Language Ideologies in Digitally Mediated Interaction at the Workplace: Resistance and Acceptance of Migrant Workers in Norway

Kristin Vold Lexander[1]
kristin.lexander@inn.no
Department of Scandinavian Languages and Literature
University of Inland Norway
Postboks 400 Vestad
2418 Elverum, Norway
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1907-5219

Kellie Gonçalves
kellie.goncalves@unibe.ch
Department of English
University of Bern
Länggasstrasse 49
3012 Bern, Switzerland
http://orcid.org/0000-0003-0387-6182

Abstract

In this article, we study digitally mediated interaction of migrant workers in Norway. More specifically, we are interested in how Lithuanian migrant workers' ideologies of language and dominant language ideologies in their surroundings affect their sense of belonging and their interactional identities in digitally mediated interaction within a particular multilingual workplace. For this purpose, we present two cases, Raimonda and Egle. Raimonda is a company owner who accepts dominant language ideologies of "correctness" and has built her business on them, mobilizing her bilingualism as a central resource. Egle is a receptionist and union representative who to a greater extent shows resistance towards this correctness ideology. Both women play an important

[1]Corresponding author

language brokering role in their work. Drawing on the analytical lens of positionality, we analyse interview data and excerpts of their interaction together with their mediagrams. The aim is to understand how they tackle language ideologies in their work life, on a personal and on an interactional level, and we therefore discuss their identity construction and negotiation in terms of occupational identity and shifting micro-interactional identities within both online and offline spaces.

Keywords: Workplace, Language Ideologies, Migrant Workers, Digitally Mediated Communication, Norway

1. Introduction

The phenomenon of researching work and language is not new (Boutet, 2012; Drew & Heritage, 1992; Gumperz, 1982; Hiss, 2017; Kraft & Flubacher, 2023; Roberts, 2010; Sarangi, 2005), yet theories of economic and labour-market developments continue to transform. While "work relationships and interactions have always been a focus of sociolinguistics" (Canagarajah, 2020, p. 556), many empirical studies on language and work have centered on data collection that privilege isolated samples of daily professional language use and social interaction in fixed traditional workplace settings (Atkinson & Drew, 1979; Koester, 2006). Within the sub-field of critical sociolinguistics, the question of mobile constraints has emerged primarily within the context of transnational labour and migration within globalization processes and the political economy, where different and distinct forms of capital and power (Bourdieu, 1984) play a crucial role in the reproduction of social inequality among individuals at different levels (Duchêne, 2009; Duchêne et al., 2013; Heller and Duchêne, 2016). Several studies conducted within the tertiary sector have been concerned with the increased relevance of communication skills, repertoires and the so-called "entrepreneurial self" (Burchell et al., 1991) as characteristics of the current neoliberal era (*cf.* Allan, 2013; Duchêne & Heller, 2012; Duchêne et al., 2013; Garrido & Sabaté-Dalmau, 2020; Lorente, 2012, 2018;Urciuoli, 2008), and what De Costa et al. (2016, 2018) have recently referred to as linguistic entrepreneurship within the context of education. On the individual level, this means understanding subjects as active, neoliberal agents, calculating individuals in constant pursuit of self-improvement, enhanced opportunities, profitability and overall better life chances (Dardot & Laval, 2014; Gershon, 2011, 2017). Linguistically, much of this work presupposes that effective communication is grounded in speakers' proficiency in either the host country's target

language or a lingua franca, where policy documents, interviews and ethnographic field notes serve as primary data sources in the analysis of language policies, practices, and ideologies at different levels.

Recent work within the field of interactional sociolinguistics has been committed to studying the "changing dynamics of language" (Angouri et al., 2017), where individuals' repertoires and available linguistic resources are understood as shaping linguistic practices. Such views resonate with work in applied linguistics and critical sociolinguistics that focuses on the relevance of transnational mobility and migration, multilingualism and meaning-making that extend beyond just language to include other modes and material artifacts (Angouri & Humonen, 2023; Blackledge & Creese, 2017; Gonçalves & Schluter, 2024; Pennycook & Otsuji, 2015; Pietikäinen, 2021). As a result, language is no longer viewed as a structure or abstract entity, but as an activity that we do and considered as a material part of social and cultural life. It is no surprise therefore that studies on language and the workplace have turned to analysing the deployment of semiotic resources (only one of which is language), thus, allowing for a fuller understanding of how linguistic, multimodal, and semiotic repertoires and non-verbal practices within particular workspaces and places cannot be separated but looked at simultaneously in order for meaning-making to occur and successful communication to be achieved.

Nowadays, successful communication in professional workplace contexts is contingent on both verbal and digital interaction among co-workers, where specific forms of language and their various functions serve to get things done, i.e. negotiate or delegate tasks among colleagues. Such work relies on other modes of semiosis apart from language or linguistic resources, where communicative practices of the 'networked individual' emerge and cross diverse spaces and digital platforms (Tagg & Lyons, 2022). However, few studies have considered digitally mediated communicative practices among employers and employees (see Sivunen & Laitinen, 2019, for an overview) and even fewer studies exist that account for migrant workers' digital communication practices (Cuban, 2018; Hamel, 2009; Holmes & Janson, 2008; Lexander, 2023, 2024, Platt et al., 2016). Exceptions include the work of Tagg and Lyons (2022), who analysed the ways in which migrant micro-entrepreneurs in the UK use mobile messaging to access and build both their local and transnational social networks for economic and social support. Within the context of blue-collar work, Gonçalves and Lexander (2023) recently investigated the discourses of lifestyle migration in Norway among multilingual hotel cleaners and yoga teachers, focusing on individuals' *mediational repertoires*

(Lexander & Androutsopoulos, 2021, 2023) as part of the communicative ecology in which jobs are found.

In this article, we extend this approach to communication and the workplace by focusing on digitally mediated interaction (DMI) of migrant workers given the prevalence of digitized practices in daily life. We are interested in finding out to what extent migrant workers' ideologies of language and dominant language ideologies in their surroundings affect (1) their sense of belonging, and (2) their interactional identities in digitally mediated interaction within a particular multilingual workplace. In order to understand these processes better, we ask the following questions:

1. How do language ideologies shape migrant workers' experiences of belonging and positioning of self in Norway?

2. How do these ideologies and experiences inform their digitally mediated communication practices and occupational identities in the workplace?

In the next section, we discuss existing studies within multilingual workplaces in both white-collar and blue-collar contexts on a global scale. Afterwards, we explain migration figures in Norway in order to contextualize our study. Section 4 outlines our main theoretical framework of language ideologies and the analytical lenses of digitally mediated interaction, occupational identity and interactional identity before introducing our study's methodological framework. Section 6 is dedicated to our analysis of language ideologies and digitally mediated interaction among migrant multilingual workers in Norway, focusing on two participants: first, the entrepreneur Raimonda, and second, Egle, the receptionist, waitress, and union representative. The paper ends with concluding remarks about what can be done in future studies looking into migration, language and digitally mediated interaction within multilingual workplace contexts.

2. What We Know about Multilingual Workplaces in Both White-Collar and Blue-Collar Contexts

Studies of language practices in multilingual workplace contexts is growing given the rate of global mobility (Angouri & Humonen, 2023; Duchêne et al., 2013; Goldstein, 1997; Gonçalves, 2020; Gonçalves & Kelly-Holmes, 2021; Kirilova, 2013; Lønsmann, 2020; Vine, 2018). However, the majority of these studies focus on offline interaction in order to understand how communication is achieved. While many of these studies draw on mixed-methodological

approaches including interviews, participant observation and surveys, few have ventured beyond traditional offline sociolinguistic methods to include online or digital data.

The relation between language ideologies, language learning, and/or multilingual practices of "low-paid workers" has been discussed among language scholars on a global scale (Goldstein, 1997; Handford & Matous, 2015; Kleifgen, 2013; Piller & Lising, 2014; Sunaoshi, 2005) and often fall within the rubric of "blue-collar work" (Hiss, 2017; Holmes, 2012; Gonçalves & Kelly-Holmes, 2021; Lønsmann & Kraft, 2017). While the term "blue-collar" is considered a problematic category (Arnold & Bongiovi, 2013), it is understood in this context as working-class labour that is by definition temporary (and thus transient), low status and incorporates some type of physical labour based on paid hourly wages (Lederer, 1979). Research that focuses on language diversity and multilingualism within blue-collar workplaces have indicated that migrant employees with similar ethnolinguistic backgrounds work together in groups and do not necessarily speak the language of the host society in or outside of work (Goldstein, 1997; Gonçalves & Schluter, 2017, 2024; Hess, 2021; Kleifgen, 2013; Piller & Lising, 2014; Serwe, 2020; Söderlundh & Keevallik, 2022).

Interestingly, most of these studies have focused on offline data precisely because "face-to-face interaction is central" (Gunnarson, 2013, p. 162) within such contexts where language serves as one of many other modes of semiosis for communication to be achieved. In a recent study, Söderlundh and Keevallik (2022) investigate the role of transnational networks, multilingualism and language brokering in a city maintenance company in Sweden known as *Green Leaves* that recruits workers from both the local community as well as from Estonia, highlighting the relevance of short-term labour at the company, as well as the isolated and language-marginal work tasks of migrant workers. In their study, the authors show how a manager of the company draws on his transnational network to facilitate contacts with the company while simultaneously functioning as the main language broker in order for communication to be achieved. In these ways, it exemplifies the saliency of so-called "ethnic economies" (Pécoud, 2010), and perhaps the ad hoc ways in which managers must "manage" workplaces and the linguistic repertoires of their employees (and also the lack of them).

The few workplace studies that take online data into consideration have often concentrated on white collar workplaces, and thus, communicative practices and discourse strategies among white collar workers (see Darics, 2015). The work of Darics and Gatti (2019) analyzes digital communication technologies in how colleagues in a virtual team interact at work, claiming that "relying on computer-mediated communication technologies is now a must, rather than an alternative" (p. 237). Their empirical study investigates how colleagues in

a virtual team use a synchronous online communication platform in the workplace. Analysing specific discourse strategies used, the authors investigate the work team's shared sense of purpose and identity, and collegial atmosphere online, which consequently leads to effective collaboration within the company. As such, their work does not centre on multilingual practices or ideologies of language among migrant workers. Similarly, Laitinen and Sivunen (2021) studied the use of information sharing on so-called enterprise social media platforms, concluding that employees' contributions depended on personal, technological, and organizational factors, but without considering multilingualism. In her overview of multilingual workplace studies, Gunnarson (2013) outlines the positive aspects as well as the challenges of multilingualism at work while acknowledging that, "technological advances have led to new types of networks and workplaces, making linguistic issues salient, at the same time as many low-paid workers are found in traditional jobs, for which the face-to face interaction is central," (Gunnarson, 2013, p. 162). Still, low-paid workers also use social media, and Mak and Chui (2013) studied restaurant workers' communication on Facebook outside of work hours which is another dimension of employees' digital communication, finding that this platform was used to release work-related tensions, negotiate colleague relationships, and suggest changes in their workplace. Informal aspects of co-workers' social media interaction was also the focus in Zhao and Rosson's (2009) work on Twitter communication.

Within a Norwegian context, a handful of studies exist that look at language practices within a multilingual and blue-collar workplace context. We discuss these below.

3. Migration in Norway

In 2025, there were 965,113 immigrants in Norway. Around 60% of these come from Europe, and among the migrants from the EU, 75-80% of the 20- to 60-year-olds are employed (Statistics Norway, 2025). The first substantial immigration of Lithuanians to Norway started in 2004 and soon accelerated to the point that they today make up the second biggest group of migrants in the country, only preceded by the Poles (Statistics Norway, 2025). In 2006, there were nearly 2,000 Lithuanians in Norway, while today, there are 43,077 (Statistics Norway, 2025). Among the labour migrants, one out of three leaves Norway after some time (Kirkeberg, 2020). However, many stay longer than anticipated (IMDi-Report, 2008).

Within the Norwegian context, language competence and language practices are pointed out as crucial aspects of migrants' integration and inclusion (e.g. Norwegian Ministry of Finance, 2018-2019; Norwegian Ministry of Labour and Social Inclusion, 2007-2008).

However, research shows that the relationship between language and inclusion is more complex than the "simple dichotomy of native speaker and language learner" (Darvin & Norton, 2015, p. 41), which is what official policy relies on (Kulbrandstad, 2017). A common language ideology, where language skills are taken as an objective sign of an immigrant's determination to integrate, underlies Norwegian policies of citizenship (Bugge, 2021).

Such dominant ideologies at the state level impact language practices in workplaces (Angouri, 2014; Heller et al., 2016). However, earlier analyses have shown that inclusion can be achieved through various ways of using Norwegian as a communicative resource, i.e. not necessarily "correct" use: in micro-level interactions, local, non-normative ideological orientations seem to prevail and allow for migrants to perform roles as powerful, legitimate interlocutors (Thyness & Lexander, 2023). While access to Norwegian emerges as crucial both ideologically and interactionally, the acceptance of lack of compliance to the official written norm thus contests the 'correctness' ideology, as identified in workplace and home-school encounters in the study by Thyness and Lexander (2023). In the current paper, we show how multilingual, multimodal and digital resources are used simultaneously to achieve diverse goals connected to labour, migration, and mobility within a Norwegian context.

4. Language Ideologies and Digitally Mediated Interaction

In this study, we draw on the theoretical notion of language ideology, which drives our analysis. According to Irvine and Gal (2000, p. 35), language ideologies are understood as "the ideas with which participants and observers frame their understanding of linguistic varieties and map those understandings onto people, events, and activities that are significant to them". Hence, language ideologies work as mediators "between social structures and forms of talk" (Kroskrity, 2000, p. 21), to become constitutive of social relations, which in turn impact on the ideologies (Woolard, 1998, p. 10). As a consequence, language ideologies also play a role in identity construction (Kroskrity, 2000). In our study, we consider how the participants tackle language ideologies in their work life, first on a personal level and second on an interactional level. We mobilize positionality (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005) as an analytical lens to understand migrants' identity construction and negotiation in terms of their overall occupational identities (Skorikov & Vondracek, 2011), and shifting micro-interactional identities (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005) within both offline and online spaces.

As the overview of studies below shows, research on language ideologies in the workplace indeed emphasizes that ideological aspects affect both the organization of work and

the ways in which workers see themselves in this organization, as legitimate speakers (Bourdieu, 1984) or not. Our own analysis demonstrates how language ideologies guide multilingual workers' career trajectories, through both acceptance and resistance. With regard to the former, we find that migrant workers accept and to some extent, even embrace the existing language hierarchies within the Norwegian context that also exist in their local workplaces. With regard to the latter, we also find that language ideologies guide some multilingual migrant workers' career trajectories through resistance of the existing language hierarchies and their impact on migrant workers' career options.

4.1. Ideologies of Norwegian in Workplaces in Norway

In the Norwegian context, there is often a discrepancy between language ideological principles and pragmatic norms of language use in the workplace. In a study with managers and administrators of 140 small and medium-sized companies in Northern Norway (Hiss & Loppacher, 2021), many reported having multilingual employees using Norwegian, English or other languages at work. 28% of the participants claimed that three or more languages were in use at their workplace, with Lithuanian being reported as the third most used language. Half of the companies required that staff had Norwegian skills, one in ten required English, and 14% required both Norwegian and English. One manager said that they had signs hanging around the company saying that the working language was Norwegian, but that this was not the case, with 80% of the workers speaking Russian. In these workplaces, the non-use of Norwegian was considered a problem, whereas the use of English was not. Similarly, in the hotel where the participant Egle worked, either English or Norwegian was a requirement to be hired, but in practice, this principle was not always applied.

Arum (2024) studied the interrelatedness between migration trajectories and language ideologies of highly educated Indonesian migrant workers in Norway and found that they were met with unclear language expectations. While research has observed that white-collar workers often are not expected to learn the local language, this was not the case for the workers of Arum's study. In addition, when they did learn the language, they were still sometimes positioned as racialized speaking subjects. Similarly, Syvertsen (2024) found that English as spoken by Congolese refugees was not as highly valued as "travelling capital" in local contexts in Norway. In both studies, the migrants' backgrounds affected the interlocutors' language ideological evaluations of their language skills. Similarly, Opsahl and Golden (2023) reported various identity categories related to stereotypes imposed by Norwegian interlocutors among highly skilled Polish workers. These included being hardworking, experts on cleaning and

crafts, but also "a totally different type of Polish" (*en helt annen type polakk*), who has managed (*klart seg*) (Opsahl & Golden, 2023, p. 122). In her study of workers of Polish origin in the construction industry in Norway, Kraft (2019) found that Norwegian language competence was explicitly associated with safety, production efficiency, and integration in work market policies. As a result, workers' multilingualism affects their privileges and the conditions of their work. In her study of a language broker, Kraft (2020) reported that while this position led to some privileges, these did not fully make up for all of the extra communication work that this language broker was expected to carry out. These studies exemplify how dominant language ideologies affect how migrants are both received and perceived in their respective workplaces.

Language and language ideologies in particular are closely related to individuals' sense of self, identity and belonging. In our analysis below, we look at two distinct dimensions of identity construction, namely, occupational identity, and interactional identity. Occupational identity represents a core element of an individual's sense of self, as it includes on the one hand, the perception of occupational abilities, goals and values, and on the other hand, how motivation and competence affect the worker's evaluation of potential career roles (Skorikov & Vondracek, 2011). Within the conceptualization of occupational identities, Skorikov and Vondracek distinguish between a "job" perspective and a "career" perspective, whereby, the job perspective conceptualizes a more passive adoption of an ascribed identity, while the career perspective postulates active identity construction by the individual worker. Regardless of the perspective in which occupational identity is considered, the authors emphasize the importance of interpersonal relationships "and broader social factors, such as societal norms and expectations and economic and technological change" (Skorikov & Vonracek, 2011, p. 696). In our article, we consider various aspects of this concept of identity. From our interview and interactional data, we consider participants' perceptions of their abilities, their values and current and future goals based on their language competence. Among the social factors considered, language ideologies are treated as an overall factor, influencing societal norms and expectations; technological change is also put to the fore, as we treat digitally mediated interaction as a space for the negotiation of interpersonal relationships, and thus, the positioning of self and other. To study migrant workers' experiences of belonging in multilingual workplaces where digitally mediated interaction is seamlessly intertwined with other forms of (offline) communication, we bring together the analytical concepts of occupational and interactional identities. We do this by focusing our attention on the ways in which individuals

position themselves and others in discourse by drawing on Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) well-known model of identity.

In their interdisciplinary sociocultural linguistic model of identity construction, Bucholtz and Hall (2005, pp. 585-586) argue for "the analytic value of approaching identity as a relational and sociocultural phenomenon that emerges and circulates in local discourse contexts of interaction, rather than as a stable structure located primarily in the individual psyche or in fixed social categories." Their approach "focuses on both the details of language and the workings of culture and society" (2005, p. 586). For these scholars, identity emerges on a number of analytical levels where the social positioning of self and others takes place. In their model, they outline five main principles that need to be accounted for in order to understand the complexity of identity construction, namely, *Emergence, Positionality, Indexicality, Relationality,* and *Partialness*. While identity construction often requires the analysis of numerous principles simultaneously, for the purposes of our study, our major focus lies within the positionality principle. For these authors, identity cannot be explained based on broad social categories, but instead, underscores the micro details of identity construction in interaction. For them, "at the most basic level, identity emerges in discourse through temporary roles and orientations assumed by participants, such as evaluator, joke teller, or engaged listener" (2005, p. 591). It is within these temporary roles and so-called positions that individuals occupy that "contribute to the formation of subjectivity and intersubjectivity in discourse" (2005, p. 591). Three different analytical levels exist within the positionality principle, where individuals are positioned and identities emerge. These are:

A. Macro-level demographic categories, i.e. gender, age, social class, etc.
B. Local, ethnographically specific cultural positions, i.e. 'nerd', 'popular', which are based on specific lexical choices (see Bucholtz, 1999, for a thorough discussion)
C. Temporary and interactionally specific stances and participant roles based on both prosodically and lexically marked utterances

In this article, we fuse the negotiation of (occupational) identities and digitally mediated interaction into the discussion of language ideologies and workplace multilingualism. In his call for polymedia in interaction, Androutsopoulos (2021, p. 708) invites scholars to consider the following:

(1) A turn from 'computer-mediated communication' to 'digitally mediated interaction' as a bracket category;

(2)   A move beyond the on/offline divide, and focus on the integration of mediated interaction in everyday communication on micro-levels of social structure;

(3)   An empirical downscaling towards private and group-level data;

(4)   A shift from research on single modes of digital communication to polymedia; and

(5)   A focus on repertoires and registers of digital mediation.

These points present a way of studying digital communication that shifts towards the individual's communication ecology, which includes both digital and non-digital modes, and a variety of resources for interaction. Patterns of interpersonal interaction are put to the fore. A handful of studies on workplace interaction represent these principles. For example, work by Tagg and Lyons (e.g., 2021; 2022) shows micro-level analyses of interaction in multilingual workplace settings, focusing on interpersonal relationships and interlocutors' repertoires among multilingual and migrant workers in a range of UK cities. They advocate for a "new post-digital linguistic ethnography approach" with the aim of better understanding mobile communication and enabling a more informed understanding of individuals' communicative practices (Tagg & Lyons, 2022).

In our paper, we align with this approach and study language ideologies in digitally mediated workplace interaction with a specific focus on how multilingual migrant workers' occupational identities emerge and are affected through the positioning of self and other. Our case studies exemplify how language ideologies are taken up and accepted, as well as resisted and rejected; all of which influence individuals' overall experience of belonging (or not) within a Norwegian multilingual and migrant workplace context.

5. Methodology

Our paper analyses data collected during a four-year project (2020-2024) on language practices in digital workplace interaction by Lithuanian migrant workers living outside the main urban centres of Eastern Norway (Lexander, 2023, 2024). The aim was to investigate the negotiation of relationships and identities in their digital encounters and analyse how these practices affect the inclusion of migrants. For this purpose, the perspectives of both the migrants and their employers were studied. Participants were Lithuanian migrant workers (10 in total) and Norwegian employers (3 in total). The migrant workers were recruited first, via the first author's social network and snowball sampling, and all participants signed bilingual Lithuanian/Norwegian informed consent forms.

Data collection took place in individual and group meetings, and included interviews, mediagram interviews (Lexander & Androutsopoulos, 2021), and the collection of digital interactional data. Mediagrams are visualizations of an individual's various resources used in digital interaction, their mediational repertoire (Lexander & Androutsopoulos, 2021), where the interlocutors, as well as the languages, media, and modalities used with each of them are represented. During the first interview, the participant draws a media map of their interaction at work, their interlocutors, the applications, and languages used. Based on this drawing, they talk about their practices. Before the second meeting, we compile the data collected to make a mediagram as shown in Figures 1 and 3, and the conversation with the participant starts from there to identify missing bits, misunderstandings, and changes, and, to identify possible interactional data that can be collected with the third party's consent. The graph thus functions as a tool for data collection, as a point of departure for the interview and for follow-up interviews and can also be analyzed. The objective of this methodology was to gain insight into specific instances of interaction at the workplace, as well as an overview of the tools, languages, and modalities in use for digital communication. In addition, participants reflected upon issues of inclusion, language policy, and language learning, and told their own stories of coming to Norway to work.

6. Analysis: Acceptance and Resistance at Work

In the following analysis, we focus on two participants, "Raimonda" and "Egle", who both illustrate how language ideologies impact the occupational identity of second language speakers. While Raimonda has chosen to adopt and draw on dominant language ideologies in her work trajectory, Egle expresses resistance towards these ideologies and on their bearings on migrants' working life, while still drawing on her bilingualism in her career. We discuss each case separately; first, considering experiences of belonging, and second, analysing digitally mediated work interaction to examine positionality and identity construction.

6.1. Participant 1: Raimonda - Language Ideological Motivations in Mobile Work Trajectories

Raimonda came to Norway 18 years before our first meeting. She came alone with empty hands, without papers, and worked without an official work contract at a farm for many years. She did not speak Norwegian nor English, as she describes it, working alone all day. While this sounds like a very difficult situation, she still described this time as "fun," "learning a lot," and

"becoming stronger as a person". After two years, she started looking for people who could help (*jeg begynte å lete etter folk som kan hjelpe meg*). Her situation changed when she received assistance from Norwegian people she had got to know, who taught her Norwegian and helped her get a work contract and work permission. She then worked for four years in a hotel as a cleaner with Norwegian colleagues, enhancing her language skills and paying taxes to the Norwegian state. Hence, when she got too sick to do physically demanding work, the public social services provided retraining and Norwegian language classes. After years of study, she achieved formal qualifications to work as an assistant in school. However, she only worked there for some time because she considered her language skills to be too poor, and her spoken Norwegian to be too far away from the standard (*jeg klarer ikke riktig norsk, ordentlig norsk*; 'I don't master correct Norwegian, accurate Norwegian'). It was her own decision, made with reference to the school children's need for correct language in communication, when she decided that she had to figure out something else to do (*du er ikke så flink i språket, så da du må finne noe anna å gjøre*; 'You [i.e. I] don't speak the language so well, so you have to find something else to do'). It ended up with her opening her own company, assisted by a Norwegian co-owner, employing Lithuanian workers to clean holiday homes.

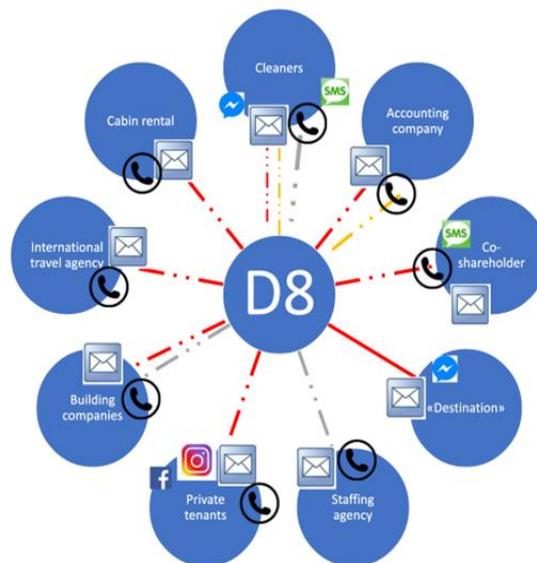## 6.2. Building on Bilingualism to Create Belonging

As the owner of a company that cleans secondary homes in ski resort areas in Norway, Raimonda has built her business with her Norwegian/Lithuanian bilingualism as an important resource: she employs mainly Lithuanian speakers while the clients are mainly Norwegian speakers. This is not an accidental circumstance, but the result of a strategy that Raimonda has built based on language, ideological reasoning and motivations.

Similar to Magda, the cleaning company owner in Gonçalves and Schluter's (2017, 2024) study, and Jan in Söderlundh and Keevallik's (2022) study of *Green Leaves*, Raimonda enhances her authoritative power through facilitating the coordination of work tasks, as well as the communication and language brokering between customers and employees. Raimonda's business flourished during the pandemic as (wealthy) Norwegians spent elongated time in their holiday homes rather than going abroad. She mainly employs Lithuanian workers, even in Lithuania, and says that the clients prefer foreigners to Norwegians:

> *Fleste syntes at utlendinger er beste er på renhold, det er sant, og de sier det direkt. Mange som spør, ja de gjør det, hva, hvor de kommer fra.*

Most of them think that foreigners are the best cleaners, it is true, and they say it directly. Many people ask, yeah, they do that, what, where they (the cleaners) come from.

In the company, digitally mediated communication is crucial. Raimonda organizes the cleaning from her office, while the cleaners travel from home to home in the tourist area. The owners of the homes are usually elsewhere, and often far from their homes when the houses are cleaned. Many of them are owned by companies. As a result, all communication takes place digitally and is organized through mediated communication between primarily Norwegian-speaking clients, Raimonda and her primarily Lithuanian-speaking employees. Raimonda's mediational repertoire at work is presented in her mediagram and illustrates this communication ecology.

Icon	Digital channel
✉	Email
💬	Messenger
☎	Phone Call
SMS	SMS
f	Facebook
📷	Instagram

Colour	Language
—— (red)	Norwegian
—— (yellow)	Russian
—— (grey)	Lithuanian

| Line style	Modality
————	Written
— ·· — ·· —	Spoken and written

Figure 1. Raimonda's Mediagram

The mediagram shows how Raimonda mobilizes different digital resources in her daily communication at work. Her mediational repertoire includes chatting tools to communicate with her employees using Norwegian, Lithuanian and Russian, but primarily Lithuanian as indicated by the line style and modality for written and spoken communication, as well as photos, emoji and punctuation. She also encourages her employees to take and send pictures when something is out of order in the house where they clean so that she can forward it to the owners immediately. Raimonda furthermore communicates with clients using Facebook, Instagram, email, SMS and phone calls, and requests that they send all orders by email. Since Raimonda also speaks Russian, she interacts with the accountant who speaks Russian in the company that works for them. Sometimes she also hires seasonal workers from Russia and uses Russian to communicate with them.

Raimonda speaks with pride about her company's reputation. She does not need to advertise their services, as new clients are recruited by word of mouth. She explains the success as contingent on the fact that Lithuanian cleaners are 'the best in the world' (*de er flinkest i verden*), and that everybody 'understands each other so that no errors or misunderstandings occur' (*at vi forstår hverandre veldig bra, det blir ikke noe feil eller misforståelser*). She has found a niche and founded a company, building on her own multilingualism and drawing on stereotypical perceptions of foreigners as good cleaners. Her occupational identity is thus closely connected with dominant language ideologies: instead of giving up when she concluded that her Norwegian skills were not sufficient to make her comfortable in the position of a pedagogical assistant, she found a way of exploiting her second language speaker status to create belonging in the Norwegian job market. Raimonda thus builds on language ideologies and stereotypes for her company's advantage and mobilizes her bilingualism as a fundamental resource to do so. While the welfare services suggested that she worked in a school and provided training for that, she evaluated her own competence as unfit for this career choice (*cf.* Skorikov & Vonracek, 2011, p. 694), a decision that is in line with dominant ideologies of 'correct' language (*cf.* Thyness & Lexander, 2023). Instead, Raimonda created her own company in alignment with her abilities, values, and competencies, resonating well with her occupational identity (*cf.* Skorikov & Vondracek, 2011, p. 696), which has been shaped and highly influenced by her interpersonal relationships.

6.3. Language Brokering in Digitally Mediated Interaction

For Raimonda, the communication between her and the workers is crucial, and this is an additional reason that she employs Lithuanians. She admits that this sometimes causes

communication challenges with clients, but that the workers will call her to serve as a language broker in order to facilitate communication (see also Gonçalves & Schluter, 2017, 2024). One type of job they do is to clean new houses that have just been built on the demand of the companies that have built them. Among the three building companies that Raimonda's company works with, only two employ Lithuanians, and her Lithuanian language skills become an advantage vis-à-vis companies led by non-speakers of Lithuanian. Raimonda's language brokering also takes place online; for instance, in the group chat for all the employees. Many of the employees are seasonal, and thus, share their time between Norway and Lithuania. As a result of this temporal aspect, Lithuanian workers do not invest in a Norwegian SIM-card but keep their Lithuanian numbers. The online chat therefore becomes a practical way of communicating for both internal and external purposes. For example, when a client sends Raimonda a message informing her about their satisfaction with her company's cleaning services, Raimonda can simply forward it on to her employees with a Lithuanian framing. Figure 2 presents an example of this practice:
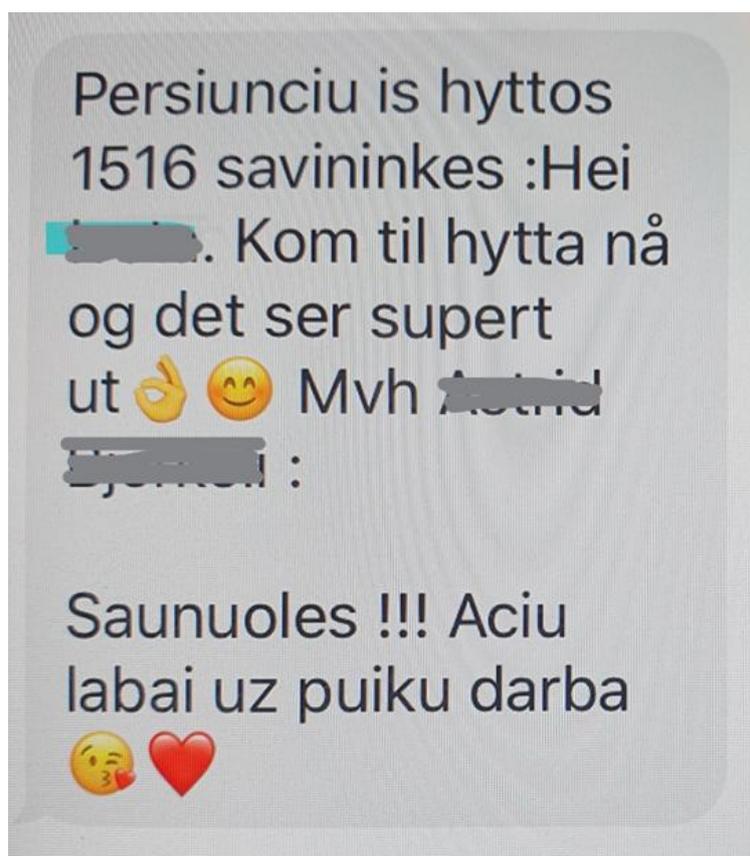
Figure 2. Text-Message in Lithuanian and Norwegian Sent by Raimonda to the Employees of Her Company

Translation: *Forwarded from the owners of cabin 1516: Came to the cabin now and it looks super. Kind regards (name of owner). Sunbathers!! Thank you very much for the great work.*

In this example, Raimonda has forwarded a message in Norwegian without translating it, but explaining in Lithuanian where it comes from and thanking the workers for the job they have carried out. Interestingly, she uses the word *hyttos*, which is the Norwegian word *hytte* with a morphological integration into Lithuanian (*-os*). According to one of the women who worked in the company for some time and is also a participant in the project, it is common among the workers in the company to include Norwegian words in their interaction. The interactional data from the overall project also provides other examples of morphological integration of Norwegian words. Through using such constructions, making a specific lexical choice related to a specific cultural position (*cf.* Bucholtz & Hall, 2005), namely 'Lithuanian background migrant workers in Norway', Raimonda positions herself as one of the participants in this group. It is also interesting to observe how Raimonda adds emojis in her message to her employees: a face blowing a kiss and a red heart. Since these emojis are associated with love, they can be interpreted as Raimonda's affection for the employees. In fact, the data sample from the overall research project shows other examples of (female) employers using similar emojis with (female) employees. The emoji is used by Raimonda as a semiotic resource for positioning herself as a specific kind of leader. Similar semiotic choices are made in Egle's communication with her employer, which we discuss in the next section.

To sum up, Raimonda's case clearly illustrates how language ideologies can be built upon for business purposes, while her digitally mediated interaction with employees exemplifies how these language ideologies are played out in workplace communication. In her interaction with her employees, Raimonda positions herself as a caring boss who willingly shares positive feedback from clients with her migrant employees. By doing this, Raimonda also explicitly highlights her position as the language broker for company external communication purposes. Not only does she receive the messages directly from her Norwegian clients and decide what to forward onto her migrant employees, but, she also chooses to translate these messages by framing them in Lithuanian in her own words, which serves several functions. First, she controls and channels company external communication to migrant employees, positioning herself as linguistically capable and also superior to them. This superiority is downplayed and implicit since Raimonda frames herself as somewhat equal to her migrant employees through her use of the Lithuanian language, indexing their shared cultural, linguistic and migrant backgrounds as well as her willingness to pass on positive messages, while at the same time functioning as a language educator. By doing the translation work for her migrant employees, they do not have to invest in further translations in order to understand the clients' message. At the same time, by providing Norwegian Lithuanian

translations, Raimonda's message can be seen as both an explicit and implicit language learning lesson depending on how it is interpreted by her fellow migrant Lithuanian employees. We argue that by communicating this positive information digitally, Raimonda's positioning of herself as a caring, open and communicative employer who treats all employees equally can be maintained.

6.4 Participant 2: Egle - Critical Perspectives on Language Ideologies and Policies

Egle worked as a waitress and a receptionist at a hotel when the data collection took place. She came to Norway as a teenager following her mother who had already moved to the country and worked during weekends and holidays at the same hotel. Similar to Raimonda, Egle experienced social mobility within the hotel hierarchy. As a teenager, Egle helped with watering flowers, which was followed by doing the dishes in the kitchen. As she got older she worked as a waitress, and during the time of fieldwork, she had made her way to working in the hotel reception. Egle had studied tourism at a university college, and at the time of data collection for this project, Egle was in her twenties, and was also a union representative of the hotel.

In our interviews, Egle spoke critically about how language ideologies and language policies affected her language practices at work and in daily life in general. Unlike Raimonda who accepts hegemonic language ideologies for business-related purposes, Egle represents a more critical stance of resistance, sometimes seeking to escape the "second language speaker" category. We will first analyse how Egle positions herself as an "included migrant" (*cf.* Thyness & Lexander, 2023), indexing her ambition and also her function as a language broker (inter-employee broker, *cf.* Gonçalves & Schluter, 2017, 2024). Afterwards, we will look at how her digitally mediated language practices aim to avoid unwanted language ideologically related positioning and policing by others.

6.5 Resisting Stereotypical Second Language Speaker Labelling

Egle speaks Norwegian fluently. Among her colleagues, she feels that they forget she has a migrant background:

> *Jeg føler det ikke som en utlending mens jeg er på jobb ... Kanskje folk har glemt litt at jeg faktisk er litauisk.*
> 'I don't feel like a foreigner at work … Maybe people have forgotten that I actually am Lithuanian.'

However, in her interaction with clients at the hotel, her migrant background often emerges. When the client realizes that she speaks Norwegian as a second language, they inquire about her origins and for reasons of politeness at work, she feels compelled to tell them about her cultural background. For Egle, this scenario emerges time and again and has become somewhat of a pattern, which can often be predicted. For example, soon after clients learn how many years she has resided in Norway, they react to her Norwegian language proficiency and competence by comparing her skills with other foreign-born migrants living in Norway for the same time span:

> *'Så får du alltid høre historier om "de andre"'*
> 'Then you always get to hear stories about "the others"'
> *'så hyggelig at du prater så bra norsk, fordi vi kjenner noen som …'*
> 'how nice that you speak Norwegian so well, because some migrant I know….'

Such remarks resonate with the experiences of Polish migrants in Norway, who receive the label "a different type of Polish" if their language profiles do not fit the stereotypical views inhabited by their interlocutors (Opsahl & Golden, 2023). Despite the fact that Egle's Norwegian is positively evaluated by clients, such assessments make her insecure as she starts to think about what linguistic errors she has made that index her as a second language speaker. Such linguistic insecurity also affects her written communication at work:

> *Når jeg sitter i resepsjonen og skal faktisk svare på mailer så blir jeg usikker på meg selv. Jeg er så redd at jeg skal skrive feil.*
> 'At the reception, when I am going to answer mails, I get insecure. I am so scared that I will make errors.'

During the interview with the hotel manager, she mentioned that she also proofreads Egle's correspondence about special offers to groups or conferences before they are sent. The reasons for this are twofold. First, she wants to ensure it is correct (*arbeidsinnvandrere har jo en tendens til å ha noen feil endinger*; 'because work migrants often make erroneous conjugations'), and second, to have a dialogue with the employee about their errors so that they can improve their written Norwegian skills. Egle reflected on this specific type of employer-employee pedagogical interaction at our fourth meeting and mentioned what a shame it was

45

that some of the highly educated migrants she knows cannot use their professional skills because of their language competence. Egle knows many migrants who continue to be enrolled in Norwegian language courses but continue with manual labour such as cleaning. The reasons for this have to do with their own linguistic insecurities and gatekeeping mechanisms, such as passing compulsory language tests.

The stereotypes that Egle encounters in her workplace do not only concern language use and language learning, but also her ethnicity. If the interlocutors who asked Egle about her origins have been to Lithuania, they will often narrate their experiences to her, which she finds challenging. Usually, the Lithuania that clients discuss (a place with cheap alcohol) does not correspond to the Lithuania that Egle identifies with. Other people she meets in Norway often associate Lithuanians with crime. Even her friends will make jokes about her if something has gone missing and point her out as a potential suspect. In addition, she experiences that her own meanings about culture and ethnicity become associated with the "Soviet regime" identity, an identity that is glued to her in interaction even though she was born after Lithuania became independent:

Jeg pleier alltid å være litt streng, sånn er det noe arbeidsgiver synes er veldig bra (…) og så vil jeg kanskje ikke at folk skal tenke: men herregud, det er fordi hun er utlending (…) vokst opp i en sovjet-regime.
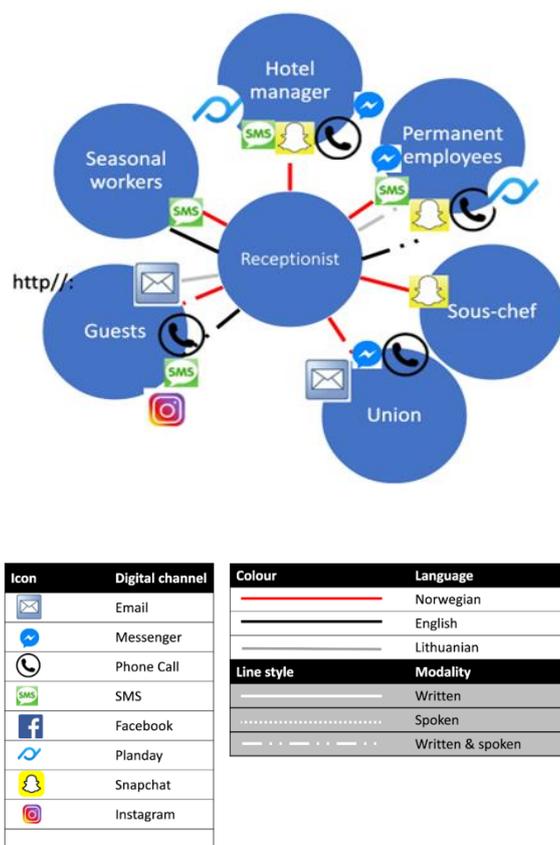
'Usually, I'm strict, which the employer approves (…) and then I might not want people to think, but God it is because she is foreigner (…) who grew up in a Soviet regime.'

As a consequence of these reactions from her interlocutors, Egle refrains from using her family name in email correspondence with clients, as her colleagues at the reception do. Interestingly, while Raimonda drew on the stereotypical depiction of Lithuanians/migrants being better cleaners in her workplace, Egle specifically tried to avoid being categorized as such and hence, became the object of her interlocutors' assessment. Erasing this sign of non-Norwegianness is only one example of Egle's positioning strategies of herself in her digital communication at work.

6.6 Egle's Digitally Mediated Interaction at Work

Egle's digital communication with various (groups of) interlocutors at work is visualized in her mediagram, which shows that she uses both Lithuanian and English alongside Norwegian when

she works with permanent employees, seasonal workers and guests. In the mediagram created during the four meetings with her, Egle's role as a language broker becomes evident.

Icon	Digital channel
✉	Email
🔵	Messenger
📞	Phone Call
SMS	SMS
f	Facebook
∿	Planday
👻	Snapchat
📷	Instagram

Colour	Language
———	Norwegian
———	English
———	Lithuanian
Line style	**Modality**
———	Written
··········	Spoken
— · — · —	Written & spoken

Figure 3. Egle's mediagram

As the mediagram shows, Egle uses both English and Lithuanian alongside Norwegian, whereas Lithuanian is used primarily with permanent employees, but may also be used with Lithuanian clients. As the examples below show, some of the messages sent in Lithuanian are solicited translations of the manager's messages. Egle communicates with various tools for different objectives at work. The workplace app Planday is used for formal aspects of the work situation, like work schedules and timekeeping, but also for the manager's 'group scolding' (*gruppekjeft*) when she is not happy with the employees' work. Snapchat is used quite differently for the most informal dimensions of interaction, like 'work jokes' (*jobbkødd*), where the employees make fun of things that happened at the hotel, for instance. Many messages are, however, quite personal, but still about professional tasks, like the exchange below between Egle and the hotel manager in Figure 4.

Figure 4. Message in Norwegian Sent by Egle to the Manager

Translation: *'Thank you for fixing everything'. The manager answers with a blowing a kiss avatar emoji.*

As observed in Raimonda's interaction with her employees, the hotel manager at Egle's workplace also includes emoji that are associated with affection in her work communication. Drawing on social media for workplace communication blurs the boundaries between formal and informal, as well as professional and private communication, making it possible to draw on various semiotic resources for identity construction. The data collected also reveals several examples where the hotel manager declares her love of employees by means of written discourse or via emoji. Such a declaration would be deemed inappropriate and unprofessional in face-to-face interaction within a Norwegian context but appears acceptable in digital encounters.

Indeed, the hotel manager observes other possibilities offered by digital interaction with her multilingual staff, and more specifically, the use of Google Translate to understand text messages. Egle also engages in language brokering work for the hotel manager. The brokering takes place in both face-to-face encounters and in digital interaction. In the following example, Egle engages in 'inter-employee brokering' (Gonçalves & Schluter, 2017, 2024) between the hotel manager and the cleaner/housemaid.
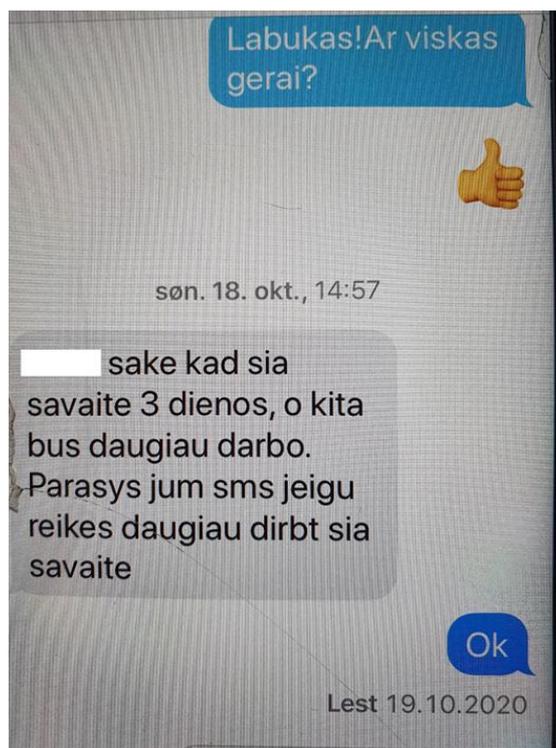
Figure 5. Text Messages in Lithuanian Exchanged between Egle and a Cleaner

Translation: *Cleaner: 'Hi! Is all well?' Followed by a thumbs up emoji. Egle: '[Hotel manager] said that it will be 3 days [of work] this week, but there will be more work next week. She will send you an SMS if there is more work this week'. Cleaner: 'Ok'.*

While the hotel depends on a migrant workforce to function, the company's language policy maintains that only Norwegian or English is accepted as a work language. The manager explains her reasons for this in the interview:

For det handler jo litt om hva de snakker hjemme, ikke sant, når du får inn nye, ikke bare fra Litauen men fra andre språk, andre land også, at dem må være flinke til å snakke norsk når de er på jobb, for det er den måten de lærer på og ikke stå og snakke sitt eget språk seg i mellom, det har vi vært ganske bevisst på at en ikke skal gjøre (...) fordi at tenk om jeg står og snakker norsk med noen også nevner jeg navnet ditt og så veit du ikke hva vi snakker om. Det er ikke greit, det er jo faktisk på grensen til å være mobbing. Og derfor så skal vi når vi er på jobb, så skal vi snakke norsk eller engelsk. (...)

'Because it is about what they talk at home, right, when you get in newcomers, not only from Lithuania, but from other languages, other countries as well, that they have to be good at speaking Norwegian at work, because that is the way that they learn, and not stand and speak their own language in between them,

that we've been conscious about not doing (…) because, imagine I speak Norwegian with someone and I mention your name and you don't know what we talk about. It's not okay, it's actually close to bullying. And therefore, we shall, when at work, we shall speak Norwegian or English'.

Interestingly, the situation that the manager describes actually happens to take place at the interview with the janitor, the cleaner, Egle, and the manager present, when Egle's colleague showed the text messages referred to above (Figure 5) where the manager's name appears in a message in Lithuanian. This situation, where the manager sees her own name mentioned but cannot understand what is being written about herself, is the result of a solicited instance of language brokering. It illustrates the ambiguity of the hotel's double language policy. On the one hand, speaking Lithuanian - or other languages - is "forbidden", and on the other hand, it is absolutely necessary in order for workplace instructions to be appropriately disseminated. In the interview, Egle is also ambiguous about the existing language policy at the hotel:

Vet faktisk ikke helt hva jeg synes om det fordi først så tenkte jeg sånn: for meg så er det mye mer naturlig å snakke med en person som er fra Litauen på litauisk, jeg synes det blir veldig rart å snakke på norsk eller på engelsk, jeg føler hele samtalen blir rar, men jeg har hatt noe, vi har hatt eh, på kjøkken så har vi hatt en kokk som har, fra Bulgaria, også har kona hans har jobba som hovmester hos oss før og da har det vært flere ganger sånne litt ubehagelige situasjoner når de står begge to og prater om et eller annet kanskje kjefter på hverandre og så man ikke forstår hva som skjer og da har jeg skjønt selv òg at det kanskje er flere som føler seg sånn på jobb.

'I don't know exactly what I think about it, because first I thought like this: to me it is much more natural to speak with a person from Lithuania in Lithuanian, I think it gets odd to speak in Norwegian or English, I feel that the entire conversation gets odd, but I've had some, we have had, in the kitchen, we've had a chef who was from Bulgaria and his wife worked as butler, and several uncomfortable situations occurred when both were talking to each other, maybe scolding each other and then you don't understand what's happening and it made me understand that others may feel that way at work too.'

In this extract, Egle experiences the hotel's language policy as both limiting and necessary. With regard to the former, Egle has experienced how a conversation gets "odd" when the interlocutors share a first language but conduct their conversation in a second language. Obviously, this can position the interlocutors as 'superior' or 'inferior' depending on their language skills, whereas they could be more equal in a first language interaction. However, when employees' use a language that other workers do not understand, this can create feelings of exclusion among colleagues, and as a result, Egle supports the hotel's language policy. Still, this policy can easily be omitted when it comes to digitally mediated interaction among co-workers. As we saw in Figure 5, Egle uses Lithuanian to communicate messages digitally to cleaners for work-related issues, but she also uses Lithuanian when messaging them about non-work-related activities in private interaction outside of work. Nevertheless, she maintains use of English or Norwegian with Lithuanian clients who send emails or who visit the hotel. Figure 6 shows an example of Egle's interaction with a cleaner. Lithuanian is not strictly necessary in this exchange, but it eases communication, and Egle does not have to "feel that the entire conversation gets odd".
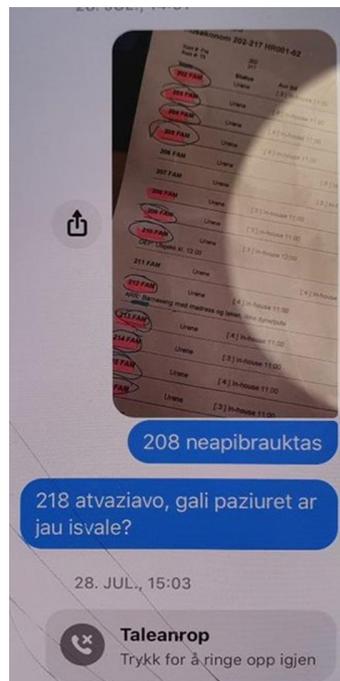
Figure 6. Text Messages in Lithuanian and a Picture of a document in Norwegian Sent by Egle to a Cleaner

Translation of text messages: *'208 not marked with circle' '218 has arrived, can you check if it is already cleaned?'*

The example in Figure 6 has the same structure as the message in Figure 2, where Raimonda forwarded a Norwegian language message, but framed the text in Lithuanian. Both examples illustrate the seamless ways in which language brokering takes place and is necessary within these different workplaces. Rather than translating the Norwegian text, the written Lithuanian serves as a frame. The information in Lithuanian is central, but it cannot be understood without the Norwegian text and appears to be an example of what is referred to by Sebba et al. (2012) as a complimentary text. While the example in Figure 5 featured solicited language brokering, Egle chose to write these messages in Lithuanian, positioning herself as one of the Lithuanian migrant workers through her language choice. This finding resonates with Raimonda's digital brokering efforts with her Lithuanian employees that also require Lithuanian framing and position her as linguistically and culturally equal.

In addition to her role as a Lithuanian-Norwegian language broker, Egle serves as a broker between the social services and first language speakers working at the hotel. When they received a letter from the Norwegian Welfare Agency (NAV) that they did not understand, they would ask Egle to explain the content to them. Interactional data collected shows that this brokering took place digitally. In these conversations, she would position herself as a first language speaker of bureaucratic Norwegian, rather than a second language speaker of Norwegian.

After the last formal data collection meeting with Egle, she changed her career path and started working full time for a union. In this position, she built explicitly on her bilingualism to recruit more Lithuanians to become organized workers, as she explained in one of our conversations after the project had formally ended. An important strategy was to build trust through initially serving as a language broker, through building interpersonal relationships with Lithuanian migrant workers who needed help with work-related issues, and who would then spread the word for migrant workers in Norway on social media platforms like Facebook. Rather than erasing her cultural background, Egle mobilized it and also capitalized on it, turning it into a crucial component – an asset, even – with regards to her new occupational and thus professional identity (*cf.* Skorikov & Vondracek, 2011). By actively building on her values and goals, all of which encompassed her cultural and linguistic background as well as assisting fellow Lithuanian migrant employees, Egle was able to fill a professional gap within the Lithuanian community in Norway. Due to her long-term residence and various occupations in Norway, Egle was able to build trust among fellow Lithuanian migrants. As a result, Egle not only positions herself as a trustworthy, active, skilful and capable bilingual migrant broker who can solve work-related problems but is also positioned by other Lithuanian migrant workers as

an expert who is able to disseminate knowledge about workers' rights within the Lithuanian community in Norway.

7. Conclusion

Both Raimonda and Egle are highly competent in the Norwegian language, and function as language brokers within their respective workplaces despite the fact that they have both experienced self-imposed limitations and prejudice due to their second language speaker position. While Egle first sought to overcome this through seeking to hide her background, both participants eventually followed career paths where their second language background became an important asset. In this way, both Raimonda and Egle were able to build their occupational identities based on their bilingual competence, their cultural backgrounds, and their diverse workplace experiences as migrants.

Raimonda accepted a "correctness" ideology (Thyness & Lexander, 2023), whereby only correct Norwegian should be accepted by pedagogical staff in school, when she decided on a different career path based on her own evaluation of her language skills. Egle, on the other hand, did not readily accept "correctness" as a prerequisite since it would refrain workers from getting jobs where they could use their professional competence. Her brokering role at work in the hotel, and later in the union, was not only a result of the manager's solicitation, but emanated from Egle's own values regarding work migrants' rights and her goals in creating a more inclusive work environment. If she accepted the hotel's language policy of not speaking a language other than Norwegian or English at work, it was because of the potential exclusionary effect of such practices.

In this article, we saw how digitally mediated interactions facilitate language brokering, both in Raimonda's company and Egle's workplace at the hotel, as digitally mediated communication can be done efficiently and quickly from a distance. In Egle's case, digitally mediated interaction also became a space for using Lithuanian with other Lithuanian speakers without excluding non-speakers of the language. In both workplaces, the employer/superior uses not only linguistic but also other semiotic resources to position themselves in numerous ways and for diverse functions. First, both Egle and Raimonda position themselves as figures of authority by informing fellow employees about workplace instructions and directions. By including the original Norwegian text either from clients (Raimonda's case) or superiors (hotel manager in Egle's case), both Raimonda and Egle position themselves as helpful co-workers and brokers, who facilitate information and simultaneously teach their fellow co-workers some

Norwegian vocabulary. Framing their interaction in Lithuanian may be seen as positioning them both as language equals, in that using a shared language indexes the communicative intent of the workplace message. Drawing on playful emojis, they also position themselves as caring co-workers who are able to index their affection for colleagues, while simultaneously giving them positive feedback about their work efforts. In these ways, we see how workplace identities emerge in different kinds of interactions, while also serving to reinforce migrants' occupational identities based on their multicompetence and knowledge of Norwegian in different workplace interactions. Overall, this study adds to the understanding of the entrepreneurial self and of linguistic entrepreneurship within migrant workplace contexts. Research on multilingual workplaces should focus on migrant workers' agency to uncover not only how language ideologies affect their experiences, but also how they use these experiences to invest in their careers and occupational identities. Moreover, studies on language and the workplace would benefit greatly by taking participants digitally mediated interaction into consideration, given that daily communication in both private and professional settings take place both off and online.

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