could include same-sex couples for a perspective on gender dynamics in both heterosexual and homosexual transnational relationships.

Power differentials

This study only briefly touched upon the issues of power in the examined interactions, mainly in relation to the othering acts (see Chapter 6, pp. 155, 173 and 243–244), in which the partners negotiated perceived differences between their sociocultural repertoires. Arguably, the Polish side in these couples could be seen as unequally positioned due to living in the country which is non-native to them (but native to their British partners), being expected to adapt to the sociocultural practices of the receiving country and to communicate everyday in their partners' native language (English).

On the contrary, in the analysed interactions the power differentials (e.g. migrants/non-migrants, novices/experts) were far from static and appeared to shift. For example, ritual abuse was performed both by the migrant and non-migrant side. Likewise both migrants and non-migrants at times adopted an expert stance when educating the opposite side on their sociocultural nuances. This suggests that the migratory context did not always grant the Polish partners with less power as compared with the British side. To the contrary, at times the migrant side appeared to index their empowerment by displaying their ability to flexibly operate with the sociocultural repertoires of their homeland and those of the receiving country. Surprisingly, occasionally it was the British partners who projected themselves somewhat inferior to the Polish side, despite being in their own locality, for instance when reporting the perceived dominance of Polish culinary

practices reproduced during their celebrations. Additionally, all the Polish partners were fluent in English, thus inequalities in terms of linguistic resources did not appear to be an issue.

It must be stressed that these findings are limited to the culinary and celebratory context, and the families' interactions on other topics or in different settings could yield a different distribution of power in these relationships. While an analysis of power relations between the members of the families was not a goal of my study, it would constitute an interesting avenue for future research.

Transnational interactions at large

To advance beyond private interactions, future research could juxtapose the results I present here with those gleaned from studying transnational interactions in public spheres. This could be achieved for instance by exploring speakers' exchanges via the rapidly expanding social media space (Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, blogs), which 'puts stancetaking at the centre of activity' (Walton and Jaffe, 2011: 200–201; on blog commentaries). Thus, it would be of interest to explore if similar discursive strategies and stances emerge in online interactions between partners in transnational relationships and beyond (e.g. among friends, colleagues, or business partners). This broader and public context could help researchers to formulate more general interpretations on contemporary discourses and identification trends.

9.8   Concluding note

In light of increasing global mobility, it seems that further proliferation of transnational families and transnational encounters is inevitable. This means that people's sociocultural repertoires (including culinary practices) could gradually become more complex and versatile. As a result, our interactions, and thus identities, would be more dynamic, hybrid and transcultural. In Canagarajah's (2013b: 8) words, 'we are all translinguals', hence the research into the linguistic and semiotic 'trans-' can deepen our understanding of the current sociocultural condition. Trans- seems to be the future, and this future is vibrant, empowering and bright.

Appendices

Appendix 1 – Demographic information on the participants

F=Family C=Couple		Pseudonym, nationality, gender, age, relationship and religion (now, 2015)	Additional information
F1	C1	Liam – English male, 33, Eliza's partner, agnostic Eliza – Polish female, 31, Liam's partner, agnostic	The couple live in England. They tend to celebrate Easter with their close friends, John and Gabi. Kacper, Eliza's brother, lives in Poland.
		Kacper – Polish male, 20, Eliza's brother, agnostic	
F2	C2	John – English male, 32, Gabi's husband, agnostic Gabi – Polish female, 36, John's wife, agnostic	The couple live in England and are close friends with Liam and Eliza, who they often celebrate Easter with. Gabi and John got married in 2013, England.
		Adam – Polish-British male, 7, John and Gabi's son Julia – Polish-British female, 3, John and Gabi's daughter	
F3	C3	Kuba – Polish male, 27, Carol's fiancé, Catholic Carol – Welsh female, 26, Kuba's fiancée, agnostic	At the time of recordings (2011), all four were students sharing a flat in England. Mirek and Kamila got married in Poland in 2012 and moved to Canada. Kuba and Carol moved to Oxford, UK. They got engaged in 2014.
	C4	Mirek – Polish male, 29, Kuba's brother, Kamila's husband, Catholic Kamila – Polish female, 29, Mirek's wife, Catholic	
	C5	Leon – Polish male, 56, Ela's husband, Mirek and Kuba's father, Catholic Ela – Polish female, 54, Leon's wife, Mirek and Kuba's mother, Catholic	The couple live in Poland but regularly visit their sons, who live abroad.
F4	C6	Miles – English male, 39, Maja's husband, agnostic Maja – Polish female, 33, Miles's wife, agnostic	The couple live in England. They had two weddings in 2009: one in Poland and one in England.
F5	C7	Peter – English male, 53, Beata's husband, agnostic Beata – Polish female, 46, Peter's wife, Buddhist	The family live in England. They got married in Poland in 2007.
		Kasia – Polish female, 16, Beata's daughter	

Appendix 2 – Overview of the video data

Video-recorded transnational celebrations

V=Video	Celebratory occasion, location, date and frequency	Participants (pseudonym, nationality, gender; age and relationship at the time of the recordings)
V1	Easter, England, 2011, annual	Liam – English male, 29, Eliza's partner Eliza – Polish female, 27, Liam's partner John – English male, 28, Gabi's fiancé Gabi – Polish female, 32, John's fiancée Adam – Polish-British male, 3, John and Gabi's son (the couples are friends)
V2	family reunion, England, 2011, repeated regularly	Kuba – Polish male, 23, Carol's partner Carol – Welsh female, 22, Kuba's partner Mirek – Polish male, 25, Kuba's brother, Kamila's fiancé Kamila – Polish female, 25, Mirek's fiancée Leon – Polish male, 52, Ela's husband, Mirek and Kuba's father Ela – Polish female, 50, Leon's wife, Mirek and Kuba's mother (Leon and Ela were visiting from Poland)
V3	wedding, Poland, 2007, 'once-in-a-life-time'	Peter – English male, 45, Beata's husband Beata – Polish female, 39, Peter's wife
V4	Christmas Eve, England, 2011, annual	Miles – English male, 36, Maja's husband Maja – Polish female, 29, Miles's wife
V5	Christmas Day, England, 2010, annual	Miles – English male, 35, Maja's husband Maja – Polish female, 28, Miles's wife
V6	Christmas Day, England, 2011, annual	Miles – English male, 36, Maja's husband Maja – Polish female, 29, Miles's wife
V7	family reunion, England, 2011, repeated regularly	Liam – English male, 29, Eliza's partner Eliza – Polish female, 27, Liam's partner Kacper – Polish male, 17, Eliza's brother (visiting from Poland)

Appendix 3 – Overview of the interview data and schedules of interview questions

Audio-recorded semi-structured interviews

I = Interview	Location	Date	Participants (pseudonym, nationality, gender; age and relationship at the time of the recordings)
I1	England	2012	Liam – English male, 30, Eliza's partner Eliza – Polish female, 28, Liam's partner John – English male, 29, Gabi's fiancé Gabi – Polish female, 33, John's fiancée Adam – Polish-British male, 4, John and Gabi's son Julia – Polish-British female, 1, John and Gabi's daughter
I2	England	2012	Kuba – Polish male, 24, Carol's partner Carol – Welsh female, 23, Kuba's partner Mirek – Polish male, 26, Kuba's brother, Kamila's fiancé Kamila – Polish female, 26, Mirek's fiancé
I3	England	2012	Miles – English male, 36, Maja's husband Maja – Polish female, 29, Miles's wife
I4	England	2012	Peter – English male, 50, Beata's husband Beata – Polish female, 43, Peter's wife

Interview 1

Schedule of questions for a semi-structured interview

with Couples 1 and 2

1. Tell me how you usually celebrate Easter.

2. So the Easter you recorded, how did it go?

3. Do you think that the next Easter will be similar/different in any way?

4. How would you compare Polish and British celebrations of major holidays?

5. Has the way you celebrate changed since you moved to the UK and got together?

6. Do you think your eating habits have changed since you moved to the UK and since you got together, and how?

7. When you've got people coming to visit for example from Poland, how do you usually entertain them?

8. What is the role of food during your celebrations and in your relationship?

9. Eliza, you comment on different dining styles ('Finished. Taken away.') Would you like to say more about it?

Interview 2

Schedule of questions for a semi-structured interview

with Couples 3 and 4

1. Tell me how you usually celebrate when your parents come for a visit from Poland.

2. So the visit that you recorded, how did it go? (jacket potatoes seemed to be a big hit?)

3. I know that there's a big event coming up in July (Kamila and Mirek's wedding) and all your family will be celebrating it in Poland. Do you think that this family 'get together' will be similar/different, and in what way?

4. How would you compare Polish and British celebrations of major holidays?

5. Can you predict what your future Christmases/Easters are going to be like?

6. Has the way you celebrate changed since you moved to the UK and got together?

7. Do you think your eating habits have changed since you moved to the UK and since you got together, and how?

8. What is the role of food during your celebrations and in your relationship?

9. I know you all used to share a flat. Tell me how you organised cooking and eating.

10. I've noticed that you pray before your meals, can you tell me more about that?

Interview 3

Schedule of questions for a semi-structured interview

with Couple 6

1. Tell me how you usually prepare your Christmas meal.

2. So your last Christmas, how did it go?

3. Do you think that the next Christmas will be similar/different and in what way?

4. How would you compare Polish and British celebrations of major holidays?

5. Has the way you celebrate changed since you moved to the UK and got together?

6. Do you think your eating habits have changed since you moved to the UK and since you got together, and how?

7. What is the role of food during your celebrations and in your relationship?

8. You mentioned the food at your wedding.

Interview 4

Schedule of questions for a semi-structured interview

with Couple 7

1. Tell me about the preparations before the wedding.

2. I guess food was a big part of this celebration.

3. So how did the wedding go?

4. If you were to celebrate it again, would you do anything differently?

5. What kind of feedback did you receive from your friends/family?

6. How would you compare Polish and British celebrations of major holidays?

7. Has the way you celebrate changed since you moved to the UK and got together?

8. Do you think your eating habits have changed since you moved to the UK and since you got together, and how?

9. What is the role of food during your celebrations and in your relationship?

Appendix 4 – Overview of the performed/discussed culinary rituals and background information

Culinary rituals performed during the video-recorded celebrations

Type of ritual performed	Ritual's outreach	Celebratory occasion(s) for the ritual performed in the data	Recording Code(s)
meal prayers (r*)	many religions, including Catholicism	family reunion/birthday	V2
'bread and salt' greeting at weddings (r)	Central and Eastern Europe, including Poland	Polish-style wedding	V3
glass breaking at weddings	Eastern Europe, including Poland (also Jewish weddings)	Polish-British wedding	V3
wedding cake cutting and feeding	widespread, including Poland	Polish-British wedding	V3
drink toasts	widespread, including Poland and Britain	family reunion/birthday	V2
		Polish-British wedding	V3
		British-style Christmas Day	V5, V6
		Polish-style Christmas Day	V4
first star spotting on Christmas Eve (r)	Eastern Europe, including Poland	Polish-style Christmas Eve	V4
dish counting on Christmas Eve (r)	Eastern Europe, including Poland	British**-style Christmas Day	V5
spare plate leaving on Christmas Eve (r)	Eastern Europe, including Poland	Polish-style Christmas Eve	V4
		British-style Christmas Day	V6
Christmas crackers pulling	widespread, including Britain	British-style Christmas Day	V5, V6
consumption of 'traditional' dishes and drinks (r – applies to some dishes/drinks)	universal but individual dishes can be 'country-specific'	all the recorded occasions: Easter, Christmas, wedding and family reunions	all video-recordings (V1-V7)

Culinary rituals discussed during the video-recorded celebrations and/or during the audio recorded interviews

Type of food ritual discussed	Ritual's outreach	Context(s) for the ritual discussed in the data	Recording Code(s)
meal prayers (r)	many religions, including Catholicism	family reunion/birthday, Sunday meals	I2
'bread and salt' greeting at weddings (r)	Central and Eastern Europe, including Poland	Polish-style wedding	I1, I4
glass breaking at weddings	Eastern Europe, including Poland (also Jewish weddings)	Polish-British wedding	I4
drink toasts	widespread, including Poland and Britain	Polish-British wedding	I1
wafer sharing on Christmas Eve (r)	Eastern Europe, including Poland	Polish-style Christmas Eve	I1, I2, I4
Bible reading on Christmas Eve (r)	Eastern Europe, including Poland	Polish-style Christmas Eve	I2, I4
first star spotting on Christmas Eve (r)	Eastern Europe, including Poland	Polish-style Christmas Eve	I3, I4
dish counting on Christmas Eve (r)	Eastern Europe, including Poland	British-style Christmas Eve	V5
spare plate leaving on Christmas Eve (r)	Eastern Europe, including Poland	Polish-style Christmas Eve	V4, V6, I3
Christmas crackers pulling	widespread, including Britain	British-style Christmas Eve	V5, V6, I4
Easter food blessing (r)	Eastern Europe, including Poland	Polish-style Easter	I1, I3, I4
Easter egg hunt	widespread, including Britain	British**-style Easter	I1, I3, I4
consumption of 'traditional' dishes and drinks (r – applies to some dishes/drinks)	universal but individual dishes can be 'country-specific'	all the recorded occasions: Easter, Christmas, wedding and family reunions	all video-/audio-recordings

(r) = rituals with a religious reference
***though a Polish/Easter-European Christmas Eve practice, it was performed in the data during a 'British-style' Christmas meal*

Background information on the culinary rituals performed/discussed in the data

Universal/widespread food rituals

meal prayer (grace) – a short prayer offered before or after eating to express thanks for the consumed foods and other things (both material and immaterial) that are believed to be granted by the divine. Meal prayers are practised across many religions, including Catholicism.

Figure A.1 – Meal prayer**,** Video-recording 2 (family reunion, England, 2011). Family 3 pray before their celebratory meal.

toast – a common ritual during which people raise a glass to invite others to share the drink (usually an alcoholic one), to express honour, goodwill and often wishes at various celebratory occasions including birthdays, weddings and family reunions.

Figure A.2 – Toast, Video-recording 5, Couple 6's Christmas Day, England, 2010. The couple raise a toast and exchange Christmas wishes.

Wedding food rituals

'bread and salt' greeting – a welcome ceremony practised in many European countries (including Poland) during which the guests are presented with a loaf of bread and salt by the hosts, who are frequently dressed in traditional, national clothes.

Figure A.3 – Bread and salt gift for the newlyweds, Poland, 2011 (personal source).

Figure A.4 – Bread and salt greeting performed at a wedding by the newlyweds' parents, Poland, 2011 (personal source).

In Poland the ritual continues to be practised at wedding receptions, when the newlyweds are greeted by their parents or the ceremony master/reception venue manager on returning from their wedding ceremony. The bread and salt stand for prosperity, successful marriage and happiness, which those presenting the gift wish to the newlyweds. The ritual tends to be followed by a toast to the bride and groom after which the newlyweds break their champagne/vodka shot glasses (see below).

glass breaking – a wedding ritual practised in many countries, particularly in Eastern Europe (including Poland) during which, after the first toast, the newlyweds throw their glasses behind their back. If a glass does not break, the best man/bridesmaid is expected to crush it. Broken glass is thought to bring the couple luck and the number of glass pieces stands for the number of years they will enjoy together. It also reminds the newlyweds of the commitment to each other also in future hard times. Breaking the glass is also practised at Jewish weddings, usually at the end of the ceremony when the groom crushes a glass with his right foot (sometimes jointly with the bride).

Figure A.5 – Glass breaking, Video-recording 3, Couple 7's wedding, Poland, 2007. The newlyweds throw behind their back the champagne glasses.

Figure A.6 – Wedding cake cutting, Poland, 2011 (personal source).

wedding cake cutting (and feeding) – a wedding ritual practised in many countries (including Poland and Britain) during which the newlyweds cut the first slice(s) of their wedding cake. The task should be performed cooperatively so the bride and the groom hold the knife together.

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The eating of the cake that follows stands for the consumption of marriage. Sometimes the bride and groom mutually feed each other with the cake. Occasionally, the couple eat it off each other's hands.

Figure A.7 – Wedding cake feeding, Video-recording 3, Couple 7's wedding, Poland, 2007. The groom eats the cake off the bride's hand.

Easter food rituals

Figure A.8 – Easter food basket to be blessed at church (Polish: *święconka*), Poland, 2015 (personal source).

Easter food blessing – a ritual practised in Eastern Europe (including Poland). Catholic families prepare a basket with samples of Easter foods (usually eggs, sausage, bread and salt) and ornament it with other Easter artefacts, for instance painted eggs, green twigs and a figure of lamb made of sugar, which all stand for new life and for Catholics reference the resurrection of Christ. The basket is taken to church the day before Easter Sunday, where it is blessed by a priest. The blessed samples of food are then eaten at the beginning of the solemn breakfast consumed by Catholic Poles on Easter Sunday.

Easter egg hunt – a widespread Easter game practised in many countries (including Britain) during which decorated eggs, real or chocolate ones, are hidden by adults in various places for children to find, often in gardens or parks, but also indoors, with varying degree of concealment. The egg stands for rebirth of nature at spring, and for Catholics it is additionally a symbol of the resurrection of Christ.

*Figure A.9* – Easter egg hunt, Easter, USA, 2011. Image by Albert Herring via Creative Commons (licensed for reuse).

Christmas food rituals

first star spotting – a ritual practised in some Eastern-European countries (including Poland) on Christmas Eve. It is believed that only after the first star has been sighted in the sky at dusk, the Christmas Eve vigil supper (Polish: *Wigilia,* from Latin *vigilare*=to watch), should commence. The ritual refers to the biblical Bethlehem Star spotted by the Wise Men when Christ was born.

Bible reading – a ritual practised by Catholics in some Eastern-European countries (including Poland). Before the Christmas Eve supper begins, the families stand up to pray, during which the host/head of the family reads a relevant fragment from the Bible.

Figure A.10 – Bible reading on Christmas Eve, Poland, 2010 (personal source).
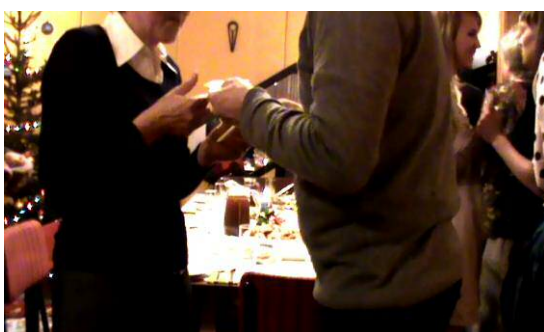
Figure A.11 – Wafer sharing on Christmas Eve, Poland, 2010 (personal source).

wafer sharing – a ritual practised in some Eastern-European countries (including Poland) on Christmas Eve, during which all family members gathered at the table for the vigil supper stand up, each holding a piece of a thin white wafer (Polish: *opłatek*), which they share with one another by breaking a bit from the other person's piece and eating it. While breaking it, the family members exchange Christmas wishes. The wafer, which is similar to the one used in Holy Communion, is blessed at church and represents the body of Christ. Like bread, it also stands for prosperity and the act of breaking it with others, carries peace and togetherness.

spare plate leaving – a ritual practised in some Eastern-European countries (including Poland), which involves laying an extra plate on the table during the Christmas Eve meal. It is meant for an unexpected visitor – reference to the biblical Joseph, who wandered looking for a place for Mary to give birth. It also done to commemorate the departed.

Figure A.12 – Spare plate on the Christmas Eve table, screen shot from Video-recording 4, Couple 6's Christmas Eve, England, 2011.

dish counting – a ritual practised in some Eastern-European countries (including Poland), which involves counting the dishes consumed on Christmas Eve. It is believed that a traditional Christmas Eve meal should consist of twelve meat-free dishes –reference to the biblical twelve Apostles. In some parts of Poland it is believed that the number of dishes should be odd.

Christmas cracker pulling – a widespread ritual practised on Christmas Day in many countries, including Britain, during which people pull Christmas crackers to break them open usually while sitting at the table after the meal. As they burst, different tokens fall out, such as paper crowns, toys or games. The crackers may also contain jokes and riddles that are shared with others as entertainment.

Figure A.13 – Christmas cracker pulling, screen shot from Video-recording 5, Couple 6's Christmas Day, England, 2010.

Appendix 5 – Transcription conventions

(.)	= untimed short pause
(2.0)	= pause timed in seconds
(shocked)	= nonverbal, paralinguistic and other contextual information
(( ))	= indecipherable data or best approximation
?	= rising intonation, possibly a question
[	= start of overlapping speech
[ ]	= entirely overlapped speech
=	= contiguous, 'latched' utterances (no perceptible pause)
underlining	= perceptible additional emphasis
< >	= quiet speech
CAPS	= loud speech
:	= lengthened syllable
trunc-	= truncated word
italics	= Polish
{ }	= word-by-word translation
+	= mispronounced words
' '	= represented discourse (self-quotes and quotes of others)
Inter.	= the interviewer

Research on the discursive construction of identity in cross-cultural relationships during celebratory events.

Information and consent form

Purpose of research

- This research is conducted to collect data for my Ph.D. project at Cardiff University (Language and Communication Research).

- The project examines communicative practices of transnational couples and their families during various celebratory events.

Confidentiality and anonymity

- A written consent is needed to confirm your willingness to participate.

- It is up to you whether you want to use your name or a pseudonym to anonymise the data (please specify on the consent form).

- Confidentiality is guaranteed – any confidential information can be anonymised or left out.

- You have the right to withdraw from the project at any stage.

Recordings

- Relevant fragments of your video-recording(s) will be extracted, converted into short video-clips and transcribed to help the analysis. All the data will be stored safely throughout the analysis (encrypted hard-drive on a personal laptop secured with a password).

- All participants are entitled to access their recordings and, once my Ph.D. project is completed, also the final analysis. My Ph.D. thesis supervisors and examiners will also be granted such access.

<div align="center">Written consent</div>

To whom it may concern, I/We,

....
....
....
....,

give Marta Wilczek-Watson permission to use and store safely the recording(s) I/we provided her with.

I/We understand that the data obtained will be used for the purpose of her Ph.D. project. It may also be used by her during presentations at seminars/conferences throughout her studies as well as in potential publications.

I/We have been guaranteed confidentiality and the right to withdraw at any stage of the research.

I/We prefer my/our   name(s)/pseudonym(s) to be used (please indicate N = names or P = pseudonyms by your signature).

Signature(s) ....   Date   ....

....

....

....

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