

2019 TEANGA: Special Edition 10

Iris Chumann na Teangeolaíochta Feidhmí in Éirinn
The Journal of the Irish Association of Applied Linguistics



Proceedings of Multilingualism in the Early Years Conference

Dublin Institute of Technology May 2017



Special edition editors

Máire Mhic Mhathúna, Technological University Dublin
Sarah O'Brien, Trinity College Dublin

Teanga editors

Úna Bhreathnach
Colin Flynn
Stephen Lucek

IRAAL, together with the authors and editors, has taken care to ensure that all information presented in this volume is accurate at the time of publication. Despite careful manuscript preparation and proof correction, errors may nevertheless occur. IRAAL, authors and editors disclaim all responsibility for any errors or omissions or liability for the results obtained from the use of the information, or parts thereof, contained herein.

© 2019 The Authors



Language and emotions: A follow-up study of ‘moral allegiances’- the case of Wiktor

Malgorzata Machowska-Kosciak

Dublin City University

malgosia.machowska-kosciak@dcu.ie

Abstract

This paper is a follow-up study of one Polish immigrant child’s early experience as she is attending different primary schools in Ireland. The focus is on how heritage language socialisation goals affect her goals and identity negotiation through her daily practices as she grows up in multilingual environment and try to find her place in a new country and society.

We set out the theoretical background, methodology, final results from the longitudinal study (four years) involving such student and her family, as she also attends Polish weekend school in addition to her mainstream school. The theoretical and analytical approach combines Ethnography of Communication approach to data collection and field work (participant home and school observations, audio-recordings of child’s interactions with her peers, her teachers and parents, open-ended interviews, samples of her written work) with Discourse Analysis approaches (Duff 1995; Davis & Harre 1990; Harre & Langenhove 1999; Ochs & Capps 2001). A particular focus is placed on positions and stances taken with respect to sociohistorical and cultural norms and values represented by each language and culture including religious practices. When a new language and culture are being socialized, they must inevitably affect individuals’ moral and emotional systems to a great extent. This is because, some unresolved conflicts of cultural allegiances and ambivalence about identity may shake one’s sense of belonging and even slow the learning process. It can impact on the later command of two languages and integration. On the other hand, “comfortable bicultural identity” and “non-ethnocentric views” of people in general, together with a strong aptitude for language learning, proved to be one of the main factors determining success in becoming skilled in two languages and two cultures

(Lambert 1962, in Paulson & Tucker 2006, pp. 315–319). Thus, it is often admitted in the Language Socialisation literature that cultural ideologies not only have a profound effect on those who learn a new language, but also influence the learning and further socialisation of their first language and culture. This micro-analysis of language socialisation is contextualized within a more holistic account of the Polish community in Ireland (Singleton 2007) - a community culturally shaped by, and in turn shaping, wider societal and cultural ideologies, values and power relations.

Keywords: *family and community, multilingualism, socialisation, morality, emotions*

1. Introduction

Assuming the perspective that language socialisation takes place across one's life span allows us to perceive the period of childhood and early adolescence as being of particular importance. It is "the period at which individuals in modern societies find themselves at the intersection between childhood and adulthood, the period during which social identity formation becomes central (Langman 2003, p. 182). 'It is a process rather than a time period, a process of achieving the attitudes and beliefs for effective participation in society' (Rogers 1981, p.10). It is also a time of great physiological and psychological change and development. It is also the stage of psychological breakthrough in a person's life. Adolescents may experience emotional difficulties during the period of puberty. Psychological changes such as emotional turmoil/difficulties and personality construction experienced by adolescents are sometimes accredited to the search for a unique social identity. 'An adequate self-concept is vital to an adolescent's well-being' (Rogers 1981, p.30). If language socialisation (LS) is perceived not as a developmental process leading to adulthood but as a 'social-practice' where individuals become agents of socialisation. The membership to a particular group or community of practice as well as 'practice in its own right' – becomes fundamental for both LS and identity construction process.

As Duff (2009, p. 2) notes, formal and informal socialisation through more than one language and culture has been a common experience and can be broadly found in numerous bilingual or multilingual societies and communities. However, this has only recently emerged (Duff

2003; Zungler & Cole 2005) as a systemic area of research in applied linguistics. In the 1990s the foundations of LS research were established. More recently, researchers and scholars have expanded the scope of LS research to Second Language Socialisation, which is a lifelong process and a “life-wide” process across communities and activities. It therefore became widely acknowledged in the literature that Language Socialisation is experienced throughout one’s lifespan’ through social interactions between ‘experts’ (those who have more proficiency in e.g. language, literacy, culture, etc.) and ‘novices’ (those with less proficiency). This occurs as an individual enters new “communities of practice” such as schools or the workplace (Lave & Wenger 1991). Thus, LS is claimed to be speech events at any given time in one’s life (Garrett & Baquedano-Lopez 2002; Ochs 1986; Ochs & Schieffelin 2008). In other words, in order to become competent members of new sociocultural groups, individuals often continue to be socialised into new roles, statuses, and practices throughout their lifespan. This paper aims to examine the role of family and community by focusing on ‘moral allegiances’ among Polish families. How are traditional values and norms formed and then socialised in the family context? How are these norms, values, allegiances transmitted from generation to generation?

This paper is a part of a larger longitudinal study that took place in the years of 2009–2015. The research described in this paper explored and documented the experiences of the Polish children currently living in Ireland including both home and schooling contexts. The focus of this paper is how socialisation of morality affects these children’s identity negotiation as they grow up in multicultural environment, and try to find their place in a new country and society. This paper examines the ways in which one of the participants of longitudinal study named Wiktoria constructed her sociohistorical understanding of morality. This involved an examination of her own understanding of what is right and what is wrong across communities of practices to which she belongses, such as family, and the wider school communities. The parents’ and Wiktoria’s own subjective interpretation of her behaviours and socialising practices are seen as crucial to understanding of her socialisation experience.

*Student participants
and age range when
followed*

Parents

Teachers

● Wiktoria (12-14)

● Ala

Gretta (ESOL teacher)

- Rafal
- Danuta (Teacher of Polish PWS)

Table 1: Wiktoria’s case in the longitudinal study

Wiktor's Audio recordings Observations
Case

	Wiktor	EMS	
+PWS		6.81 h	152 h

Table 2: Range of data collected for Wiktor's case

2. Methodology

Ethnography of communication methods were employed in this study. They provided a set of methods for conducting the present research as well as providing the grounds for emic and etic analysis of communication/discourse. The theoretical framework that underpins this approach to data collection and analysis draws upon Hymes's (1974), Schiffin's (1994) discursive psychology that examine 'talk' as social action. The style of data collection and analysis focuses on exploring and collecting a wide range of materials without being constrained by a specific hypothesis (Potter & Edwards 2001). Additionally, discourse analysis was considered to be a suitable analytic and linguistic tool having potential for unravelling language socialisation practices inherent in the audio material collected. Data triangulation was used in order to ascertain participants' perspectives on their own linguistic and cultural practices. All audio recordings were transcribed for analysis. A fine-grained analysis of audio recordings was conducted to examine how the children, their parents and teachers use specific language and cultural mediated practices in their everyday interactions.

The present study employed two layers of discourse analysis:

- (i) epistemic/affective stance taking (see Ochs 1996; Biber, Conrad & Reppen 1998)
- (ii) reflective and interactive positioning (see Davies & Harré 1990).

Davis and R. Harré (1999, p. 37) defined 'positioning' as 'a discursive process whereby people are located in conversations as observably and subjectively coherent participants in jointly produced storylines'. Positioning is distinguished into:

- (i) Reflective positioning in which one is positioning herself/himself
- (ii) Interactive positioning – what one says positions the other or invokes a particular role upon him/her (Davies & Harré 1990).

The socialisation of morality often plays a vital role in the process of acculturation - becoming a member of a particular social group as it defines 'dos and don'ts', norms and values that are cultivated by that group. Negotiations of morality/religious came up as one of the most important themes in Wiktoria's life at the time of data collection. According to Sterponi (2003, p. 80), morality can be defined as 'a situated practice enacted in social interaction' and is illustrated in studies by Baquedano (e.g. López 1997; Capps and Ochs 1995; Duranti 1993; Goodwin 2002). Wiktoria constructed her moral stances along with her parents during discursive events such as family dinners or conversations initiated by the researcher. These conversations often served as a discursive forum during which allegiances, moral stances were negotiated and displayed. Some scholars locate these local (micro) practices within sociohistorical relations of power and knowledge (Kulick 1992). Others, such as Foucault (1997, p. 352) claim that the main field of morality in our society, is the part of ourselves which is most relevant for morality, it is our feelings. Taking these approaches allows us to understand the interplay between affect and construction of morality through language. For example, by building on Foucault's approach, Kulick and Schieffelin (2004) argue that language socialisation studies have a potential to make a significant contribution to our understanding of 'theory of becoming' as they illustrate how habitus and 'performative power of language' are acquired through everyday interactions. They focus on the processes by which subjectivities are produced, through affect. As Fader (2010, p. 324) points out 'Foucault's framework adds a more theoretical dimension to the language socialisation paradigm' linking everyday interactions that socialize children to become ethical/moral subjects with 'broader historical and cultural forms of modernity' such as agency, and power. The parallel view is shared by McKay and Wong (1996), who emphasize the importance of "agency enhancement" and "identity enhancement" by focusing on the importance of social identities and how these relate to multiple discourses. "Agency" is a multifaceted construct (Bandura 2001; Cummings & Schermerhorn 2003; Kuczyński 2003; Grsec & Hastings 2007) that includes cognitive, behavioural, and motivational dimensions. The concept of agency enhancement derives from identities that afford learners a sense of power over their environment and thereby their learning.

Although Foucault's work focused more on ethical practices that develop moral subjectivities, indicating that they are fundamentally political, embedded in socio-political or sociohistorical contexts and often creating culturally and historically specific forms of sociability, his ultimate framework considered unequal distribution of power in the society

(Mahmood 2005). Studies of socialisation of morality can be of particular importance when it comes to immigrant Eastern-European children as there has been little attention dedicated to childhood studies of morality in post-communist societies which often having a long non-liberal tradition (Kuminski 1997). In these contexts, morality has often been conceptualized as adult cultural norms for behaviour without necessarily locating those norms in changing sociohistorical contexts.

In order to understand discourses in operation we need to take a sociohistorical perspective on what does it mean to be Polish or a Polish Catholic in Poland? What are the values and norms that characterize this post-communist society? In Poland, society underwent the process of industrialization and modernization very late. Kuninski (1997) states that historically, the traditionalistic (in the Weberian sense) attitudes persisted in Polish society for a long time, particularly among the peasants. These attitudes included preconceptions towards work, money, saving and capital and were reinforced by the Catholic Church that was not favourable to liberal economic attitudes and a liberal way of thinking represented by the Western societies (ibid).

Historically, the political tradition and experience of the main political class, the gentry, were basically democratic rather than liberal, based on the notion of collective and political liberties rather than individual freedom. This tradition was strengthened enormously when Poland lost its independence, thus making the national cause an overwhelming fixation and resulting in the relative overvaluation of national freedom in comparison with individual liberty. As a result, historically, Poles placed great emphasis on their ethnicity/nationhood, religious beliefs, and language in order to strengthen their sense of identity. This has been transmitted through generations up until the present day. According to Kuninski (1997, p. 5), present-day Polish civil society is less liberal in terms of its conceptualisations of the world - the good and the bad. There are many ideas around patriotism that are connected in many ways with the Roman Catholic Church. Conservative and traditionalistic and patriotic ideologies were often reinforced by the Catholic Church as opposed to Western liberal values (Kuninski 1997, p. 5). Recently, Polish society has been undergoing significant changes, often mixing 'traditional liberal and conservative elements with the experience of communism and the post-communist invasion of influential liberal-democratic ideas and free-market institutions' (ibid). Zhussipbek (2011) links notions of liberalism in the Eastern European region with some stereotypical moral/religious underpinnings. He further points out

that a stereotypical view of liberal values, particularly 'a liberal understanding of liberty' common to a great majority of conservative Eastern Europeans, portrays liberalism as 'liberty to commit sin, even liberty to live like a beast' (Zhussipbek 2011, p. 7). Thus, cultivation of 'individualism' – freedom of an individual to express their individuality (for example, meeting your family in the restaurant on Sundays) can be perceived as a violation of the more collective perspective on 'self' in relation to others. In that sense, the liberal values of the West reduce 'human dignity', while the Eastern European version of the Christian understanding of liberty means 'liberty from sin' (Zhussipbek 2011, p. 6). We might ask, whether these historical religious narratives are transmitted to next generation of Poles growing up in Ireland? Do Polish children themselves engage with these narratives?

For these reasons, understanding immigrant children's experience in these contexts is therefore crucial to understanding broader processes of social reproduction and change in the societies that have substantial populations of Eastern-European immigrants. This section is therefore dedicated to these matters as they came up quite spontaneously on many occasions during data collection including my conversations with Wiktoria and her parents. At times, issues of morality were almost seen as a pressing issue for the family. Following excerpts illustrate Wiktoria's negotiation of moral stances.

3. Construction of morality by Wiktoria

A celebration of religious holidays in a typical Polish way was a priority for Wiktoria's family, in particular attending Sunday Mass was an important event of the week. The whole family attended a local Mass every Saturday or Sunday on a regular basis. Wiktoria's language socialisation practices were widely shaped by religious practices such as attending Polish Sunday Mass or meeting a Polish priest through Polish school events or through a Polish association. The religious practices along with issues of morality and their legitimacy were often negotiated through the family daily interactions and dinner talks as can be seen in the examples discussed below. For example:

Excerpt 1

Researcher: [Do you think Ireland is very different from Poland and in what sense + well?]

Wiktoria: [Yes, I'm sure e:ee education is a little bit different, and yet the Masses such as Holy Communion]

Researcher: [mmhh that is, religious practices+]

Mother: [Well, almost 95% of the church (Mass participants) proceed to the Communion; they have a completely different attitude to these issues]

Researcher: ((nodding)) [mmhh, I've noticed that]

Father: [They take Communion because they consider it to be a feast to which you are invited and that it is not proper to refuse the treat and they go to Communion. For them, it is not so important whether they had a confession or not, if they have light sins or they do not have these sins. They want, so to speak, to do good to God. They do not want to offend God by not taking Communion. And here, as we have talked with the priest, here 'this' person should not really go to Communion +- he knows about it but, but he cannot say: 'I will not give it to you' – as a person is approaching. As a result, he gives Communion (to this person), because it is our own conscience in the end, whether you receive Holy Communion or not.] [it is actually at the door of your own ethics, it is made easier here]

Researcher: [your own conscience] (nodding)

Father: to już jest na karb sumienia, tutaj to tak ułatwiają

[it is actually at the door of conscience, it is made easier here]

Mother: to samo np. przyjęcie pierwszej komunii świętej np. bywa w pią:tek w so::botę, niekoniecznie w niedzielę. U nas to jest takie wydarzenie[życia!

[the same with receiving First Holy Communion it is done on Fri::days on Sa::turdays, not necessarily on Sundays. In our (country) it is such a life event!]

In above example Wiktoria, her parents and the researcher discuss aspects of religious practices that differ for both countries. As Wiktoria provides some examples of such differences her mother and her father align with her proposition that Holy Communion practice in Ireland differs a lot from the one in Poland. Wiktoria's mother makes the point that 95% of people participating in Masses in Ireland receive Holy Communion. This is followed by an evaluative (moral stance) statement: "oni mają zupełnie inne podejście do tych spraw" [they have a completely different attitude to these issues]. The pronoun "oni" [they] and intensifier "zupełnie" [entirely, completely] are used to affectively emphasize the contrast between the attitude of Irish and Polish Roman Catholics. In contrast, in Poland not many people receive Holy Communion during Masses as there is a common belief among people that they are generally sinful and they need to have confession beforehand; thus, they prefer not to receive Holy Communion so as not to offend God in their own reasoning. The researcher acknowledges the point with a nod and interjection "mmh" and by explicitly admitting "tak zauważyłam" [Yes, I have noticed]. In this way, she exposes her alignment

and to some extent affiliation with the above statement. Next, in line 197 Wiktoria's father decides to elaborate on these issues and provides a discursive account of his own personal interpretation of the newly observed religious practices. He makes a clear division between 'us' and 'them'. Multiple use of personal pronouns "us" - used implicitly as opposed to explicitly used "them" – "oni" [they], "u nich" [in them] (them – inflected, third person plural with the proposition of place "u"[in]) to describe the actual practice. In his argument, he explicitly states that it does not matter to the people here whether they had a confession or not, however, it does to 'us' Poles as we are morally advanced. In turn, what matters here is not to offend God by not receiving the Holy Communion, so it is the opposite way. He concludes by stating that here it is a matter of our own conscience. He decides to embark on the local's Polish priest opinion, as he considers him as legitimate and an authoritative person. His utterance "jak żeśmy z księdzem rozmawiali to tutaj osoba że ta osoba do końca nie powinna iść do komunii- on wie o tym"; "I on daje jednak tą komunię" [And here, as we have talked with the priest, there is 'this' person that should not really go to Communion + and he knows about it]; [However, he gives Communion to that person].

In the next line, the researcher expresses her alignment with a nod and repetition: "własne sumienie" [your own conscience]. This in turn, elicits an evaluative statement from Wiktoria's father "tutaj to tak ułatwiają" [here it is made easier] said with a lower tone. In this expression he takes on a critical moral stance – here – in Ireland it is made easier for people whereas back in Poland it is not (presupposition) – as it is how it should be. Wiktoria's mother decides to contribute to the moral stance taken by her husband and points to another common religious practice that is celebrated differently in Ireland. In her opinion, holding "First Holy Communion" on Fridays or Saturdays undermines the value and importance of this religious practice. In contrast, "u nas" [in us/our country/Poland)] (in Poland it is treated as a very important event because it always takes place on Sundays, - as it should to mark value of this experience). Additionally, her animated tone of voice and emphatic stress on the personal pronoun "u nas" along with an explicit statement "to jest takie wydarzenie życia" [In our (country) it is such a "life" event] reflect a high level of certainty and clearly that demonstrate her understanding of appropriate ways of religious worship and a negative moral stance towards the host country's religious practice. These exchanges between Wiktoria's mother and her father disclose strong allegiances towards Polish moral standards (strong identification with the Polish and religious practices cultivated

in Poland) as well as the local Polish community (in particular the Polish chaplaincy community).

Excerpt 2.

Wiktoria: [Certainly Polish culture is closer to me + Irish for example, they take Christmas Eve so terribly easy!! they normally go to a restaurant for lunch on Sunday, so for me, this does not suit me, it feels so strange – on Sunday – holy day to go to a restaurant or to a pub.]

Researcher: mmhh

Wiktoria: [I do not know, and I do not know, Irish are so terribly relaxed about this all] [mmh, for example, there is no food blessing (blessing of the baskets) here!]

In this example, Wiktoria reproduces her parents' strong allegiances with 'Polish moral standards that are exposed in her stances (affective and moral) towards religious practices. She acknowledges that the Polish culture is closer to her heart or suits her better. In her understanding of culture, religious practices characteristic to the Polish community of practice where she grew up are superior to the new culture. She also positions herself as an insider/old-timer of that community when she makes a clear distinction between personal pronouns used to describe particular groups of people 'oni' [they] in reference to the members of the host society and 'my' [we] towards Poles. In this way, she strongly identifies with those practices. On the other hand, she takes on a negative/critical stance towards the host country's moral standards underlying religious practices as she points out: 'to oni to tak wigilię tak strasznie biorą luzem' [Christmas Eve is taken so terribly easy] or 'tak to strasznie Irlandczycy biorą to wszystko luzem' [that Irish are so terribly relaxed about it all]. For example, there is no 'sharing of opłatki' –sharing of wafer during Christmas Eve dinner to wish family members all the best for new year, sharing 'oplatek' with someone is also seen as uniting/reuniting practice among them. Thus, if there were any misunderstandings or arguments between family members, this is now erased and there is a new beginning of the relationship. Therefore, implicitly, in her judgment (evaluation) Wiktoria was taking into consideration many culturally specific customs surrounding Polish Christmas and their significance for Poles such as Christmas Eve traditions (star supper, twelve special meatless dishes, the sharing of 'opłatki' etc.). However, she does not explicitly name these practices. The affective intensifier 'strasznie' [terribly] used twice in this short narration underlines Wiktoria's lack of appreciation (negative moral affective stance) of the newly observed religious/traditional (Christmas Eve) practices or Sunday dinner practices.

Going to the restaurant or a pub on Sundays is also perceived as something negative even diminishing the sacred qualities of Sundays (as Sundays were made holy by God). She points out: 'do restauracji w niedzielę na obiady mi to tak, nie pasuje mi to' [going to a restaurant for lunch on Sunday, so for me, this does not suit me] or 'to jest tak to takie dziwne w niedzielę dzień święty chodzić tak do restauracji albo do pubu' [it is just so strange on Sunday – holy day to go to a restaurant or to a pub]. Moreover, Wiktoria's moral negative stance towards such practices positions her as a 'novice' in Irish culture. She lacks cultural understanding of the newly observed practices and classifies them not as different but as negative – 'not as they should be' (against her own moral standards).

4. Wiktoria, liberal values, religion and 'Polishness'

Children's agency involves their ability to reject or challenge the dominant moral discourses crucial to the reproduction of the moral community to which they belong. Their agency, however, is restrained by adults who often use affect to create a desire in children to follow/adhere to certain discourses, as in the case of Wiktoria and her parents (see above). As (Ochs 1988) notes this is a form of social control. Nevertheless, children's autonomy and agency change over the course of the lifespan, making it critical to consider how the construction of the self (and responsibilities for them) change over time as well. Development of certain affective stances might with time form 'allegiances' towards the values and norms appreciated in their culture which is culturally specific, not necessarily superior to the newly observed norms. This feeling of attachment/allegiance is however problematic and pervasive and might create a great amount of confusion when observing new norms/values represented by the new society as in the case of Wiktoria's family. She often shared her parents' strong attachment to "Polish ethics". She identified with Polish moral standards (represented by the local Polish community, Polish Weekend School and the Polish chaplaincy members) and more generally the Polish "version" of the Roman Catholic Church. In her allegiance with the Polish culture, practices which were characteristic of the Polish "community of practice" were seen as, in many respects, superior to the newly observed ones in Ireland. Her parents reinforced her stances by a strong identification with Polish moral standards. They often took on negative moral stances with respect to the practices such as: (i) the "majority" of the host country's parishioners receiving Holy Communion during Sunday Mass (whereas in Poland only a few people receive Communion), (ii) the celebration of first Holy Communion on weekdays (in Poland, it is held on Sundays only); (iii) going to a restaurant or pub on Sundays for a family meal (in Poland most people have the Sunday meal at home), (iv)

failure to set up a custom of the Easter blessing of the food baskets (there is a special custom of blessing baskets on Easter Sunday in Poland).

As shown on the example of Wiktoria, a language socialisation approach to morality problematizes assumptions about what constitutes the religious, the secular, the political, and even what is right and what is wrong in a certain context. Wiktoria was an active co-participant of these discourses and often expressed her concerns about newly observed moral standards and values represented by her Irish schoolmates. In Foucault's (1997) terms, Wiktoria was trying to determine which acts (religious practices) are permitted or forbidden and the code which regulates the positive or negative value of the different possible practices. Wiktoria, however, was observing two codes operating in her daily life which was creating a conflict within herself. As Fader (2010) in her study of Hasidic Jews suggests, 'focus on everyday language between adults and children has the potential to challenge artificial distinctions between the religious, the social, and the political'. It would be very interesting to further investigate these issues in the future. Similarly, this study demonstrates the ways in which 'embodied attachments to historically specific forms of truth come to be forged' in everyday negotiations of identity and belonging among a Polish migrant community (Mahmood 2005, p. 34). As Ochs and Capps (2001, p. 46) note, these types of conversations between children and their parents are often providing a 'discursive forum or 'a socialisation site' in which certain values, norms, and standards are being reviewed, challenged and evaluated. Foucault goes one step further by pointing that ethical practices are part of the family everyday interaction and are linked with modalities of power on multiple levels, often interwoven with particular moral discourse (Foucault 1997, p.262). During family conversations and interviews, Wiktoria and her father collaboratively produced narratives that represented incidents in which the new society have violated "Polish" moral standards. They both took a negative moral stance on this. On this basis, subjectivity was affectively produced and as a result, Wiktoria was adhering to these discourses. She became a moral subject within a specific historical and cultural form of power. The development of her own understanding and her agency was in many ways restrained by her parents.

The role of the Catholic church in Poland was never neutral/free from political and socio-historic underpinnings that shaped its 'subjectivity' through the centuries. It always promoted conservative and rather traditionalistic ideologies that were reinforcing patriotic

principles as opposed to individual freedom or more liberal values, often associated with the West (Kuninski 1997). For example, in his study of post-communist societies, Zhussipbek (2011, p. 6) shows that individual freedom/individual liberty was often perceived as “elimination of God’s image in human nature, making humankind devoid of the sacred” and cultivation of individual freedom was associated with “absolute profaneness”. For these reasons, individual freedom - or choice to spend Sunday with your family in the pub instead of attending Mass and having family dinner at home, are representing liberal values of the West that are reducing ‘human dignity’. On the other hand, the Polish Catholic traditions along with the many Eastern European versions of Christianity underline the importance of ‘liberty from sin’ - the sin of egoism. As a result, they are often perceived as superior, morally advanced by certain groups of conservative Poles.

As illustrated above, Wiktoria and her family are an excellent example of such narratives still being present in the daily lives of some Poles living abroad, particularly in Ireland. Children like Wiktoria are likely to grow up in ideologically complex environment. In diverse societies, competing for moral systems within, for instance, immigrant communities highlight relationships between religion, ethnicity, and citizenship. In the context of migration ‘tradition’ however, can be reinvented, transformed or rejected as many studies suggest.

References

- Biber, D., S. Conrad, R. Reppen. (1998). *Corpus linguistics: Investigating language structure and use*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bayley, R. & Schecter, S. (2003). *Language socialisation in bilingual and multilingual societies*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Capps, L. & Ochs, E. (1995). *Constructing Panic: The Discourse of Agoraphobia*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Davies, B. and Harré, R. (1990). Positioning: The discursive production of selves. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, 20 (1), 43–63.
- Davies, B., R. Harré. (1999). Positioning and personhood. In R. Harré, L. Van Lagenhove (Eds.). *Positioning theory: Moral contexts of intentional action*, 32–52). Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Duff, P. (1995). An ethnography of communication in immersion classrooms in Hungary. *TESOL Quarterly*, (29), 505–537.
- Duff, P. (2003). New directions in second language socialisation research. *Korean Journal of English Language and Linguistics*, 3, 309–339.
- Duff, P. (2009). Second Language Socialisation. Retrieved from http://www.lerc.educ.ubc.ca/fac/duff/personal_website/Publications/Duff_Second_Language_Socialisation_Oct_15_2009.pdf
- Foucault, M. and P. Rabinow (Ed.) (1997). *The essential works of Michel Foucault 1954-1984*. New York: The New York Press.
- Garrett, P. B. and Baquedano-Lopez, P. (2002). Language socialisation: Reproduction and continuity, transformation and change. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 31, 339–361.

- Giddens, A. (1979). *Central Problems in Social Theory: Action, Structure, and Contradiction in Social Analysis*. Berkeley: University California Press.
- Goodwin, C. and Goodwin, M.H. (1987). Concurrent Operations on Talk: Notes on the Interactive Organization of Assessments. *Papers in Pragmatics*, 1, 1–55.
- Harre, R. and Van Langenhove, L. (Eds.), (1999). *Positioning Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hymes, D. (1972). On communicative competence. In J. Pride and J. Holmes (Eds.) *Sociolinguistics*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Lambert, W. E. (1975). Culture and language as factors in learning and education. In A. Wolfgang (Ed.). *Education of immigrant students*. Toronto: O.I.S.E.
- Langman, J. (2003). Growing a rock crystal on barren soil: Forming a Hungarian identity in Eastern Slovakia through joint (inter)action. In R. Bayley & S. R. Schecter (Eds.). *Language Socialisation in Bilingual and Multilingual Societies*, 182–199. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Ochs, E. (2002). Becoming a speaker of culture. In: C. Kramsch (Ed.), *Language acquisition and language socialisation: Ecological Perspectives*, 99–114). London: Continuum Press.
- Ochs, E. (1996). Linguistic resources for socializing humanity. In: J. Gumperz, S. Levinson (Eds.), *Rethinking linguistic relativity*, 407–437). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ochs, E. & Capps (2001). *Living narrative*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Pavlenko, A. (2006). *Bilingual minds: emotional experience, expression, and representation*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Potter, J. and D. Edwards (2001). Discursive social psychology. In: W.P. Robinson and H. Giles (Eds.). *The New Handbook of Language and Social Psychology*, 103–118). Chichester: Wiley.
- Schiffrin, D. (1994). *Approaches to Discourse*. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell.
- World Migration Report 2013. International Organization for Migration. Retrieved from https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/wmr2013_en.pdf
- Singleton, D. (2007). “Globalization, language, and national identity: The case of Ireland”. Dublin: Trinity College. *CLCS Occasional Paper* 68.