

MEXIQUEÑO?: ISSUES OF IDENTITY AND IDEOLOGY IN A CASE STUDY OF
DIALECT CONTACT

by

Subhadra Elka Ghosh Johnson

BA, Indiana University, 1995

MA, University of New Mexico, 1999

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of
Arts and Sciences in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

University of Pittsburgh

2005

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH
FACULTY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

This dissertation was presented

by

Subhadra Elka Ghosh Johnson

It was defended on

October 25, 2005

and approved by

Susan Berk-Seligson

John M. Lipski

Bruce Stiehm

Scott F. Kiesling
Dissertation Director

MEXIQUEÑO?: ISSUES OF IDENTITY AND IDEOLOGY IN A CASE STUDY OF DIALECT CONTACT

Subhadra Elka Ghosh Johnson, PhD

University of Pittsburgh, 2005

This study, set in an urban, predominantly Latino high school, addresses a situation of dialect contact between speakers of Puerto Rican and Mexican Spanish. Given the characteristics of this specific research context, existing models of dialect contact would have predicted the development of a linguistic phenomenon known as “koineization.” This study finds that, contrary to these models, koineization is not taking place in this high school and that instead, the two dialects are remaining distinct. In this dissertation, I will first describe the unexpected social and linguistic situation found at this school. It will be shown that ethnic identity is a very salient social category, and that the cross-ethnic interaction necessary for koineization is not occurring. A linguistic analysis confirms that the two Spanish dialects are indeed remaining distinct. This dissertation proceeds to demonstrate that various social factors are extremely important to the dialect contact situation under study. Specifically, questions of ethnic identity and an ideology of essentialized difference are shown to have a powerful impact on interaction, language choice, and ultimately, koineization. It will also be seen that the uniqueness of this context—two dialects of a minority language alongside another, dominant language, English—also impacts the question of koineization. Thus, this study affords us new insights into the topic of dialect contact, and emphasizes the consideration that should be given to numerous social factors in any model of koineization.

Methods of data collection in this study included semi-structured interviews and participant observation. Numerous rounds of interviews were conducted with progressively smaller groups of participants. The last phase of fieldwork consisted of a focus on twelve key participants who were representative of ethnicity, sex, and the social networks present in the school. In a fashion similar to Bailey (2002), one day was spent with each of these key participants while they carried a mini-disc recorder. The purpose of this data collection method was to obtain more insights into the natural language and interactional behavior of these key participants. Methods of data analysis were varied and included a social network analysis, a quantitative analysis of linguistic data, and discourse analysis.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE.....	ix
1. INTRODUCTION	1
1.1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK/BACKGROUND.....	4
1.1.1. Theoretical background	4
1.1.2. Theoretical framework.....	8
1.2. REVIEW OF LITERATURE	13
1.2.1. Linguistic factors in dialect contact	14
1.2.2. Extralinguistic factors in dialect contact.....	17
1.3. REVISITING THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	25
2. SITE AND METHODOLOGY	30
2.1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: CARTAGENA SQUARE.....	30
2.2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: MARQUIN HIGH SCHOOL	35
2.3. CARTAGENA SQUARE AND MARQUIN TODAY	43
2.4. METHODOLOGY	56
3. WHAT “DIALECT CONTACT” LOOKS LIKE AT MARQUIN HIGH SCHOOL	65
3.1. ETHNIC SEGREGATION AT MARQUIN HIGH SCHOOL	66
3.1.1. Network analysis.....	76
3.2. LACK OF KOINEIZATION /s/ AND /r/.....	103
3.2.1. The linguistic variables	104
3.2.2. Method	109
3.2.3. Results.....	114
3.2.4. Conclusion	124
4. THE CONSTRUCTION OF ETHNIC IDENTITY AS A SOCIOLINGUISTIC BOUNDARY	127
4.1. ETHNICITY AS A SOCIOLINGUISTIC BOUNDARY	128
4.2. CONSTRUCTION AND MAINTENANCE OF THE ETHNOLINGUISTIC BOUNDARY	137
4.3. CONSTRUCTION OF IDENTITY	165
4.4. CONCLUSION.....	197
5. ESSENTIALIST DISCOURSES: “THEY’RE JUST DIFFERENT”	199
5.1. HISTORIES OF INCORPORATION, CITIZENSHIP, AND MIGRATION.....	199
5.1.1. Mexicans and the U.S.	200
5.1.2. Puerto Ricans and the U.S.	202
5.1.3. Periods of migration.....	204
5.2. IDEOLOGY OF ESSENTIALIZED DIFFERENCE	208
5.2.1. Discourses of difference regarding citizenship.....	211
5.2.2. Discourses of difference regarding language.....	215
5.2.2.1. Who speaks what: second-order indexicality	215
5.2.2.2. Iconicity	219

5.2.2.3.	Contesting ideologies, dominant discourses	228
5.2.3.	Discourses of difference regarding appearance	238
5.3.	IDEOLOGY AND SOCIO-LINGUISTIC PRACTICES	247
6.	LANGUAGE CHOICE AT MARQUIN HIGH SCHOOL	255
6.1.	FACTORS IN LANGUAGE SHIFT/MAINTENANCE.....	260
6.2.	DESCRIPTION OF THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC CONTEXT.....	268
6.2.1.	Origin of the contact situation.....	268
6.2.2.	Economic status	268
6.2.3.	Social status	271
6.2.4.	Socioeconomic incentive to shift.....	278
6.2.5.	Demographic factors.....	279
6.2.6.	Institutional support	282
6.2.6.1.	Puerto Ricans in Chicago.....	285
6.2.6.2.	Mexicans in Chicago.....	286
6.2.7.	Access to scarce resources	288
6.2.8.	Access to majority language	288
6.2.9.	Generational status.....	289
6.2.10.	Linguistic and ethnic attitudes/ideologies.....	290
6.2.10.1.	Inter-group attitudes towards language and culture.....	290
6.2.10.2.	Intra-group attitudes towards language and culture.....	294
6.3.	ANALYSIS.....	296
6.3.1.	Mexican language shift/maintenance.....	296
6.3.2.	Puerto Rican language shift/maintenance.....	305
6.4.	CONCLUSION.....	313
	BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	318

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Ethnic composition of Marquin junior class friendship clusters	83
Table 2: Ethnic composition of individual study participants' social networks.....	85
Table 3: Overall results for /s/: Sorted by ethnicity	114
Table 4: Results of Variable Rule Analysis: factors affecting /s/ retention, i.e. [s].....	115
Table 5: Comparison of Mexn /s/ variation at Marquin with Guatemalan and Costa Rican /s/ variation	117
Table 6: Comparison of PRn /s/ variation at Marquin with Island PRn /s/ variation	118
Table 7: Overall results for /r/: sorted by ethnicity.....	119
Table 8: Results of Variable Rule Analysis: factors affecting /r/ retention, i.e. [r].....	120
Table 9: Overall results for /r/: sorted by ethnicity.....	122
Table 10: Mexn and PRn /r/ variation at Marquin (new data-set).....	123
Table 11: Generational status of students at Marquin	206

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Sociogram (Part 1).....	79
Figure 2: Sociogram (Part 2: Outliers).....	80
Figure 3: Parallel structure in constructed dialogue with contrastive function	145
Figure 4: The ethnolinguistic boundary as constructed by Marquin students	156

PREFACE

I have looked forward to writing my acknowledgments for many months now. Thinking of those who were supporting me provided me with a source of motivation when the supply was running low. In fact, I have often felt that the writing of this dissertation has been a study in internal versus external motivation. Up until the end, I would have concluded that external motivation is the stronger force. And if the criteria for success are speed and efficiency, then it is probably true. But internal motivation has its own merits. Completing this dissertation has been a rich, full and rewarding experience, not without its difficult moments, but all the richer for that very reason. My internal motivation has come from many external sources, and I would like to express my gratitude to these people here.

I would first like to thank my adviser, Scott Kiesling, for his constant and steady presence throughout this process. I contacted him for all issues, large or small; and his patience, insights, optimism, and belief in my work and in me were invaluable. Without him, I may truly have drowned in a pool of /s/'s and /r/'s. I feel singularly lucky to have had him as an adviser, guide, and friend.

I feel that I have been very fortunate in the people I have met throughout my academic career. My committee reflects this in full. I have known John Lipski since I first started graduate school, and he has forever been a role model to me. He has set the standard high through his own example, and I thank him deeply for this very important component of my development. I would also like to thank Susan Berk-Seligson and Bruce Stiehm. If the PhD is an apprenticeship, Susan has been an excellent mentor. She saw me through my first conference abstracts, conference presentations and grant proposals, and her experience, encouragement and attention to detail will always be appreciated. Bruce Stiehm, too, has been a constant source of support through my time at the University of Pittsburgh. His words of encouragement at the most opportune times and keen interest in my work have meant a lot to me.

Though not officially a part of my dissertation process, Christina Bratt Paulston has played an incredibly important role in my life that I would like to recognize here. She has been both a mentor and a maternal figure—a unique and often necessary role in a process that can at times be cold and overwhelming. She has provided me with intellectual stimulation and human warmth, and I look forward to more of the same in the years to come.

I would also like to individually thank Elaine Rubinstein, Debbie Truhan, and Richard Cameron. When I was ready to throw my computer out the window in my frustration over statistics, Elaine stepped in and saved the day with her expertise and, more importantly, with one of the most remarkable attitudes I have ever encountered. I would like to thank Debbie for being a valiant defender of her students, for her timely persistence, and for easing the bureaucratic pain of completing this dissertation away from Pittsburgh. Richard I would like to thank for his continual support and encouragement, and for his help in getting this project off the ground in the city of Chicago. Getting started is an incredibly overwhelming stage of the research process, and without the help of such people, can be nearly impossible.

Finally, I would like to thank my family and friends. Living in Chicago has brought us closer to our extended family and many great friends and has truly opened my eyes to what it means to have a support system. While there are too many people to name here, a few must be singled out. I would like to thank my father for his continual support, his pride in me, his nuanced understanding of me and my (often self-created) hurdles, and his strong example and high standards. My mother for a lifetime of sacrifice, warmth, love, refuge, amazing food, and again, pride. My brother for his unconditional loyalty, his caring personality and for always making me laugh and reminding me that nothing is all that serious. My friend Sonia Lenk for being such an amazing friend and colleague as we went through this process together. My friend Amy B. for always listening and supporting, and for her many trips to the UIC library just to check out books for me, always with the utmost enthusiasm. And lastly, I would like to thank my husband—for subtly pushing me along when things were at a standstill; for his extreme patience; for always making me laugh; for entertaining and even encouraging dreams of drastic career changes (such as trapeze artist), while always advising that I first finish the dissertation; for allowing me all the things I don't like to deal with and for being the best friend I could ever imagine.

1. INTRODUCTION

Throughout the United States, there are communities that are commonly referred to as “Hispanic communities.” But “Hispanic” is an umbrella term encompassing Spanish-speaking people of different races and twenty separate nationalities (Casuo and Camacho 1995). These “Hispanic communities” then, are not uniform, as the term may imply. Hispanic communities may very well be made up of people from different countries with differing values, attitudes, socioeconomic statuses, or periods of migration, amongst other things. And though language is one thing that binds them all, even this will differ in significant ways from group to group.

The purpose of this study was to examine the kinds of interaction that take place between adolescent members of different Spanish dialect groups, and the effect that this interaction may have on their language. What exactly happens to Spanish when people from different dialect and social backgrounds come together? What is the product of this linguistic contact? And what are the processes through which linguistic change occurs? These are some of the research questions I set out to answer in a high school in the city of Chicago. This high school sits in a neighborhood made up of Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, African Americans, and some ethnic whites, and the demographic make-up of the school roughly reflects the composition of the neighborhood. Thus, the dialect contact to be examined was that between the Mexican and Puerto Rican varieties of Spanish. Both the site and methodology of this study will be discussed in detail in the next chapter. In this chapter, we will examine the theoretical constructs that are integral to the topic of dialect contact. We will also explore the theoretical framework that originally structured the design and methodology of this study. Previous research with similar

aims will be discussed in order to gain perspective on the current study. Finally, we will discuss the fact that in the present research context, dialect contact is *not* occurring in the way that the theoretical literature and previous studies that will be discussed in this chapter would predict. The theoretical implications of this finding will be discussed.

The idea of “koineization” is central to studies of dialect contact. The term “koine” can be used to label “... compromise dialects that have emerged in immigrant communities when different social or regional dialects of transplanted languages have come into contact in a new environment” (Siegel 1993a). This definition actually applies to the term “immigrant koine,” and is the most appropriate for the situation examined in this study. “Koineization” then, is the process by which a koine is formed. The idea is that when speakers of different varieties of a language come into long-term contact, the first thing that happens is a chaotic dialect mixture. In other words, there will be several different linguistic variants for specific linguistic features. Eventually, the range of variants will be reduced, and a new dialect (a “koine”) will emerge, one that differs to some degree from all of the original dialects that entered into the equation (Penny 2000). How quickly this koine will emerge and the exact form it will take depends upon a number of linguistic and social factors. These factors will be discussed in detail below.

Adolescents play a key role in situations of dialect contact, as they do in all situations of language change. In fact, adolescents have been recognized as the leaders of linguistic change (Eckert 2000, Labov 2001). In adolescence, it becomes very important to mark one’s identity in a variety of symbolic ways. Identity can be represented via such media as clothes, hair, music and language (Chambers 1995, Eckert 2000). Therefore, one of the central ideas behind this study was that if adolescents are the leaders of linguistic change, and if it is in adolescence that

speakers begin to use language as a resource in identity construction, then what do adolescents do in terms of language when they have more than one dialect at their disposal?

While dialect contact has become a more studied topic in recent years, especially since the publication of Trudgill's "Dialects in Contact" (1986), it is still a young and not fully explored field of study. Yet this topic has the potential to be quite important to both the sociology of language and historical linguistics. In general, there are few good existing models that predict what will happen when two dialects come into contact (some that do exist are those of Trudgill 1986, Kerswill and Williams 2000, and Zentella 1990). And while existing models do take into account social variables and how they affect dialect contact and its outcome, these variables have not been explored in depth. In this study, I take a closer look at the social aspects of a dialect contact situation that has been largely ignored in the literature—Spanish dialects in contact in the U.S. Much of the research that has been done on dialect contact "has been carried out in the Germanic-speaking world, most frequently as a result of the observation of contact between mutually intelligible varieties of English, for example in new towns" (Penny 2000). By looking at a very different context, we will discover whether or not the models that are proposed for these other contexts hold up under the weight of empirical evidence, thereby strengthening (or weakening) the predictive power of these existing models. At the same time, the three models that will be discussed in this dissertation do not completely coincide, especially in their main focus. By taking a careful look at the interactions that take place in this contact situation, with special attention paid to a variety of the factors that have been proposed as being crucial to the process and product of dialect contact, a more precise picture will emerge as to what factors, especially social ones, play a role in this dialect contact situation and how they do so.

1.1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK/BACKGROUND

In this section I will first provide a theoretical background of koineization and the processes involved in the formation of a koine. I will then describe three models that exist for dialect contact situations and describe how they initially formed the theoretical framework for this study.

1.1.1. Theoretical background

“Koineization” refers to the development of a new, mixed variety following dialect contact. It is a specific kind of language change, and as is stated by Kerswill and Williams (2000), “the propagation of change must be a direct consequence of the interaction between individuals” (65). In the case of dialect contact, Trudgill uses the basic ideas behind Giles’ (1973) accommodation theory to explain why, when there is interaction between individuals who are actually speaking mutually intelligible language varieties, people still modify their own dialect. In brief, Giles’ speech accommodation theory says that a speaker’s speech will converge with that of an interlocutor’s out of a desire to show solidarity or to try to gain acceptance. Accent divergence is another possible outcome. It shows that the speaker is trying to dissociate him or herself from his/her interlocutor rather than accommodating him/herself to that person (Trudgill 1986). According to Trudgill, convergence or divergence can take place at all levels of language; it is not restricted to accent.

While Giles and many others are most interested in short-term accommodation, Trudgill’s use of speech accommodation theory deals not only with short-term accommodation, but also with long-term accommodation. What Trudgill shows in his work is that the main effect of contact between speakers of mutually intelligible dialects is short-term accommodation, which can become long-term adjustment, leading to the formation of a koine (Penny 2000). After extensive face-to-face accommodation where speakers constantly accommodate to one another

by reducing speech dissimilarities, the accommodation may become permanent. In other words, accommodation can lead to diffusion. A feature has been diffused into person A's speech on the first occasion when speaker A uses the feature from dialect B in a situation where a person from dialect B is not present. In sum, face-to-face interaction can lead to accommodation, which in turn can produce diffusion of features (Trudgill 1986).

It is worth noting, though, that in accommodation between speakers of different dialects, often the form that is being transmitted from the original dialect is not necessarily *exactly* replicated in the adjoining dialect. There can easily be imperfection or incompleteness in the transmission/accommodation, since the speaker's goal is really only to reduce dissimilarities between his or her speech and that of their interlocutor. This "incomplete accommodation" can manifest itself in three different ways. One form of incomplete accommodation involves features from a contact dialect being variably acquired. For example, with respect to the common linguistic variable (s), speakers of an s-retaining dialect in a dialect contact situation with an s-aspirating/deleting variety may begin to employ the [Ø] variant without necessarily losing the [s] variant. In other words, both forms may get used variably, and it will be the frequencies of use of each variant that will change over time as accommodation proceeds. The second form of incomplete accommodation is lexical diffusion. The idea underlying lexical diffusion is that speakers do not at any one moment modify their entire linguistic system so that it more closely resembles that of the speakers they are accommodating to. Rather, in terms of phonology, speakers will first adopt certain salient lexical items, complete with the contact variety's pronunciation. These phonological adjustments will slowly spread to other lexical items and phonological contexts. The third form of incomplete accommodation produces what Trudgill calls "interdialectalisms," which are brought about by a process he calls "fudging." In

fudging, incomplete accommodation leads to forms, (interdialectalisms), which are phonetically intermediate between the forms of the original and target dialects. Morphological and syntactic interdialectalisms are also possible. While lexical diffusion is usually characterized as phonetically sudden but lexically gradual, fudging is both phonetically and lexically gradual (Trudgill 1986).

The main linguistic processes involved in koineization are dialect mixing, dialect levelling and simplification (Trudgill 1986). Dialect mixture takes place as soon as speakers of different varieties come into long-term contact and start interacting with and accommodating to one another. What emerges from this contact and accommodation (and incomplete accommodation, as was discussed above) is an expansion of variants of individual linguistic features. This expanded range of variants gets reduced, or “focused,” via levelling and simplification (Penny 2000). Levelling is the process by which differences between regional varieties are reduced, features that make varieties distinctive disappear, and new features emerge and are adopted by speakers over a wide geographic area (Williams and Kerswill 1999). Simplification, on the other hand, refers to an increase in regularity seen, for example, in the loss of inflections (producing morphological regularity), the increase of invariable word forms, etc. (Trudgill 1986). Because these two concepts are central to the process of koineization, I will exemplify each one here.

Penny (2000) uses the theoretical insights produced by modern studies of dialect contact, and in particular the concept of levelling, to analyze the well-established case of the Spanish sibilants in the Middle Ages. In the Middle Ages most of Spain had a six-sibilant system. But in the north of Spain speakers had already merged the voiced sibilants with the voiceless ones in favor of the voiceless sibilants, thus creating a three-sibilant system. In 1561, when Madrid

became the capital of Spain, there was a huge influx of people into Madrid. Most of these people came from the north, and brought with them their three sibilant system. However, the existing population and anyone who came from the south still had the six-sibilant system. One assumes that as the two groups came together, face-to-face accommodation started to take place and there was most probably a stage of flux. But eventually, a levelling took place whereby the voiced variants were levelled out and the preference for a voiceless system emerged. The voiced variants are the linguistically marked variants, but Penny also hypothesizes that the voiced variants could very well have been considered socially marked, salient due to their infrequency and oddity, since there were now many more speakers in Madrid with a preference for the three-sibilant system.

An example of simplification comes from Trudgill's study done in the new town of Høyanger, Norway. Many such new towns were created in post-1950's Europe, where people were drawn in from all different areas to settle a new town, often to help out the local industry. Because these people came from different areas, they brought with them their differing dialects. As Kerswill and Williams (2000) put it, these situations are a virtual laboratory for the study of dialect contact. In Høyanger, Trudgill observes, one of the contributing dialects, Bokmål, has one invariant plural ending -er. Other contributing dialects and the standard have two plural endings, -er and -ar. In these dialects, choice of ending is determined by the grammatical gender of the word, but there are exceptions (not all masculine words take the one ending and not all feminine words take the other). Høyanger has chosen neither of these systems but rather has regularized/simplified. Now all masculine words take -ar and all feminine words take -er. While this process could occur with or without dialect contact, it is nonetheless an example of simplification. In sum, levelling and simplification can both occur as a result of accommodation

and are crucial to the process of new dialect formation. To put it simply, levelling plus simplification equals koineization (Trudgill 1986).

1.1.2. Theoretical framework

The three models of dialect contact that will be discussed here are those of Trudgill (1986), Kerswill and Williams (2000), and Zentella (1990). These models consist of factors that the researchers have found to be important when speakers of different dialects come into contact. While each model overlaps with the others in its key aspects, each model has its own focus. Overall, Trudgill (1986) is largely concerned with the linguistic factors that influence the process and product of koineization. Kerswill and Williams (2000) are more concerned with social factors and in particular, how these factors affect the speed of focusing. Zentella (1990) also focuses on social factors and how they affect the degree of contact and interaction that occurs between speakers. So in a sense, Zentella's model addresses the question of whether or not koineization will take place, Kerswill and Williams deal with how quickly koineization will occur, and Trudgill deals with what the end product can be expected to look like (and the processes leading up to this end product). These are all of course, closely related, which explains the overlap in the three models. Because all of the issues addressed by these three models were of interest to this study, the factors and insights highlighted by these models were used to structure the design and methodology of the present study.

While Trudgill (1986) does mention social factors that he finds to be important in koineization (factors such as age of speakers, their social networks, and a few demographic factors), his main focus and contribution concern linguistic factors. In particular, he focuses on why certain linguistic features, and not others, are more readily transmitted through geographical and social space (Penny 2000). Much of this has to do with the concept of salience, which is in

fact an indeterminate and contested concept. According to Trudgill, salience plays an important role in determining what features in a dialect are accommodated to. For Trudgill, salience is largely related to the issues of phonological contrast and stigmatization. If a certain dialect pronounces a feature in such a way as to erase phonological distinctions (for example, the words ‘Hugh’ and ‘who’ sound identical in some areas of England), then this pronunciation becomes stigmatized and is salient. Speakers of this dialect will thus accommodate to the pronunciation of the contact dialect so as to avoid the stigmatized pronunciation. Trudgill’s conclusion is that features that are marked in some way (socially, regionally, linguistically) should be considered salient and will be levelled out, and that the unmarked variants that contributing dialects bring to the dialect mixture will be accommodated to. As discussed above, the accommodation may be complete or incomplete (i.e. partial).

Kerswill and Williams (2000) also discuss linguistic factors such as markedness and the complexity of features and how these factors determine what form the final koine will take. But they are especially concerned with the ways in which social and demographic factors influence the amount of time it takes for a situation of dialect contact to progress from the stage of dialect mixture to the formation of a koine. In other words, the time scale of koineization is a major focus of their study.

One important factor addressed by Kerswill and Williams (2000) is the age of speakers in the community. Age is both a psycholinguistic factor and a social-psychological factor. According to Kerswill and Williams, adults are past the critical period—they cannot make major grammatical and phonological changes in their speech after migration. After about the age of seven, it becomes increasingly difficult to change one’s linguistic system, and definitely by 16 years of age (Chambers 1995), the only changes a speaker can make in their linguistic system is

the acquisition of some “easy” features such as small changes in vowel quality, lexical and morphological borrowings, and simplification (discussed above). Thus age becomes a psycholinguistic factor. Age is a social-psychological factor in that as a speaker moves through the life stages, one can observe the speaker’s language change as they identify with different people—first their parents, then their peers. As speakers move into the mid-teens, they start to embrace youth culture and oppose adult norms. This is seen in numerous adolescent social practices, and is linguistically reflected in a preference for non-standard speech. This changing social psychology that reaches its climax in adolescence makes adolescents crucial to the study of dialects in contact. Thus age will influence the outcome of dialect contact in that younger speakers and adults will handle the different dialects differently.

Thus, according to Kerswill and Williams (2000), the children who migrate to a new community, and the children born to adult migrants, will all form a new “native” community; and “the degree of linguistic focusing they achieve as the first generation of natives will depend [...] especially [on] the proportion of children to adults in the earliest years of settlement” (69). In communities where there are a high proportion of adults, simplification and reduction will be more likely to occur, and focusing will be delayed by a few generations. A high proportion of children (which, as Kerswill and Williams point out, is a common characteristic of migration) can provoke a lack of simplification, and speed up the process of focusing. At the same time, a high degree of linguistic difference between the contributing dialects and the presence of very complex individual linguistic features can be an overriding factor and slow down the process of focusing. Thus, this is another important factor to the outcome of dialect contact. Lastly, Kerswill and Williams point out the importance of peer networks, and more precisely, “the presence of the possibility of forming new social networks among children and younger people”

(75). This is a very important factor, and can also override the impact of a higher proportion of adults than children in the new community. A high density of population, a “critical mass” of population, and the presence of universal schooling are all pointed out by Kerswill and Williams as factors which favor the formation of new social networks amongst young people, and consequently, promote rapid focusing.

Another factor that influences the product of dialect contact is the symbolic functions and social distribution of the different dialects and adolescents’ awareness of them. Kerswill and Williams (2000) only mention this factor in passing, and do not address it in their study. As will be seen in the present study, this factor can be of great importance to situations of dialect contact. The only model of the three discussed here to really incorporate this issue is Zentella (1990), as will be seen below.

As mentioned earlier, Zentella (1990) pays special attention to social factors that play a role in situations of contact. She mentions the importance of both geographic and social barriers between contact groups. If either sort of barrier exists, contact between the different groups will be limited, and focusing and koineization will not occur. Specific factors she mentions that can impose (or prevent) such barriers and thus affect how much intergroup contact there is, are: differences in population numbers, periods and reasons for migration, residential patterns, and rates of intermarriage. With respect to intermarriage, I would clarify that intermarriage only affects intergroup contact as an independent factor in the case of subsequent generations. In other words, the offspring of intermarriages are more likely to see increased intergroup contact and its linguistic consequences. As for the intermarrying generation, the likelihood of intermarriage is itself influenced by independent variables such the geographic and social barriers to interaction mentioned above. Another barrier to interaction mentioned by Zentella is

a linguistic one, specifically, the linguistic distance between contact codes. This was also discussed by Kerswill and Williams (2000): the further the linguistic distance between codes, the slower the process of koineization.

Zentella also stresses the importance of identity and group attitudes towards one another as vital to situations of dialect contact. According to Zentella, group attitudes towards one another (and oneself) are shaped by the historical, political and economic experiences of each speech community and the related social factors of class, education and race. The resulting attitudes that the contact groups have towards each other (and themselves) will have important implications for dialect levelling: these attitudes will influence how much interaction will take place between the two groups, if there is interaction whether there will be dialectal accommodation or not, and in the long run, whether or not a koine will form. We will discuss this study again in the next section where some of these ideas will be further exemplified. Both ethnic identity and “attitude,” discussed in this dissertation within the framework of “ideology,” will prove to be quite illuminative for the dialect contact situation under scrutiny.

Once again, the three models outlined here show varying degrees of overlap with respect to the factors highlighted by each as integral to the processes observed in situations of dialect contact and the end result of this contact. The major difference between these models is that the different researchers have varying foci—each one puts slightly different questions at the forefront of their research. The purpose of this study was to examine the interaction of adolescents in a situation of dialect contact in order to gain more insight into the inner workings of this contact and to assess the product of this contact (at this point in time). Thus, the numerous factors illuminated by these studies were taken into account in the design and methodology of this study. Here, I will summarize these factors and their influence on dialect

contact. In the next section, we will see many of these same issues exemplified and elaborated. I will then explain how this body of work informed the design and methodology of the present study.

- 1) *Saliency of features*: the salient features in a dialect mix will be the first to show the effects of accommodation.
- 2) *Age of speakers*: linguistic focusing can be sped up by the presence of a high proportion of children to adults in the post-migration period.
- 3) *Linguistic distance between contact dialects*: the likelihood of koineization, and the speed of focusing, show an inverse relationship with the distance between the dialects in contact, i.e. the more closely related the dialects, the higher the probability of koineization, and the faster focusing will occur.
- 4) *Demographic factors*: demographic factors such as residential patterns, socioeconomic status, periods and reasons for migration, etc., can affect the amount of interaction between groups, thus affecting koineization.
- 5) *Social networks*: the formation of new social networks in the contact situation among children and youth from the various dialect groups will accelerate koineization.
- 6) *Attitudes*: inter- and intra-group attitudes can also affect the quantity and quality of interaction between groups, thus affecting koineization. E.g. negative inter-group attitudes may very well hinder inter-group communication thus slowing down/preventing koineization.

1.2. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

As mentioned in the introduction, research on dialect contact is still a fairly recent endeavor, and thus the amount of literature on the topic is not large. The literature that does exist reveals a range of research. On the one hand there is research that is mainly concerned with predicting which linguistic features in a situation of dialect contact will be modified, precisely how they will be modified, and the mechanisms by which these changes will occur (Trudgill 1986; Amastae and Satcher 1993; Chambers 1992). On the other hand, there is a second line of research that is more concerned with the social conditions that precipitate changes, the general direction of change, and the larger mechanisms by which these changes occur and spread (Zentella 1990, Kerswill and Williams 2000, Penny 2000, Chambers 1995). All of this research

illuminates different factors that are of importance in a dialect contact situation, though, as will be seen below, the first body of work has been criticized for not taking social conditions more into consideration. The present study falls largely into the second research strand in that its main interests will revolve around the social conditions for change and the mechanisms by which the changes are or are not occurring. But the changes themselves involve linguistic features, and so the prior body of literature cannot and should not be ignored.

1.2.1. Linguistic factors in dialect contact

In his seminal work on dialect contact, Trudgill (1986) attempts to answer the question of why certain features get modified during inter-dialectal interaction and others do not. He does this by observing British English speakers living in the U.S. and by analyzing his own speech while he lived in the U.S. for one year. Trudgill concludes that features that are salient to a speaker are those that they will accommodate to. According to Trudgill, the salience of phonological features involves the degree of phonetic difference and phonemic contrast between features of two dialects. These same characteristics are involved in stigmatization. Thus, salient features of a dialect are also often stigmatized features. In the end, he shows that the British English speakers in his study who accommodate to American English all follow a common order of accommodation of salient features. He also found that certain factors serve to inhibit the acquisition of certain salient features (things such as phonotactic constraints, phonological naturalness, etc.). Thus, according to Trudgill, salient features with the fewest inhibiting factors are accommodated to first in a situation of dialect contact.

Amastae and Satcher (1993) also lend empirical support to the importance of salience in determining whether or not there will be linguistic accommodation. Their study looks at the accommodation of Hondurans who have migrated to El Paso, Texas and thus have come into

contact with the Spanish of Northern Mexicans who reside in El Paso. Amastae and Satcher look at the variables of velarization and spirantization (the conversion of a stop into a fricative). They show that velarization undergoes twice as much modification in the speech of the Hondurans as spirantization, and they attribute this difference to the fact that the former is a much more salient feature. Spirantization is a purely allophonic process—it does not have any phonemic consequences—and holds no social stigma for Hondurans. Velarization, on the other hand, can have phonemic consequences, and is widely recognized as a non-prestige variant. These two factors, according to Amastae and Satcher, make velarization a more salient feature and thus cause it to be more frequently modified in the speech of Hondurans living in El Paso.

Trudgill (1986) goes beyond the individual and individual accommodation and discusses dialect contact more holistically. He discusses the situation of Høyanger, Norway, a new town located between the two western dialect areas of Sogn and Fjordane. By 1920, people coming in from nearby and even far away areas outnumbered natives of this area who had been speaking the original local dialect, and their numbers continued to decrease steadily after 1920. Currently, the oldest generation in Høyanger, the original immigrants, continue to speak dialects that reflect all their different origins; the second generation, those who were born to the original immigrants, speak somewhat more uniformly but still show the influence of their parents' dialects; and the third generation speaks a 'new dialect', a unified and distinctive Høyanger dialect. One can assume that in the beginning, Høyanger went through a phase of chaotic dialect mixture with frequent face-to-face accommodation taking place. Eventually, by the third generation, this mixture became focused, and a 'new dialect' or koine emerged.

Given this situation, Trudgill's concerns are about the linguistic aspects of this focusing. How did all the different variants get reduced to the single chosen variants? Why does a certain

variant win out over another? As was already discussed in the theoretical framework, this is where the processes of levelling and simplification become important. In brief, Trudgill concludes that marked variants get levelled out. Markedness can be social, linguistic or regional. An example of this type of levelling is found in Fiji Hindi. Fifty percent of Fijians are of Indian descent, and these speakers come speaking different dialects of Hindi. In Fiji, socially marked variants (in particular, honorific pronouns) get levelled out. The concept of regional markedness brings with it a demographic issue. According to Trudgill, the number of contributing dialects that have a certain feature will play a role in determining which features survive and which features are levelled out. In other words, if three of four contributing dialects use a certain variant, this variant is likely to survive levelling, regardless of the total number of speakers who use it (this is referred to below as the “majority principle”).

Chambers (1992) goes into even greater linguistic detail in devising a model that will predict which features will undergo modification, the order of acquisition of these features, and exactly how they will be modified. For example, he finds that simple rules are modified before complex ones, that eliminating features occurs before adding features, etc.

As mentioned earlier, the particular linguistic features that are modified in dialect contact and the processes by which these modifications occur are essential to the study of dialect contact. Therefore factors such as salience were incorporated into this study. At the same time, some of Trudgill’s attempts at constructing a predictive model of dialect contact have been criticized, and more broadly, Trudgill has been criticized for his neglect of the social context of dialect contact. Siegel (1993b) points out both of these problems. To summarize the first of Siegel’s criticisms, he says that many of Trudgill’s explanations are ad hoc and thus do not really serve to predict what forms will be accommodated to, levelled out, etc. With respect to levelling, Siegel

maintains that when Trudgill's basic ideas of the "majority principle" or social markedness do not explain why certain forms were chosen, he then turns to linguistic explanations such as "naturalness" or "length of form" to explain the exceptions. Siegel also criticizes Trudgill for his neglect of the social context. He says that the social context must be considered in any sort of a model that attempts to predict the consequences of dialect contact. After all, he says, dialects can exist side by side forever and not necessarily undergo koineization—certain social conditions must exist in order for koineization to occur.

A good example of this is described by Pandharipande (1992) with respect to language shift amongst tribal populations in India. According to Pandharipande, numerous tribal communities in the pre-independence period had existed completely isolated from the mainstream population, both socially and linguistically. After independence, changing social conditions regarding education policy, the availability of certain kinds of jobs, etc., brought about interaction between the tribal and mainstream populations. This forced interaction has brought with it a language shift among the tribal people in almost all domains of speech. Thus, it is clear that extralinguistic factors must be taken into consideration in situations of both language and dialect contact.

1.2.2. Extralinguistic factors in dialect contact

The second body of literature referred to earlier is so grouped because of its attention to extralinguistic factors. Both Zentella (1990) and Kerswill and Williams (2000) address the social conditions that determine the degree of contact between dialects. The degree of contact between dialects goes on to affect both the product of the contact, and how quickly the product comes about. The specific social conditions that they consider important have already been discussed in the theoretical framework section of this paper. Here, I will concentrate on what

Zentella's study reveals to us about attitude, and what Kerswill and Williams (2000) tell us about peer networks as a mechanism of spreading change. Finally I will review literature that shows the importance of the extralinguistic factor of age.

Zentella (1990) examines inter-dialectal contact at the lexical level among four Hispanic groups in New York City: Dominicans, Puerto Ricans, Colombians, and Cubans. In this study, and elsewhere, she finds that Dominican Spanish is rejected by members of the other three dialect groups—none of these groups showed evidence of adopting Dominican lexical items, while Dominicans adopted lexical items from all of the other dialect groups. This rejection of their Spanish has led to a high level of linguistic insecurity amongst Dominicans in New York. Zentella explains this rejection of Dominican Spanish (and the resulting linguistic insecurity) using the social factors of race, education and income, all of which shape other groups' (and their own) attitudes towards Dominicans.

According to Zentella, of the four dialect groups examined in this study, Puerto Ricans and Dominicans in New York are the poorest, least educated, and darkest in skin color. This produces negative attitudes towards these groups (especially Dominicans), and in turn, low self-images. In addition, both of these groups show aspiration and deletion in their Spanish dialects. These are features, which have always been associated with lower socioeconomic strata, labeled "radical" rather than "conservative," and as a result, are stigmatized features. Thus, the association of these features with these ethnic groups creates and sustains negative attitudes towards speakers of these dialects. At the same time, Zentella points out an interesting exception. Cuban Spanish also employs these "radical" features, and yet neither it, nor its speakers, are condemned in the same way. According to Zentella, this "reveals the overriding power that social factors have in the face of linguistic ones. Even when speakers of the higher

status groups have radical phonology, they can evaluate their dialect positively and express negative attitudes towards the other” (1102). Because race, education and class are intrinsically linked in New York; and because Cubans and Colombians in New York are more middle-class, more educated, and lighter; they, and their varieties of Spanish, are not as stigmatized.

This study points to the need to consider factors regarding attitude and identity in situations of dialect contact—factors which will be seen to be crucial to the present study. In this dissertation, attitude is considered within the framework of ideology. In the chapter on ideology we will return to this example and other related studies that also elucidate the essential role played by these factors.

Kerswill and Williams (2000) demonstrates the importance of both age of speakers and the role of peer networks in situations of dialect contact. Because age has already been discussed and will be addressed again below, I will limit my discussion of Kerswill and Williams’s very important and comprehensive study to what it reveals about the larger mechanisms involved in spreading changes, namely, peer networks. The discussion of peer networks rests on the proposition that adolescents, because of psycholinguistic and social-psychological factors, are central to the linguistic focusing that precedes the formation of a new variety. Kerswill and Williams (2000), through a survey of research including Britain (1997), Thomas (1997), and their own work; show the necessity of the possibility for adolescents and younger people to form new social networks in the contact situation. These peer groups will establish group norms that will lead to quicker focusing (rather than having a diffuse situation with numerous competing forms). I will summarize these studies below.

Ralph Penny’s (2000) discussion of the importance of social networks to the propagation of linguistic change in contexts of dialect contact is a useful introduction to this discussion of

social networks. He states that the initial mechanism, face-to-face accommodation, remains. The issue here is how a certain feature subsequently spreads through the social matrix. Social network theory helps us to answer this question. Penny, following work by Milroy and Milroy (1992), explains that groups of individuals who are linked by strong ties exhibit behavior in which traditional values are constantly reinforced. In terms of language, this means that such groups will be marked by traditional forms of speech and will be resistant to changes originating outside of the group. At the same time, even strongly tied groups have connections with people from outside the group, usually through a weak tie. Social change, including linguistic change, can be propagated from group to group only via weak ties. It is important to note here the point made by Eckert (2000) that while it is true that weak ties are necessary for linguistic innovations to penetrate a group, it is also true that the linguistic influence of the contact will depend on the perceived identity of the “weak tie.” In the end, communities that are dominated by strongly tied sub-groups are more resistant to linguistic changes than are communities in which individuals are linked to others via weak ties. In other words, focusing will occur more slowly in the former situation than in the latter one. This, then, is what makes analyzing social networks in a community so important to the study of dialects in contact.

As mentioned above, Kerswill and Williams (2000) discuss a number of studies in order to show the importance of peer networks to situations of dialect contact. Britain (1997) observed the variables (ai) and (^) in a situation of dialect contact in 17th century England. What is relevant about his study for the present discussion is that he found focusing on both variables to be quite slow (though focusing for the variable (ai) was quicker). Britain argues that it was the social structure of the 17th century that inhibited rapid focusing. Children were trying to focus a new norm from a diffuse linguistic situation in a speech community only beginning to form new

social groupings. In fact, education in the English Fens was not yet universal. In other words, there was no environment to encourage the development of wider peer group norms. Britain contends that the creation of a focused koine cannot be rapid in such a scenario.

Thomas (1997) finds that stereotypically Southern features are getting lost/simplified in urban areas of Texas where there has been mass migration. Kerswill and Williams (2000) find this data to be in line with the claim that mass migration can lead to the simplification of phonologically complex rules. The societies described by Thomas (1997) “are presumably open and mobile; large numbers of children and young adults, typical of in-migrant communities, afford a high possibility of forming new social relationships. In the case of children, these relationships would doubtless result in school- and neighborhood-based peer groups” (Kerswill and Williams 2000: 73). In such a context, individuals do not form dense, closed networks, but open ones with links to the outside community. In such a situation, say Kerswill and Williams, focusing can be expected to be much more rapid.

In looking at data gathered by Omdal (1977) during the formation of new towns on the shores of fjords in western Norway between 1915-25, Kerswill and Williams (2000) find that while migration to towns such as Høyanger was rapid and the birth rate was high, linguistic focusing still did not take place here until the 3rd generation; the speech of the 2nd generation was diffuse and bore the imprint of their parents’ dialects. Kerswill and Williams speculate that this may have happened because of the considerable linguistic difference between the input varieties, but also because there occurred a social segregation in the town that happened to coincide with region and therefore dialect differences. This initial social divide made it so that the children from the different social groups did not interact, new peer groups did not form, and as a result, “koineization tendencies were slowed” (73). It can only be assumed that questions of “attitude”

or ideology were involved in this social barrier to interaction, but Kerswill and Williams do not address these issues.

Kerswill and Williams (2000) empirically demonstrates the role played by social networks in the adoption and spread of features. Their study takes place in the new town of Milton Keynes, England. One of the ten phonetic variables they look at is (ou). According to Kerswill and Williams, the second element of this variable is being fronted and rounded among young people in much of England. They find that this change is also spreading among the youth of Milton Keynes. They next do a qualitative analysis in which they take a closer look at the individuals who scored either very high or very low on this variable, (the “outliers”), to see what extralinguistic factors lie behind the variance. They find that networks are very important in determining whether young speakers are fronting or not. They found that the high scorers, the innovators, were sociable and well integrated. The low scorers, on the other hand, were those youngsters who were socially more distant. They conclude that their results corroborate other studies in finding that it is the sociable and peer oriented youth, those who have more resources and more extensive contacts, who are the innovators.

Kerswill and Williams’ study in Milton Keynes is a very valuable contribution to the field of dialect contact, above all because of its comprehensiveness and the theoretical insights it provides. Its value also rests in the internal validity of the study, and much of this is due to the setting the study is conducted in. These “new towns” are, as has been said, a “virtual laboratory” for the study of dialect contact. My only comment here is that as a trade-off, the external validity suffers slightly. In a more “real” migration situation, there are many other social variables that come into play—reasons for migration, periods of migration, more diverse backgrounds of origin, etc. While the new town studies offer us many invaluable theoretical insights, these other

social factors also need to be considered in order to understand what happens in other, more “real” contexts.

The final part of this review of the literature will deal with research that discusses the importance of adolescents and in general, “age,” to situations of dialect contact. According to J.K. Chambers (1995), adolescence in industrialized nations consists of those transitional years “full of tensions, resolutions, inanities and epiphanies” (170). This transition from childhood to adulthood is often, almost characteristically, accompanied by extremism and rebellion against authority. It is a time when individuals want to establish their independence in any way possible, which often leads to the embracing of radical creeds. Rebellion can be expressed superficially in distinctive outer markings (hair color, piercings...), but it is also expressed linguistically, often through the adoption of distinctive vocabulary called slang. In general, adolescence requires divergence from adult norms in favor of alternative forms instituted and reinforced by peers. Chambers asserts that since dialect and accent are the most telling social markers when it comes to language, one can expect these things to come into play. This is compounded by the fact that in adolescence young people are exposed to a greater inventory of linguistic variants because they are exposed to a wider group of acquaintances. In this statement, Chambers is alluding to the importance of peer networks and their role in exposing individuals to different variants. Given that in a situation of dialect contact there are even more linguistic variants to be exposed to, it would seem that the present context of adolescents in a situation of dialect contact should be a valuable addition to the dialect contact literature.

Kerswill and Williams (2000) contend that young children, adolescents and adults influence the outcome of dialect contact differently. The reasons behind this are social, psycholinguistic, and social-psychological. Important to note here is the fact that children are

able to restructure their phonologies at a very early age. Kerswill and Williams actually give evidence of a child who between the ages of four and six diverged completely from his mother's way of speaking. This idea, combined with the fact that in Milton Keynes the proportion of children to adults is high and children are very involved in their peer networks, makes it so that it is no surprise to find evidence of focusing in Milton Keynes among the second generation. Looking at the variable (au), which is undergoing fronting, Kerswill and Williams observe that the children's overall range of variants is smaller than that found across the mothers. This suggests that focusing is occurring. They also find that those who score low on fronting are the very young children who are still at home and have not been exposed to other variants via peer networks. This implies that it is older children verging on pre-adolescence who are responsible for focusing. Kerswill and Williams conclude that it is older children who have a special role in the formation of a new speech community, who forge the way for new dialect features, and that therefore they, rather than adults, should be the focus of dialect contact studies. This, again, is the case in the present study.

All of the different studies and literature reviewed here illuminate some very important issues and variables that need to be considered when looking at a situation where speakers of different dialects have come into long-term contact. As will be seen below and in the next chapter, these factors were incorporated into the design and methodology of the current study. At the same time, as Zentella (1990) has said:

“(g)iven the inherent variability of language and its flexible adaptation to different settings, speakers, styles, and power relationships, only the close observation and analysis of interactions among different groups of Spanish speakers will enable us to illuminate the particular configuration of variables that are relevant in each speech community and each instance of dialect contact” (1103-4).

Following this motto, the initial phase of observation for this dissertation was left moderately unstructured so as to allow for the emergence of “the particular configuration of variables” that was pertinent to this situation of dialect contact. As will be seen in the following chapters, an interesting configuration of variables did indeed emerge.

1.3. REVISITING THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In the “Theoretical Framework” section of this chapter, three models of dialect contact were discussed: those of Trudgill (1986), Kerswill and Williams (2000), and Zentella (1990). As will be seen in greater detail in the next chapter, the research site and the design of this study were carefully chosen and constructed in accordance with these models, so as to be as sure as possible that some koineization would indeed be taking place. One of the very important factors that have been discussed is age. Adolescents were chosen as my focus of study because of the very important role they have been shown to play in situations of dialect contact, and all situations of language change (Kerswill and Williams 2000, Chambers 1995, Eckert 2000). As discussed above, adolescents are important to situations of dialect contact for both psycholinguistic and socio-psychological reasons. Another important factor that was discussed is social networks. Both Kerswill and Williams (2000) and Penny (2000) discuss at length the importance of the formation of new social networks in the contact situation. New social networks will facilitate both the actual interchange of features and the setting of new group norms (Kerswill and Williams 2000). Penny emphasizes social networks as the mechanism by which features are spread through the social matrix. Therefore a site was chosen in which Puerto Ricans and Mexicans were evenly represented in an urban high school. Not only would this encourage mixed social networks, this also satisfied a demographic condition that Zentella (1990) stressed as important: a balanced demographics. Other factors that Zentella recognized as important in

encouraging interaction (which would lead to the formation of new social networks) were also present in this research site: the population in the larger community is well divided between Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, they are living in the same neighborhoods, and the two groups share the social characteristics of being poor, young and under-educated. One factor that Zentella also stressed, though the others did not, was attitude. This was not something that could be ascertained with any kind of certainty before entering the field. I will return to this topic below.

In sum, many of the conditions that were deemed important to the process of koineization by the three models of dialect contact (and that were prediscernable), were present at this research site. And yet, as will be seen in chapter 3, no strong evidence was found to indicate that koineization is occurring in this research context. I consider this finding to be of considerable theoretical significance. While existing theoretical frameworks would most likely predict koineization in this setting, I have found that this is not the case. The question that naturally ensues from this finding is: what is it about this context that is preventing koineization from occurring despite the fact that so many factors that would predict koineization are present? Or, what factors are present that are actually prohibiting koineization? This dissertation will show that various social factors are extremely important to the dialect contact situation under study. Specifically, questions of ethnic identity and ideology are shown to have a powerful impact on interaction, language choice, and ultimately, koineization. We will also see that the uniqueness of this context—two dialects of a minority language side by side alongside another, dominant language, English—also impacts the question of koineization. Thus, this study affords us new insights into the issue of dialect contact, and emphasizes the consideration that should be given to numerous social factors in any model of dialect contact.

In the next chapter, we will explore the history and current state of the research site. This will provide a much-needed background to the sociolinguistic situation that will be revealed in the subsequent chapters. We will also discuss the design and methodology of the study, and the ways in which it was adjusted in order to best describe the linguistic and social conditions of Marquin High School.

Chapter 3 will describe the unexpected social and linguistic situation found at this school. As has been discussed above, contact between speakers of mutually intelligible dialects leads to short-term accommodation, which can become long-term adjustment, resulting in the formation of a koine. In this chapter we will see that there is a surprisingly low level of interaction between the Puerto Rican students and Mexican students at this school, particularly in Spanish. This low level of interaction will be largely explained and corroborated by another finding—the scarcity of ethnically mixed social networks at this school. As we have seen, such networks would actually have allowed for the propagation of any short-term adjustments. It will emerge in this chapter that ethnic identity is, in fact, a very salient social category at this high school. A linguistic analysis of participants' speech, along with these observations regarding interaction and social networks, will reveal that koineization is not progressing in the way that was expected at the onset of this study.

I will next explore possible reasons for the maintenance of linguistic distinctiveness. For a situation of dialect contact to lead to koineization, there must be interaction between members of the different groups. And, in this particular context of diverse dialects of a minority language existing alongside a dominant language, the interaction must occur in the minority language in order for a koine to form. As discussed above, this research context is one that should have favored interaction between Mexicans and Puerto Ricans. So why is there such little interaction

between these adolescents? And how does language choice factor into the situation? Three analytical chapters of this dissertation will be dedicated to topics that may help to shed light on these questions. The first of these topics is ethnic identity, which will be addressed in chapter 4. Here we will see that ethnicity exists as a boundary to interaction at Marquin High School. We will see the ways in which students use discourse and various social practices including language to actively construct this boundary. It will also be seen that because ethnicity is such a salient social category at Marquin, students invest considerable effort in constructing this aspect of their identity, thus reinforcing (and reflecting) the boundary between ethnic groups.

In chapter 5 we will consider the discourses and social practices explored in chapter 4 as manifestations of (and constitutive of) a larger ideology of essentialized difference. Working within the framework of language ideology, we will examine (and re-examine) discourses that emphasize social and linguistic differences between groups and conflate these differences with intrinsic group qualities. These discourses reveal (and create) a fundamental ideology of difference amongst these students. It will also be seen that there exists at Marquin a dominant ideology which hierarchically assesses the salient differences between groups, and consequently, the groups themselves. This is reminiscent of Zentella (1990) discussed above. The effects of these ideologies on interaction and choice of language variety will be addressed in this chapter.

In chapter 6 we will further explore the issue of language choice. In this research context, language choice complicates interaction and koineization since both Mexican Spanish and Puerto Rican Spanish are minority varieties in a context where English is the dominant language. This has not been the case in many other studies of dialect contact (Trudgill 1986, Kerswill and Williams 2000, Chambers 1980 (in Chambers 1995), Payne 1980 (in Trudgill 1986)). Even studies that did take place in a similar language context (i.e. where the dialects

under investigation are not dialects of the dominant language variety) (Amastae and Satcher, 1993; Zentella, 1990), do not address this issue in depth. One exception is Otheguy and Zentella (in progress). Their research on dialects of Spanish in contact in New York does in fact address the role of English as a dominant language, and therefore will be discussed in chapter 6. In this chapter (and throughout this dissertation) it will be shown that Puerto Ricans at Marquin speak much less Spanish, and more English, than the Mexicans at Marquin. Consequently, the question of why this divergence in language choice is occurring will be explored. A language shift/maintenance framework will show that some macrosocial differences do exist between the two ethnic groups, but that these differences alone cannot explain the divergent language choices observed at Marquin High. We will see instead that it is the effect of these macrosocial differences on the intervening variables of ethnic identity, ideology, and social networks that best explain the language choices and interactional patterns of the students at Marquin High School. The implications for koineization, and more broadly, for the question of Hispanic inter-ethnic contact in the U.S. will be discussed.

2. SITE AND METHODOLOGY

The present study was conducted in a high school that I will call Marquin High School, in a neighborhood of Chicago that I will refer to as Cartagena Square. In this chapter, a historical background of both the school and the neighborhood will be presented. A sketch of both of these locales as they exist in the present will also be drawn. Chicago has been described as a city where “distinctions about ‘neighborhoods’ are virtually inseparable from their overt or submerged racial and also class-inflected meanings” and where “politics of race play out in remarkably spatialized terms” (Ramos-Zayas and De Genova 2003: 32). Thus, the descriptions in this chapter provide a much-needed framework in interpreting the issues of ethnic identity and ideology that proved to be integral to understanding the sociolinguistic situation at Marquin High School. The methodology for this study will also be presented in this chapter.

2.1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: CARTAGENA SQUARE

The history of Cartagena Square is an interesting one. Since its inception, this community area has seen various ethnic immigrant groups come and go. Incorporated into the city of Chicago in 1869, its very first settlers were Germans, followed soon after by Scandinavians (Local Community Fact Book, henceforth LCFB 1990). By the 1900s, a significant Polish population had claimed this area as their own. In fact, before 1918, the area that now can be called East Cartagena Square was considered the capitol of ‘Polonium,’ “that spiritual community of millions of Poles who longed and worked for the day when Poland would again be free and independent” (Marciniak 1977: 13). In “Polish downtown,” as the area came to be called, Polish was the language of everyday life. Until the second World War it was a place tourists loved to

visit— a bustling neighborhood full of old world charm and a center of Polish culture and social life (Marciniak 1977).

After the war, this area began to change. Soldiers came back from the war, married, and left the old neighborhood. In the 1950s plans were made for a new expressway, the “Kennedy expressway,” which was to run through the heart of Polish downtown. As homes in the path of the expressway were demolished, even more Poles left the area. By this time, Polish immigration to the U.S. had slowed down considerably. The newly emptied pockets in Cartagena Square began to be filled in with new ethnic groups, many of who were Puerto Ricans. “New ethnic settlements, mostly Puerto Rican but occasionally Mexican, now mingled with old institutions, mostly Polish and Italian. Latino accents, generally falling from younger lips, were heard more often than Slavic ones, which usually came from older residents” (Marciniak 1977: 17). Trilingual signs (in Polish, Spanish and English) became ubiquitous. As many of the ethnic whites left the area, stores that remained began to stock “exotic” goods. In essence, Cartagena Square became a “changing neighborhood.” To put this into numeric terms, the 1960 census showed that the area’s population was still 99 per cent European white, while in the 1970s the area’s Latino population more than doubled and came to comprise 41 per cent of the area’s total population (LCFB 1990).

By the 1960s, Cartagena Square was very much an area in transition. Residents bemoaned not only the physical deterioration that had begun to become apparent, but also the deterioration of the sense of community; they feared the loss of their neighborhood. When the Department of Urban Renewal (DUR) labeled the area a conservation area in 1958 and then moved to implement urban renewal plans in the 1960s, they were met with fierce resistance from community organizations. It was not that residents and community organizations did not want

physical improvements for the community, but this desire was outweighed by the fear that “urban renewal” would mean “mass clearance of homes occupied by low income and blue collar families, homes which would then be replaced by high-rise apartments where rents would be far too expensive for most of those displaced but suitable for middle class tenants” (Marciniak 1977: 23). Residents of Cartagena Square were well aware that the area’s proximity to downtown Chicago and its local shopping facilities made the land in this area very valuable. This was the first instance of what would become a long community history of resistance of gentrification.

The battle against the urban renewal plan of the DUR was neither won nor lost. In the end, the DUR became frustrated by the numerous demands placed on them by community organizations and finally pulled out of the area and went elsewhere. During the early 1970s the Cartagena Square area approximated a no-man’s land. There were no more projects and planning for the area. There were no major public or private improvements made. The socioeconomic status of the area continued to slip. The number of low-income households, unskilled wage earners and families on welfare steadily increased (Marciniak 1977). In fact, according to the 1980 census, Cartagena Square had the highest concentrations of poor whites and Hispanics in Chicago, and the number of poverty level residents rose by 92% during the 1970s (“Housing,” 1983). Signs of urban neglect were visible everywhere—the streets, sidewalks and sewers were all in various states of disrepair (Marciniak 1977).

In the mid 1970s another plan was conceived by the city of Chicago to revitalize what they called “Community 21— East Cartagena Square.” Community organizations once again banded together to protest the plans. They demanded more input into the planning so that their lower-income Black, Hispanic and Italian residents wouldn’t be “urban renewed and priced out of their neighborhoods” (Marciniak 1977: 30). In the end, the city agreed to financially assist

East Cartagena Square to do its own planning. The plan that finally emerged in 1975, the “Program for Improvement 1977-80,” reflected a distinctive kind of neighborhood planning, an amalgam of resident and professional insights. The guidelines present in the plan were intended to reverse the community’s downward slide and to help start the journey towards rehabilitation and improvement, while keeping the area affordable for long-time residents which in turn would help to achieve the bigger goal of keeping intact a sense of community (Marciniak 1977).

Newspaper clippings from this time reflect the deteriorating conditions that community organizations and members strove to arrest. There are reports that as early as 1966 conditions in the area were bad enough to promote violence which culminated in clashes between residents and police and rioting on Puerto Rican Day. A repetition of this violence was seen in June of 1977, also during Puerto Rican Day festivities. Gang violence led to more clashes between residents and police which resulted in two days of rioting leaving three people dead, hundreds injured, and a number of businesses looted. While the final impetus for this rioting was gang violence, the Chicago Tribune reported that community leaders felt that at the root of the problem was poverty, a lack of political power, and the feeling that the community had been “forgotten by the city at large” (“Troubled Island,” 1977). In May of 1982, in an article entitled “Cartagena Square fights to keep old spirit alive,” the Chicago Sun-Times reported that while Puerto Ricans felt very at home in Cartagena Square amidst the food stands, music in the park, neighbors gathered on front stoops, etc.; there were major problems associated with poverty, crime, gangs, and lack of housing. In addition, there were multitudes of unskilled workers residing in Cartagena Square with few training programs provided for them. All of these factors, maintained the Sun-Times, were threatening this sense of community (“Spirit,” 1982).

Another very important facet of what was happening in Cartagena Square in the 1970s was the birth of a politicized Puerto Rican identity. In a paper entitled “Nationalist Ideologies, Neighborhood-Based Activism, and Educational Spaces in Puerto Rican Chicago” (1998), Ana Ramos-Zayas describes the birth and ensuing history of nationalist political militancy in Cartagena Square, Chicago. According to Ramos-Zayas, the social and political awareness triggered by the larger civil rights movement in Chicago, coupled with the community-based development efforts of the 1970s that were described above, help to explain the “distinctive politicization of Puerto Rican identity in Chicago” at this time (167). After the Cartagena Square riots and the implementation of community action programs, militant efforts began to form. In fact, it was at this time (the late 1970s) that a Chicago chapter of the Young Lords Organization (one of the most renowned embodiments of Puerto Rican militancy in the United States) was founded.

The early 1980s found the Chicago Puerto Rican community (the heart of which by now resided in Cartagena Square) in the midst of political controversy in both the United States and Puerto Rico. The FALN (*Fuerzas Armadas para la Liberación Nacional* or *Armed Forces for National Liberation*), a clandestine group advocating political independence for Puerto Rico using any means necessary, publicly took responsibility for a series of bombings in military facilities in the U.S. and Puerto Rico in the late 1970s. Thirteen of the fifteen Puerto Rican members of the group were either born or raised in Chicago. All were arrested and given hefty prison terms on charges of “seditious conspiracy to overthrow the U.S. government” (167).

According to Ramos-Zayas (1998), the FALN redefined Puerto Rican politics and social networks in Chicago. In the 1980s, at the peak of FALN activity and FBI persecution, the community was somewhat divided in its support for the FALN members and the Puerto Rican

nationalist cause. While signs of “FALN Welcomed Here” were commonly seen on houses and cars, the perception that these militant members of the community were “terrorists” who gave “all Puerto Ricans a bad name” was also common (168). Either way, a politicized Puerto Rican identity had become very apparent within Cartagena Square. For the larger population of Chicago, Cartagena Square had become synonymous with Puerto Ricans and violence.

2.2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: MARQUIN HIGH SCHOOL

As was revealed in the last section and will become even clearer in the next sections, Cartagena Square has evolved into a “Puerto Rican space” (Ramos-Zayas 1998) engulfed in issues involving Puerto Rican identity. In this section, this idea will be reinforced through an examination of the history of Marquin High School. We will see that the history of this school is also tied up in issues regarding Puerto Ricans and Puerto Rican nationalism. Again, this backdrop is essential to understanding students’ sense of ethnic identity and their ideologies, and as a result, the sociolinguistic profile of Marquin High School.

It is difficult to separate the history of Marquin High School from the history of the community, since the two have been explicitly linked since even before the founding of Marquin High School. Marquin High School was formerly known as Ipsilon High School. In the early 1970s, problems began to arise within the school. As more and more Puerto Ricans were being displaced out of other Chicago neighborhoods into Cartagena Square, demands for appropriate, accountable, community-controlled education grew. Students and community members started to complain that the administration at Ipsilon was “racist” and insensitive to the concerns of the Puerto Rican students (Poizone 1997). These complaints led to demands for a more culturally sensitive curriculum and the firing of the (white) principal, student strikes, and ultimately, to rioting. The group of teachers and eleven students who were the organizers of the strikes were

expelled from the school. When their petitions for educational reform, which included bilingual education and Puerto Rican history classes, went unheard; the student leaders and community activists, most of who advocated Puerto Rican independence and belonged to pro-independence groups in the 1970s, started their own, alternative Puerto Rican high school (Ramos-Zayas 1998). Meanwhile, Ipsilon itself was reconstituted as Marquin Community Academy and opened its doors in September of 1973 (Poizone 1997). This school too, incorporated numerous demands from the activists at Ipsilon, as will be seen below.

The passage of the Chicago School Reform Act of 1988, “the boldest attack on the problems of urban public education tried by any school system in the nation” (Leroux and Grossman 2000: 1), affected all Chicago Public Schools. The act created and empowered local school councils to make decisions about the hiring and firing of principals and the spending of state discretionary funds. In general, the local school councils were to establish a vision for their school and plan how to realize these visions. These councils were composed of the principal, two teachers, six parents, two community members and, at high schools, one student. In effect, the School Reform Act of 1988 served to decentralize power away from the Downtown Board of Education into the hands of these locally based school councils (Leroux and Grossman 2000).

In the case of Marquin High School, the School Reform Act of 1988 led to the formation of their local school council (LSC), which was composed of parents, students, barrio residents and activists in Cartagena Square. The LSC, after its initial formation, outlined the ways in which it would use the discretionary funds allotted to Marquin High School to reform the school and the community it served. The elements of the reform were summarized in four main categories: 1) awareness of Puerto Rican history; 2) socioeconomic development strategies for the school community and neighborhood; 3) emphasis on individual commitment to the

community and activism through hands-on involvement; and 4) enhancing cultural pride through artistic presentations, conferences, museum exhibits, etc. According to Ramos-Zayas (1998), “the [Marquin LSC] undoubtedly shared community development values harbored by grassroots activists, since many of these activists were involved in the conceptual and implementational aspects of the reform. This pro-independence [for Puerto Rico] presence is noticed (and even praised) by the parents of many [Marquin] High School students” (189).

In keeping with the above stated goals, a variety of projects were developed at Marquin High School. The high school houses satellite programs for several Puerto Rican community agencies aimed at serving the students of the high school and their parents in the neighborhood. The school was opened up to the community through cultural events. Programs were also put in place to raise students’ sociohistorical awareness. Two examples of such projects were the painting of murals of Puerto Rican historical figures, and a trip to Madre Isla, a coffee plantation in a small mountain town of Puerto Rico run by a grassroots cooperative (Ramos-Zayas 1998).

In June of 1995 a scandal broke concerning these very funds and projects that was to put Marquin in the spotlight for years to come. The Chicago Sun-Times printed a cover-page article entitled “Public School’s Pathetic Use of Poverty Funds” (Ramos-Zayas 1998). This article (and eventually the state) accused Marquin of misusing Chapter One funds which are given to schools based on the number of students who live in poverty. Marquin received more than \$1 million annually in such funds which were designed to provide extra reading and other tutoring programs. Marquin was accused of misusing these funds between 1992 and 1993 to further the cause of Puerto Rican independence (Martinez 1997). Cited as evidence for these charges were some of the projects described above, and the hiring of two consultants to develop a culturally sensitive curriculum who were alleged to have ties to the pro-independence cause (Ramos-Zayas

1998). In late 1995 the Chicago school board put Marquin on financial probation after an audit found that Marquin had questionably spent their Chapter 1 funds.

In early 1997 another crisis broke concerning the hiring of a new principal at Marquin after the previous principal resigned. The LSC favored the hiring of then acting principal Edward Negrón, who, according to a Chicago Tribune article, had ties to Puerto Rican pro-independence groups. The Chicago School Reform Board felt that the local school council no longer had a say in such matters, and instead hired the (non-Puerto Rican) dean of students from a local high school. Almost immediately she became the target of threats in writing and by phone, some purportedly made in the name of FALN. She did not accept the job (“Threatening Climate,” 1997).

In late 1998, state legislative hearings were held to look into the issue of how Chapter 1 funds were spent at Marquin High School. The Special Legislative Committee did uncover financial and administrative irregularities at Marquin, but it did not arrive at a collective conclusion that these irregularities were tantamount to fraud, nor to an alleged conspiracy by Puerto Rican independence activists. The committee did conclude that there needed to be more accountability with respect to the spending of Chapter 1 funds (Howard 1999).

This same issue regarding the Chapter 1 funds was to resurface the next year in the federal trial of Professor José Solís Jordan, who was accused of conspiring to plant two pipe bombs outside a military recruiting center on the Northwest side of Chicago in December of 1992 in the name of Puerto Rican independence. Because the details are not important, I will not expand upon them. Essentially, a number of men who had been quite involved with Marquin’s local school council and the spending of the Chapter 1 funds in the early 1990s were also linked to the pipe bombing incident and other pro-independence movements (Puentes 1999a). A key

witness, Rafael Marrero, testified that these supporters of Puerto Rican independence (who had been involved in the pipe bomb conspiracy) controlled the Marquin school council and directed it to spend Chapter 1 state poverty money to bring independence activists, musicians and performers to Chicago (Puente 1999b).

To be fair, the other side of the story should also be represented here. First of all, Rafael Marrero was the only witness to testify in hearings regarding the alleged conspiracy by Puerto Rican activists to subvert Chapter 1 funds (Howard 1999). He was also a main witness in the case against Solís. Many community members and non-community members questioned the credibility of this witness. Marrero was a former employee of some of the men who were implicated in the pipe-bombing episode. All of these men worked together at the Puerto Rican Cultural Center, a community organization that has never hidden its support for the Puerto Rican independence cause. According to newspaper accounts, there was much ill will between Marrero and Cultural Center administrators. Marrero eventually became an informant for the FBI. Solís' lawyers and court documents showed that Marrero misrepresented his educational background, and was paid in excess of \$100,000 by the FBI for his cooperation (Puente 1999b). At the same time, at the hearings regarding Marquin High School, no testimony was heard from members of the community such as students, parents, local school council members and other community members, supposedly because of intimidating legal correspondence and state police visits (Howard 1999).

Aside from questions of the credibility of witnesses, there are two issues: the equation of pro-independence with "terrorism;" and secondly, the chosen usages for Chapter 1 funds may very well have been educationally beneficial. Numerous people have made both of these points. For example, on her web-site, Professor Nilda Flores-Gonzalez of the University of Illinois at

Chicago discusses a project she is working on which involves the collection and analysis of newspaper articles and other media news about Marquin High School. She says, “[t]he goal of the study is to show how the image of the school as constructed by the media has been problematized and stigmatized. [...] The study investigates how the rhetoric of ‘radicalism’ has given way to the discourse of ‘terrorism’ of the late 1990s” (Flores-Gonzalez 2004). Mike Poizone, in an anarchist journal called “Love and Rage,” takes this one step further and links much of what has happened at Marquin to the city’s plans to gentrify the area in which the school sits (this will be further discussed in the next section). He says,

“[t]he attempt to portray [Marquin] as an educational failure, where teenagers are indoctrinated to be anti-American at the expense of any gain in cognitive skills, is widely perceived as a ploy to justify the reconstitution of the school. This process would allow the Board of Education to close and re-open the school with an entirely new staff and student body. The new [Marquin] could become an “exemplary” magnet school for white kids, with a more politically-acceptable staff; no more open admissions of low-income kids regardless of their academic records, to be taught by radical teachers. Further, reconstitution could strip [Marquin's] Local School Council of its power. [...] If [Marquin's] LSC is disbanded, even such admittedly limited attempts at alternative education would be in jeopardy” (Poizone 1997, section “The Big Picture,” para. 2).

As for the second point, that the ways in which the Chapter 1 funds were used may very well have been educationally beneficial, this was expressed in a letter to the Chicago Tribune published in January of 1999. In this letter, a state representative writes of the innovative and creative approaches to the educational process at Marquin. She says, “It appears to me that this process was designed to make education relevant to students, including those who might otherwise become dropouts, and to involve students’ families in a meaningful way in the school and in their children’s education. I certainly can see why community participants and LSC members believed that this was an appropriate and educationally sound use of Chapter 1 funds” (Howard 1999). This would not be the only example of a strategy of cultural enhancement in the educational sphere. In fact, in an article published in April 2000 in the Chicago Tribune that

evaluates the efforts of Chicago's local school council system, another school that also adopted a strategy of cultural enhancement is held up as an example of what can be achieved within this new system. The example is of a school on the South Side of Chicago that is 100% African American. The hallways of this school are covered with vibrant paintings, masks, drums and sculptures reminiscent of Africa. Cultural pride is encouraged, and according to many different testing measures, this strategy seems to have been successful (Leroux and Grossman 2000).

How Marquin's state poverty funds were used and whether or not there were any ties to pro-independence believers and/or fighters is not pertinent to the study at hand. The significance to this study of the whole historical background that has now been outlined of both Cartagena Square and Marquin High School is this: it becomes clear that Marquin High School and Cartagena Square are "Puerto Rican spaces" (Ramos-Zayas 1998). This is something that was not grasped to its fullest extent before fieldwork for this study was initiated. But after looking into the history of Marquin and its surrounding community, and after spending a year in the school, it is apparent that both the community and the school have been engulfed in many issues having to do with Puerto Rican identity. They are both indeed Puerto Rican spaces, and are perceived as such by others. Numerous interactions with students and staff show that they too regard these as Puerto Rican spaces. For example, in an interview with a student who I will call Isabel, we enter into a conversation about the different neighborhoods in Chicago and how Chicago is full of ethnic neighborhoods where the people are of that ethnicity, the food being sold is from the home country or countries, and native languages are still heard in the streets. In the midst of this conversation she says, "como en la veintiseis ve mucho mexicano, en [Cartagena Square] mucho puertorriqueno, en ukranian village mucho ukrariano..." (*like on 26th you see a lot of Mexican, in [Cartagena Square] a lot of Puerto Rican, in Ukrainian Village*

a lot of Ukranian...”). Here Isabel reiterates the idea of Chicago as a “city of neighborhoods” (see page 30 for Ramos-Zayas’s interpretation of this idea), and vocalizes universally held perceptions of space and ethnicity in Chicago: the 26th Street area is Mexican, and Cartagena Square is Puerto Rican.

Other interactions confirmed that those familiar with Marquin High School feel that the culture of the school is also Puerto Rican dominant. Walking home with a student one day (Mexican), it became apparent that there was some resentment regarding this. According to her, and others, the spending of the schools’ resources is unfairly biased towards “Puerto Rican extra-curricular activities” such as baseball and football. The Mexican dominant sport, soccer, gets much less attention, enthusiasm, and resources such as coaching and equipment. This sentiment was echoed by a Mexican teacher who also pointed out to me that the baseball team’s uniform has a Puerto Rican flag on the sleeve while the soccer team’s uniform has a Mexican flag on the sleeve, thus cementing the idea of ethnic separation and sports as indexical of ethnic identity. This was further seen in a picture prominently placed in one of the main areas of the school. With a banner congratulating the coach of the baseball team on a great season, the picture showed the whole baseball team kneeling on the field, displaying a large Puerto Rican flag.

No matter what happened at Marquin in the 1990s, it is safe to say that Marquin’s administrators and local school council decided to promote cultural awareness and pride, and especially Puerto Rican cultural awareness and pride, as a strategy to help the education of the students. Such a strategy can be very effective, as was shown in the case of the African American school on the South Side of Chicago. But what does all of this mean for the very sizable Mexican population in both Cartagena Square and Marquin High School? The other example of a school that promoted cultural pride had a population that was 100% African

American. In 2002 Marquin was roughly 80% Hispanic, and 33% of the class was Mexican while 47% was Puerto Rican. The population of Cartagena Square was actually more Mexican than Puerto Rican (though this would come as a surprise to an outside observer). As will be mentioned again in the next section, it seems that the strategy against gentrification in Cartagena Square has been to use nationalism and the assertion of an ethnic and national identity to reclaim space—a *Puerto Rican* identity, not a pan-Latino one. It is the rally cry behind which community members have been organized. But again, where does this leave the Mexican community? Going to school in such a Puerto Rican space must shape the high school experience of these students. The question is how? Answers to these questions will become evident throughout the next few chapters, and particularly in chapter 5.

2.3. CARTAGENA SQUARE AND MARQUIN TODAY

This section will begin with a brief sketch of the Latino population in Chicago, revealing the reasons why Chicago is considered by many to be an ideal locale for studying the contact between Mexicans and Puerto Ricans. A more in-depth history of this Latino population is included in chapter 5. This will be followed by a description of Cartagena Square and Marquin High School as they exist today. The descriptions in this chapter yield an interesting portrait which will be further illuminated by the chapters to come: demographically speaking, Chicago, Cartagena Square, and most specifically, Marquin High School should be perfect environments for dialect levelling. Yet, a closer look at each of these reveals spaces that are “shared,” yet still separated by issues of ethnic identity.

The first major wave of Mexican migration to the U.S. was seen in the first quarter of the twentieth century as citizens fled the aftermath of the Mexican Revolution. These migrants came to Chicago because at the time, Chicago was the nation’s industrial hub. By the 1930s, as heavy

industry boomed in the years after the Depression, Mexicans in Chicago were doing quite well. Soon, a second generation of Mexicans was born in Chicago. By the 1950s, these early immigrants were doing as well as the Polish or Italian communities of Chicago. Soon after though, heavy industry started to decline. The steel mills of Chicago closed down. But Mexicans continued to migrate to the now established Mexican community of Chicago that was centered around the south side of the city (Casuo and Camacho 1995). Mexican migration to the U.S. and to Chicago has increased steadily ever since. This steady migration has been said to be caused by the declining economic circumstances of Mexico in the face of the recent advent of large-scale agriculture, population increases within the country, and fiscal austerity measures provoked by its foreign debt (Klor de Alva 1988).

Unlike with Mexican migration, the U.S. saw a big wave of Puerto Rican migration between 1950-9, and then saw a dramatic tapering off (Klor de Alva 1988). The population in Puerto Rico after World War II was at all time highs, and the work force, which was mostly rural, was also growing at rapid rates and could not be absorbed by the underdeveloped economy of Puerto Rico (Casuo and Camacho 1995). These were also the years of “Operation Bootstrap,” when the commonwealth model adopted for Puerto Rico necessitated a “cleaning up” of the Island in order to appear successful—many women were sterilized, and migration to the U.S. was incentivized at this time (Ramos-Zayas and De Genova 2003). Many unskilled workers migrated to New York. After seeing the crowded neighborhoods and stiff competition for jobs though, many of these same migrants moved on to Chicago where they had heard job opportunities were much greater. In the 1950s and 1960s, Chicago’s Puerto Rican population grew rapidly, second only to New York. They, like the Mexicans before them, were for the most part unskilled farmers and laborers escaping poverty in Puerto Rico. But by the time the Puerto

Ricans made it to Chicago, heavy industry in the city had begun to decline and many of the better paying industrial jobs were gone. Many Puerto Ricans were forced to take dead-end menial and light manufacturing jobs (Casuo and Camacho 1995).

Both Mexican and Puerto Rican migration patterns have had a significant impact on the demographics of Chicago. While the early Mexican immigrants who came to Chicago became fairly prosperous and established, the newer Mexican immigrants share many social characteristics with the Puerto Rican community, as will be seen in greater detail below. By the year 2000, Hispanics made up roughly 26% of the population of Chicago (Northeastern Illinois Planning Commission 2000). 85% of this total Hispanic population is comprised of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans: 70% of the Hispanic population of Chicago is Mexican, while 15% is Puerto Rican. Thus, “although Chicago is counted among the most diversified areas of Latino settlement in the U.S. [...], the decisive debates and struggles concerning Latino Chicago still tend to be largely conceptualized as something that principally transpires between Mexicans and Puerto Ricans” (Ramos-Zayas and De Genova 2003: 31). In fact, Chicago has emerged as “the premier site where Mexicans and Puerto Ricans have both settled over the course of several decades and multiple generations” (Ramos-Zayas and De Genova 2003: 31). This history and current demographic profile has led to various studies regarding a pan-Latino identity in Chicago (Padilla 1985; Rúa 2001; Ramos-Zayas 2003; Potowski, personal communication). It is also what led to the conception of the present study.

While Chicago is a fairly diverse locale, and especially good for studying contact between Puerto Ricans and Mexicans, it is also an ethnically segregated city, as has been mentioned above. A majority of the city’s 753,644 Hispanics live in five distinct neighborhoods or “barrios”: Pilsen, Little Village, and the neighborhoods I will refer to as Cartagena Square,

Toy Town, and Washington Circle. As Ramos-Zayas puts it, “Chicago’s neighborhood-based urban pattern contributes to the strong associations between cultural groups and specific city areas” (169). Traditionally, the Cartagena Square/Toy Town/Washington Circle area on the north side of the city has been coterminous with the “Puerto Rican community,” while the heart of the “Mexican community” has been considered the Pilsen/Little Village area on the Southside (which is where 26th Street lies).

Cartagena Square, the setting for the present study, sits about three miles northwest of downtown Chicago. While its borders are constantly changing and renegotiated, it is roughly a two square-mile area. Through the middle of this, running east to west, is Duffy St., wherein lies the heart of Chicago’s Puerto Rican community. The six block stretch of Duffy St. known as “Paseo Boricua”¹ is marked off on each end by two huge, colorful, steel Puerto Rican flags. Between these two flags lie all sorts of establishments and symbols that claim this space as Puerto Rican. There are numerous nationalist murals on the sides of buildings throughout this strip. A number of Puerto Rican social organizations are housed on this stretch of Duffy Street such as the aforementioned Puerto Rican Cultural Center and an AIDS prevention organization entitled “Vida Sida.” Decals of the Puerto Rican flag or miniature flags are ever-present. The term “boricua” appears in the title of many establishments, such as the popular “Boriken Bakery and Café” which has served as a gathering place for the community for many years. On the western edge of Paseo Boricua sits Cartagena Park, another gathering place for Puerto Ricans complete with ‘fritoleros,’ teenagers blasting *salsa* and *bachata* alongside the ever-present hip-hop, and ambulatory businessmen selling all sorts of paraphernalia adorned with the Puerto Rican flag.

Beyond “Paseo Boricua” though, the scene is a little less straightforward. As mentioned earlier, there is a very sizable and growing Mexican population that resides in Cartagena Square, as well as a large number of African Americans. The Local Community Fact Book’s description of Cartagena Square contends that “Although there is no sharp demarcation between Mexican and Puerto Rican residential areas, the greatest Mexican concentration is in the northeast corner of [Cartagena Square]. Their presence is [also] reflected in the lively strips of restaurants and shops along North Ave. on either side of Pulaski Road” (89). While this is probably true in terms of strict census data, the feel and public perception is not always in agreement with the idea that Cartagena Square is not sharply demarcated. For example, during one phase of data collection, I witnessed a conversation between a Mexican girl and a boy whose ethnicity was unknown to me. The girl was trying to give the boy directions to her house which was in Cartagena Square. After much discussion and mentioning of local landmarks, the boy finally grasped where she meant and said something to the effect of “oh yeah, it’s all Mexican right there.” This points first of all to a strong awareness amongst students of ethnic divisions, and also supports my own observation that while all of Cartagena Square is not sharply segregated, there are clearly certain pockets that display a strongly mono-ethnic identity.

The geographic separation of Hispanics and African Americans within Cartagena Square is fairly easy to spot and seemingly more pronounced than the division between Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, though this may be confounded by the very fact that it is a more easily identified boundary. This separation/segregation is evidenced by billboards in English rather than Spanish, a larger than normal number of Baptist churches with messages written again in English rather than Spanish, fried chicken stands and shrimp houses in place of taquerias and criolla food

¹ The term “boricua” is derived from “Borinquen,” the title chosen by Puerto Ricans to rename the island of Puerto Rico in an effort to return to pre-Columbian indigenous Taíno roots. Puerto Ricans often proudly refer to their own

restaurants, and of course, a marked change in skin color (though this is not always as straightforward an indicator as one might think). Sadly enough, these pockets tend to be relatively more dilapidated than other areas of Cartagena Square, are less colorful and vibrant, and seem to have an even larger number of empty lots, garages and car repair shops than what is already an overrepresentation of these establishments throughout Cartagena Square. These African American geographic pockets also show a disproportionate number of public housing developments.

As mentioned above, the demarcation between Puerto Rican areas and Mexican areas within Cartagena Square is harder to observe, and is by all accounts, less stark than that between “Hispanic” and African American areas. At the same time, a tour through Cartagena Square reveals that certain areas do display a very distinctive ethnic flair. As was mentioned earlier, the six-block section of Duffy St. known as “Paseo Boricua” is resplendent with symbols of Puerto Rican culture and pride. If one were to walk a small circle just around this area, it is clear that these symbols do permeate beyond Duffy St. Huge murals that inevitably display the Puerto Rican flag somewhere in them are frequent throughout this space. There is a large, ornate building dedicated to the Puerto Rican parade of Chicago. One side of this building reveals a Puerto Rican flag painted onto the brick. “Puerto Ricanism” is also evident in other, disconnected parts of Cartagena Square. Again, ethnicity in these areas is often marked by symbols such as the flag, murals of famous “independistas,” and businesses selling Puerto Rican goods.

As was mentioned in the LCFB description, the northwest and northeast corners of Cartagena Square are decidedly more Mexican in flavor. Though overt symbols of Mexican nationalism are much less common, shops and restaurants selling Mexican food and goods, the

identity as “boricua.”

occasional Mexican flag, and the advertisement of services such as remittances to Mexico and travel agencies with special deals to cities throughout Mexico all mark ethnicity. In general, the word “Hispanic” in Chicago is often synonymous with “Mexican,” given that the majority of Chicago’s Latinos are Mexican. Consequently, in Cartagena Square, which has been the heart of Chicago’s Puerto Rican community, it is often the absence of symbols of “Puerto Ricanism” in areas that are still obviously Hispanic that signifies a Mexican presence.

The demographics of Cartagena Square are difficult to pin down due to the issue of boundaries—as mentioned above, where Cartagena Square actually begins and ends is not at all clear cut; these boundaries are constantly being renegotiated. Also, many of the reports and analysis of data that would be pertinent to this study are not yet available for the 2000 census. Still, a fairly accurate picture of Cartagena Square can be drawn. According to 2000 census data, the total population of Cartagena Square was 65,836. Of this total population, Hispanics (of any race) account for almost half of the population (31,607). 40.6 per cent of the total population is youth (0-19 years of age) (Northeastern Illinois Planning Commission 2000). In other words, Cartagena Square has a highly youthful population. In a report put out by the Center for Urban Economic Development (CUED) at the University of Illinois at Chicago, Cartagena Square was characterized as having a high concentration of poverty, which brought with it related social problems. According to 1990 census data, the median family income in Cartagena Square ranged from \$9,189 in a certain census tract, to \$32,148 in another. The median family income for the county as a whole was \$39,296 (CUED). According to 2000 census data, about one third of all Cartagena Square residents live below the federal poverty level. Women headed forty-five percent of the households and more than half of them fell below the poverty line (DePaul University 2002). 1990 data also show that more than one half of Cartagena Square residents 18

years and older did not have a high school diploma, and that the percentage of people who never reached the ninth-grade is roughly three times higher than in the county as a whole (CUED). Unemployment in Cartagena Square is twice that of Chicago as a whole. Gang activity is a long-term problem in Cartagena Square, and street crimes such as drug peddling and muggings are fairly commonplace (DePaul University 2002).

While “Cartagena Square” and “Puerto Rican” have traditionally been coterminous in the city of Chicago, this has been changing throughout the past few decades, if only in terms of numbers. The Local Community Fact Book, which compiled data from the 1990 census, comments on the changing demographics of Cartagena Square and in particular, on the changing ethnic composition of the Hispanic population. According to their assessment, between 1970 and 1990 the Mexican population increased rapidly, while the Puerto Rican population peaked in 1980 and has gradually declined ever since. As a result, the Puerto Rican portion of Cartagena Square’s Hispanic population dropped from two-thirds in 1970 to just over half in 1990, while the Mexican population of Cartagena Square increased to 39 percent during the same period. The 2000 census shows that the Mexican population in Cartagena Square has actually overtaken the Puerto Rican population; of 31,607 Hispanics in Cartagena Square, 16,248 (51.4%) claimed a Mexican ethnicity, while only 11,777 (37.3%) were reported as Puerto Ricans. Again, because what is considered Cartagena Square is not consistent, these numbers should be treated as an approximation. Still, the underlying fact is that there is a surprisingly large Mexican presence in Cartagena Square. (The very significant African American presence should not be overlooked either—close to half of Cartagena Square’s population is African American.) While overt symbols of the Mexican presence are not as apparent as the Puerto Rican presence, Mexicans are visible in subtle ways apart from commerce. An excerpt from an article from 1998 in the

Chicago Tribune does a good job capturing the essence of the changing demographics of Cartagena Square:

“On Sunday evenings, the baseball leagues finish their games at [Cartagena Park] and filter out of the beige, dusty diamonds. At the same time, the soccer players are rolling the green, 55-gallon park garbage cans into place to serve as makeshift goal markers in the grassy areas between the diamonds. To outsiders, it appears to be just a transition from Hispanic baseball players to Hispanic soccer players. But neighborhood residents recognize it as a symbol of cultural change: It signifies the growing population of Mexican immigrants displacing Puerto Ricans” (Pallasch 1998, para. 1).

While the demographics within Cartagena Square have been changing in the past few decades, the demographics in the areas just adjacent to Cartagena Square have been changing perhaps even more dramatically. On the very eastern edge of Cartagena Square and Cartagena Square’s neighbor to the north, Washington Circle, lie the neighborhoods of Suffolk Square and Sunnyview. While Sunnyview is a census tract within Washington Circle, and Suffolk Square falls within the demographically similar area of Toy Town, they are truly their own neighborhoods for all intents and purposes, though this did not used to be the case. Duffy St. serves as a good example of the larger picture. As mentioned earlier, Paseo Boricua is a six-block stretch of Duffy St. with the flags marking its eastern and western boundaries. If one were to proceed east beyond this easternmost flag, there is a two-block stretch of transitional territory—this is where Marquin High School sits, and next to the school is a large hospital. After this, the transition is complete. The next six blocks are strewn with coffee shops, high-end boutiques and restaurants, and new condominium after new condominium. The only remnant of what this area used to be is seen in the sporadic pawn shop, bar with cafeteria style seating and plastic countertops, and storefronts such as the “Cartagena Medical Center.” To sum up the situation, Suffolk Square (which is where this stretch of Duffy St. lies) and Sunnyview have been gentrified. And the fear from the perspective of the Puerto Rican community is that this gentrification is still moving westward into what little remains of their territory. This fear and

awareness was apparent in hundreds of newspaper articles, not to mention in interactions with participants in this project and other community members. Below are two excerpts from interviews that clearly illustrate these sentiments.

In an interview with a Puerto Rican student, Beba, I learned that she lived just across the street from the school. The following conversation ensued:

Transcript 2.1

- 1 EGJ: What's the ethnic composition of the neighborhood? Like what's the
2 biggest group, the second biggest group of people?
3 Beba: White. [Yuppies.]
4 EGJ: [Really?] Really?=
5 Beba: =Around here? Around my block it's nothing
6 but whites. There's like two Puerto Rican families that are left, mines and
7 the people that own the building like two houses down.
8 EGJ: Wow. Oh, I didn't realize that. Okay, so the biggest group is whites and
9 then second group maybe a couple Puerto Ricans? That's really it.
10 Beba: That's it.
11 EGJ: Did it- it wasn't always that way though.
12 Beba: No it was always Puerto Ricans. And then slowly but surely everyone
13 started moving, cause they started raising the rent. So everybody moved
14 and it's just me [and my mom] and the other family=
15 EGJ: [Uh huh] =Uh huh

Here we learn that this neighborhood, which is located in what many would consider the heart of "the Puerto Rican neighborhood," has seen an exodus of Puerto Ricans, driven out by high rents and replaced by white "yuppies." The following transcript reveals the same idea, with an added emotional dimension:

Transcript 2.2

- 1 EGJ: So are there a lot of white people around here?=
2 Noodles: =Now there is.
3 Tuti: =There's a lot of PRns.
4 [Around here.]
5 Noodles: [Yeah, there's a] lo:t of PRns.
6 EGJ: Yeah. But now it's changed, right? I mean now there's more Mexicans,
7 there're more whites, I mean=
8 Noodles: =Yeah because they're moving the Mexicans out
9 from the South Side bringing them over here to the North Side, and they're
10 taking over the West Side, and they already got the East Side taken over, so

11 EGJ: [*((laughs))*]
 12 Tuti: [*((laughs))*]
 13 Noodles: Cause that's downtown, that's where the rich people's at, so-
 14 EGJ: You're talking about the white people
 15 Noodles: Yup
 16 EGJ: Uh huh
 17 Noodles: They're taking over South Side, West Side, [...]and they're kicking
 18 [everyone up to the North Side]
 19 Tuti: [They got {Suffolk Square}]
 20 EGJ: Yeah, yeah it's crazy, you see it change quickly
 21 Noodles: Yup. Cause it's changing over here, they're trying to take off our flags,
 22 off [Duffy St.]=
 23 EGJ: =Yeah, that's what somebody said, I can't believe that,
 24 really?
 25 Tuti: Uh huh
 26 Noodles: Yeah. They're still trying to do that. I'll bust me the nigga that say "oh
 27 take off that Puerto Rican"- oh, don't tell me that

While it is a little unclear who Noodles is referring to at all times, he seems to be asserting that "they," understood to be European-Americans, are orchestrating a mass movement of people throughout the city. For Cartagena Square, this has meant an influx of both Mexicans (lines 8-9) and European-Americans (lines 1-2). This has resulted in changes and a "taking over" which is encapsulated by the proposed removal of the Puerto Rican flags. These flags mark the boundaries of Cartagena Square and declare its Puerto Rican identity—thus, the removal of the flags would amount to a repudiation of this identity. Noodles's proposed answer to this proposal (lines 28-29) is not far from the reaction of many of his Puerto Rican peers.

As was mentioned in the previous section, the Cartagena Square community has had a long history of fighting gentrification. This latest threat has also been met with resistance. The Puerto Rican Community Center has made this resistance effort one of their main goals. They have hosted community meetings to discuss the issue. As Zenaida Lopez says, "What I see happening, if we don't take a stand, is that Marquin High School will disappear. I see it as [Suffolk Square] High in a few years, with no Puerto Ricans there" (Anderson 1999). Their goal

then, is to “keep Cartagena Square Puerto Rican;” to come up with ways to meld wealthy newcomers into the area while still maintaining the strong identity of the community. It was to this end that the Puerto Rican flags were erected in 1995, and the notion of “Paseo Boricua” was conceived. In an abstract for an article entitled “Paseo Boricua: Claiming a Puerto Rican space in Chicago,” Nilda Flores-Gonzalez writes about Paseo Boricua as “a response to the encroaching gentrification and displacement of Puerto Ricans in the communities of [Toy Town] and [Cartagena Square]” (Flores-Gonzalez 2001). Thus, it becomes clear that the strategy that has been adopted to fight gentrification in Cartagena Square has been to use Puerto Rican nationalism and the assertion of an ethnic and national identity to reclaim space. This has occurred and continues to progress quite successfully, despite the large presence of other populations, particularly Mexicans, that was described above.

In the midst of all of this is Marquin High School. It is a sight to behold—a nine-story structure that sits just to the east of the eastern-most Puerto Rican flag, in the two blocks of transitional area between Cartagena Square and the fully gentrified Suffolk Square. The first floor lobby is enclosed on all sides by glass, which affords a view of the escalators that run up and down the whole school. The student body of Marquin high school shows some diversity, and is roughly reflective of the demographics of Cartagena Square. The school draws mostly on students from this neighborhood, though admission is open to residents of other areas as well.² In the 2002-3 academic year, roughly 80% of the junior class (which was the focus of my study) was either Mexican or Puerto Rican: 41.5% of these students self-identified as Mexican, and 58.5% as Puerto Rican. While statistics on the other 20% were not available to me, it is clear

² Information gathered in a demographic survey and impressionistic data indicate that the vast majority of non-Cartagena Square residents who attended Marquin were African American. At the same time, it seems that many African Americans from the neighborhood attend other schools, as the AAn population of Cartagena Square (roughly 50 per cent) is underrepresented at Marquin High School.

that African Americans accounted for a vast majority of this 20%. There is a small ethnic white minority present, a small number of “other” Latinos, and an even smaller Asian population.

While the school has a fairly diverse student body and in fact has a whole wing dedicated to celebrating diversity, it still has the feel (and history) of a Puerto Rican space. Of the nine floors that make up the high school, four of the floors house the different classes. These all follow the same format and are fairly non-descript. It is in the first floor lobby and the second floor that the flavor of the school is felt. Murals adorn many of the walls. Upon entry into the school, one cannot miss a huge, colorful mural representing a famed Puerto Rican figure. The second floor is divided into two wings, connected by a large common area through which the elevator runs and where the main administrative office sits. This main area boasts student art projects and various displays regarding honor roll, students of the week, and different team athletic achievements. A recent visit revealed that the school bowling team had won the city championships. As with the baseball team from the previous year, a photograph foregrounded the team in proud possession of a trophy. The backdrop for the picture was a large Puerto Rican flag. The two wings of this second floor are also covered in murals. One wing reveals three large murals all related to Puerto Rico. The other wing celebrates Marquin's diversity: of four murals, one celebrates Mexico, another celebrates Kwanzaa, and one shows a large map of Latin America.

A typical day at Marquin High School is a lively affair. Students gather outside the school in their requisite white tops and blue bottoms (dress code for all of Chicago Public Schools with the aim of inhibiting the representation of gang affiliations) until 7:30, when they come spilling through the metal detectors. Throughout the day they crowd the elevators and hallways with their presence. Marquin High School is a loud and vibrant place. It is not a place

for the faint of heart—it has a reputation as a “tough” school due to the frequency of fights and gang related activity (Zambrano 1985, Olszewski 2001). Security guards abound. Aggressive behavior and language fly freely. At the same time, greetings are exchanged at top volume and the Hispanic practice of “giving kisses” has been adopted whole-heartedly. It is a place full of the energy, both positive and negative, of inner-city adolescents.

These sketches of the history and demographics of Chicago, Cartagena Square, and Marquin High School reveal a complex picture. From a demographic perspective, the scene unfolding in Chicago as a whole, and Cartagena Square and Marquin High School more specifically, looks like the cohabitation of “Hispanic” kin, perfect for the study of incipient pan-Latino identities and dialect levelling. But a closer look reveals the specter of ethnic separation within these “shared” spaces. This has implications for theoretical models of dialect contact that stress demographic and linguistic factors at the expense of other social factors.

2.4. METHODOLOGY

The research site and design of this study were carefully chosen and constructed in accordance with the dialect contact models discussed in the introductory chapter, so as to maximize the likelihood of koineization. As discussed in the last section, Chicago appears to be a perfect place to study dialect contact, since it has been a meeting point for Mexicans and Puerto Ricans for many years. In the year 2000, one in every four Chicagoans was Latino (Northeastern Illinois Planning Commission 2000). At the same time, Latinos in Chicago are still concentrated in the city itself (rather than in the suburbs), and are especially concentrated in the neighborhoods of the city that were mentioned above (the “Hispanic communities” of Chicago). This suggests even closer “contact” between the various dialect groups, and thus would predict some form of dialect levelling.

The particular community of Cartagena Square was chosen for a variety of reasons, the most important of which are its demographic characteristics. Because many of these issues were already discussed in the last section and chapter, here I will just summarize. In terms of their numbers, both Puerto Ricans and Mexicans are quite evenly represented within Cartagena Square. Kerswill and Williams (2000) stress the importance of a youthful population. As was mentioned above, Cartagena Square also fits this criterion: 40.6% of the population is under 20 years of age. The Puerto Ricans and Mexicans in Chicago and in Cartagena Square share other similar social characteristics as well. One third of all Cartagena Square residents live below the federal poverty level, and over half do not have a high school diploma. Though the two groups come from different backgrounds, these commonalities between the two groups were conceived as the absence of the geographical and social barriers that Zentella (1990) discusses as barriers to interaction.

Within Cartagena Square, Marquin High School was a logical choice as the site for this study. First of all, the school drew most of its student body from the surrounding neighborhood, and thus had a large population of Mexican and Puerto Rican students (80%). As was mentioned above, this population was well balanced between the two populations: (41.5% Mexican, 58.5% Puerto Rican). This fulfills Zentella's (1990) pre-condition for koineization, a balanced demographics. These numbers were also predicted to encourage the formation of mixed social networks, another important factor in dialect contact models (Kerswill and Williams 2000).

The age of speakers has also proven to be crucial to the workings of dialect contact. Conducting fieldwork at Marquin High School gave me the opportunity to focus on adolescents, who have been shown to play a very important role in situations of dialect contact, and all situations of language change (Kerswill and Williams 2000, Chambers 1995, Eckert 2000). I

was able to keep the age of my participants more or less constant by focusing on the junior class at Marquin. The school was very amenable to this because of its unique structure. Within Marquin, each class has its own “house” which corresponds to a different floor of the building. In the case of the juniors, their “house” was the sixth floor. The home floor is where students’ lockers are located, where their own cafeteria is located, and where most of their classes take place. This made data collection and observation much easier, especially at first, since it guaranteed that the students being observed and interacted with were indeed juniors.

After choosing the site and passing through all the requisite barriers of the IRB, the school itself, and the Chicago Board of Education, the next step was to recruit participants. Because the cafeteria was the one common area through which all juniors were sure to pass, (and because I had promised the administration that I would not interfere with normal classroom proceedings), the majority of my time during the first few months in the school were spent in the cafeteria. After just a few days in the cafeteria, it became apparent that securing the participation of students was going to be a difficult project. Aside from having to get past students’ sensitivity to being “studied;” their tough exteriors; numerous questions regarding the study and why they should want to be involved in it, (or worse still, pure apathy); there was the fact that consent forms had to be taken home for parents’ signatures and then brought back. According to numerous students and staff members, this was an insurmountable challenge. In fact, one cafeteria aide made it clear that unless I was willing to let the students forge their parents’ signatures, I could give up hopes of actually receiving any returned forms. Thus, it became clear that participation had to somehow be incentivized. (To their credit, some 20 students did bring back forms on their own.) In the end, a raffle was set up. Bringing back signed forms earned each student a raffle ticket. This approach was much more successful. It was complemented by

an appearance at report card pick up day, when a good number of the parents showed up to pick up report cards, pay bills, and meet with teachers. In the end, the participation of 102 of 383 junior class members was secured.

The first few months in the cafeteria were also spent on a phase of participant observation. During this time, relationships with numerous students were formed, and a picture of the different social networks, patterns of interaction between students, and underlying racial divisions began to emerge. A general idea of how the school operated, complete with its pertinent social categories, was formed. This was a very important phase of the study in that it brought to light many issues which had not been foreseen. Also, it allowed for the establishment of a good rapport with the students—this was to prove very beneficial to the actual interview process. A basic demographic survey was also administered to all participants during this time.

The next phase of data collection was a first round of semi-structured interviews. The administration at Marquin was very cooperative throughout the year of fieldwork and provided me with a small office in which to conduct interviews. This first interview was designed to elicit more demographic information about the students, information about social categories pertinent to their school, data on their home language usage, and information about their social networks. This interview was conducted, for the most part, as a conversation about their social histories. Questions gave students a platform to present themselves to the researcher, and to create their identities through their responses. At the same time, I was interested in getting a natural speech sample from each of them, in Spanish, so as to be able to assess the linguistic effects of dialect contact. To this end, each interview was recorded using a mini-disc recorder and was conducted in Spanish with as many students as were willing. All participants were given the option of not being recorded. In the end, 67 of the 102 students who had agreed to participate (by returning

informed consent forms) were included in this round of interviews. Only four chose to not be recorded. No particular exclusion criteria were used in this first round of interviews; the idea was to interview as many of the participants as possible so as to keep adding to my familiarity with the participants and their social lives and practices. Reasons for not interviewing all participants included truancy, dropping out, and in the end, the time pressure to move on to the next phase of the fieldwork.

The first round of interviews corroborated much of what had been observed in the first few months in the cafeteria. Specifically, it was becoming clear that the majority of the students' social networks and interactions were mono-ethnic; that the Puerto Rican students didn't speak as much Spanish, at least in school, as their Mexican counterparts; and that as a result, the opportunities for koineization to occur were quite slim. The linguistic analysis of individuals' Spanish confirmed this. These findings will be presented in chapter 3.

At this point it became necessary to reformulate the research plan, since the situation was emerging as quite different from what had been expected. Given that this was a site that was considered likely to evidence koineization, according to theoretical models of dialect contact, it became necessary to explore what was inhibiting the formation of a koine. Thus, rather than focusing on the processes involved in koineization, and its linguistic product; the emphasis of this study was shifted towards an exploration of what was actually inhibiting more inter-ethnic interaction and the formation of new social networks. Differential language choices of students needed to be investigated, since this had significant implications for these questions, and ultimately, for koineization. To this end, twelve key informants were targeted who were representative of Hispanic ethnicity, gender, and the social networks present in the school. By

focusing on a small, fairly representative sample, a more in depth picture of what was occurring in this school would be allowed to emerge.

After choosing the twelve key informants, each was included in a second round of interviews. In this interview, each key informant was interviewed with at least one friend. This format was meant to encourage natural, co-constructed discourse rather than the simpler answers that might be elicited from a stricter question and answer format. The nature of the questions also contributed to this. The goal of this second interview was to dig deeper into some of the issues that had shown themselves to be pertinent in the first round of interviews and during the first phases of ethnography. Specifically, the group interview included more questions about the pertinent social categories in their school, the language usage patterns of the different ethnic groups, ethnic relations in the school, and questions regarding their own identities.

Again, the group format of the interview and the nature of the questions encouraged highly interactive discourse in which students' own identities and their perceptions of the sociolinguistic layout of the school were co-constructed. Thus, discourse collected in this interview served purposes that were multi-tiered. At one level, these interviews provided a larger speech sample. On another level, the content of responses provided valuable ethnographic information regarding the sociolinguistic profile of Marquin. In other words, these responses were treated as referential, reflective of the sociolinguistic realities of these students. Of course, these are perceptions regarding realities that are constructed by the students themselves. Therefore, on yet another level, these discourses were treated as representative of the discursive construction and propagation of identities and ideologies which were constantly occurring within the school, and which were seen to influence social and linguistic choices. This multi-tiered

approach to discourse was not specific to this round of interviews, but rather framed the researcher's perceptions of talk in general.

The final phase of fieldwork focused on the twelve key participants. Choosing the key informants was a difficult process. The goal was to keep this group representative of the junior class student body. At the same time, because it was to be a small group, I could not follow true methods of representative sampling. In addition, willing and verbal participants were a must. In the end, the twelve students who were chosen and agreed to take part in this phase of the study included seven females and five males. Five of the students were Puerto Rican, and six were Mexican. One key participant, Pun, was three-quarters Puerto Rican and one-quarter African-American. There was at least one representative from each of the major social networks that comprised the junior class except from the group which could be called the "outliers." In this way, time spent with each student would expose the researcher to a large majority of the junior class. Because time was limited, it did not seem worthwhile to choose someone from the "outlier" category since they tended to be less social and interactive than their other peers.

The generational status of the twelve key participants was roughly representative of the junior class as a whole (see chapter 5, Table 11 for this profile). Five of the six Mexican students were born in Mexico, but all five had been in the U.S. at least nine years (time in U.S. ranged from 9-16 years). One Mexican student was a first-generation resident of the U.S.: both of his parents had been born in Mexico, but he had been born in the U.S. Of the five Puerto Rican students, all had been born in the U.S. Three were first-generation residents, while one had one parent who was born in Puerto Rico, and the other in the U.S. One Puerto Rican student was a second generation resident. Pun's mother had been born in Chicago, while his father was born in Puerto Rico.

In a fashion similar to Bailey (2002), one day was spent with each student. Throughout their designated day, each student carried the mini-disc recorder in a way that would be visible to their interlocutors. The recorder was left on all day unless someone explicitly requested that it be turned off, or if there were long periods of silence (e.g. during a test, a silent reading activity, etc.). This data collection method was to allow more insights into the participants' natural language behavior—who they interacted with, in what language, what different identities were enacted throughout their day, how language shaped these identities... Logistically this was one of the more challenging phases of research, but it was the most successful way found to observe naturally occurring sociolinguistic data.

Methods of data analysis in this study were somewhat varied. These included social network analysis, a quantitative analysis of linguistic data, and discourse analysis. The first two methods will be elaborated in chapter 3, which is where they are employed. Discourse analysis is employed throughout this dissertation. As was mentioned above, talk is analyzed throughout this dissertation as both referential and constitutive. This is the view of talk promoted by discourse analysis. As various texts on discourse analysis put it, discourse both shapes and is shaped by the world (Johnstone 2002); it not only provides us with a “window on someone’s mental or social world” (Cameron 2001), but is also used to construct these worlds. This framework for viewing discourse, complete with its concepts and methodology, was ideal for this study. It allowed for the multi-tiered approach to discourse discussed above.

I feel compelled to end this chapter with some thoughts and feelings regarding my experience at Marquin High School. As was mentioned earlier, Marquin has a reputation as a “tough” school. And in many ways, this is true. It is true that many of the students are involved in gangs, that fights break out on a regular basis, and that much of the schools’ resources are

spent on issues of security and discipline. But at the same time, it is also true that many of these students would prefer for things to be different. And while many have a strange capacity to intimidate; my experience with these students, in the end, was incredibly warm, positive, fun, and rewarding. I realize that I was fortunate in my role—I was not in any way an authority figure. Instead I was someone who wanted to spend time with them; someone who was only interested in getting to know them and their thoughts and experiences. And once they realized this, they opened up and softened up in surprising ways. The power a little bit of focused attention can have on a group of “tough” adolescents is both touching and instructive.

3. WHAT “DIALECT CONTACT” LOOKS LIKE AT MARQUIN HIGH SCHOOL

As was discussed in the introductory chapter, in order for a focused koine to form, inter-ethnic interaction and the establishment of new, integrated social networks in the contact situation are necessary conditions. Studies by Britain (1997) and Omdal (1977) show that when this condition is not met, focusing does not occur as quickly as would otherwise be expected. In Britain’s case of the 17th century English Fens, there was no environment to encourage interaction and the development of wider peer group norms—education was not yet universal (Kerswill and Williams 2000). In the new town of Høyanger, Norway in the early 20th century, Omdal’s data show that the development of a koine was stunted because of a social segregation that occurred in the town, which coincided with regional and therefore dialectal differences. This again kept interaction between the social groups to a minimum, thus inhibiting the formation of new social networks and ultimately slowing the formation of a koineized variety (Kerswill and Williams 2000).

In this chapter it will be shown that the situation at Marquin High School is similar to these cases in that a lack of inter-ethnic interaction and integrated peer groups is slowing down the process of koineization. Numerous data collection methods converge to show that Marquin High School organizes itself along ethnic lines and accordingly, the students at Marquin have overwhelmingly mono-ethnic peer groups and daily interactions. Language choice will also be shown to be an important factor for the question of koineization. The second part of this chapter will go on to show the linguistic effects of this lack of integration. The analysis of two phonological variables, (s) and (r), will show that distinctions between the Mexican and Puerto

Rican dialects are being maintained. In other words, it will be shown that at the time of this research, there was no evidence of the emergence of a focused koine.

3.1. ETHNIC SEGREGATION AT MARQUIN HIGH SCHOOL

The first bundle of data on the topic of ethnic segregation comes from a log composed of fieldnotes that was kept throughout the year of fieldwork (following Bernard 1995). The first few months of fieldwork at Marquin were spent in a phase of participant observation. These months were spent in the cafeteria talking to students, asking them to bring back informed consent documents, administering demographic questionnaires, or just sitting back and trying to appear inconspicuous. During this time in the cafeteria, anything that seemed meaningful or interesting was jotted down into a notebook. Later these jottings were recorded into a log or diary format. Entries from this log show that the ethnic segregation of at least the junior class of Marquin High School started to become apparent fairly early in the school year. In fact, within the first few weeks it started to become clear that the seating in the cafeteria was ethnically divided. It should be noted when reading these fieldnotes that the ethnicity of the different students, while sometimes evident from phenotype (for example in the case of the African-Americans, though there were many exceptions here too), was often completely indiscernible to the outside observer. Entries in this log begin on November 6th, the first date that I began to regularly attend the school. As early as Nov 12th there is this entry:

11/12: 5th period (rowdiest!)

-This group has more African-Americans. Have a few tables of just them- not too integrated in that sense.

And November 13th shows:

11/13: 3rd period

-Second table in from window right in front- table of boys- seem to speak to each other in Spanish. My guess is that they are all Mexican. Does seem from my vague impressions that they stay kind of ethnically segregated.

And finally, the following two entries cement this idea of ethnic segregation:

11/26: 4th period

-Was looking for a girl today and one said- “look over there at one of the Mexican tables.” So definitely that would point to some sort of a division like this. Is definitely true that the African-Americans tend to eat together at their own tables, with just a few exceptions.

1/22

-Talked to the counselor lady afterwards. She confirmed my thought that yes, basically the Mexicans hang out together, the Puerto Ricans, the English speakers. Talked about how ‘they’ lump us [Hispanics] all together, but we’re really pretty separate. They think b/c we speak the same language we are one big group, “that the language binds us,” but even the way we speak is different- Mexicans speak differently than Puerto Ricans... Interesting stuff.

In other words, just one week after entering the research site, the idea surfaced that the organization of seating in the cafeteria was somehow ethnically patterned. This suspicion was confirmed by a student by the second week, and by a staff member by the second month. According to these observations and accounts, during lunch, which is the largest chunk of free socializing time that is structured into the students’ days, a majority of students chose to associate and interact with members of their own ethnic group. With respect to coineization, this pattern would obviously limit the possibility of dialect mixing in Spanish.

Observations from throughout the year confirmed the idea of ethnic segregation at Marquin, and revealed that this separation extended far beyond the cafeteria. It was seen that Marquin is organized by the students and staff themselves along ethnic lines. This is apparent in

their patterns of geographic organization within the school, in their patterns of socialization, and in their own discursive practices.

The following transcript exemplifies some of these ideas. This segment of talk comes from a conversation with a group of students, and what is being discussed is the recent spate of fights that have taken place. Vonnie, Muñeca and Paz are all Puerto Rican girls.

Transcript 3.1

- 1 EGJ: Who's not getting along with who?
2 Vonnie: [The Puerto Ricans hate the Mexicans]
3 Paz: [Mexicans and Puerto Ricans]
4 EGJ: And where do the black kids fall into it?
5 Paz: Some of the Blacks don't like the Puerto Ricans=
6 Vonnie: =Some of the Blacks but
7 they- but=
8 Muñeca: = ((laughing)) It's really the Puerto Ricans against the Mexicans
9 and the Blacks, put it like that.
10 Vonnie: Yeah, but if it came down to it the Blacks would join the Puerto Ricans
11 against the Mexicans.

Most evident in this conversation is the existence of ethnic divisions: it is apparent from this transcript that fights take place along ethnic lines. It seems that while ethnic alliances and conflicts are often in a state of flux, the basic ethnic divisions remain. This was further confirmed in a conversation with a pair of friends describing the same rash of fights. According to Ari: "It was the Puerto Ricans and Mexicans. [...] And the day before it was the Blacks and Puerto Ricans."

Also interesting is the way the participants refer to the different ethnic groups. In line 4, above, the researcher initiates an adjacency pair by asking about "the black kids." Rather than using a parallel structure in the second part of this pair, Paz chooses to refer to "the Blacks" (line 5); thereby suggesting that "black" (or "Mexican" or "Puerto Rican") is not only a modifier, but also a group name much like "the Jocks" or "the Burnouts" (Eckert 2000). In fact, this is how all three participants refer to the ethnic groups throughout this transcript (the only exception

occurring in line 3). Thus, it becomes clear from these examples that ethnicity is a salient, and often oppositional social category at Marquin, and that the different ethnic groups are conceived of as separate, discrete entities.

Once it became clear that the school was ethnically divided, the following question was asked during a group interview:

It seems like in this school the Puerto Ricans stick together, the Mexicans stick together, and the black kids stick together.

- a) Is that true/ Do you agree?
- b) (If so) why do you think that is?
- c) Do all of these groups get along?

An overwhelming twenty-nine of thirty students asked agreed with the assessment that members of the different ethnic groups associate most closely with each other. One pair of PRn students, with reference to the hallways, went on to say the following:

Transcript 3.2

- 1 Tuti: Mmhm, Little Mexico's over here ((points)), we have--not really, the
- 2 Puerto Ricans and the Blacks are always together over there ((points)).
- 3 Noodles: Hmm, you could say that's all Puerto Rico ((points)), with a little bit of
- 4 Mexico in the middle, a little bit, and that's it.

In this example, we see once again, the existence of a physical, geographic segregation. As was the case with the cafeteria, each ethnicity has their own sections of the hallways, with some overlap allowed between the PRns and African Americans (AAns). While this "shared space" allowed between PRns and AAns is interesting, it will not be handled in this chapter. Instead, the lack of shared space between the Mexn and PRn students should be noted. What is also interesting in this example above is the level of awareness on the part of the students. The question posed to Tuti and Noodles was whether or not they agreed that the different ethnic groups "stuck together." Without hesitation, Tuti agreed and entered into a description of the hallways as an illustration of this assessment (lines 1-3). This was readily picked up by Noodles,

who added to her description (lines 4-5). This is obviously something both participants had discussed previously, and is a salient feature of their school.

Countless other observations and conversations with students confirmed that “the Mexicans hang with the Mexicans” (T), the Puerto Ricans with the Puerto Ricans, and so on, in both the cafeteria and the hallways. Quite significantly, this geographic segregation along ethnic lines had a corresponding linguistic dimension. This is revealed in the following fieldnotes from a day spent with the key participants, Nani (PRn) and Green (Mexn):

4/25/03: Day with Nani

Division

-Seems like Mexns are on one side, speaking Spanish.

3rd period

-Again, a lot of Mexns hanging together in corner speaking Sp.

5/5/03: Green day

6th and 7th periods

-There is a guy in front of me who is Mexn, Mimi is nearby, and a couple of other Mexns all right by me. They all speak in mostly Spanish to each other all period. I didn't record most of it, but it is pretty constant. And all Mexns.

-So again see here the class clustering off. Green is with PR/AA connection. The Mexns are clustered speaking Sp.

As will be seen in the chapters to come, one of the “realities” of the social structure of Marquin, voiced by almost all students, is that the Mexican students speak more Spanish than the Puerto Rican students. The above fieldnotes corroborate this idea, and also suggest that the territorial ethnic segregation at Marquin overlaps with a linguistic segregation. This is perhaps most succinctly captured in the following fieldnote taken on a day spent with the key participant Vero (Mexn):

5/28/03: Vero day

Passing after 2nd

-Interesting too that around her here [in hallways] you hear a lot of Spanish, whereas with say Vonnie [PRn], wasn't hearing so much Spanish around her. Points to the congregating of ethnic groups/their separation in the hallways.

In other words, a day spent with a Mexican student took the researcher through a strikingly different territorial trajectory than did other days spent with Puerto Rican students. The most salient way in which this was brought to the researcher's attention was auditory: Spanish was the language of the territories Vero traversed, English was the language of the Puerto Rican domains.

In the interview question cited above, students were also asked why they thought this sort of an ethnic separation existed in their school. The following response comes from a Mexican student:

Transcript 3.3

- 1 Berenice: I think cause the way they act. Like=
2 EGJ: =What do you mean?=
3 Berenice: = Mexicans listen
4 to their own- their own kind of music, Puerto Ricans listen- listen to Black
5 music, so that's why Puerto Ricans and Black can mix sometimes? And
6 then Mexicans- they're just left out because they're short and funny
7 looking.

In this example, Berenice asserts that what keeps the ethnic groups separate is “the way they act” (line 1). As an expansion, she discusses a very important social practice of adolescents—the music they listen to. We realize that ethnicity also plays a large role in this social practice; each ethnic group has a certain kind of music associated with it (with again some overlap allowed between African Americans and Puerto Ricans). Berenice and Pri expand on this idea in their response to the third part of the above question, which queried the compatibility of the main ethnic groups at Marquin:

Transcript 3.4

- 1 Berenice: I mean- sometimes they can get along. But in dances, like, when they put
2 the Mexican music?
3 EGJ: Mmhm
4 Pri: The black people are like “No:”=
5 Berenice: =They start booing[or ?]
6 Pri: [even I'm like no:]

7 Berenice: Well that music they put is the ugh=
8 Pri: =It's so crappy! ((mumbles I don't
9 know))
10 Berenice: I mean at least if they put good mu- Mexican [music], but-
11 EGJ: [Uh huh]
12 EGJ: So music becomes kind of a big issue
13 Berenice: [Yeah, it does]
14 Pri: [Mmhm]
15 Pri: And at that point, everyone stops dancing. And like people- (then it
16 resumes shit?) ((stumbles a little)) like the Puerto Ricans are merengue.
17 Then some people [dance and then]
18 Berenice: [But like- A few people- A few] people dance--, when
19 they put the Mexican- the weird people.
20 EGJ: ((laughs))
21 Pri: ((laughing)) The weird Mexican people=
22 Berenice: = ((laughing)) The weird Mexican
23 people
24 Pri: Wait, is that us?
25 ((Everyone laughs))
26 Pri: ((laughing)) We're not included in that category=
27 Berenice: = I do sometimes
28 Pri: I dance merengue
29 EGJ: What's that?=
30 Berenice: =[I dance everything]
31 Pri: [Merengue.] The Puerto Rican *and* black peoples' music.
32 Or like the bachata.

Here it becomes even clearer that key social practices such as music preferences and dancing also separate the Mexicans from the Puerto Ricans and African Americans. Mexicans listen and dance to “Mexican music” which is booed and boycotted by the others. The Puerto Ricans and African Americans, on the other hand, unite behind *merengue* and *bachata*—dances most traditionally associated with the Dominican Republic but also very popular among Puerto Ricans. As was mentioned in the last transcript, Puerto Ricans also listen to “Black music” (lines 4-5). “Black music” was widely understood to be hip hop, while “Mexican music” most often referred to *rancheras* and the *duranguense*. Also of note in this passage is the way in which Pri and Berenice, both Mexican, dissociate from the “crappy Mexican music” (lines 7-10) and “the

weird Mexicans” (line 19, 21-23). While they redress this in the following lines, the sentiment is an important one, and will be addressed in chapter 5.

At least as illuminative as responses to the question cited above regarding ethnic relations in the school were the responses elicited by a question that, on the face of it, had nothing to do with ethnicity. In the same group interview, the following question was asked:

Would you say there are cliques in your high school? If so, how would you label them?

All thirty individuals answered the first part of this question affirmatively. In response to the second half of the question, many expressed confusion (one student tellingly asked, “Like name-wise or racial³ or what?” [Fred]). Fourteen of thirty students used ethnic labels for cliques. The following is a typical response to the second part of this question, which also sheds light on the confusion expressed by many of the students:

Iris: As in to label them? I wouldn’t but like I would see them as in-- like- not really racial- it’s not really racial but then again it- it kind of is because of the fact that you see the majority of Mexicans staying with Mexicans and the Puerto Ricans stay with Puerto Ricans and Blacks stay with [Blacks]

It’s not- like this school is not really based on different like specific cliques like- like in other subur- like in suburban schools like how Tina was like how she was explaining it to us- she came from a suburban school it was like you can really tell. The jocks stayed with the jocks and the cheerleaders- you could tell the popular people from the ugh geeks or whatever and it was like- I mean-

It thus becomes clear that the notion of “cliques” actually takes on a different texture in the setting of Marquin High School. The term “cliques” actually had to be defined for close to half of the students, and one other individual aside from Iris explicitly stated “I don’t think- this school isn’t really like that” (Gio). So while all agree that there are “cliques” or “groups” within the school, the traditional terms that one might expect such as “jocks” or “nerds” were rarely

³ While the majority of students at Marquin used the term “race” and “race groups” to refer to the various populations in the school, I will continue to employ the terms “ethnicity” and “ethnic groups” myself, and “race”/ “race groups” when referring to the words of the students.

elicited. In fact, only three participants ever used the term “jocks” and only two used the term “nerds” or “geeks.” Instead, responses that centered on “race” were most common. Numerous students did mention sports as a marker, and the only other answer that repeatedly surfaced centered on street gangs. As was mentioned in the last chapter, sports at Marquin are strongly indexical of ethnicity, as are gangs. Thus, the significance of these responses is twofold. First of all, they provide further evidence that these students conceptualize their school as organized along ethnic lines. Secondly and relatedly, that ethnicity was such a common theme in response to a question that in no way mentioned it only serves to underscore the potency the construct holds for this student community.

What becomes apparent from all of these examples is that ethnic identity is a very salient category for these students. The social structure of Marquin is dominated by ethnic segregation rather than integration—the students themselves organize their school along ethnic lines. Important social practices reflect the central role that ethnic identity plays at Marquin. Where students hang out, the music they listen to, the side they fight on and the sports they play are all meaningful displays of ethnic identity. In this chapter and throughout this dissertation, we will see that this is also reflected in another important social practice, their language.

These findings regarding the social structure of this high school are both surprising and not so surprising. Eckert (1989, 2000), finds the most salient social categories at Belten High to involve the Jocks and the Burnouts. Ethnicity does not surface as an issue at this predominantly European-American high school, and does not play a role in the myriad social practices she examines. Bailey (2002) looks at an ethnically more diverse high school. He reports ethnic mixing and resulting language hybridity, especially between the Dominicans in his study and African-Americans. Zentella (1997) reports similar social and linguistic mixing between Puerto

Rican and African American youth. Bucholtz (1999) finds European-American youth in a U.S. high school to be influenced by African American youth culture and finds that many of the European-American youth appropriate AAVE features in order to identify with an urban youth identity. Rampton (1995) reports that while ethnic descent was an important organizing principle of the social networks of an ethnically diverse group of adolescents in England, some ethnic mixing occurred in all of these networks. This inter-ethnic solidarity was often observed to produce linguistic “crossing.”

In the light of these adolescent ethnographies, the stark separation of Mexicans from Puerto Ricans and African Americans at Marquin is somewhat surprising. On the other hand, there are some pertinent accounts of similar situations. Bailey (2002), while cited above as an ethnography of a high school that displays some degree of ethnic integration, also mentions an interesting exception. In discussing the Spanish of Dominicans, he mentions a Dominican student who had asserted that he was generally more comfortable with African Americans partly *because* of language. This boy explained that he hardly socialized with Mexicans or Guatemalans because it made him feel like he was speaking a different language. Bailey concludes that “paradoxically, Spanish is not always a ‘language of solidarity’ among Hispanic American youth, because it marks intra-Hispanic differences more clearly than English” (59). It should be noted that this student did not say that he spoke English with Mexicans and Guatemalans due to inter-dialectal differences in Spanish; he says that he does not even interact with them. Mendoza-Denton (1999) is another interesting example. She finds that within the *same* ethnic group, in her case, Mexicans in a northern California high school, there is a very salient division between the *norteñas* and the *sureñas*. The *norteñas* are “native” Chicanas while

the *sureñas* are more recently arrived Mexicans, and the two groups vary greatly in terms of identity and the symbolic practices, including language choice, used to display these identities.

A study conducted in Chicago points to a similar, and even more pertinent dynamic. Ramos-Zayas and De Genova (2003) examine the possibilities for and obstacles to a shared *latinidad* between Puerto Ricans and Mexicans in the city of Chicago. This ethnography concentrates on adults, and in the case of Mexicans, foreign-born adults, but finds numerous obstacles to the emergence of such a shared identity. They show how competing ideas about one another's work ethics, modernity, cultural authenticity, language, family, and gender relations are framed in terms of race and citizenship inequalities. In other words, Ramos-Zayas and De Genova find that differences between these ethnic groups figure largely in their relationships with one another. They conclude that this is inhibiting the formation of a shared identity.

It would seem then, that there is some precedent for the type of ethnic separation between Latino subgroups that has been described for Marquin, and which will continue to unfold in this chapter and throughout this dissertation. But it is still quite striking to find amongst an adolescent, high school population, most of who were born in Chicago or have spent most of their lives there. After all, as was seen in the past chapters, this setting is one that seemed to predict not only interaction, but also dialect levelling.

3.1.1. Network analysis

Another source of data on the topic of ethnic integration comes from the very first round of interviews, which was conducted with a total of 67 participants. A large part of this interview consisted of becoming familiar with the social networks of the various participants. As has been mentioned numerous times before, both Penny (2000) and Kerswill and Williams (2000), when speaking about the specific context of dialect contact and koineization, stress the importance of

new, integrated social networks. Ever since Leslie Milroy's (1980) seminal work, which applied the social network construct to the field of sociolinguistics in the city of Belfast, social network analysis has been used to show that people are quite dependent upon their web of associations, rather than on society at large, in the ways they use language. Thus, social networks have a strong bearing on language variation and change.

When speaking of networks, anthropologists (and sociolinguists) distinguish between two types of characteristics: *structural* characteristics, which refer to the shape and pattern of the network (e.g. density) and *interactional* characteristics, which refer to the content of the ties (e.g. multiplexity, history, durability, frequency, intensity) (Milroy and Milroy 1992: 5). A network with 100% density is one in which all stated contacts know each other. Multiplexity refers to the nature of the link between individuals; for example, a link that is based on more than one level of interaction (two individuals linked by a common workplace, a blood relation and friendship, simultaneously) is said to be multiplex (Lippi-Green 1989). Within social network theory, social networks are thought to function as "norm-enforcement mechanisms." According to L. & J. Milroy (1992), the closer an individual's ties are with her local community, the closer her language approximates to localized vernacular norms. To translate this sentiment to the physical network structure; dense, multiplex, and territorially based networks will maintain the local dialect more vigorously than diffuse, uniplex, and geographically spread networks. On the other hand, speakers with weaker networks (i.e. less dense and multiplex, and geographically more diffuse) will show the influence of the more mobile surrounding society, often in the form of more standardized features (Milroy and Milroy 1992, Labov 2001). Many studies have shown exactly this, among them Milroy (1980) and Lippi-Green (1989).

Recent work by L. and J. Milroy (Milroy and Milroy 1992, Milroy 2002), and Labov (2001, to be discussed below), argue for the importance of weak ties in the question of linguistic change. Weak ties are considered the pipelines of innovation and influence; according to this research, it is via weak ties that innovation and change is able to spread from network to network (though, as was mentioned in the introduction earlier and will be illustrated below, the identity of this weak tie is important in assessing its ability to influence others [Penny 2000]). Thus, it is not only true that weaker networks are more susceptible to innovation, but also that innovations between groups are generally transmitted by means of weak ties.

The approach used in this chapter will be a slight variation on traditional social network analyses. I will use an approach known as sociometrics, and will use a sociogram (see Figures 1 and 2) as my primary visual/analytic tool. This approach is closely modeled on Eckert's (2000) analysis of peer networks in her study at Belten High. In a sociometric approach, members of the larger social network (in this case the junior class) are asked about their relationships. In this study, each participant was asked who their closest friends were/who were the people they spent the most time with. They were also asked the ethnicity of these people. The naming and ethnic patterns were then diagrammed and can be seen below in the sociogram—participants are identified by code-name, non-participants are identified by number. Each participant is linked to the people they named in response to this question, and double-headed arrows indicate a reciprocal naming pattern. The most frequently named are the central members of the friendship clusters and the others are members to varying degrees from the core to the periphery. In this way, the interconnectedness of the social network that is the junior class of Marquin can be seen, along with the different friendship clusters and varying degrees of membership that pertained at

the time of this very first interview.⁴ Moreover, the ethnic patterning of friendship clusters emerges clearly.

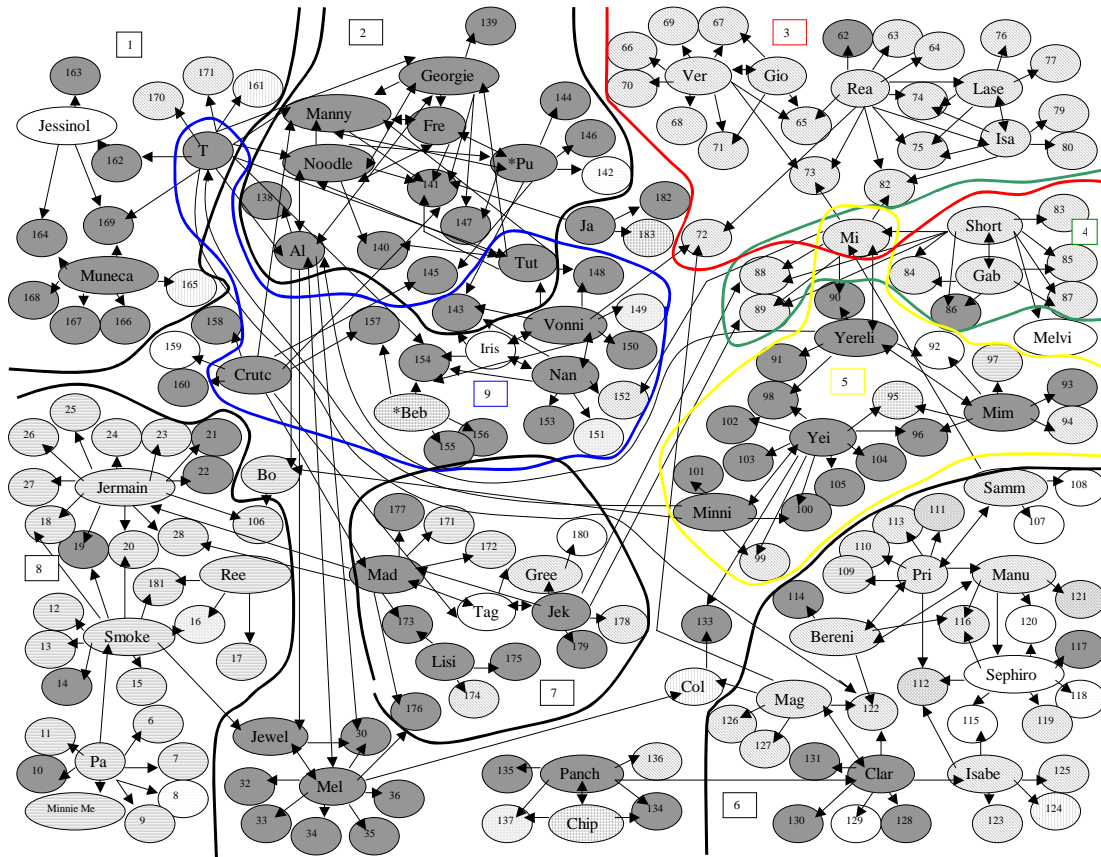
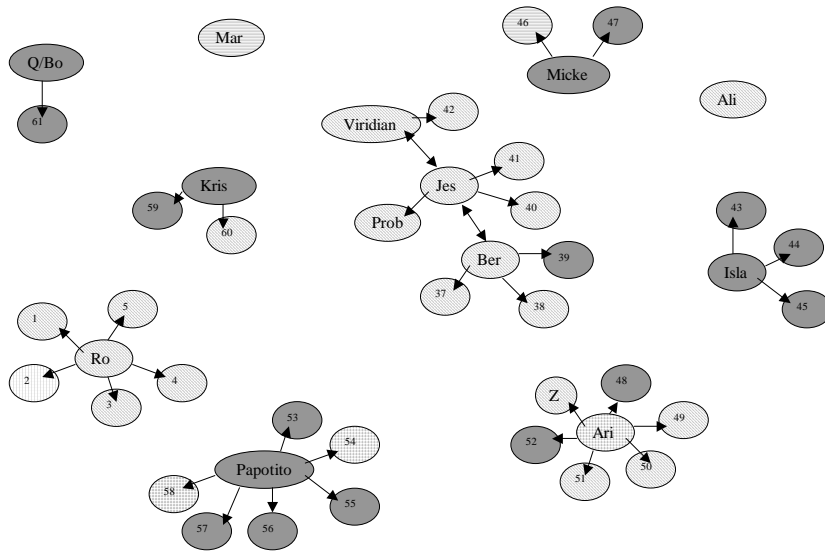


Figure 1: Sociogram (Part 1)

⁴ Throughout the rest of this section, I will follow Eckert (2000) in referring to the junior class as the relevant “social network,” and will refer to the groups formed within this network as “friendship clusters.”



Key: =Mexn =PRn =AAAn =unknown =AAAn/PRn =Mexn/PRn
 =mixed descent =Philippino = "white"/ethnic white = other

Figure 2: Sociogram (Part 2: Outliers)

Unlike most traditional social network analyses, analyses based on sociograms do not include detailed information as to the structural characteristics of friendship clusters. Operationally speaking, this suited the present research well. Because only 67 members of the junior class were participants in this study, it was not possible to speak with all juniors in order to assess questions of density. Though participation in the study was voluntary, familiarity with the class leads me to believe that the Mexicans and Puerto Ricans at Marquin are represented in a fair way in this sociogram. The African American population of Marquin may be somewhat under-represented. This is largely because fewer African Americans volunteered to participate

in this study. Because Latinos and their Spanish were the focus of this research, African Americans were not further pursued during the initial period of fieldwork.

While sociograms do not give detailed information as to the structure of friendship clusters or such things as network density, they cover the population of the relevant social network in a representative way, and give a clear indication of the main clusters in relation to each other, the social distances among clusters, and the general nature of the social connections among them (Eckert 2000). Thus, they too can be used to analyze the spread (or lack thereof) of linguistic changes. According to Labov (2001), who also uses a sociometric approach to analyzing linguistic change, it is the “innovators,” comparable to Milroy’s “weak ties,” who introduce change into a friendship cluster. These innovators are usually marginal members of friendship clusters who have contacts with other friendship clusters. As in Milroy’s analysis, these innovators serve as pipelines of influence—they introduce forms to “leaders.” According to Labov, the leaders of linguistic change are central figures in their friendship clusters. These lead, central figures are able to exert influence on other people and thereby spread change.

In the present study, the sociogram seen in Figure 1 will be used to analyze the possibilities for koineization at Marquin High School. While many of the concepts referred to in the above discussion will be used, the central question for this analysis is whether or not the extensive face-to-face interaction and accommodation necessary for koineization are occurring. As is clear from the dialect contact literature, new, integrated peer networks in the contact situation are a necessary condition for this sort of interaction, and for the subsequent spread of changes. The analysis will show that this type of interaction is most probably *not* occurring at Marquin, for a number of reasons. First and foremost, this analysis will corroborate the ethnic segregation discussed in the last section—very few integrated peer networks/friendship clusters

have formed in this research context. In other words, this necessary condition for koineization is largely absent in the present research context. Secondly, a thorough examination of some possible sites for extended inter-ethnic interaction will reveal that the language of communication often hinders the possibilities for the formation of a Hispanic koine. For such a koine to form, inter-ethnic communication (and resulting accommodation) must take place in Spanish. We will see that this is quite often not the case. Thus, it is actually much more likely that a stable variation be maintained between the Mexican and Puerto Rican dialects of Spanish. That this is indeed the case will be seen in the last section of this chapter.

As was mentioned above, in addition to being asked for the names of their closest friends, participants were also asked, among other things, about the ethnicity of these friends. Figures 1 and 2 show the sociogram that was constructed from the data obtained from this interview. The following two tables draw on the same data, but offer two different presentations. In addition, Table 2 includes information regarding individuals' friends from outside of the school context.

Table 1: Ethnic composition of Marquin junior class friendship clusters

Marquin juniors: 33.2% of class is Mexn
 46.8% of class is PRn
 20% are other

Cluster #8

30 Marquin students
 1 unknown
 23 AAn
 5 PRn
 1 AAn/PRn

76.7% of network is AAn
 16.7% of network is PRn

Cluster #3

25 Marquin students
 24 Mexns
 1 PRn

96% of network is Mexn
 4% of network is PRn

Cluster #4

10 Marquin students
 9 Mexn
 1 PRn

90% of network is Mexn
 10% of network is PRn

Cluster #5

21 Marquin students
 3 Mexn
 15 PRn
 1 PRn/Mexn
 1 Hond/Guat
 1 AAn

71.4% PRn
 14.3% Mexn
 4.8% AAn
 9.5% other

CREAM cluster (#6)

33 Marquin students
 15 Mexn
 6 PRn
 1 Mexn/It
 1 PRn/It
 1 Phil/It
 2 “Wh”/PR
 2 AAn
 1 unknown
 1 Brz/PRn
 3 Phil

45.5% Mexn
 18.2% PRn
 6.1% AAn
 30.3% other

Cluster #1

14 Marquin students
 10 PRn
 2 Mexn
 1 PRn/It
 1 “Wh”
 1 Polish

71.4% PRn
 14.3% Mexn
 21.4% Other

“Ghetto” cluster (#2)

17 Marquin students
 15 PRn
 1 unknown
 1 ¾PRn ¼AAn

88.2% PRn
 11.8% other

Table 1 (continued)

Cluster #9

19 Marquin students
13 PRn
2 Mexn
2 PRn/AAAn
1 PRn/Mexn
1 Mexn/Cub

68.4% PRn
10.5% Mexn
21.1% other

Cluster #7

15 Marquin students
8 PRn
3 Mex
2 AAn
1 PRn/Ec
1 Phil/Sp

53.3% PRn
20% Mexn
13.3% AAn
13.3% other

key:

AAAn= African American	Guat= Guatemalan
Mexn= Mexican	Cub= Cuban
PRn= Puerto Rican	Ec= Ecuadorian
It= Italian	Sp= Spanish
Phil= Philipino	*“Wh”= “white”
Hond= Honduran	

*As will be discussed in chapter 4 (see pp. 179-180), the term “white” is often used quite ambiguously. Here, I use it to refer to the words of the participants—if a participant identified a friend as “white,” then that is the term used in this table.

Table 2: Ethnic composition of individual study participants' social networks

Student	*Ethnicity	In-School				Out-of-School				Total				
		PR	Mex	AA	Other	PR	Mex	AA	Other	PR	Mex	AA	Other	
Real	Mex	1	10	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	12	0	0	
Bere	Mex	1	3	0	0	0	3	0	0	1	6	0	0	
Pri	Mex	0	5	1	2 (Fil)	0	0	0	0	0	5	1	2	
Sammy	Mex	0	2	0	2 (Mx/lt, PR/Am)	0	2	1	0	0	4	1	2	
Berenice	Mex	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	0	0	
Rob	Mex	0	4	0	1 (Hond)	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	1	
Isabel	Mex	0	2	0	3 (Uk, Fil/lt, Fil)	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	3	
Mimi	Mex	2	6	0	1 (Polish)	1	3	0	0	3	9	0	1	
Gaby	Mex	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	0	0	
Mago	Mex	1	4	0	1 (Col)	0	0	0	0	1	4	0	1	
Shorty	Mex	1	8	0	1 (Mex/Am)	0	0	0	0	1	8	0	1	
Manuel	Mex	0	2	0	3 (Fil, Brz/lt, PR/Am)	0	4	0	0	0	6	0	3	
Probs	Mex	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Green	Mex	0	0	0	1 (PR/Ec)	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	1	
Laser	Mex	0	5	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	7	0	0	
Jess	Mex	0	5	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	7	0	0	
Viridiana	Mex	0	2	0	0	0	5	0	1 (Mex/PR)	0	7	0	1	
Vero	Mex	0	9	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	11	0	0	
Isa	Mex	0	6	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	9	0	0	
Ali	Mex	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	4	0	0	
Gio	Mex	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	
Mex										Averages	0.5	5.95	0.1	0.8
										%	7.4	79.4	1.5	11.8

Clara	PR	3	3	0	1 (lt/PR)	2	0	0	0	5	3	0	1
Kris	PR	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1 (AA/PR)	2	1	0	1
Fred	PR	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0
T	PR	9	4	0	1 (Polish)	0	0	0	0	9	4	0	1
Minnie	PR	4	1	1	0	0	0	0	1 (Chinese)	4	1	1	1
Noodles	PR	8	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	9	0	0	0
Tuti	PR	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0
**Muneca	PR	5	0	0	1 (white)	4	1	1	0	9	1	1	1
Q/Bon	PR	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1 (PR/AA)	1	0	0	1
Georgie	PR	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	0
Vonnie	PR	7	1	0	1 (PR/AA)	0	0	0	0	7	1	0	1
Pancho	PR	4	1	0	2 (PR/AA, PR/Mex)	1	0	0	0	5	1	0	2
Isla	PR	3	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	5	0	0	0
Mady	PR	7	0	4	1 (Fil/Sp)	1	0	0	0	8	0	4	1
Lisi	PR	2	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	1	0	0
Papotito	PR	4	0	0	2 (Mex/PR)	1	0	0	0	5	0	0	2
Crutch	PR	7	0	0	2 (Fil/Sp, PR/wh)	2	0	0	1 (Cub/PR)	9	0	0	3
Manny	PR	3	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	7	0	0	0
Jeka	PR	2	4	0	1 (Fil/Sp)	2	0	0	0	4	4	0	1
Jewels	PR	2	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	5	0	0	0
Mickey	PR	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	0

Mima	PR	3	1	1	2 (Mex/PR, Hond/Guat)	0	0	0	0	3	1	1	2	
Al	PR	6	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	7	0	1	0	
Melo	PR	9	0	0	1 (Col)	1	1	0	0	10	1	0	1	
Miguel	PR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Yeidi	PR	9	1	0	1 (PR/Mex)	0	0	0	0	9	1	0	1	
Nani	PR	4	1	0	2 (Mex/Cub, PR/AA)	0	0	0	0	4	1	0	2	
Yerelis	PR	5	1	0	1 (Hond/Guat)	0	0	0	0	5	1	0	1	
PR										Averages	5.7	0.9	0.3	0.9
										%	74.0	9.6	4.1	12.3
Minnie Me	AA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Smokey	AA	3	0	6	1 (PR/AA)	0	0	0	0	3	0	6	1	
Ree Ree	AA	0	0	2	1 (PR/AA)	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	
Jermaine	AA	3	0	9	0	0	0	5	0	3	0	14	0	
Pat	AA	1	0	6	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	8	0	
Mark	AA	0	0	0	0	1	0	7	0	1	0	7	0	
AA										Averages	1.3	0.0	6.2	0.3
										%	17.6	0.0	78.4	4.1
Beba	PR/Mex	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	
Chips	PR/Mex	2	0	0	1 (PR/AA)	1	0	2	1 (PR/It)	3	0	2	2	
Ari	PR/Mex	3	4	0	0	3	4	0	0	6	8	0	0	
Pun	3/4 PR, 1/4 AA	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	2 (Sp/Mex)	7	0	0	2	
Jay	3/4 PR, 1/4 Mex	3	0	0	1 (PR/Mex)	1	0	0	1 (Col)	4	0	0	1	
Sephiroth	PR/Brz	1	2	0	3 (Fil/It, Fil, PR/wh)	0	1	0	1 (Dom)	1	3	0	4	
Jessinola	PR/It	4	0	0	0	2	0	0	4 (Dom)	6	0	0	4	
Iris	Mex/Cub	4	0	0	0	2	0	0	1 (PR/AA)	6	0	0	1	
Melvin	Mex/Am	0	0	0	0	2	1		3 (Cub/PR, Guat, mix)	2	0	1	3	
Tag	Fil/Sp	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	2	0	0	
Cole	Col	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	

*If parents and grandparents were all of one ethnicity, student was labeled as that ethnicity.

**Exact data regarding Muneca's out-of-school friends was not obtained. Three PRn friends were specifically named, and then a neighborhood group of friends who were

"everything"-- Mexn, PRn, and AAn. Therefore, one individual was put into each of these ethnic categories in this table to represent this group of friends.

Table 1 quantifies the ethnic composition of all of the major friendship clusters in the junior class at Marquin High School. A look at these numbers reveals that only one of these nine clusters, cluster #7, comes at all close to being representative of the overall demographic picture of the school (seen at the top of the table). Most of the friendship clusters are heavily skewed in

favor of one ethnic group. Table 2 takes the same data and presents them a little bit differently to show how strongly mono-ethnic each individual's circle of friends are. These data reflect, and confirm, how starkly the student body at Marquin divides along ethnic lines. Integrated friendship clusters are not the norm at Marquin High School. Friendship circles are heavily mono-ethnic, with the average cluster or individual showing only a handful of exceptions. In the analysis of friendship clusters to follow, more light is shed on these exceptions while on the path to the bigger goal of the analysis: showing how the nature of these friendship clusters impacts the possibilities for dialect mixing and koineization.

There are two parts to the sociogram above. The second part includes the "outlier" clusters at Marquin. These are classified as such because they are not well-integrated with the rest of the social network of Marquin's junior class: participants in these outlying friendship clusters did not mention any friends who were integrated into other clusters, and no participant from the larger social network named any member of these outlying clusters as these friends. Thus, any linguistic changes occurring within these clusters would have very little means of influencing the larger social network: there are no pipelines of influence. For this reason, a one by one analysis will not be undertaken for these outlying clusters.

From the point of view of dialect mixing and koineization, four of the main friendship clusters are fairly straightforward: cluster #8, cluster #3, cluster #4, and cluster #2 (which will also be referred to as the "ghetto" cluster). The latter three of these clusters are almost 100% mono-ethnic. It is true that both cluster #3 and cluster #4 each have one Puerto Rican (62-Simon and 86-Tony, respectively) who could be influenced by or influencing the Mexican Spanish of their friends in this cluster. As for the first of these possibilities, even if these students were to show the effects of inter-dialectal accommodation with their Mexican peers, it seems unlikely

that these PRn contacts could be innovators of changes throughout the school. A look at the sociogram reveals that first of all, Tony is better integrated into his cluster than is Simon, but regardless, neither were mentioned by any other PRn participant from other friendship clusters, thus minimizing possibilities for influence. In other words, neither Tony nor Simon fit Labov's "innovator" profile (Labov 2001). Recall that Labov's "innovators" are marginally placed within their own clusters and have contacts with members of other friendship clusters. Neither Tony nor Simon seem to have this sort of contact with other, Puerto Rican clusters.

It is much more difficult to determine whether these PRn students are engaging in inter-dialectal accommodation that is leading to them influencing the Spanish of their Mexican friends. Since neither Simon (62) nor Tony (86) (the PRn students in these clusters) was interviewed, information as to their language preferences, their social identities, etc. is not available. Nonetheless, a look at Simon's place in his cluster puts his ability to influence in doubt—he is only one person in a huge group of Mexicans with just one tenuous connection to the group. And while his tie to the group, Real, is sociable and names many friends, he is not reciprocally mentioned by any of the people in this cluster, thus rendering his linguistic influence over the group somewhat doubtful. According to Labov (2001), innovations spread when they are brought to influence leaders (those who are central to their clusters but at the same time have many contacts beyond the immediate cluster and locality) by more marginal, weak ties, i.e. the innovators of "brokers." Real is not well connected enough with the core of the cluster to be able to fulfill this function. Tony's cluster is too small and marginal to have a real influence leader.

Cluster #8 is the last of the four friendship clusters mentioned above. This cluster reflects the mixing between African Americans and Puerto Ricans that was mentioned in the last section,

and the exclusion of Mexicans from these circles. Thus, this type of a friendship cluster still does not afford opportunities for the Puerto Rican and Mexican dialects of Spanish to mix.

Issues of density and multiplexity are largely irrelevant for the matter at hand: dialect mixing between Puerto Rican and Mexican Spanish. In the present context, if one of the above clusters were relatively loose and uniplex, carrying out the logic of Milroy's network theory would lead one to hypothesize that this cluster would be more susceptible to outside influences and change. But, as is made most apparent in the second table and the sociogram, in the case of the students in these clusters, even their outside influences and contacts were generally of the same ethnicity as themselves. Given the nature of these clusters, I would maintain that it would be unlikely that a looser and more uniplex cluster would foster changes of an "other-ethnicity." While a loose and more uniplex cluster may lead members of one of these clusters with weak ties to the group to orient to outside influences, the changes that such a speaker might introduce to her friendship cluster would most likely stem from her primary dialect, (or English), but not an "other-dialect." In other words, a Mexican Spanish speaker with an outside orientation may be able to introduce linguistic change into her cluster, but this linguistic change would most likely be a variation from English, or from within Mexican Spanish; not a variation rooted in Puerto Rican Spanish.

The only other possibility of such outside influences is the media. Trudgill (1986) refutes this possibility. According to Trudgill, the media cannot have this type of influence, because frequent face-to-face interaction is necessary for accommodation, and for the eventual diffusion of linguistic changes. He cites the geographic patterns of the diffusion of changes as support for this idea—if the media were able to effect the simultaneous diffusion of innovations, there would be no sense to the geographic patterns of diffusion that are well documented within the linguistic

literature. As is the case with other aspects of this model, there is an exception. Trudgill does allow that speakers may imitate highly salient linguistic features, such as new words and idioms, or fashionable pronunciations of individual words, which they are exposed to through the media. An article in the *Washington Post* suggests that such highly salient linguistic items are largely absent from Spanish language media. According to this article, both Univision and Telemundo encourage a “neutral,” “accent-free” Spanish, based on Mexican Spanish, on their networks. In other words, they are encouraging a “broadcaster Spanish” amongst network actors; in fact, Telemundo trains their actors and actresses in this “neutral” dialect (Ahrens 2004). Thus, it can be assumed that “highly salient linguistic items,” from either the Mexican or Puerto Rican dialects, are bleached out of this “broadcaster Spanish.” It would seem then, that the possibilities of the media to influence the Spanish of participants are minimal.

The five remaining clusters in the table each warrant individualized attention. The most diverse cluster in Marquin’s junior class is the “CREAM cluster” (cluster #6)⁵. The CREAM is the honors track at Marquin high school and is institutionally divided into three levels: AP CREAM, honors CREAM and regular CREAM. The CREAM is a college-preparatory program and students in the program are fairly separated from those who are not. Most notably, students enrolled in the CREAM program are on a “block schedule” meaning that each of their core classes meets either 2 or 3 times a week for the length of two normal periods. This makes for a fairly tight-knit community of students. Many of the members of the “CREAM cluster” are self-proclaimed “nerds.” They are for the most part college-bound and therefore are more school oriented than the majority of their non-CREAM peers. As the numbers show, this is ethnically a very diverse community of students (though not at all representative of the demographics of the

⁵ It should be noted that those in the “CREAM cluster” are not all CREAM students (though most of them are), and not all CREAM students are in the “CREAM cluster”.

school). While this friendship cluster at first glance looks like fertile ground for dialect mixing, after just a few days spent with CREAM students it became apparent that this is not true. It is not true because the language of the “CREAM cluster” is English. Two of the key participants in this study were members of the CREAM network, and therefore two days were spent with these students in their CREAM classes. Not only did these students, both Mexican girls, have minimal interactions in Spanish; Spanish was strikingly absent from their classes altogether. This is captured in the following notes, taken while listening to the recordings of the days spent with the twelve key participants:

Berenice day

5th and 6th periods: Trig

Interesting to note that in her classes, have heard very little Spanish just being spoken in the background like I was in Nani’s [a non-CREAM key participant] classes. Every once in a while a little something, but mostly it’s all in Eng.

Pri day

4th period: Visual Communications

9:40 she walks I think towards computers and all of a sudden can hear some guys in background, definitely Mexn, hear the real Mexn Sp. So makes it even more apparent how absent this has been in her day otherwise, in her [CREAM] classes. [Visual Communications is a non-core, non-CREAM class].

I hypothesize that there are a few reasons why English is the primary language heard and spoken during CREAM classes and among CREAM members. One reason is that the CREAM track has a disproportionate number of non-Hispanic, non-Spanish speakers. The presence of so many non-Spanish speakers may be inhibiting the use of Spanish. Secondly, it is possible that since the CREAM is a college preparatory program and students within it are college-bound, they may view the school as an English-speaking domain. Thirdly, interviews with CREAM members reveal that there are questions of identity and ideology that influence the language choice of these students. These issues will be dealt with in chapters 4 and 5. In sum, while the CREAM cluster is ethnically diverse, it still does not provide an arena for the dialect mixing

necessary for koineization since the main language of communication is English. Even if there were to occur some individual accommodation between members of the “CREAM cluster,” it would be very difficult for these changes to spread within the cluster and then to the rest of the school since a) the dominant language of the cluster is English, b) it is a fairly dense cluster (evidenced by the number of inter-connecting arrows in this cluster) which is quite separate from the rest of the school c) the innovators in this case would be the so-called “nerds” who would most likely not have the social influence to be able to lead such a change in the high school context.

Cluster #1 is another that deserves some explanation. The numbers show that this cluster is 71.4% Puerto Rican (N=10/14) and 14.3% Mexican (N=2/14). Again, it would seem that the potential for some dialect mixing could be present within this cluster. But upon further examination it becomes apparent that the only person who mentioned the two Mexican students in this cluster as their friends was T. On the other hand, it is also true that only three students in this cluster were interviewed and therefore only three students were given the chance to mention the two Mexican students. In other words, it is possible that others in this cluster are also friends with the Mexican students and regularly interact with them. In this case, it is data that is not apparent from these tables which provides the key to the situation. In the same interview where T mentions these Mexican friends of his, he goes on to say that he doesn't hang out with them very much because they are “lamies.” It thus becomes apparent that these students are not really a part of this friendship cluster. Even more importantly, while it is true that T is a weak tie who is somewhat involved in a number of clusters, he speaks very little Spanish. Thus the dialect mixing and possibilities for accommodation that at first glance seem possible are not actually present.

Despite the limitations to assessing density that were cited above, namely, that not all students were interviewed; the data obtained would seem to suggest that cluster #1 is not as dense as for example the “ghetto” cluster. Nowhere near a comparable number of members of this cluster are interconnected.⁶ This was verified by my own observations. Also, it includes other students such as Jessinola and Muñeca who are weak ties in that they have a significant circle of friends outside of school, and their two groups of friends are not very inter-connected. This information was also obtained in the interview. In Jessinola’s case, her out-of-school and in-school friends are quite separate; only her friend 163 has contact with these out-of-school friends. But while it may be that this is a relatively loose cluster with people such as Jessinola and her friend 163 serving as weak ties, once again, the language of communication hinders the propagation of change— Jessinola maintains that she and 163 only speak English at school, both with each other and with their school friends. Also, even if Jessinola and 163 were agents of change, their outside group of friends is a tight-knit group of Puerto Ricans and Dominicans. Muñeca too has only one friend, 169, who knows and has some (though minimal) contact with her outside friends. In this case, it is possible that some outside Mexican influences could permeate this social circle since Muñeca and possibly her friend 169 are weak ties and, according to Muñeca, she and her friends speak a mix of Spanish and English while in school. At the same time, the amount of interaction Muñeca does have with Mexican peers is not clear— when asked for a list of her friends, she didn’t actually mention anyone in particular who was Mexican, just that she had a number of neighborhood friends who were “everything”—Puerto Rican, Mexican and African-American. Thus, it is unclear whether or not she is engaging in the type of interaction with these peers that is necessary for accommodation and eventually, diffusion.

⁶ The lack of interconnectedness evidenced in cluster #1 may also be due to the fact that more members of cluster #2 were interviewed than of cluster #1, thus increasing the chances that interconnections within cluster #2 be

From the perspective of dialect mixing and koineization, cluster #9 is a cluster that is not quite as diverse as it seems. Within the cluster there are only two Mexican students who could be available for inter-dialectal accommodation, 72-Princesa⁷ and 152-Little Girl, and two of mixed-heritage, Iris and Beba. As in the previous cluster's analysis, it becomes important to examine the identity of these individuals. Princesa is an interesting individual in that she has connections to a number of clusters and would thus qualify as a "broker." Because she did not choose to participate in the study, not as much is known about her social status within her cluster, who her friends are, or what her preferred language is. Vonnie states that she herself speaks a mix of Spanish and English with her friends, though after spending a day with her and observing her while spending the day with other classmates of hers, it became clear that she speaks significantly more English than Spanish to friends throughout her school day. Vonnie and Princesa were not observed to interact during this school day. Because more information is not available, it is difficult to assess the likelihood that Vonnie and Princesa might be involved in inter-dialectal accommodation in Spanish. If they are, it is possible that Princesa introduce these innovations to Mexican friends. In Vonnie's case, even if she were engaged in this accommodation, it seems unlikely that she could spread new features since she speaks so little Spanish with the rest of her cluster.

Little Girl (152) is a Mexican friend cited by Nani. While this relationship could be the site of some inter-dialectal accommodation, a few things prevent it from being such: their language of communication is English, Nani qualifies this friendship by saying that they are not really close friends, and Little Girl's identity/image. While Little Girl herself was not a

illuminated.

⁷ Though 72-Princesa is considered a part of cluster #1, the sociogram in figure 1 does not show 72-Princesa as a part of this cluster. This is only due to the limitations of the word-processing program—a line could not be made to

participant in this study, she was observed on more than one occasion because of her relationships with other participants. From these observations, it became apparent that she is not one of the “Mexican-Mexicans,” (a distinction which will be discussed further in chapter 5 and has to do with dress, music, language, and friendship associations), and that she was perhaps a Mexican who identified more with a “ghetto” identity. This identity will be further discussed in the next chapter. In Little Girl’s case, the assertion that she does identify with this “ghetto” identity is most clearly seen in her way of speaking: AAVE grammar such as ‘I be iffing to...’ and “He stays on Hirsch but he be on Washtenaw” is quite characteristic of her speech and this identity. Returning to the topic of dialect mixing, this “ghetto” identity is not one that lends itself to the inter-dialectal accommodation necessary for the process of koineization, since the language associated with this identity is “ghetto English.”

Beba is of Mexican-Puerto Rican descent and has friends who are all PRn. Thus, if she were to speak Spanish with her friends and if her Spanish contained features typical of the Mexn dialect, she could be an influential figure in this linguistic landscape. Because Beba was never recorded speaking Spanish, the type of Spanish she speaks cannot be determined with any certainty. At the same time, it is known that her friends have always been predominantly PRn. Also, her mother, who is PRn, has been the dominant parent in her life and her father, who is Mexn, has been largely absent. And perhaps more importantly, both self-reported data from Beba and independent observations corroborate the fact that Beba does not speak Spanish with friends—according to her, the only people she speaks Spanish with (with any regularity) are her mother and her niece.

encompass her in the figure. She is included as one of the Mexicans in cluster #1 in Table 1 though, and she is discussed as a part of cluster #1 in the present analysis.

Iris is another participant who is of mixed-descent—her mother is Mexican and her father is Cuban. Because she is a fairly central and influential figure in her network, if some Mexican features remain in her Spanish, she too would be a good candidate as an innovator of change. According to Iris’s friendship history data, she has never had any close, Mexican friends. Therefore, whatever Mexican features might be a part of her speech would have had to have become a part of her dialect via her family. And even then, it is the absence of a timely exposure to the influence of a peer group that would have allowed dialect features from her family to persist into her adolescent idiolect (Trudgill 1986, Kerswill 1996, Chambers 1995). While data on Iris’s earliest peer networks were not obtained, it is known that by the age of six she had a circle of friends from school who were all PRn. But even more important is that at about the same age, Iris was put into the care of DCFS (the Department of Child and Family Services) and went to live with a PRn family. In other words, at an age that falls well before the critical period cited by Trudgill (1986) and Chambers (1995)⁸, Iris was removed from any Mexican linguistic influences. These factors seem to have had the expected linguistic effect: her friends insist that they “consider her Puerto Rican” because of, among other things, the way she speaks Spanish.

Given this linguistic history and identity, it becomes unlikely that Iris would be the instigator of the sort of linguistic changes that are of relevance to this study. Returning to the larger picture of cluster #9, this is a friendship cluster with few other weak ties, and those who are connected to other clusters are often connected to the dense and almost exclusively Puerto Rican “ghetto” cluster. Thus it becomes clear that as it stands, the likelihood of dialect mixing and accommodation occurring in this friendship cluster is not very high.

⁸Chambers (1995) finds that children who are exposed to a new dialect by the age of 8 are almost certain to accommodate fully. Trudgill (1986) puts this same figure somewhere between 8 and 12.

Cluster #7 is the cluster with the highest percentage of Mexican membership without being a Mexican dominant cluster: 53.3% (N=8/15) of its members are Puerto Rican and 20% (N=3/15) are Mexican. Again, this would lead one to expect that it could be the site of some dialect mixing. Of the three Mexican members of this cluster (178-Glo, 174-Grazie, and Green) only one was a study participant (Green). For the other two Mexican students, not as much is known about who they are, their social identities, etc. Still, information obtained from their friends in the cluster is enough to ascertain that these relationships are unlikely loci of inter-dialectal accommodation. It will also be seen that while this cluster has numerous weak ties, there is no reason to hypothesize that these weak ties will serve as “pipelines of influence.”

Two of the three Mexicans who are considered to be part of this cluster were friends of Jeka’s: Green and Glo. What is most relevant to the analysis of these relationships is the language of communication. During Jeka’s first-round interview, when asked what language she communicated in with her school friends, she answered “puro ingles” (pure English). Observations of her daily interactions corroborate that while she does use the occasional Spanish language phrase or expression, English is clearly her dominant language while in school. This renders the chances of inter-dialectal accommodation between Jeka and these Mexican friends unlikely, and the spread of these features even more unlikely. While Jeka’s position in the cluster makes her a possible candidate for introducing innovations, the language of communication makes this a moot point. Lastly, the identity of one of these Mexican contacts, Green, is also pertinent. Like Little Girl (152) from above, Green clearly identifies with a “ghetto” and more specifically, an African-American identity. This is very evident from her speech (which is almost always in English), and was explicitly discussed during a group

interview conducted with Green, Tag⁹ and Jeka. As was mentioned with respect to Little Girl, this is not an identity amenable to dialect mixing. As for the third Mexican member of this peer group, Grazie, she is a friend of the participant Lisi. Lisi also states that she only speaks English with her friends except for tiny bits of Spanish. Also, both Grazie and Lisi are tenuous members of this cluster. There is no one else who mentioned them as friends, (though not everyone who may have mentioned them was interviewed), and neither one is very connected to the core of the group. The combination of these two factors leads to the unlikelihood of their linguistic influence.

With respect to the density of this cluster, it is probably apparent from the above discussion that this is a fairly loose cluster. Given the fact that five of the fifteen members of this cluster were interviewed, the inter-connections are relatively few. Also, four of these five participants reported significant ties to people outside of the cluster, and the remaining one, Tag, also reported one such tie (see Figure 1 and Table 2). But again, it still does not appear likely that this looseness will lead to the interaction of dialects and consequent diffusion of accommodated features necessary for koineization. In the case of Mady and Lisi, since their outside influences are either Puerto Rican or African American, accommodation between the Mexican and Puerto Rican dialects of Spanish can not occur. For Tag and Green, their stated medium of communication with all of their friends is English,¹⁰ so while they may have contacts from outside the cluster and school, this has no bearing upon the issue of dialect mixing. Jeka's case was already discussed above.

⁹ While Tag could be discussed separately since she does have some Mexican contacts, she is Philipina and speaks almost no Spanish and so again could not take part in any of the linguistic changes that are of interest to this discussion.

¹⁰ Actually, Green says that while she thinks she used to speak some Spanish with Margarita, they now really only speak English. In any case, Green's language of communication with her school friends is English, thus halting the possibility of inter-dialectal accommodation.

Of the nine major friendship clusters that make up the junior class of Marquin, we will see that cluster #5 is the only one that has larger possibilities for being the site of dialect mixing and accommodation. This is due not only to the fact that while Puerto Rican dominant, it has a number of Mexican members (because as we have seen, this is not enough to ensure dialect mixing), but also because more of the interaction between these members and their Puerto Rican friends may be taking place in Spanish. We will also examine the likelihood for possible innovations to diffuse beyond this cluster.

This Puerto Rican dominant cluster has three members of Mexican descent, Mimi, 99-Tivo, and 94-Unger; and one of mixed PRn/Mexican heritage, 95-Sam. Of these four students, one was a participant: Mimi. Therefore, linguistic and social histories for the three other students are incomplete. Yet, some of the pertinent information can be reconstructed from their friends' interview responses. Both Minnie (PR) and Yeidi (PR) are friends with Tivo (Mex), and both Yeidi (PR) and Mima (PR) are friends with Sam (PR/Mex). Because all three of these participants (Minnie, Yeidi and Mima) reported at least some degree of Spanish language usage with their friends (and were observed to do so), it is possible that these relationships could see some inter-dialectal accommodation (if both Tivo and Sam do speak Spanish and in Sam's case, if it is indeed a Mexican variety of Spanish). With respect to spreading these possible innovations, there are not many participants in this cluster, aside from Mimi who will be discussed below, who are in a position to spread innovations beyond their circle of friends. Minnie has a few friends outside of this friendship cluster, but these are both English-speaking relationships. Yeidi has one friend outside of the cluster, 133. It is possible that they speak some Spanish to each other, which could allow for the diffusion of innovations.

Mimi is another Mexican member of this cluster with a number of Puerto Rican and Mexican friends, both within and outside the cluster. She is an interesting individual because of the diversity of her circle and her ties to numerous clusters, but she states that she speaks mostly English with her friends. Observations somewhat clash with this report—while she clearly speaks more English than Spanish in school, she was observed on more than one occasion speaking Spanish with Mexican friends. Still, the likelihood of accommodated features diffusing far beyond this cluster is unclear. In Mimi’s case, her ties to various clusters would make her a feasible candidate for spreading change, if she does engage in Spanish interactions with her Puerto Rican friends. A discussion with Mimi’s best friend, Yerelis, revealed that they sometimes speak some Spanish. At the same time, this Spanish interaction would have to be regular enough that it would allow for short-term accommodation to become long-term accommodation which Mimi would then spread to her Mexican circle of friends—and all this from someone who says she doesn’t speak Spanish with her friends. So while the possibility is still there, the likelihood is uncertain. Thus, it would seem that if there is one cluster with the possibility for regular inter-dialectal accommodation, it is this one. There are a few weak ties within this cluster, Mima and Yeidi, who are connected to a few other clusters—thus, the possibility for diffusion of accommodated features does exist. It is also possible that some members of this cluster who were not study participants (and thus not interviewed) are interconnected, and that some of these members are linked to other clusters. On the other hand, as has been seen throughout this analysis, the ethnicities, language preferences, and social identities of all involved individuals would have to line up in a way that is quite infrequent at Marquin, in order for innovations to become permanent in an individual’s repertoire, and then diffuse to other circles.

A few things should be clear as a result of this sociometric analysis. First of all, these data triangulate with the data presented earlier to make even more apparent that friendship clusters at Marquin are largely mono-ethnic. Exceptions are few, and are at times somewhat misleading. This explains why it is so difficult for koineization to occur in this setting and why it is much more likely that a stable sociolinguistic variation is being maintained. It is because for the most part, friendship clusters form according to ethnic identity; very few truly integrated clusters have formed at Marquin. Where inter-ethnic relationships have formed, we have seen that the language of communication often hinders the possibilities for inter-dialectal accommodation—it is often English. Language choice has been linked to identity in places throughout this analysis. This will be discussed further in the next few chapters. Thus, dialect mixing at Marquin remains minimal, let alone the extended face-to-face accommodation that would be necessary for the genesis and spread of new features. In this sense, Marquin resembles the studies cited at the beginning of this chapter in which the lack of new social network formation in the contact situation had slowed the process of koineization. The possibilities for the diffusion of innovations, seen to be unlikely to form, was also explored. It was seen that the necessary factors, amongst them language choice and the individual's role within their friendship cluster and the larger social network, did not often come together in such a way so as to allow for the diffusion of features.

That the junior class divides so starkly along ethnic lines illuminates the possibility that the junior class at Marquin is actually composed of a few networks with competing norms. It appears from data analyzed in this chapter that the social structure of Marquin can be said to be loosely organized into an overarching Mexican network of smaller, largely Mexican friendship clusters; and an overarching Puerto Rican network of smaller, largely Puerto Rican friendship

clusters. This also applies to the African Americans at Marquin. This interpretation would entail that ethnic identity remains the point around which all members of the school must orient. And to the extent that ethnicity is a social construct, membership in the different networks must still be negotiated. These ideas will be explored throughout this dissertation, and data analyzed will be seen to support this model.

It will be seen in the next section and throughout this dissertation that two forms of linguistic divergence seem to be occurring at Marquin: dialectal divergence and language choice divergence. Both divergences occur largely along ethnic lines. Dialectal divergence can be explained, in large part, by the lack of inter-ethnic integration evidenced here, and because on the whole, the Puerto Ricans at Marquin speak much less Spanish, and more English, than the Mexican students. Therefore, in the rest of this dissertation, we will explore reasons for this lack of inter-ethnic interaction and for the divergent language choices of these students. We will see that lack of interaction and divergent language choices are probably influenced by a number of factors, and may be inter-related, but are also largely affected by questions of identity and ideology.

With respect to the sociometric analysis itself, a few things should be pointed out. First of all, while this analysis may seem rather atomistic in nature, I believe that this individual-as-agent-of-change approach is warranted by both accommodation theory and models of koineization. Secondly, one might wonder whether there aren't other inter-dialectal interactions taking place that are not "seen" by this type of an analysis. To this I would answer both yes and no. With respect to study participants, both Rickford (1985) and Trudgill (1986) have explicitly pointed out that it is interaction of an intimate and frequent nature that leads to dialectal accommodation. Therefore, it seems logical to focus on the relationships that the participants

themselves consider to be their principal relationships, and not worry about interactions with unnamed “acquaintances.” As Eckert (2000) has pointed out though, relying solely on interviews for this sort of information is dangerous. Individuals’ memories can be inaccurate, and can be influenced by the interview setting or issues of recency. For example, a participant’s naming of a friend can be influenced by something as simple as the absence of that friend from school on the particular day of the interview. For this reason, interview data was supplemented by observations. Friendships that were apparent to me but not mentioned were added into the sociogram.

The bigger drawback, in my opinion, is that not all junior class members were interviewed. Factoring in attrition that occurred throughout this academic year, roughly one-third of the junior class was enrolled in the study and was subsequently interviewed. This, as was pointed out at various points of the analysis, does leave open the possibility of “unseen” relationships that may be inter-ethnic. For this reason, this analysis should be taken as a model of the socio-ethnic layout of Marquin, and the linguistic processes that may or may not be occurring, rather than as an exhaustive representation.

3.2. LACK OF KOINEIZATION /s/ AND /r/

In the second part of this chapter, a linguistic analysis of the speech of these participants will corroborate what has been argued for in the first part of this chapter: that the lack of inter-ethnic socialization and interaction, particularly in Spanish, have led to the maintenance of separate Spanish dialects on the part of the Mexican and Puerto Rican students at this high school, despite the presence of factors that would predict koineization.

3.2.1. The linguistic variables

Most studies of dialect contact and koineization have focused on phonological, syntactic, or morpho-syntactic variables. While syntactic variables typical of Puerto Rican Spanish, such as non-inverted questions and personal infinitive constructions (e.g. *para yo estar bien*), were considered for analysis in this study; so few tokens of these were elicited, both during interviews and free conversation, that no statistically significant conclusions could have been drawn from the data. Spanish data from the Puerto Rican students were especially scarce, but it can be noted here that no Mexican speaker was ever observed to use either of these constructions. Still, the infrequency of tokens of these syntactic variables led to the choice of two phonological variables: (s) and (r).

The variables (s) and (r) are good candidates for analysis for a number of theoretical reasons. First of all, these are two features that are markedly different in the original dialects of the speakers (Lipski 1994), thereby ensuring that there is actual room for accommodation. While Puerto Rican Spanish is well known for both its weakening and deletion of syllable-final /s/ (Lipski 1994, Ma and Herasimshuk 1971, Matluck 1961, Navarro-Tomás 1948) and lateralization, vocalization or deletion of pre-consonantal and pre-pausal /r/ (Lipski 1994, López Morales 1983); most varieties of Mexican Spanish do not show these tendencies¹¹.

Another reason for choosing these variables involves the issue of salience. According to the dialect contact literature, and in particular, Trudgill's (1986) model of long-term accommodation; speakers will be more likely to adjust to the salient features of a dialect. For Trudgill, salience relates closely to awareness—certain linguistic factors lead to greater

¹¹ Weakening of /s/ has been evidenced in some parts of Mexico. These include Mazatlán, Sinaloa (Hidalgo 1990); Emiliano Zapato and Huimanguillo, Tabasco (Williamson 1986, Moreno de Alba 1994); Mamantel, Campeche; Tapanatepec and Tuxtepec, Oaxaca; Tecpan, Guerrero; San Juan Evangelista and Tlacotalpan, Veracruz; and Acaponeta, Nayarit (Moreno de Alba 1994).

awareness attaching to certain linguistic variables. These variables are considered *salient*, and are good candidates for accommodation. According to Trudgill (1986: 11), the following factors lead to greater awareness/salience of a linguistic variable:

- (1) Greater awareness attaches to forms which are overtly stigmatized in a particular community. Very often, this overt stigmatization is because there is a high-status variant of the stigmatized form and this high-status variant tallies with the orthography while the stigmatized variant does not.
- (2) Greater awareness also attaches to forms that are currently involved in linguistic change.
- (3) Speakers are also more aware of variables whose variants are phonetically radically different.
- (4) Increased awareness is also attached to variables that are involved in the maintenance of phonological contrasts.

In sum, accommodation takes place “by the modification of those aspects of segmental phonology that are *salient* in the accent to be accommodated to” (20). Salience is determined by the above cited factors. But, Trudgill also calls attention to a number of exceptions—there are a number of factors which may (or may not) delay, or even prevent, the acquisition of particular salient features. These include phonotactic constraints in the dialect of the “accommodator,” the possibility of homonymic clash induced by accommodation, and the strength of stereotyping of the feature to be accommodated to.

These caveats reveal that salience, as defined by Trudgill, is a somewhat indeterminate concept. As will be mentioned again later in this dissertation, it raises questions as to whether linguistic determiners should be given such importance in assessing salience. But because this seems to be a well-accepted profile of salience (Penny 2000, Amastae and Satcher 1993), these criteria were used as a rough guide in determining the salience of the linguistic variables /s/ and /r/. For example, in interviews with the twelve key participants, roughly half mentioned “r” as something that was “different between the way Mexicans and Puerto Ricans speak Spanish.” This should be taken with caution though—because these comments were elicited in casual

conversations about language, it was not always clear whether the participants were referring to /rr/ or /r/ or both. Since Puerto Ricans show variation with respect to both of these variables, participants may have been referring to either one. Still, it does seem safe to say that there is some level of awareness of this variable on the part of the participants. If awareness is involved in salience, then it would seem that /r/ is a salient linguistic variable.

More concretely, both of these variables comply with a number of the factors listed above which Trudgill (1986: 11) delineates as comprising salience. First of all, both variables are involved in the maintenance of phonological contrasts. In this study, the variants that were considered for /r/ were [r], [l] and [Ø], and for /s/ the manifestations of interest were [s], [h] and [Ø]. In Spanish, /r/ and /l/ are involved in phonemic contrasts in pairs such as *arma:alma* or *pero:peho*. Deletion of /r/ also leads to the confusion of phonological contrasts. In fact, /r/ is a morphological marker: -r is the infinitival marker in Spanish, and therefore its deletion (usually) leads to convergence with the third-person singular form of the present tense. The case of /s/ is a little less straightforward. Weakening of /s/ is most common in syllable-final contexts. Because [h] does not exist as a phoneme in Spanish, /s/-aspiration does not obscure phonological contrasts. Looking to the other variant of interest though, deletion, it is seen that deletion of /s/ does indeed obscure phonological contrasts. In fact, /s/ too is a morphological marker, and therefore its deletion can contribute to the loss of this information. The -s in Spanish carries a high functional load, thus justifying the amount of attention it has received in the literature (to be discussed below). In the noun phrase, /s/ marks the plural on articles, adjectives, and nouns. In the verb phrase, final /s/ distinguishes the second person singular from the third person singular in most tenses. In other tenses, such as the imperfect and the conditional, /s/ differentiates the first and second person as well as second and third (Hochberg 1986). All of these factors

contribute to the salience of both of these variables, thus making them likely candidates for adjustment.

Another criterion for salience recognized by Trudgill is stigmatization. Because salience was not explicitly assessed, it is not known whether or not these variants are overtly stigmatized in this community. At the same time, literature on these two variables seems to concur that these variants are stigmatized. In fact, Amastae and Satcher (1993), in a study looking at the linguistic accommodation of Hondurans to Mexican Spanish in El Paso, Texas, states:

“Honduran Spanish is s-aspirating/deleting and final n-velarizing, whereas Northern Mexican Spanish has neither of these characteristics. Both of these processes are often regarded as non-prestige, if not overtly stigmatized, in the world-wide, Spanish-speaking community. As stigmatized, they should be perceptually salient, [...], to both the speakers of Honduran Spanish and to the local speakers of Northern Mexican Spanish with whom they interacted” (78).

In other words, Amastae and Satcher also consider /s/ to be a salient variable, due to its stigmatization in the “world-wide, Spanish speaking community.” In fact, as was the case in the present study, it was the salience of this linguistic variable that led to its selection for analysis by Amastae and Satcher (1993).

With respect to /r/, Lipski (1994: 333) states that though /r/-lateralization is a common phenomenon found throughout Puerto Rico, lateralization of /r/ carries a sociolinguistic stigma and is more common among the lower social classes. López Morales (1983) corroborates that while /r/ lateralization is prevalent in all socioeconomic strata of San Juan, Puerto Rico; its frequency shows an inverse correlation with socioeconomic status—lateralization is most common amongst the lower classes. This association with lower-class speech has led to its stigmatization, as corroborated by an independent study (López Morales 1979 in López Morales 1983). Thus, it seems safe to conclude that the [h] and [Ø] variants of /s/, and the [l] and [Ø] variants of /l/ are stigmatized. Furthermore, the higher status variants for both of these variables

do “tally with orthography” (Trudgill 1986: 11). Therefore, (s) and (r) will be considered salient variables which are likely candidates for accommodation.

Both (s) and (r) have been the focus of much research in the field of Hispanic linguistics. Early work on (s) concentrated on understanding the sociolinguistic patterning of its variation. To name a few, Fonatanella de Weinberg (1973) looks at the role of sex in /s/ variation in Bahía Blanca, Argentina; Hammond (1982) studies the contextual factors at play in the Spanish of Puerto Rican ‘jíbaros’ and deals with the formulation of phonological rules to account for the processes of /s/ deletion and aspiration; Hammond (1980) does much the same amongst the university educated, Cuban population of Miami. In terms of the frequency of the processes of aspiration and deletion in Puerto Rico, Navarro-Tomás (1948), Matluck (1961), and Lipski (1994) all confirm the spread of these processes throughout Puerto Rico and across social classes.

As was mentioned above, the weakening of /s/ has been given special attention because of its morphological role in Spanish. This has led to a series of works based on Kiparsky’s functional hypothesis (1972), which holds that there is a tendency for semantically relevant information to be retained in surface structure. Works by Hochberg (1986) and Poplack (1980) concentrate on refining the constraints on s-deletion and then determining how the information lost in the deletion of /s/ is compensated for. Hochberg (1986) finds that verbal –s deletion is compensated for by a higher pronoun usage among Puerto Rican women living in Boston. Poplack’s data (1980) also confirm the functional hypothesis—that semantically relevant information will be retained in surface structure. Her findings are of interest in that she finds pertinent plural information to be signaled in the verb rather than in the noun phrase. In other words, according to Poplack, the Spanish verb is so morphologically rich that it carries the

functional load of plural marking. Thus, plural /n/ in the verb phrase resists deletion, allowing /s/ in Puerto Rican Spanish to become more of a phonological entity than a morphological one.

Research on /r/ lateralization is not quite as plentiful as that on /s/ deletion, and what there is tends to fall more into the descriptive vein and has often concentrated on the Dominican Republic. For example, Henríquez Ureña (1975), Jiménez Sabater (1975), Rojas (1982) and Alba (1988) all agree that /r/ variation is a common phenomenon in the Dominican Republic and dedicate their work to ironing out the linguistic and extralinguistic constraints on this variation. Sankoff (1986) does concentrate on /r/ variation in Puerto Rico, but is more concerned with theoretical questions relating to phonological rules and rule ordering. López Morales (1983) concentrates on the socioeconomic and stylistic patterning of /r/ lateralization in San Juan, Puerto Rico.

The focus of this study was quite different from the majority of the studies cited here. The purpose of this linguistic analysis was to determine if any accommodation was occurring with respect to these two salient linguistic variables which have been shown to display consistent variation in Caribbean Spanish (and not in most varieties of Mexican Spanish). In this sense this study most closely resembles Amastae and Satcher (1993), mentioned above. Therefore, since the goal of this analysis was to determine what, if any level of convergence was taking place between the Spanish of the Mexican and Puerto Rican participants, only the most basic contextual variables were taken into consideration as control measures, as will be discussed in the next section.

3.2.2. Method

Data for this linguistic analysis came from the first round of interviews, which was conducted with 67 participants. While naturally occurring data would have been the most ideal, there was a

minimal amount of free conversation observed in Spanish, particularly from the Puerto Rican participants. This is an interesting observation in and of itself, and will be returned to throughout this dissertation. The lack of naturally occurring conversation in Spanish necessitated reliance on interview data. It should be pointed out though, that if the Puerto Rican students are not speaking very much Spanish, they are probably not engaging in inter-dialectal accommodation with respect to (s) or (r) or any other linguistic variable, and therefore are not engaged in the process of koineization.

Of the 67 students, 45 were eligible for this portion of the study. In order to be eligible, students had to have been residents of Cartagena Square, or one of a few geographically contiguous areas with similar demographics, since at most the age of twelve.¹² This was meant to ensure that the data elicited would be reflective of the participants' upbringing in a strictly delimited geographic area, which has been shown to exhibit conditions favorable to koineization. Eligibility was also determined by ethnic descent—students had to be of either Mexican or Puerto Rican descent, or mixed descent where one parent was either Mexican or Puerto Rican and the other parent was a native English speaker. Like the geographic criterion, this was meant to guarantee that any linguistic variation detected in the data could not be attributed to a mixed dialectal home life, but rather to their upbringing in the neighborhood and schools of Cartagena Square.¹³ In the end, of the 45 students who were eligible for this portion of the study, 21 chose to conduct the first interview in Spanish: 13 Mexicans (three of whom were male) and eight

¹² Of these 45 students, ten were from one of these geographically contiguous areas. In other words, 35 were participants who had grown up in Cartagena Square.

¹³ In hindsight, mixed Mexn/PRn ethnicity should not have been excluded from the sample—this is in fact, a valid site for koineization to occur. Only three Mexn/PRn participants were excluded by this criterion though, and not one of them chose to conduct the first interview in Spanish. In fact, they were all strongly English dominant and spoke little to no English while in school (as was observed by the researcher).

Puerto Ricans (one of whom was male). It is the speech of these students that constitutes the linguistic sample analyzed in this section.

It could be hypothesized that aside from being indicative of Spanish proficiency and the willingness to speak Spanish in the school context, the formal and English speaking nature of an interview may have influenced the rate of Spanish response, along with the fact that the researcher was still fairly unknown to the participants at this stage of the research.¹⁴ Further familiarity with these students revealed that most of the students who did not choose to speak Spanish during the first interview (and some who did) did not engage in much Spanish interaction during their normal days, thus suggesting that the rate of response in Spanish was mostly indicative of the first and second factors rather than either of the others. This also brings up another point: though the sample size of 21 students is quite small, it is a representative sample (in terms of both numbers and characteristics) of those individuals at Marquin whose speech could actually show the effects of dialect contact.

Approximately fifty tokens of /s/ and forty of /r/ were randomly selected from transcripts of this first interview for each of the 21 participants.¹⁵ A total of 835 tokens of /r/ and 1034 tokens of /s/ were selected.¹⁶

Each token of /r/ was coded for a number of linguistic and extra-linguistic factors. These included: sex of speaker, ethnicity of speaker, position of the token within the word, the nature of the following segment, and the nature of the preceding segment. These constraints were

¹⁴ Data from later interviews could have been used to counteract this issue of familiarity with the researcher, but because the number of participants in each round of interviews was progressively smaller, and because many still preferred English even as their level of comfort with the researcher did grow, data would have come from a smaller number of participants than the 21 achieved here.

¹⁵ Six tokens of /s/ and 11 of /r/ are mistakenly included from a Puerto Rican, female participant. These tokens come from naturally occurring data (rather than from the first interview). For this reason, her data should not have been included in this analysis. Because the number of tokens is quite insignificant, these data were not considered to affect the overall findings.

determined by the literature and through personal communication with John Lipski. The focus of this analysis was not to determine what constraints there are on r-lateralization amongst this population, but rather to see if any convergence was taking place. Therefore, only the most basic linguistic factors were taken into consideration—they are meant to control for the effects of linguistic context, rather than investigate their patterning. It should be noted that tokens of word-internal, pre-vocalic /r/ were included amongst the 835 total tokens. This is a heavily r-retaining context, and thus will affect the results reported in the next section. Aside from this oversight, only syllable-final /r/ was examined.

Tokens of /s/ were also coded for a number of linguistic and extra-linguistic factors. As with /r/, linguistic factors were only included as a control for the effect of linguistic context, and were selected in accordance with the literature regarding (s). Factors coded for included: sex of speaker, ethnicity of speaker, the position of the token within the word, the morphological function of the token, the nature of the preceding and following phonological segments, and whether or not the token was syllable-initial. To make the data set more manageable, verbal /s/ was excluded from the data, as was intervocalic /s/ and word-initial /s/. These latter two exclusions dramatically decreased the number of tokens found in the syllable-initial position, which is recognized as an s-preserving context for most Spanish dialects.

Each token of the variable (r) was coded for its realization as the variant [r], [l], or [Ø]. The issue of incomplete accommodation was considered in the determination of variants/realizations to code for—after all, it is common in dialect contact situation for intermediate forms to emerge from incomplete accommodation, resulting in an expansion of variants (Trudgill 1986). With respect to /r/, the Mexican participants most definitely were not

¹⁶ Due to the English dominant code-switching that a few of these participants demonstrated during their interviews, it was not possible to get the 90 total tokens from all participants.

producing any intermediate forms. As the results indicate, the Mexican participants pronounced [r] almost 100% of the time, and a close observation of digital recordings did not indicate any noteworthy variability in this pronunciation. Some variability was detected amongst the Puerto Ricans, most notably gemination of the following consonant. Because this is a recognized variability within Puerto Rican speech (Lipski 1994), and because tokens of this were few, there was no reason to consider this an indication of the expansion of variants caused by dialect contact. Therefore, these tokens were coded as the variant [Ø].

Finally, the results reported below collapse the data for [l] and [Ø]. This is because the difference between lateralization and deletion was not significant for this study—any lateralization *or* deletion detected amongst the Mexicans was considered significant, and only pronunciation of [r] (or some approximate variant not typical of Puerto Rican Spanish) was considered to be significant for the Puerto Rican students.

Tokens of /s/ were coded for the variants [s], [h] and [Ø]. Again, the issue of incomplete accommodation was considered—were there intermediate forms aside from these variants that had resulted from the contact situation? The Mexican data for /s/ was similar to the /r/ data—little to no variability was detected. Amongst the Puerto Rican participants, the only variability that was observed was aspiration and deletion—both typical Puerto Rican realizations of syllable and word-final /s/. In other words, while no formalized analysis was undertaken, nothing approximating the [s] variant (other than [h]) was observed from the Puerto Rican students. Therefore, tokens of /s/ were only coded for [s], [h], and [Ø].

Results reported below collapse data for the realizations [h] and [Ø], for similar reasons as those discussed above for /r/. Anything approximating aspiration *or* deletion from the Mexican students was considered an important finding; the difference between the two was not

important. For the Puerto Rican students, only significant rates of the realization [s] (or an approximation that did not include the [h] typical of Puerto Rican Spanish) in unlikely contexts would indicate the effects of dialect contact (see footnote 6 below).

3.2.3. Results

For /s/

The overall results for /s/ are seen below:

Table 3: Overall results for /s/: Sorted by ethnicity

[s] variant from Mexns		[s] variant from PRns	
N	%	N	%
594/630	94.3	119/404	29.5

This table reflects the raw data for the frequency with which speakers of each ethnicity produced the [s] variant. In other words, out of the 630 total tokens of /s/ analyzed from the speech of the Mexican participants, the [s] variant was produced 594 times, or 94.3% of the time. This compares to the 119 times out of 404 total tokens that the Puerto Rican students produced the [s] variant (or 29.5% of the time). These raw data suggest that members of each ethnic group differentiate quite sharply with respect to the linguistic variable (s).

These data were subjected to a variable rule analysis (Paolillo 2002) using Goldvarb 2.1 (Rand & Sankoff 1999). In a step-up-step-down run, only sex and ethnicity were selected as significant factor groups—no internal linguistic factor was significant. The varbrul results are reported below. A weight higher than 0.5 indicates that /s/ is more likely to be retained (i.e. [s]) rather than deleted (i.e. [Ø]) or aspirated (i.e. [h]) if a speaker has that characteristic. Note that this model does not include any syllable-initial instances of /s/ because they were categorically retained.

Table 4: Results of Variable Rule Analysis: factors affecting /s/ retention, i.e. [s]

Factor*	Factor Weight	%	N
<u>Ethnicity</u>			
Mexn	.823	94	594/630
PRn	.085	29	119/404
<u>Sex</u>			
Female	.540	69	579/844
Male	.337	71	134/190

* Factors not selected as significant: morphological function, word position, following phonological segment, preceding phonological segment

This analysis of the data shows that of all the linguistic and extra-linguistic factor groups considered, speaker ethnicity best explains the /s/ variation seen in the data set—Mexican ethnicity strongly favors retention of /s/, while PRn ethnicity strongly favors aspiration/deletion. This would suggest that the Puerto Ricans and Mexicans at Marquin are not converging with respect to the variable (s). A significant effect is also found for sex—females slightly favor retention of /s/, while males disfavor /s/ retention. This is in line with a depiction of women as more “conservative” speakers than men. It is interesting to note that no linguistic constraint was shown to have a significant effect. As will be seen below, following segment, a well-documented constraint in /s/ variation (Poplack 1980, Lipski 1988, Hammond 1982), does constrain Mexican /s/ variation at Marquin. No such effect is found for the Puerto Rican data.

These data were also tested for the interaction of sex and ethnicity. It was found that this interaction is not significant: a comparison of the log likelihood of a variable run with sex and ethnicity as a single factor group with four factors was not significantly different from the two factor group model (Paolillo 2002). Thus, the combined factor groups do not predict the data any better than each factor group taken separately—men always aspirate/delete more than women, and PRns always aspirate/delete more than Mexns.

Finally, the data for each ethnic group were also examined separately. This analysis supports the interpretation of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans at Marquin as two separate speech communities. A varbrul analysis shows that for the Puerto Ricans, only sex has a significant effect on their /s/ variation—males significantly disfavor retention of /s/, with a varbrul weight of .205, and females favor retention of /s/, with a varbrul weight of .549. It is important to recall, though, that the sample of PRn speakers includes only one male Puerto Rican. No internal linguistic factor is shown to constrain PRn /s/ variation—it seems that the Puerto Ricans show high rates of /s/ weakening, regardless of linguistic context. For the Mexican students, a significant effect was found only for following environment, with a pause favoring elision of /s/ (varbrul weight = .316). In other words, these data indicate that not only do the two groups show very different rates of /s/ weakening/retention, they also do not operate under the same set of constraints with respect to their /s/ variation. This supports the interpretation of each ethnic group as a separate speech community.

Data presented in this section indicate that the Puerto Ricans and Mexicans at Marquin are not converging on the linguistic variable (s). Raw data indicate that the two ethnic groups show very different rates of /s/ weakening/retention. A varbrul analysis has confirmed that it is, in fact, ethnicity which best explains the /s/ variation observed in this setting. In addition, we have seen that each ethnic group's linguistic variation is constrained by different factors. This too supports the interpretation that each ethnic group operates as a separate speech community. To further substantiate the claim that these two groups of students are not approximating one another's linguistic behavior with respect to the variable (s), it is useful to compare each group's rates of retention/ weakening with similar rates from co-ethnics in a non-contact situation. If the students at Marquin, who are in a dialect contact situation, are behaving markedly differently

than speakers in their countries of origin, then one could tenuously posit that the contact situation was responsible for this discontinuity.¹⁷ On the other hand, if the students at Marquin are behaving similarly to speakers in their respective countries of origin with respect to this salient variable, it is reasonable to conclude that the dialect contact situation is not affecting their Spanish. While no Mexican data were found to compare Marquin data with, data from Lipski (1988) on Guatemalan Spanish and Costa Rican Spanish, two /s/ preserving dialects, can be used as a rough baseline for comparison:

Table 5: Comparison of Mexn /s/ variation at Marquin with Guatemalan and Costa Rican /s/ variation

		[s] from Mexns at Marquin	[s]from Guatemalans (Lipski 1988)	[s]from Costa Ricans (Lipski 1988)
	Context	%	%	%
1	sC	96.2	93	92
2	s#C	94.3	69	69
3	s##	89.2	93	96
4	s#V'	90.9	100	98
5	s#V^	100	100	98

This table shows that the Mexican students at Marquin behave quite similarly to the Guatemalans and Costa Ricans in Lipski (1988). In fact, in the first two contexts, the Mexican students actually preserve /s/ *more* than the Guatemalans and Costa Ricans reported on in Lipski (1988). In the fifth context, the Mexican participants preserve /s/ *more* than the Costa Ricans, and the same as the Guatemalans—100% of the time. Only in two contexts do the Mexicans show a *lower* rate of /s/ maintenance: when /s/ is phrase-final the Mexican students deleted or aspirated more than both other groups (though not that much more than the Guatemalans), and in the fourth context the Mexican students aspirated and deleted more than the other two groups.

¹⁷ One would also have to show that these changes could not be attributed to other factors such as language internal

Of course, the rough nature of this comparison must be kept in mind—factors such as socioeconomic status, speech style, region, and time of data collection either were not or could not be held constant between and within the two studies. Still, these data serve our current purposes—it is clear that the Mexican students in contact situation at Marquin behave similarly to speakers in s-preserving, non-contact dialect regions.

The Marquin Puerto Rican data can be similarly compared to the Puerto Rican data reported in Lipski (1988). This is done in the table below:

Table 6: Comparison of PRn /s/ variation at Marquin with Island PRn /s/ variation

		[s] from Marquin PRns	[s] from Island PRns (Lipski 1988)
	<u>Context</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
1	sC	24.5	3
2	s#C	25	4
3	s##	32.4	46
4	s#V'	36.4	45
5	s#V^	19.4	16

This comparison shows that in Contexts 1 and 2 the Puerto Rican students at Marquin delete/aspirate /s/ significantly *less* than the Island Puerto Ricans; that in Contexts 3 and 4 these students delete/aspirate /s/ *more* than the Island PRns; and in Context 5 they perform almost the same. These data reflect the lack of internal linguistic constraints on the /s/ variation of Marquin PRns—PRns at Marquin show consistently high rates of aspiration/deletion, regardless of linguistic context. It seems unlikely that contact with Mexican Spanish has somehow influenced this lack of internal linguistic constraints—following environment is in fact the one linguistic constraint that does constrain the little Mexican /s/ variation found. Further investigation of this

changes, or even influence from English.

finding would be interesting. I hypothesize that for this Puerto Rican population, s-deletion/aspiration has become a symbol of ethnic identity whose rules have been learned “imperfectly,” thus leading to the consistent but non-rule-governed pattern of variation seen here. In the meantime, the overall picture in Table 6 emerges as similar to above—the Puerto Ricans in this dialect contact situation show rates of /s/ weakening similar to Puerto Ricans in non-contact situations. This comparison thus supports the interpretation that the Mexns and PRns at Marquin are not converging with respect to this linguistic variable since they are in fact, maintaining rates of retention/ weakening similar to their co-ethnics in non-contact situations.

For /r/

The overall results for /r/ are seen below, sorted by ethnicity. These data reflect the frequency with which each ethnic group *retained* [r].

Table 7: Overall results for /r/: sorted by ethnicity

[r] variant from Mexns		[r] variant from PRns	
N	%	N	%
518/528	98.1	237/306	77.5

These figures show that the Mexican participants showed almost no variability in their pronunciation of /r/—out of 528 tokens, only 10 times was something other than the [r] variant produced. In other words, the Mexican students showed very little lateralization or deletion of /r/. The Puerto Rican students, on the other hand, showed more variability in their production. Recall that tokens of word-internal, pre-vocalic /r/, (a context resistant to lateralization), are included in these data.

These data were subjected to a variable rule analysis. As will be seen in the table below, sex, ethnicity, word-position, and following environment were all selected as significant factors

constraining r-retention. A weight higher than 0.5 indicates that /r/ is more likely to be retained (i.e. [r]) rather than lateralized (i.e. [l]) or deleted (i.e. [Ø]) if the speaker or token has this characteristic.

Table 8: Results of Variable Rule Analysis: factors affecting /r/ retention, i.e. [r]

Factor*	Factor Weight	%	N
<u>Ethnicity</u>			
Mexn	.774	98	518/528
PRn	.107	77	237/306
<u>Following environment</u>			
Vowel	.583	94	531/565
Pause	.358	83	24/29
Consonant	.329	83	200/240
<u>Word position</u>			
Internal	.569	92	633/685
Final	.218	82	122/149
<u>Sex</u>			
Female	.552	91	613/672
Male	.297	88	143/163

* Factors not selected as significant: preceding phonological segment

As was true for /s/, it can be seen that of all the significant factor groups, the strongest effect for /r/ is ethnicity—Mexican ethnicity strongly favors /r/ retention, while Puerto Rican ethnicity heavily disfavors retention of /r/. These data suggest that Puerto Ricans and Mexicans are not converging with respect to the variable (r)—of all factors affecting /r/ variation, PRn versus Mexn ethnicity most strongly predicts /r/ realization.

The linguistic factor groups selected as significantly affecting /r/ variation are not very surprising. As was mentioned above, pre-consonantal and pre-pausal /r/ are most susceptible to

lateralization (Lipski 1994). The effect of the word-internal position, as discussed above, may be a reflection of the inclusion of word-internal, pre-vocalic tokens of /r/ (an /r/ retaining context). It is also seen here that word-final /r/ heavily disfavors retention. This may be partially explained by the propensity of infinitival -r to be lateralized or deleted (Marrero, Oquet, and Portela 1982; Rojas 1982).

An effect for sex is also revealed in these data—females slightly favor the [r] variant while males quite strongly disfavor the [r] variant. In other words, men lateralize or delete /r/ more than women do. Again, this finding is in line with depiction of men as more “radical” speakers and women as more “conservative.”

These data were also tested for an interaction between sex and ethnicity. As with /s/, it was found that this interaction is not significant—the combined factor groups do not predict the data any better than each factor group taken separately. In other words, sex and ethnicity are working independently to constrain /r/ variation amongst the Marquin Spanish-speaking population.

Lastly, the data for each ethnic group were also examined separately. As with /s/, this analysis supports the interpretation of the Mexicans and Puerto Ricans at Marquin as two separate speech communities. It was seen that while the factor groups sex, word position, and following environment were all significant for Puerto Ricans, only sex was selected as significant for Mexicans. In other words, the two ethnic groups do not operate under the same set of linguistic constraints—different factors constrain the /r/ variation of these two ethnic groups. Again, a few things should be kept in mind when considering these results. First of all, while sex was found to be a significant factor constraining /r/ variation for Puerto Ricans, it must be recalled that there was only one male Puerto Rican participant. Thus this result must be

interpreted with caution. Secondly, with respect to factors found to constrain Mexican /r/ variation, the raw data should be kept in mind when considering these findings—after all, Mexican participants only showed lateralization or deletion for 10 of 528 tokens. In other words, in contrast to the Puerto Ricans of Marquin, there is very little /r/ variation amongst the Mexican population of Marquin—Mexicans consistently retain /r/. What little variation there is shows an effect only for sex of the speaker.

We have seen then, that /r/ variation for the Spanish-speaking population of Marquin is best explained by the factor of ethnicity. As was mentioned above, this would suggest that the two ethnic groups are not converging with respect to (r). In fact, we have seen that each group’s /r/ variation (which, in the case of Mexicans, is very little) is subject to different constraints. This too indicates that the two ethnic groups are operating as separate speech communities. As with the analysis of /s/, it is also useful to compare each groups’ linguistic behavior as regards /r/ to speakers of the same ethnicity in non-contact situations. If the students at Marquin, who are in a dialect contact situation, are behaving similarly to speakers in their respective countries of origin with respect to this salient linguistic variable, it is reasonable to conclude that the dialect contact situation is not affecting their Spanish. For this we return to the raw data presented in Table 7 above. These data have been repeated below for convenience.

Table 9: Overall results for /r/: sorted by ethnicity

[r] variant from Mexns		[r] variant from PRns	
N	%	N	%
518/528	98.1	237/306	77.5

Once again, these figures show that the Mexican participants showed almost no variability in their pronunciation of /r/—out of 528 tokens, the variant [r] was produced 518

times. While comparable data for other Mexicans were not found, this is quite typical of the Mexican variety of Spanish—Mexican Spanish is not an r-lateralizing dialect. The Mexican participants at Marquin were only found to lateralize or delete /r/ 2% of the time (N=10/528). This would indicate that dialect contact with Puerto Rican Spanish is not affecting the linguistic behavior of Mexicans at Marquin with regard to the variable (r).

The Puerto Rican students showed more variability than the Mexican students with respect to this variable, but did retain [r] much of the time—out of 306 tokens, 237 realizations (77%) of [r] were produced. As was mentioned above, though, this figure includes many tokens of /r/ in the word-internal, pre-vocalic position (an r-retaining context for most dialects of Spanish, including PRn Spanish). For this reason, these same frequencies were calculated without these tokens of word-internal, pre-vocalic /r/ included in the data set. New tokens (of syllable-final /r/ only) were added in order to approximate 20 tokens per person. The rates of /r/ retention for this modified data set (for both ethnic groups) are shown below:

Table 10: Mexn and PRn /r/ variation at Marquin (new data-set)

Context	[r] from Mexns		[r] from PRns	
	N	%	N	%
Word-internal, preconsonantal r	126/127	99.2	55/87	63.2
Word-final, preconsonantal r	41/42	97.6	8 of 24	33.3
Word-final, prevocalic r	56/57	98.2	8 of 16	50
Phrase-final r	24/25	96	2 of 6	33.3
Total	248/252	98.4	73/134	54.5

As was already apparent from data presented above, it is clear that the Mexicans and Puerto Ricans at Marquin are performing quite dissimilarly with respect to this linguistic variable. In addition, we see that the PRns at Marquin approximate the rates of lateralization/deletion of /r/ typical of Puerto Ricans in Puerto Rico. Though reports which break

Puerto Rican variation down into specific linguistic contexts could not be obtained, Lipski (1994: 333) reports that lateralization of syllable-final, preconsonantal and prepausal /r/ in Puerto Rico can reach nearly 50%. López-Morales (1983) studies r-lateralization in the city of San Juan. He reports that syllable- and word-final /r/ varies across sociolects, and ranges from 12.9% lateralization in the highest social class studied to 41% lateralization amongst the lowest social class studied. While the number of tokens in the revised data set is low, the 45.5% of lateralization/deletion found amongst Puerto Ricans at Marquin can be compared to the figures from Lipski (1994) and López-Morales (1983)—in their lateralization/deletion rates, Puerto Ricans at Marquin surpass the San Juaneros of the lowest socioeconomic class studied by López-Morales, and approach the extreme figure of 50% lateralization cited by Lipski. Thus, it would seem that the Puerto Ricans at Marquin are behaving similarly or even more extremely than their co-ethnics on the Island. Again, it is quite possible that this salient linguistic variable has become an emblem of Puerto Rican identity for this Puerto Rican population. With this additional data in place, it becomes quite clear that the Mexicans and Puerto Ricans at Marquin are not converging with respect to /r/.

3.2.4. Conclusion

To conclude this linguistic analysis, it should first be recalled that the lack of naturally occurring Spanish data observed from the Puerto Rican students at Marquin necessitated a reliance on interview data and limited this analysis to phonetic variables. We have already seen in this chapter the infrequency with which PRns and Mexicans at Marquin interact. An English language preference from the PRns at Marquin would further affect opportunities for inter-ethnic interaction in Spanish, and thus koineization. This issue will be addressed more specifically in chapter 6.

In the analysis of linguistic data obtained during the first interview, it was seen that each ethnic group is diverging quite sharply with respect to their linguistic behavior on the two salient linguistic variables (s) and (r). Rates of /s/ weakening and /r/ lateralization/deletion were shown to be quite divergent for the two ethnic groups. A varbrul analysis confirmed that for each linguistic variable, ethnicity was the most significant factor constraining variation. In other words, ethnicity is the best predictor of how Spanish speakers at Marquin will pronounce /s/ and /r/. Further variable rule analyses offered more evidence that the Mexicans and Puerto Ricans at Marquin are behaving as separate speech communities with respect to their Spanish. These analyses showed that the linguistic variation of each group on each of these linguistic variables is actually constrained by a different set of factors. One interesting finding that warrants further investigation concerns Puerto Rican /s/ variation. It was seen that PRn /s/ variation at Marquin is not at all constrained by linguistic context—weakening of /s/ is consistently high for these Puerto Ricans across linguistic contexts. As was hypothesized above, it is quite possible that s-deletion/aspiration has become a symbol of PRn ethnic identity whose rules have been learned “imperfectly.”

Comparisons of Marquin linguistic data with data from groups in non-contact situations further support the idea that the Spanish speaking Mexicans and Puerto Ricans at Marquin form separate speech communities with no linguistic convergence occurring. These comparisons show that these two ethnic groups who are in a contact situation at Marquin and in Cartagena Square, are performing quite similarly to their co-ethnics in their countries of origin. Finally, it was also discussed that one common outcome of dialect contact, incomplete accommodation, was not evidenced in these data.

This overall picture is similar to findings reported by Otheguy (2005). Otheguy and Zentella's work on dialect contact between various Spanish dialects in New York shows that while the first generation of immigrants have converged in their Spanish dialects, thus displaying the effects of dialect contact; those speakers who were born in their countries of origin but were raised in New York since a young age actually show divergent Spanish dialects—their Spanish varieties more closely resemble the Spanish typical of their countries of origin. Possible explanations for these findings will be discussed in chapter 6, but in the meantime, it is interesting to note the similarities of the New York findings with the situation found at Marquin. Spanish speakers at Marquin, often born and largely raised in Chicago, also show distinctly divergent Spanish dialects. In addition, each groups' language varieties approximate those spoken by speakers in their countries of origin. These findings confirm what was indicated by the other sections of this chapter—the salience of ethnicity as a boundary and the ensuing lack of inter-ethnic interaction, particularly in Spanish, is curtailing opportunities for a Hispanic koine to form.

4. THE CONSTRUCTION OF ETHNIC IDENTITY AS A SOCIOLINGUISTIC BOUNDARY

In the last chapter it was shown that the Mexican and Puerto Rican dialects are remaining distinctive at Marquin High School rather than converging. We saw that this distinctiveness is due to the fact that some of the necessary conditions for koineization, namely inter-ethnic interaction (particularly in Spanish) and the formation of new, integrated social networks (or friendship clusters, within the terminology of the sociometric analysis), are missing in this research context. In fact, it was demonstrated that ethnic identity is a particularly salient category for the students at Marquin and plays a divisive role in many of their social practices. In this chapter, the role of ethnicity as a sociolinguistic boundary will be further discussed—it will be seen that one of the main reasons linguistic distinctiveness is being maintained at Marquin High School is that ethnic identity is a very salient social category and boundary at this school. Not only does this boundary inhibit interaction between groups, but also, because ethnic identity is such a salient social category, and because language indexes ethnic identity in this research context (as will be seen here and in the next chapter), the language choice of students will be shown to be influenced by questions of identity. This too has important ramifications for koineization.

We will also see in this chapter that the boundary posed by ethnic identity is not an inherent or essential boundary, but rather one that is actively constructed and maintained by the members of this community via language and other symbolic practices. In the last section, we will look at a few individuals and see that because ethnic identity and social identity are so interdependent in this school, students put a large amount of effort into the construction of this

aspect of overall identity. The construction of these discrete and prominent ethnic identities will be considered yet another component of the construction and maintenance of the ethnolinguistic boundary between Mexicans and Puerto Ricans at Marquin.

4.1. ETHNICITY AS A SOCIOLINGUISTIC BOUNDARY

That ethnicity can play a divisive role at Marquin was shown in the last chapter. Here additional evidence will be presented to demonstrate that ethnic identity is an extremely important and omnipresent category at Marquin and that accordingly, it serves as a sociolinguistic boundary. As will be seen below, there is motivation for this finding in the sociolinguistic literature. Chapter 2 revealed that both Marquin and the neighborhood in which it sits have historically been Puerto Rican spaces. While much of the alleged nationalist activity and surrounding media hype has died down, it was shown in this chapter that both physically and perceptually, Marquin (and Cartagena Square) continues to exist as a predominantly Puerto Rican space. Numerous observations throughout the academic year added to a sense of Puerto Rican “ownership” of Marquin. For example, the staff at Marquin, (not including the teachers), is predominantly Puerto Rican, and many are actually relatives of students at the school. Also, whenever the topic came up in conversation, it was revealed that numerous PRn students had family members who attended Marquin when it first opened, or were amongst the first graduating classes, or attended Marquin when it was still Ipsilon... No such stories or familial connections were elicited from the Mexican students.

This PRn ownership of Marquin seemed to bring with it a sense of pride at being Puerto Rican and a strong sense of group identity. Discourses of “what it is to be a true Puerto Rican” were prevalent. For example, on one occasion, a PRn young woman who was assistant to the dean of the junior class was heard talking about the fact that Puerto Ricans don’t go tanning,

“and [that] the one that does is a fake Puerto Rican.” More than once I heard “We’re loud. We’re Puerto Ricans,” as if this were the genetic inheritance of all PRns. PRn students often laughingly talked about their obnoxiously large families, but always with pride. Another time, when three students walked through the junior cafeteria, two with large mohawk hairstyles and another with pink streaks in her hair, they were met with jeers and whistles and at least one boy who yelled out “PRns don’t do that shit!” (even though two of the three looked to be European-American). This is a clear example of the ownership felt by these students—even though at least two of the students were most likely non-Puerto Ricans, PRn standards were being imposed upon them. It also is more evidence of the strong group identity that exists for Puerto Ricans—this student did not hesitate in shouting out a standard and claiming it for all PRns.

These examples suggest the existence of a strong sense of ownership, pride, and ethnic identity shared by the Puerto Rican students at Marquin. In these ways, Marquin is continuously constructed as a Puerto Rican space. Thus, a boundary is created. On the other side of this boundary is everyone else, of which Mexicans and African Americans make up the two biggest groups.

The salience of ethnic identity in this setting is also evidenced in the identification mechanisms used by the students and staff at Marquin. For example, on one occasion, the description of a girl came over a security guard’s walkie talkie as follows: “She’s a Mexican girl.” This was not uncommon—the ethnicity of a person is an integral part of any character sketch at Marquin High. And when it is not immediately supplied, the interlocutor will elicit it, as in the following excerpt. This transcript comes from a day spent with Real, a Mexican, male student. Real and another key participant, Vero (Mexn, female) are in a class together and are talking about a girl Real likes, Clara. Vero doesn’t know who she is, and Real has just given her

an elaborate physical description of Clara. Vero still did not register recognition, and so they had given up and moved on to the following segment of their conversation:

Transcript 4.1

- 1 Real: Naw, she ain't like that. She's really nice, really, really, really like, she's
2 really special. --Cause she's got her whole life planned out=
3 Vero: =That's good.=
4 Real: =
5 Her whole life like- she knows what what- like *qué quiere hacer* like she
6 wants to go to Puerto Rico supposedly=
7 Vero: =What is she, she's Puerto Rican?
8 Real: Yeah.
9 ((few seconds pause))
10 Vero: That's nice.

Vero's question here of, "What is she, she's Puerto Rican?" (line 7) does not necessarily entail a negative assessment of Puerto Ricans (though such an assessment is not out of the realm of possibilities). Rather, it seems that Vero is surprised that such an important piece of information had been missing from Real's earlier, elaborate description. Despite the fact that in this community context only Puerto Ricans go to Puerto Rico, Vero still feels compelled to ask the question in line 7 after Real reveals Clara's plans of traveling to Puerto Rico (lines 5-6). That Vero finds it necessary to ask this question suggests that she is surprised that Real had not included this pertinent piece of information in his description of Clara. This surprise may also be due to the revelation that Real, a Mexican, would be interested in a Puerto Rican girl. While such inter-ethnic relationships were not unheard of at Marquin, they were definitely the exception rather than the norm—this is all the more reason why Vero may have assumed as a default that Clara was Mexican and would have expected Clara's ethnicity to have been revealed earlier. The latching of Vero's turn in line 7 onto Real's previous turn and the long pause after Real's response in line 8 support this interpretation of surprise (and may indeed indicate negative

assessment). At Marquin, ethnicity is an important component of the description of a person, and particularly when it is different from what might otherwise be expected.

In the following example we see that to the students of Marquin, the ethnicity of a person is so integral to their identity that it alone may be used to identify them. Here a key participant, Yerelis, has been eating and chatting with her cousin, Mima, about a variety of things. After exchanging a few comments about their food there is a pause and then the following:

Transcript 4.2

- 1 Yerelis: I still haven't heard from the Dominican?
- 2 Mima: No?
- 3 Yerelis: Nope. And I'm (di?) mad=
- 4 Mima: *=Se olvidó de ti por el carro.*

Here, it is clear that Yerelis and her cousin have discussed this Dominican male before—Mima does not express puzzlement in line 2 and instead offers an explanation for his lack of communication (in line 4) which is predicated on personal knowledge of his interests (she suggests that “the Dominican” has gotten preoccupied with his car and has thus forgotten about Yerelis). In other words, the referent of “the Dominican” is shared knowledge. The need for a name as a referring expression is obviated by the salience of his ethnic identity.

Another interesting example comes from another day spent with a key participant. During one of the passing periods, a girl was heard yelling, “Get out of the way, Mexicans” in one of the crowded hallways of the junior floor. While there is definitely an overlay of many things going on with this statement, not the least of which is a dominant stance and a very likely negative attitude towards the Mexican students she was referring to, it also is more evidence that ethnicity exists as a clearly perceived and recognized boundary within the spaces of Marquin High School. That this student would use the ethnic group name “Mexicans” to refer to a whole

group of students is both curious and further evidence of the centrality of ethnic identity in the lives of these students.

The frequency with which ethnicity is explicitly and spontaneously talked about at Marquin is also quite surprising and again speaks to the central role that ethnic identity plays for these students. During the day spent with Berenice, a Mexican key participant, a conversation was witnessed between her and two classmates. In this conversation, one of the two girls asked the other girl, Berenice's friend, if Berenice was Mexican. It seems that the friend responded yes (this part was inaudible), to which the first girl reacted with surprise. Berenice's friend responded with something to the effect of 'Yeah, nobody thinks she is.' Berenice subsequently asked the girl what she had thought Berenice's ethnicity was, to which she responded, "white." Berenice's friend closed off this exchange commenting that most everyone mistakes Berenice for white.

Such explicit discussions about ethnicity were multitudinal, and when compiled, would seem to point to a hyper-awareness of ethnic identity at this school. In the above example, in inquiring about Berenice's ethnicity, the speaker puts ethnicity on the table as an acceptable topic of conversation. While in some contexts this would be a more taboo topic that would be hedged and cushioned, there is no evidence of this here¹⁸. That Berenice and her friend willingly engage in this conversation is further evidence that this is not an uncomfortable or novel topic. The friend's final comment that everyone thinks Berenice is white only strengthens the idea that this is a common topic of conversation—it can be assumed she has witnessed similar conversations before.

¹⁸While it is true that the speaker bypasses Berenice and asks her friend the question, my recollection of the situation is that Berenice had confused the speaker with respect to her ethnicity. Thus the speaker was turning to the friend because she wanted "the truth," not because she was uncomfortable asking Berenice directly.

These numerous examples further demonstrate the salience of ethnic identity as both a concept and a boundary at Marquin High School. The frequency with which ethnic identity is discussed, inquired after and invoked demonstrates the salience of the topic. That ethnicity may actually be manifesting as a boundary to the interaction necessary for koineization is seen here and was already made apparent in the previous chapter. This will become even clearer in this chapter and the next. More specifically, we will see that the students at Marquin actively construct ethnic identity as a barrier. This has implications for inter-ethnic relations and language choice.

The idea that ethnicity can exist as a sociolinguistic boundary finds quite a bit of support in the sociolinguistic literature. Fought (2002) puts it this way: “even where, on the surface, extensive inter-ethnic contact and integration might seem to be the norm, the study of linguistic variation reveals the underlying preservation and expression of identities divided along the lines of ethnicity” (452). Ethnicity has proven to be a strong sociolinguistic boundary on many occasions. Schilling-Estes (2004) describes a community in southeastern North Carolina where there has been tri-ethnic contact between African Americans, European-Americans, and Lumbee Indians for a period of about 300 years. Despite this extended period of contact, maintaining separate ethnic identities has long been important to the members of this community. According to Schilling-Estes, ethnic uniqueness is reflected in, and constituted by, the distinctive dialects of the three groups.

Another example comes from Rickford (1985). In an article entitled “Ethnicity as a Sociolinguistic Boundary,” Rickford examines the speech of an elderly white man and an African American woman of comparable socioeconomic status in the South Carolina Sea Islands. While both of these individuals had had above-average contact with members of the

other race throughout their lifetimes, Rickford finds that in terms of their morpho-syntax, the two speakers retained quite separate linguistic systems, with neither speaker showing influence from the other group's speech. In this article, Rickford goes on to discuss many other examples of African American and European-American contact where linguistic distinctiveness was maintained, even when the speakers in question came from similar regional and socioeconomic backgrounds. Significant amongst these studies are Nichols (1983) and Labov (1980).

According to Rickford, the answer to the dilemma of why linguistic distinctiveness between African Americans and European-Americans would be maintained even in the face of generations of contact lies in the factors "opportunity (contact) and motivation for language learning or linguistic diffusion over ethnic lines" (112). The 'right kind' of opportunity (or contact) is what was found to be missing in the case of the two Sea Islanders. Rickford found that, despite the seemingly ample contact each had had with members of the other racial group, the two speakers had also grown up under strict racial segregation. Each had gone to separate schools. Even as of 1985, African Americans and whites on the island still were not socializing with each other. In other words, there was "little [opportunity] for intimate interaction of the kind which encourages dialect diffusion" (115). The sociometric analysis conducted in the last chapter revealed that dialect convergence at Marquin is inhibited by this same factor of opportunity for interaction/contact. Rickford's comments on motivation are also pertinent to the situation at Marquin (and to the above cited context from Schilling-Estes 2004). He makes the point that even increased interaction may not have made the difference for these two Sea Islanders. Using an 'input'/'output' model of second language learning, Rickford stresses the importance of attitude—a speaker can receive more than adequate input from other speakers, but without the right attitudinal and affective component, this input will never be reflected in the

output. Attitude thus becomes an “ethological barrier to inter-ethnic convergence” (115). Addressing the Black/white divide in the U.S. in particular, Rickford goes on to make the point that in certain situations, ethnicity can be an especially salient boundary. And in these situations, the participants will use whatever resources are available to reinforce their separate identities. Language is one of these resources.

At Marquin High School, it seems that “motivation” and “opportunity” are even more closely related than Rickford suggests. Here, opportunities for interaction are missing, and the motivation or “attitude” to create these opportunities is missing. Ethnicity is an especially salient boundary, and as was mentioned above, is constructed as such by the students at Marquin. As will be seen again and again, students use various resources (e.g. dress, music preferences, language) to reinforce the boundary between separate ethnic identities. Thus, attitude has indeed become an “ethological barrier” to interaction, and subsequently to inter-ethnic and dialectal convergence. This will be discussed more explicitly in the next chapter within the framework of ideology.

A brief pause to consider causality becomes necessary at this point. It is clear that there is an ethnic divide at Marquin and that this divide coincides with linguistic distinctiveness—the Mexican students speak differently than the Puerto Rican students. In fact, they often speak different languages. Is the existence of this boundary causing the linguistic distinctiveness, or are the students at Marquin using their linguistic distinctiveness as a resource to create and maintain the boundary between ethnic groups? I would argue that both processes are simultaneously underway at Marquin High School. Here it is useful to recall that there are two forms of linguistic divergence occurring at Marquin—dialectal divergence and language choice divergence. As was discussed in the last chapter, the maintenance of distinctive Spanish dialects

can be attributed to the lack of interaction that occurs across the ethnic boundary, particularly in Spanish. But, inter-ethnic interaction is a choice, as is language choice (in most cases). And, as we will see throughout this dissertation, language choice does indeed seem to be a resource used in maintaining ethnic distinctiveness.

Other studies that either explicitly or implicitly address the idea of ethnic identity as a sociolinguistic boundary are plentiful. Implicitly, the body of work on “crossing” addresses this very same issue. Work on crossing (e.g. Rampton 1995, Bucholtz 1999) shows people traversing the ethnolinguistic divide (which is assumed to exist) for a variety of different reasons. Rampton (1995) shows that national and local conditions can affect the social meaning of other-ethnic language use—crossing can be interpreted as an expression of solidarity or as a means of preserving a racial hierarchy. Bucholtz (1999) analyzes a narrative in which two functions of crossing coexist. She shows how a European-American boy uses language crossing to position black masculinity as physically powerful and locally dominant. “At the same time, the narrative preserves the racial hierarchy that enables white cultural appropriation of African American culture through language crossing” (443). Lo (1999) looks at the role of code-switching in a Chinese-American man’s construction of a Korean-American ethnic identity, and raises the issue of the role of others within a community in validating an individual’s ethnicity. What all of these studies have in common (as pertains to this paper) is that they work with the underlying assumption that ethnicity exists as a boundary. While this boundary can be manipulated, crossed, and then re-crossed, it does not cease to exist.

An ethnography conducted by Ramos-Zayas and De Genova (2003) is particularly pertinent to the present study. Their ethnography also concentrates on Puerto Ricans and Mexicans in Chicago. Theirs is not a linguistic study—rather, the focus of this work is to

explore possibilities for and obstacles to a shared sense of Latino identity or *latinidad*. This study will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter, but Ramos-Zayas and De Genova find that there are in fact, numerous obstacles to such a shared identity. In sum, they find that regional ethnicity (Puerto Rican versus Mexican) is more of a divisive factor than is shared “Hispanic race” a unifying factor. Discourses deployed by community members seize on differences between groups, amongst them linguistic differences, as proof of their separate ethnic identities.

We have seen through this brief review of literature that the concept of ethnic identity serving as a sociolinguistic boundary is not new or surprising. What is surprising is the persistence of the boundary in this research context, which, as we have seen, is characterized by numerous factors that should have favored koineization. In the end, this speaks to the strength of the boundary; how it is constantly being enforced and maintained. This construction and maintenance of the ethnolinguistic boundary at Marquin is the topic of the next section.

4.2. CONSTRUCTION AND MAINTENANCE OF THE ETHNOLINGUISTIC BOUNDARY

In this section I follow Barth (1969) in arguing that the ethnolinguistic boundary that exists at Marquin High School is not necessarily an inherent or primordial boundary, but rather is one that is constructed and enforced by the participants in the situation by drawing differences between groups to the fore and ignoring commonalities.

Barth’s (1969) main thesis is that ethnicity is a matter of boundary maintenance. While the cultural content of an ethnic group may change (language, dress, food...), the boundaries between groups must remain. He argues that contrary to most formulations of ethnicity, separate ethnic groups are not defined by the sum of their objective differences, but rather by the differences that are made to matter by members and non-members and which are used to create,

reconstitute, or highlight boundaries. Barbara Hendry's (1997) analysis of the situation in a Basque borderland is a good example of this sort of a creation of ethnic differentiation. She examines the case of Rioja Alavesa, an area where Euskara (the official language of the Basque country) has not been spoken since the 14th century. Rioja Alavesa is separated from the rest of the province of Alava (and the rest of the Basque country) by mountains. It is separated from the neighboring non-Basque region by a river, but this upper Ebro River Valley, including the adjacent lands on either sides of the river, forms the geographic region of "Rioja." The people of this region "developed a regional identity and culture based on their shared ecological niche and their lifeways associated with grape growing and wine making" (218), and are actually culturally more similar than the people of Rioja Alavesa are to their Basque "kin." After the fall of Franco though, the new constitution made provisions to protect regional languages and diversity, which had been repressed under Franco. A new language policy was adopted in the Basque region with the aim of revitalizing Euskara. This language policy is redefining the border between the Basque and non-Basque region. While not all residents of the Rioja Alavesa region have wholeheartedly accepted Euskara, Hendry does find an increased Basque identification in this region. She concludes that there has definitely been a creation/reinforcing of boundaries—the introduction of Euskara marks Rioja Alavesa as distinct from the ecologically and culturally similar section across the river. As Hendry puts it, "a basis for a 'we-they' distinction is established which did not exist before" (226), and "similarity [is] counterbalanced by stress on alleged differentiae" (Conversi 1995: 80, in Hendry 1997: 226). To relate this back to Barth's thesis that ethnicity is a matter of boundary maintenance, we see in this example the heightening of ethnic awareness and identity through the enforcement of a linguistic boundary.

Gal and Irvine (1995) explore similar ideas of boundary creation. They focus on language ideologies and the practice of drawing on linguistic differences as “proof” that groups of people are inherently different. One of the situations they analyze is that of a rural Wolof village in Senegal. In this village, an ideology of language represents linguistic differences in the speech of village members as manifestations of differences in social rank and temperament. In other words, differences in language were taken to be a reflection of the two groups’ inherent characteristics. Or, as Gal and Irvine put it, “categories of people were linked iconically to their styles of speech, which were seen as displays of their respective temperamental essences” (976). In this way, a boundary is drawn between groups based on superficial differences that are made salient by community members.

At Marquin High School, as in the above examples, boundaries are actively constructed and maintained by highlighting differences between groups and obscuring similarities. This is done both discursively and through symbolic social practices. As was discussed in the last chapter, musical preferences, territory within the school, and fights reinforce (and reflect) borders between groups. Language choice will be seen to serve the same purpose. In this section I will look at a few examples of the *discursive* construction of the ethnolinguistic boundary. The first example comes from a group interview that was conducted by myself with a group of three female friends. This conversation exemplifies the creation of an “us/them” distinction via the discursive metastrategy Kiesling (2001) calls “marking the other,” whereby a speaker is situated as a member of a dominant or central social group by creating a marginalized “other” category. In this conversation, these PRn girls discuss the characteristics that make Mexn girls so different from themselves and thus, through the content of their talk, explicitly construct and reinforce the ethnic boundary. Their talk not only reflects that there is an

ethnolinguistic boundary at Marquin, but also serves to further construct and maintain it. Also, similar to Cameron's (2001) analysis of an interaction between four male college students discussing masculinity, I will show that while talking about Mexican girls, these PRn girls bond with one another around a shared sense of themselves as PRn women (and friends). In effect, they perform ethnicity by emphasizing the differences between themselves and the Mexican girls they are discussing. Both the content of talk and aspects of form such as pronoun use, cooperative topic building, overlaps, and cooperative minimal responses combine to help "mark the other." This very bonding over differences serves to further reinforce the boundary between Mexican girls and PRn girls. A quote from Edwards (1996) nicely summarizes this mechanism: "while logic does not require that fellow-feeling be accompanied by disdain for 'out-groups,' a sense of groupness has usually had just such accompaniment" (131).

The following conversation occurs during a group interview with three girls and a non-participant friend who has joined in for one of the sessions: Muñeca, Iris, Vonnice and the non-participant, Paz. Iris, Vonnice and Paz are all close friends—they have many friends in common, often spend passing periods together, and explicitly describe themselves as a "little clique." While Muñeca's social network does not overlap with those of the other three girls, she was observed to interact with them sporadically in the cafeteria, and throughout this interview the others do not hesitate to treat her as one of them. Muñeca, Paz and Vonnice are all Puerto Rican. Iris, it will be recalled from chapter 3, is of mixed Mexican and Cuban heritage, though all of her friends "consider her Puerto Rican." The following segment begins just after Vonnice and Paz cooperate in describing the different ethnic sections of the hallways of the junior floor. Because Paz is not a participant, this part of the conversation will not be transcribed. The segment begins with the interviewer's response to their description, and a subsequent request for their feelings on

why such a separation exists. Paz does not get involved in the following segment precisely because she was not enrolled in the study.

Transcript 4.3

- 1 EGJ: Wow. Okay, I mean, so you see it, I mean, you see it all the time. So, this
2 is my question, why is it that way? Like why do you think it's- it works
3 that way?
4 Vonnie: Language.
5 Iris: Culture. Everything. I mean=
6 EGJ: =Well, but Puerto Ricans and Mexicans both
7 speak Spanish. So wh=
8 Vonnie: =It's not [the same]
9 Muñeca: [It's not] the same though.
10 Iris: The [way they speak Spanish]
11 Vonnie: [It's not the same]=
12 Muñeca: =It's not the same though.
13 Iris: The way[they speak Spanish]
14 Muñeca: [It's not]-- [It's not]-- [They're- they- they're very different
15 though].
16 Vonnie: [It's not the same. Like- I can- I can sit there and have a
17 conversation with a Mexican? But there's a lot of things that they'll say?]
18 And I don't understand=
19 EGJ: =Mhm. Mhm. Sorry, go ahead, what Muñeca?
20 Muñeca: It's- it's- everything's different though. Different music, different-
21 different accents, you know what I'm saying, [they- w-w- different words-
22 Different foods- they- they're raised differently]
23 Vonnie: [Different foo:d, like- Oh,
24 you know, I can turn around and tell Iris--] Man, I'm hungry, let's go get a
25 *jibarito*, you know?=
26 EGJ: =Uh huh=
27 Vonnie: =And that's something every Puerto Rican
28 has eaten in their life and they- you know--=
29 EGJ: =Sure=
30 Vonnie: =And they [love it]
31 Muñeca: [Sometimes]
32 they'll be like what? ((laughs))
33 Vonnie: Yeah, and I ain-m not gonna sit there and go and tell one of my Mexican
34 friends well, man, let's go get a *jibarito*, you know, I'm hungry=
35 EGJ: =Uh huh.
36 Uh huh=
37 Vonnie: =Or yeah, I would- I don't know, it'd just be weird.
38 EGJ: So right, so language, culture- all those things make it so that-=
39 Muñeca: =Music.
40 The way they dress is different too=
41 Vonnie: =Yea:h, [the way they dress is

42 completely different]
 43 EGJ: [Really?]=
 44 Muñeca: =Their make-up is
 45 [different], their hair, everything=
 46 Vonnie: [Uh Go-] ((low voice))
 47 EGJ: =[Wow, how-]
 48 Vonnie: =[GOD] I hate when girls- those Mexican
 49 girls put make-up on.
 50 EGJ: ((laughs))
 51 Iris: Cause they're, [I mean I'm Mexican but]--- [and]
 52 Vonnie: [Yeah, they] shave off their eyebrows, and [they- they color
 53 their eyebrows in. And then they have that *thick*, black eyeliner]
 54 Muñeca: [They color
 55 -----And it goes- But it goes all the way to right here ((laughs))]=
 56 Vonnie: =Yeah and
 57 they drag it out instead of just, keeping it, [you know, lined with their eye]
 58 EGJ: [O:h, I've seen that] but I didn't
 59 really- I didn't- [think about it]
 60 Vonnie: [Yeah, Mexican girls do that]. *Not* Puerto Rican girls.
 61 (Muñeca: [Yup.]
 62 You will not find a Puerto Rican girl dressed like that. They have this
 63 thing where- back in the day we used to do it too so I'm not gonna say=
 64 Muñeca: =Oh
 65 [the ((laughs))]=
 66 Iris: =[Aa:w the ? ((laughing))]
 67 Vonnie: =[the high ponytails]=
 68 Iris: =[?? ((laughing))-- I remember that
 69 one. I invented that one.]
 70 Muñeca: =[((laughing)) With the bangs-- with
 71 the bangs-- with the bangs]
 72 EGJ: =[((laughs))]
 73 Vonnie: [We all- we've all done the high ponytail thing with the bangs,
 74 okay?]
 75 EGJ: [((laughing))]
 76 Oh my God, [I remember that too]
 77 Iris: [((laughing))]
 78 Vonnie: [?? Okay?] And they're stuck with it. [And it's like- that's
 79 not *cute* anymore!]
 80 [((Everyone
 81 laughing))]

Later:

82 EGJ: Wow, okay, alright, so they're pretty separate and you can tell=
 83 Vonnie: =And yeah,
 84 they like, they stuck with it, I don't know, they didn't change with the
 85 [times, cause- I'd be damned if you catch me dressed like that]

86 EGJ: [That's so funny]
87 Muñeca: [Hey they're still back in the soda shoes]
88 EGJ: ((laughs))
89 Vonnie: That is not cute anymore, really. It wasn't cute back then but it's
90 *really* not cute now.

In this episode, the three girls express why they feel the Mexican and Puerto Rican students at Marquin stay so separate. Throughout the conversation, they touch on language (line 4, lines 6-18, line 21), “culture” (line 5), “everything” (line 5, line 20), music (line 20, line 39), upbringing (line 22), food (lines 22-37), dress (lines 40-42), make-up (line 44-62), and hair (line 45, lines 62-81) as salient differences between the two groups. These girls thus reinforce the ethnic boundary through the content of their speech—by discussing this litany of differences, they are highlighting and simultaneously constructing the two groups as different.

Vonnice's immediate response to the question of why the ethnic groups at Marquin are so segregated is language (line 4).¹⁹ Muñeca also makes mention of this again later, when she includes “accent” as one of many things that differentiate Mexicans from Puerto Ricans (line 21). But the main section on language occurs in lines 6-18. When I reply that both Mexicans and Puerto Ricans speak Spanish (lines 6-7) (the implication being that this should not stand in the way of interaction) Vonnie, Iris and Muñeca compete to gain the floor in lines 8-15 until Vonnie finally gains it in line 16. The overlaps in this section show that all three participants concur in the belief that Mexican Spanish and Puerto Rican Spanish are significantly different, so much so that Vonnie expresses an inability to communicate with Mexicans at times (lines 16-18). Here then we see an ignoring of commonalities and a stress on differences—when language is pointed out as a shared, common resource, the reaction of these participants is to express how

¹⁹ It should be noted that Vonnie may very well have been referring to language choice differences between the two groups, rather than dialectal differences. Unfortunately, the assumption that she was referring to the latter may have altered the immediate course of the conversation.

dissimilar the varieties of the two groups really are, thus justifying (and emphasizing) the need for an ethnolinguistic boundary.

According to these PRn girls, another component of this boundary is food. Vonnie again expresses her discomfort in communicating with Mexicans at times, this time with respect to the Puerto Rican/Cuban sandwich called a *jibarito*. Between lines 23-34, we see two examples of constructed dialogue from Vonnie. In the first (lines 23-25) she animates a hypothetical utterance that she (Vonnies the narrator) says she could easily address to Iris. This aligns Vonnie with Iris and creates a shared PRn stance. This stance of shared ethnicity is alluded to in lines 26-7 (“And that’s something every Puerto Rican has eaten in their life”). This stance of shared ethnicity, along with a friendship stance, is further indexed in lines 33-34. In these lines Vonnie (the narrator) constructs the same hypothetical dialogue and explicitly states that she would never animate this utterance with a Mexican friend, because this would “just be weird” (line 37). In other words, Vonnie is addressing the fact that the content of her speech changes according to the ethnicity of the interlocutor—she wouldn’t talk to a Mexn friend about a *jibarito*. By extension, since Vonnie has already asserted that she would address such a statement to Iris, she is indicating that Iris is a friend and that she truly does consider Iris (Mexican/ Cuban) to be Puerto Rican.

In addition, by using exactly parallel structures in both of these instances of constructed dialogue, (and by narratively contrasting them), it can be gathered that Vonnie is also indicating that she would not talk in the same way to a Mexican friend as she would to Iris, her “Puerto Rican” friend:

Man,	I'm hungry,	let's go get a <i>jibarito</i> ,	you know?	lines 24-5
Man,	let's go get a <i>jibarito</i> ,	you know,	I'm hungry.	line 34

Figure 3: Parallel structure in constructed dialogue with contrastive function

Again, that the two structures are almost exactly parallel indicates that there is something in this structure, beyond the content, that would inhibit Vonnie from employing it with a Mexican friend. I would venture to guess that the term of address “man” may be at issue—while use of “man” as a term of address has spread in the U.S. to the extent that it can be used by and for almost anyone, in this example it may be indexing a stance of solidarity similar to that discussed by Kiesling (2004) for the term of address “dude.” And it may be this stance of solidarity indexed by “man” that is striking Vonnie as “weird” when the hypothetical interlocutor is Mexican. The language of communication may also be at issue—it is possible that animating such an utterance with a Mexican friend strikes Vonnie as “weird” because it is in English, and in fact, quite colloquial English (due to the use of the term “man”). Either way, these instances of contrasted constructed dialogue create an in-group PRn stance which binds Iris and Vonnie and excludes any Mexican friends. In this way, an “us”/“them” distinction is reinforced while their own in-group status as PRns is validated. Borrowing from Cameron’s aforementioned analysis, Vonnie is doing/performing ethnicity—and friendship—by implicitly (and explicitly) emphasizing the differences between themselves and Mexican women. This will be seen repeatedly through the rest of this analysis.

In lines 44-62 we learn that make-up is yet another thing that sets Mexican girls apart from Puerto Rican girls. These lines have been copied below for convenience:

44 Muñeca: =Their make-up is
45 [different], their hair, everything=
46 Vonnie: [Uh Go-] ((low voice))
47 EGJ: =[Wow, how-]
48 Vonnie: =[GOD] I hate when girls- those Mexican
49 girls put make-up on.
50 EGJ: ((laughs))
51 Iris: Cause they're, [I mean I'm Mexican but]--- [and]
52 Vonnie: [Yeah, they] shave off their eyebrows, and [they- they color
53 their eyebrows in. And then they have that *thick*, black eyeliner]
54 Muñeca: [They color
55 -----And it goes- But it goes all the way to right here ((laughs))]=
56 Vonnie: =Yeah and
57 they drag it out instead of just, keeping it, [you know, lined with their eye]
58 EGJ: [O:h, I've seen that] but I didn't
59 really- I didn't- [think about it]
60 Vonnie: [Yeah, Mexican girls do that]. *Not* Puerto Rican girls.
61 (Muñeca: [Yup.]
62 You will not find a Puerto Rican girl dressed like that.

Muñeca, Iris and Vonnie co-construct this segment of the discourse, with Muñeca first drawing attention to this difference between the groups (line 44). Vonnie is quick to express her utter disgust at the way Mexican girls apply their make-up in line 46, and then again in lines 48-49. Again, differences between the two groups are emphasized, whereby an even more pronounced boundary is created. This continues in lines 51-57 where we see a further example of “marking the other.” Here the three participants, and Vonnie and Muñeca in particular, discursively create a marginalized “other” via a description of the specifics of Mexican make-up application techniques. This is accomplished not only through the content of their speech, but also by frequent use of the un-inclusive pronoun “they,” laughter, and lexical items and paralinguistic cues that index a disparaging stance on the part of the speakers. For example, Vonnie refers to “that *thick*, black eyeliner” in line 53. By using the deictic “that,” Vonnie indexes an assumed shared familiarity with the referent, a thick black eyeliner. By putting additional stress on “*thick*,” Vonnie indicates that this is something contrary to a more “normal”

eyeliner. Taken together then, Vonnie includes her interlocutors in a disparaging stance towards this particular Mexican “peculiarity.” To use Goffman’s term, the interlocutors are positioned as co-principals of this stance. Muñeca accepts this footing of co-principal, as is evidenced by the content of her turn in lines 54-55, laughter (line 55), use of the pronoun “they” (lines 54-55), and the collaborative minimal response “Yup” in line 61. She also uses the phrase “all the way” when referring to how Mexican girls apply their eyeliner (line 55). Taken together with “*thick*” (line 53) and “drag it out” (line 57), Vonnie and Muñeca express a shared negative evaluation of this somewhat excessive make-up behavior evidenced by Mexican girls. This “marking the other” is capped off by Vonnie in line 60 (and ratified by Muñeca in line 61) where she explicitly contrasts Mexican girls and Puerto Rican girls, and punctuates this sentiment by stressing the contrastive “not”: “Yeah, Mexican girls do that. *Not* Puerto Rican girls.”

Iris’s participation in this segment is interesting. While there is only one turn from Iris in this segment (line 51: “Cause they’re, I mean I’m Mexican but”), it is quite dense. She begins this turn in line with the “us”/“them” tone of the ongoing discussion by using the un-inclusive pronoun “they.” Next, a self-initiated repair is seen, introduced by the discourse marker “I mean,” and then the turn ends with another discourse marker “but.” The turn (and sentiment) is left unfinished. Iris’s initial “they” indicates an alignment with her “fellow” Puerto Rican friends in their common stance towards Mexican girls, while her subsequent self-initiated repair indexes a distancing from this “shared ethnicity,” but almost as an afterthought. The fragility of Iris’s commitment to this repair is further evidenced in the discourse marker “but” which serves to distance her from the repair. This contradiction of stances may explain Iris’s relative lack of involvement in the larger discussion—while her friends include her in a shared ethnicity and she herself aligns with them in this stance, she recognizes that she is half-Mexican and therefore can

not wholeheartedly engage in the conversation. The following transcript supports this interpretation. This segment comes amidst a discussion of the fact that Marquin’s social scene divides itself along ethnic lines:

Transcript 4.4

1 Iris: Sort of, like, cause, I mean, not *me* in particular because of the fact that
2 I’m Cuban and Mexican, and I hang around with generally Puerto
3 [Ricans]-
4 Vonnie: [Shut up]. We all consider her Puerto Rican. – [((laughs))]
5 Iris: [It’s because- I- the
6 way-] you know, my parents, I look Puerto Rican, the curly hair and
7 everything [and all (??) so it’s like]
8 Vonnie: [and the Spanish] and everything along with it=
9 Iris: =[Yeah, but
10 *anyways*]
11 Vonnie: [her appetite]
12 too!=
13 =((everyone laughs))=
14 Iris: =So, I mean, they *consider* me, you know, to be
15 part of their group, and I mean, that’s been all my life, you know, always,
16 I’ve grown up with Puerto Ricans, I mean, those have been my friends
17 practically, you know, whatever.

Iris’s friends include her in a shared ethnicity—some of the very issues that are held up in Transcript 4.3 as differentiating Mexicans from Puerto Ricans are stressed as reasons why Iris is “considered PRn”: hair, language and food (lines 6-12). And according to Iris, it has always been this way (line 15). We see again in this conversation that Iris aligns herself with this shared PRn ethnicity (lines 14-17), but does recognize that this conflicts with her “inherent” ethnicity (lines 1-3). Thus, we see that in this community context (and in this conversation), ethnicity serves as such a divisive boundary that in-betweenness is not recognized. (This will be discussed again below.) As stated above, this conflict between inherent ethnicity and a more ascribed/constructed ethnicity explains Iris’s hesitancy to wholeheartedly participate in the conversation in Transcript 4.3. After all, the participants are creating a shared sense of ethnicity

by positioning Mexican girls as the “other” (thereby reinforcing the boundary between the two groups), and Iris is of Mexican descent. The presence of a researcher who is aware of her ethnic background may have further added to the awkwardness. That Iris’s turn in line 51 of Transcript 4.3 is left unfinished could be seen to reflect the interpretation of awkwardness.

The last major component of the ethnolinguistic divide that is discussed by these girls is hairstyle (lines 62-81):

62 You will not find a Puerto Rican girl dressed like that. They have this
63 thing where- back in the day we used to do it too so I’m not gonna say=
64 Muñeca: =Oh
65 [the ((laughs))]=
66 Iris: =[Aa:w the ? ((laughing))]
67 Vonnie: =[the high ponytails]=
68 Iris: =[[?? ((laughing))-- I remember that
69 one. I invented that one.]
70 Muñeca: =[[((laughing)) With the bangs-- with
71 the bangs-- with the bangs]
72 EGJ: =[[((laughs))]
73 Vonnie: [We all- we’ve all done the high ponytail thing with the bangs,
74 okay?]
75 EGJ: [[((laughing))]
76 Oh my God, [I remember that too]
77 Iris: [[((laughing))]
78 Vonnie: [?? Okay?] And they’re stuck with it. [And it’s like- that’s
79 not *cute* anymore!]
80 [[(Everyone
81 laughing)]]

Later:

82 EGJ: Wow, okay, alright, so they’re pretty separate and you can tell=
83 Vonnie: =And yeah,
84 they like, they stuck with it, I don’t know, they didn’t change with the
85 [times, cause- I’d be damned if you catch me dressed like that]
86 EGJ: [That’s so funny]
87 Muñeca: [Hey they’re still back in the soda shoes]
88 EGJ: ((laughs))
89 Vonnie: That is not cute anymore, really. It wasn’t cute back then but it’s
90 *really* not cute now.

“Marking of the other” is still evidenced in this section, albeit a little less harshly. In lines 62-3, Vonnie starts to introduce hairstyles as another unique characteristic of Mexicans, but then stops and personalizes it (“we used to do it too...”) while still remaining distant through use of the past tense and the colloquial term “back in the day.” In lines 64-66, Muñeca and Iris anticipate what Vonnie is going to say or, in terms of participation frameworks (Goffman 1981), they begin to simultaneously share the roles of animator and principal with Vonnie, who takes the floor and supplies the topic of conversation in line 67. This co-construction of speech at this particular moment is quite interesting and subtly adds to the marking of the other that has been taking place throughout this discussion. As of line 63, Vonnie has not yet expressed what the new topic is. While it is true that she has personalized whatever this unnamed characteristic is, her complete turn in line 63 reads: “They have this thing where- back in the day we used to do it too so I’m not gonna say=.” The phrase “so I’m not going to say” serves as a contextualization cue signaling the speaker’s negative opinion of the characteristic that she has not yet mentioned. In assuming that they know what Vonnie is about to say with very little information other than this contextualization cue, Muñeca and Iris take part in the “othering” of Mexicans that has been taking place up until this point. To understand this better it may help to put oneself in the place of Iris or Muñeca at this point in the conversation—it would be quite difficult for an outsider to anticipate the upcoming topic. That the interlocutors can (or at least indicate that they can) signals on the one hand a shared past, but also a shared knowledge (or an assumed shared knowledge) of something ‘not too cool that we used to do and Mexicans still do.’ Thus this is yet another instance of marking the other whereby Mexican girls are portrayed as stuck in the past.

Further support for this interpretation is found in lines 78-79 where Vonnie explicitly portrays Mexicans as behind the times (“And they’re stuck with it”). This occurs again in lines 83-85. While a good portion of this segment takes on a more personal nature in which all the participants admit to having participated in this same fad they are ridiculing (lines 68-77), it is important to note that it has already been established that Mexican girls still wear their hair this way. Thus their talk serves an evaluative function since it is implicit that this Mexican hairstyle is now old and passé. This happens again later in the conversation. In the segment of conversation between lines 81 and 82, the three girls collaborate in reminiscing and laughing about soda shoes, another past fad that they had all participated in. Soon afterwards, Muñeca explicitly participates in the portrayal of Mexicans as outdated in line 87 (“Hey, they’re still back in the soda shoes”) where she seeks alignment with Vonnie by adding to the theme of Mexicans as behind the times (which Vonnie has returned to in the previous turn [lines 83-85]). So while there is some personalization that occurs throughout this episode on hairstyles, the three do still cooperate in marginalizing Mexicans by portraying them as outdated. By creating this marginalized category, the three participants bond around a shared sense of themselves as Puerto Rican women who are superior in style to their Mexican counterparts. Thus, through their discourse, ethnicity is further reinforced as a divisive factor rather than a unifying one.

More formal features of this conversation such as overlaps, collaborative minimal responses, and shared participant roles also contribute to a “marking of the other.” These formal features, in conjunction with the content of talk, allow the three participants to solidify their social relationship as friends and their ethnic identities as Puerto Ricans, thereby reinforcing the boundary between ethnic groups. One of the more striking features of this conversation is the amount of cooperative conversational work that takes place. Schiffrin (1994) explains

cooperative topic building in terms of participation frameworks: cooperative topic building “requires a joint alignment towards a focus of talk in which both addressor and addressee share the roles of animator and principal” (116). Cooperative topic building takes place throughout this conversation, thus allowing the three participants to display and construct their friendship and shared ethnicity. While it is the interviewer who asks the first question, the three participants depart from the question and cover the topics of language, food, make-up and hair. It is usually Vonnie or Muñeca who propose the new topic, and the others help to progressively build on this topic. This is seen clearly between lines 38 and 50, and then throughout the make-up discussion:

38 EGJ: So right, so language, culture- all those things make it so that=
 39 Muñeca: =Music.
 40 The way they dress is different too=
 41 Vonnie: =Yea:h, [the way they dress is
 42 completely different]
 43 EGJ: [Really?]=
 44 Muñeca: =Their make-up is
 45 [different], their hair, everything=
 46 Vonnie: [Uh Go-] ((low voice))
 47 EGJ: =[Wow, how-]
 48 Vonnie: =[GOD] I hate when girls- those Mexican
 49 girls put make-up on.
 50 EGJ: ((laughs))
 51 Iris: Cause they’re, [I mean I’m Mexican but]--- [and]
 52 Vonnie: [Yeah, they] shave off their eyebrows, and [they- they color
 53 their eyebrows in. And then they have that *thick*, black eyeliner]
 54 Muñeca: [They color
 55 -----And it goes- But it goes all the way to right here ((laughs))]=
 56 Vonnie: =Yeah and
 57 they drag it out instead of just, keeping it, [you know, lined with their eye]

In line 39 Muñeca begins another list of salient differences between Mexicans and Puerto Ricans. In line 41 we see that Vonnie is ready to build on the topic of dress, but in line 44 Muñeca continues her list. In line 48 Vonnie takes up the topic of make-up, and from this point the others join in to help develop this topic. In lines 51-57 we see a good example of co-

constructed discourse. Vonnie starts two of her turns with “yeah” (lines 52 and 56) signaling agreement first with Iris and then with Muñeca, and they each finish each others’ sentences. In other words, through co-operative topic building and co-operative overlaps, the participants co-construct not only the “other,” thereby indexing their own shared ethnicity, but also create (and reflect) their friendship. By participating in this highly cooperative talk, the participants show that they are in concert with one another; that they agree with each other on the topic of what makes Mexicans and Puerto Ricans so different. Through this process of agreement and validation of each other’s thoughts and opinions of the “other,” the friendship and ethnic bonds within the group are strengthened. At the same time, the barrier *between* ethnic groups is also strengthened.

Another example of co-operative topic building occurs during the hairstyle discussion (lines 62-81), and was partially discussed above. Here, before Vonnie verbalizes that it is a particular hairstyle that she is about to talk about, both Iris and Muñeca apparently attempt to share the roles of animator and principal with Vonnie. This is signaled through their use of the contextualization cues ‘Oh + definite article’ (lines 64-65) and ‘Aw + definite article’ (line 66), and can be interpreted as them indicating that they have the same thing “in mind.” While prompting or “speaking for another” can be interpreted as face-threatening acts (Schiffrin 1994), this is obviously not the case here. Rather than trying to take over Vonnie’s role as animator and principal, it seems that Muñeca and Iris are sharing these roles with her. That this talk is indeed cooperative in nature is further evidenced in the laughter and overlapping speech seen throughout this section. As in the above example, by indicating that they are so in tune with Vonnie on this topic that they can actually anticipate what Vonnie is about to say, Iris and Muñeca further contribute to the bonds of ethnicity and friendship that exist between them.

In this conversation, we have seen the three main participants interactionally align themselves with one another in positioning Mexican girls as the “other.” Through this process, they create (and reflect) a shared sense of ethnicity and friendship. These bonds are further reflected in the ease and fluidity with which they construct the conversation—their talk throughout this passage is marked by highly cooperative features such as frequent overlaps, collaborative minimal responses, high involvement, and a general maintenance of solidarity. As was discussed above, this type of discourse both creates and reinforces ethnicity as a boundary between groups. By “marking the other,” inter-group differences are emphasized and the “other” is marginalized. It is this ethnolinguistic boundary, here discursively constructed, that poses a barrier to the “intimate” type of interaction necessary for koineization (Rickford 1985: 115).

At this point, a note about the speech event itself seems necessary. This is an interview situation where the interviewer asks the questions and the participants are expected to provide the answers and inform the interviewer. Thus it could be said that by asking about an ethnolinguistic boundary, it was only natural that information about an ethnolinguistic boundary be elicited. While this is true, there are a number of issues which counteract this possibility. First of all, questions about a boundary of this sort were formulated only after the existence of such a boundary became apparent to the researcher through observation and conversation—the researcher had not anticipated this ethnolinguistic boundary. This was seen in the last chapter. Secondly, interviewees were given the chance to express that no such boundary existed in their school—as was also seen in chapter 3, almost no one did this. All but one interviewee agreed that members of each ethnic group socialized mainly with co-ethnics, with some mixing occurring between African Americans and Puerto Ricans. Thirdly, a look at this conversation will show that none of the participants hesitated in answering the initial question, nor showed

any other sort of distancing behavior which would have indicated discomfort with the question (other than Iris in line 51 which has already been discussed). A look back at the beginning of the transcript will show that all of the participants were eager to contribute, to the extent that the researcher found herself mediating the turn-taking (line 19). As was discussed in the above analysis, the entire conversation was characterized by such highly interactive talk. In fact, a look at the transcript in its entirety reveals that the interviewer does little more than ask the initial question; it is the participants who are responsible for the construction of the rest of this conversation, and it is done quite enthusiastically. It is quite clear that this is not a novel topic of conversation for them. Thus it should be clear that the ethnolinguistic boundary at Marquin is not an artifact of the analysis. It is, in fact strong and vibrant, and is constantly maintained and reinforced, as has been seen in the preceding analysis.

In the conversation transcribed above, the three participants identify a number of topics that serve to differentiate the Mexicans at Marquin from the Puerto Ricans. Among these were hair, language, make-up and food. In the many interviews and conversations that were conducted with the participants in this study, these same topics came up and were verbalized over and over again. Some of these conversations were discussed in the previous chapter. More will be examined in the coming chapters. Here I would like to make the point that this very awareness and ability to verbalize these differences serve to reify the boundary itself. Talk (and awareness) not only reflects that there is an ethnolinguistic boundary at Marquin, but also serves to further construct and maintain it. To put it another way, the prevalent discourses at Marquin “systematically form the objects of which they speak” (Foucault in Cameron 2001: 15). This point was made earlier with respect to the group interview with Vonnie, Muñeca and Iris (Transcript 4.3), but deserves underscoring. To this end, the following figure has been

constructed. This figure summarizes the constitution of the ethnolinguistic boundary, as was verbalized by students during interviews and casual conversations. Only information that was gathered from students is included here. While the blank spaces could be filled in based on my own observations and familiarity with this community, they have been left blank to remain true to the prevalent discourses that construct the reality which is Marquin High School. These discourses will be the topic of the next chapter.

	Puerto Ricans	Mexicans
stereotypes:	Pork chops, lazy/ungrateful	Immigrants, good swimmers, pack into vans
hair:	Braids	High ponytail with bangs
make-up:		Thick eyeliner, shaved and colored in eyebrows
food:	Jibaritos, pasteles, rice and beans, pork chops	Tortillas, tacos
language choice:	Ghetto Eng, Spanglish	“puro español”/pure Sp
music:	Salsa, bachata, merengue, R&B, hip hop	“Mexn music”, música ranchera, duranguense
sports:	Baseball, football	Soccer
clothes:	Ecko, Phat Farm	Dickey, non-name brand

Figure 4: The ethnolinguistic boundary as constructed by Marquin students

Before moving on to the next section, we will look at one more example of this discursive construction of the ethnolinguistic boundary. In the segment below, I will show that through the linguistic practice of crossing, the speaker highlights ethnic dimensions of himself and the “other” and, in so doing, strengthens the boundary that exists between the two.

The following transcript comes from a day spent with Noodles, a Puerto Rican key participant. Noodles had been asked to carry a small, mini-disc recorder with him throughout this day. During this excerpt Noodles and a fellow Mexican classmate from his media communications class, Dre, are in the gymnasium awaiting further instruction from their teacher (who is not present). There is a gym class in session, and eventually Noodles and Dre pick up rackets and start to play an impromptu game of badminton. Instances of Spanish are transcribed in bold-faced, italic type.

Transcript 4.5

Heading towards gymnasium.

- 1 Noodles: ***Acá huey, vamos cabrón.*** So, ***qué pasó*** Dre.
2 Dre: Nada, huey
3 Noodles: ***Nada?*** Chilling, chilling? ***Sí?*** Okei, okei.
4 Dre: (??)

In gymnasium, now playing badminton with Dre.

- 5 Noodles: Holy crap man, this guy can't play nothing. He sucks.
6 Noodles: Come on Dre you suck. ***Pinche vato.*** --- Come on ***vato.*** Aw
7 man. Why you tryin to make me run?
8 Noodles: This guy's not very good. At tennis. I am a pro. Oh! I guess I
9 missed the ball over here. -- Da:mn. He's pretty good. While all-
10 we're over here chilling in the gym- Come on Dre!
11 Noodles: Man, this guy is really garbage.
12 Noodles: We're in D'Agostino's class and he says we got a bomb.
13 Noodles: Look at that, you like that, backstroke, right?
14 D'Ag: That was great=
15 Noodles: =I know. I should be a pro.
16 Noodles: Here. -- There you go Dre. ***Ándale vato.***
17 Noodles: Man, this guy can't hit nothing. For nothing.
18 Noodles: Man, this game is kind of hard to play. --- And I'm off.
19 Noodles: ***MA' PAR'ALLÁ HUEY!*** Man this guy can't hit. He's hitting to
20 the people who are playing volleyball. Garbage ((??)) Ugh. --
21 Man. ***Par'allá huey*** ((under his breath)). Damn.
22 Noodles: Yeah baby, here we go. I'm on a roll. Ha ha! There you go.
23 There you go. Aaaw. I missed. Garbage. Oh well.
24 Noodles: ***Acá huey!***
25 Noodles: We're still waiting for the teacher over there. --- I'm very talented
26 as you can see. I'm playing I don't know what kind of game. *And*
27 talking at the same time. Man, I'm good.

In this passage, and often within the same turn, Noodles adopts numerous voices, each for a different “audience” or addressee. This role of addressee rotates between Dre (e.g. line 6), the recorder and its ultimate audience (e.g. lines 25-27), himself and anyone within hearing distance (e.g. line 5), and, for a brief moment, the gym teacher Mr. D’Ag (line 13). And much of the time, Noodles seems to be directing his talk to a dual or combined addressee. For example, in line 11, while it seems that he is talking to himself (and anyone who may be within earshot), there is a sense that this talk is also constructed with the recorder in mind. The semi-formal word choice of “garbage,” lends itself to this interpretation. In fact, throughout this passage he keeps up a running commentary for the recorder. It is only for small moments that he falls out of this mode and ceases to maintain the recorder as a shared addressee. This can be seen in line 7, where he shifts to a voice that is marked by less formal features such as the vernacular form “tryin,” the informal form of address “man,” and the deletion of the copula in “Why you tryin,” which is quite typical of the “ghetto English” spoken at Marquin.

What is of more interest here is the voice used by Noodles when directing his talk to Dre (and significantly, as was just mentioned above, the recorder). For almost every instance of talk that is directed to Dre, Noodles switches to Spanish (reflected above in bold-faced, italic type). Conversely, there is not one instance of Spanish throughout this passage that does not involve Dre. It could be surmised that Dre is a monolingual Spanish speaker, and that Noodles is only trying to facilitate communication (thus abiding by the Gricean maxim of manner, to be perspicuous). But there are other instances both within this passage (e.g. lines 6-7, 16) and outside of it where Noodles and others communicate effectively with Dre in English. Thus one is led to believe that Noodles is switching to Spanish “for a reason.” There is all the more reason to think this when it is taken into consideration that Noodles speaks Spanish very

infrequently. His self-reported data indicate that he speaks very little Spanish in his daily life, and this was confirmed throughout the school year. In fact, the current passage is one of three instances in which Noodles spoke Spanish throughout this entire day (and is by far the longest and most elaborate). Therefore it can only be concluded that Noodle's language choice serves as a contextualization cue, indexing a specific stance.

At this point, a closer look at the Spanish Noodles utilizes is useful. Noodle's turns in Spanish are littered with an excessive number of terms of address. In fact, he at times switches to Spanish only for a term of address, as in line 6 ("Pinche vato. Come on vato.") And the terms of address that he uses, (*vato*, *huey*) are stereotypically **Mexican** in-group terms of address. In fact, the lexical terms he uses (*vato*, *huey*, *pinche*, *ándale*) are for the most part the exact same ones that the Puerto Ricans students consistently cited as being "typically Mexican" when asked in interviews, and in general, have strong associations with the Mexican dialect of Spanish. As a result, it seems that Noodle's use of Spanish directly indexes a Mexican identity. And because the Spanish he chooses to speak is so typically Mexican, he indirectly indexes a host of other characteristics associated with Mexicans within the cultural ideology of this school. As will be further illustrated throughout this dissertation, one of the stereotypes of Mexicans within the dominant cultural ideology of the school is that they are non-English speaking, monolingual Spanish speakers. By switching to Spanish to address Dre, and by juxtaposing these voices in such a way, Noodles is highlighting both his own ethnicity and Dre's. Furthermore, he is indexing a well-known (non-English speaking) Mexican identity. When such an identity is indexed by a Puerto Rican, the ethnolinguistic boundary that separates the two individuals is highlighted precisely because of the juxtaposition. As Bucholtz has said, "unmarked categories become visible when they are juxtaposed with social categories that are marked as 'other' by

cultural ideologies” (447). Therefore, by so overtly indexing a marginalized Mexican identity, Noodles makes the more unmarked category of Puerto Rican, and the boundary itself, more visible.

The process outlined above is similar to Bakhtin’s “double voicing.” In effect, switching to Mexican Spanish is used as a discursive strategy by Noodles to create a double-voiced effect—through a single piece of discourse, Noodles animates multiple “voices.” As Goffman puts it, quoting and other similar forms of animation share “the process of projecting an image of someone not oneself while preventing viewers from forgetting even for a moment that an alien animator is at work” (Goffman in Bucholtz 1999: 447). While Noodle’s discourse does not animate two different speaker positions, per se, this is what he metaphorically achieves by switching to this stereotypically Mexican Spanish. He projects a Mexican stance ‘while preventing viewers from forgetting even for a moment that an alien animator [a Puerto Rican] is at work’ (Goffman in Bucholtz 1999: 447). He is thus able to simultaneously juxtapose a Mexican and Puerto Rican voice and call attention to the resulting incongruity.

One could reasonably question whether or not the preceding example is, in fact, an example of the very sort of accommodation that is necessary for the process of koineization. In other words, what is to prevent us from interpreting this as an instance of a Puerto Rican accommodating to a Mexican by using Mexican lexical items? To this I would call attention once again to the stereotypical nature of the Mexican Spanish invoked by Noodles (more on this below). While it is true that these are salient features of Mexican Spanish and thus could be considered good candidates for accommodation (recall that one of Trudgill’s (1986) criteria for salience is overt stigmatization), Trudgill suggests that *extra-strong salience* actually inhibits accommodation (1986: 18). Citing the example of British English speakers who show a long

delay in their accommodation of /θ/ (as in ‘dance’) to the /a:/ of US English, despite the fact that this change consists of a very simple modification, Trudgill posits that it is the stereotypical nature of this feature that delays accommodation—because this feature is *too* salient, *too* American, it is not immediately adopted. This is obviously a weakness in Trudgill’s model of accommodation and leaves us with questions regarding how one should distinguish between very low salience, salience, and extra-strong salience. This dilemma may be solved by looking to questions of awareness in assessing levels of salience rather than linguistic determiners (Kiesling personal communication). It would seem that such socio-psychological considerations do have a place in a theory of accommodation and particularly so in the adolescent context. For this reason, let us pause for a moment to consider the terms used by Noodles in this passage.

The lexical items used by Noodles in this passage have strong associations with vernacular Mexican Spanish, both within and outside of Marquin High School. As such, they are salient to speakers of different varieties of Spanish. For example, the term *vato* is linked to the Mexican street gangs of Los Angeles, and the zoot suiters of 1940s. It is defined on an on-line glossary of “pachuquismos” (www.suavecito.com) as the following: “used instead of ‘homeboy’, ‘dude’, etc.”. *Pachuco* itself is defined as an “old school term for Chicano zooters—the dress, attitude, language, culture, etc.” Thus, used as an in-group term of address, it connotes this in-group status as Chicanos and the toughness associated with street gangs. More pertinent to the present discussion, it is clearly a Mexican vernacular term, and thus salient for its colloquialness. This holds true for the students at Marquin—*vato* and the other lexical items Noodles chooses to utter in Spanish are considered *stereotypically* Mexican by the PRn students at Marquin. As was mentioned above, these items were consistently held up by students at Marquin as “the way Mexicans talk,” or “talking Mexican” as one Puerto Rican student put it. At Marquin High

School, it should by now be clear (and will be further explicated in chapter 5) that Mexicans are marked as an “other” category by the dominant ideology. Therefore, Mexican vernacular terms such as *vato* have come to be socially marked stereotypes of Mexican Spanish, and thus, “extra-salient.”

The same applies to all of the other terms used by Noodles in this passage. *Huey* also appears as a “pachuquismo” in the above-mentioned glossary: “pronounced ‘way’—loosely translates to ‘idiot.’” As with “vato,” that this term appears on this website shows the association it has with Chicano zooters. While it may loosely translate to idiot, and can be used in this way at times, it’s constant use as a term of address (by Mexicans) has largely blanded it of this meaning. Rather, it has come to signify something more similar to “dude.” The terms *ándale* and *pinche* are similarly associated with a typically Mexican Spanish (though they do not have this added association with Chicano youth or street gangs). In fact, both of these terms appear on a short list of “Mexicanisms” found in Lipski (1994). *Ándale* is defined by Lipski as “let’s go, that’s OK, I agree [in response to a suggestion], you’re welcome [when being thanked]” (286). *Pinche* is defined by Lipski (1994) as “cursed, damned,” and is “used in Mexico as a derogatory adjective” (286). This term is extra-(extra-)salient to Puerto Ricans because while to Mexicans it is a “bad word,” for Puerto Ricans *pinche* means a hair clip. Thus it is quite likely that all of these terms would be “noticed” by non-Mexican Spanish speakers (and thus salient, if we are to use an awareness oriented approach to salience), due to their specificity to the Mexican dialect of Spanish. It has been noted that these are in fact some of the very features of Mexican Spanish that are “noticed” by Marquin PRn students. Because of the social position of Mexicans at Marquin, these salient items become socially marked.

It should now be clear that the lexical items used by Noodles in this passage are “extra-salient” by Trudgill’s (1986) standards and thereby unlikely candidates for accommodation. As with Trudgill’s British speakers and their resistance to accommodate to items that were “*too* American,” these lexical items are considered “*too* Mexican” at Marquin, and thus are not prime candidates for accommodation. For this reason, the fact that Noodles does “accommodate” to these extra-salient lexical items causes the hearer to interpret this very act as a contextualization cue—it is apparent that there is a “reason” for this “accommodation.” In addition, a majority of the lexical items he switches for are stereotypically Mexican terms of address, and he employs many of these terms of address throughout the passage. This too makes it apparent that these instances of Mexican Spanish should be interpreted not as dialect accommodation, but rather as the double-voicing explained above. By switching to Spanish for these Mexican vernacular terms, Noodles indirectly indexes a stigmatized Mexican identity and highlights the boundary separating himself, a Puerto Rican, from Dre, a Mexican.

Rampton’s work on crossing gives us an additional perspective through which to view this example. As stated earlier, Rampton (1995) shows that national and local conditions can affect the social meaning of other-ethnic language use—crossing can be interpreted as an expression of solidarity or as a means of preserving a racial hierarchy. This point applies directly to the present situation. In order for the social meaning of Noodle’s language switches to be fully illuminated, local conditions must be taken into consideration. To understand this better, let us start on the national level. On the national level, where all Hispanics are assumed to speak a uniform Spanish, Noodle’s use of Spanish in this transcript would be interpreted as solidarity amongst Hispanics. To use a different terminology, Noodle’s switches to Spanish would be labeled code-switching, not crossing, since the language variety he switches to

wouldn't be considered an "other-ethnic language variety," but rather his own native language that is shared by all Hispanics. In other words, Noodle's instances of Spanish would be considered code-switching for the purpose of demonstrating in-group solidarity. At a more local level of knowledge and familiarity with "Hispanics," it is understood that "Hispanic" is an umbrella term that encompasses many different ethnic groups, each with their own variety of Spanish. There is thus another level that can be reached in terms of demonstrating solidarity through language—a speaker can "cross" to express solidarity; s/he can accommodate at a more meaningful level. Viewed from this more local level, Noodle's switches to Mexican Spanish in this passage could be interpreted as this very sort of accommodation—"crossing" (because we realize that it is an other-ethnic group's language variety) to express solidarity. It takes getting to the next level, an even more local level, before the full social meaning of these switches becomes apparent. To a member of the Marquin community context it is clear that Noodle's motivation for crossing is not to express solidarity, but rather to emphasize differences, and as will be seen in chapter 5, to maintain the social hierarchy. They know that these are stereotyped features in the Marquin context and that a Puerto Rican's usage of them is actually a dissociative mechanism, because they are aware of the larger cultural ideologies in place at Marquin. We will thus revisit this example in chapter 5 when we explore these cultural ideologies.

In this section, we have seen two examples of the discursive construction of the boundary separating Mexicans and Puerto Ricans at Marquin High School. By emphasizing certain differences between groups (and by ignoring commonalities), ethnic identity comes to be a salient and divisive category. Through the content of the conversation between Vonnie, Muñeca and Iris, we again learn that numerous social practices (language, food, hair and make-up) serve to divide Puerto Ricans from Mexicans (and more specifically, Puerto Rican females from

Mexican females). Through the discourse itself, the boundary between groups is reinforced. Similarly, Noodle's episode with Dre discursively highlights ethnic identity, albeit in a more implicit way, and calls attention to the barrier between ethnic groups. Again, the episode itself reinforces the boundary between groups. It is this salience, awareness, and consistent maintenance of the ethnolinguistic barrier that inhibits the formation of the cross-ethnic relationships and social networks necessary for koineization, despite the presence of other factors which would predict it.

4.3. CONSTRUCTION OF IDENTITY

Throughout the past two chapters, we have seen what a stark boundary ethnicity poses in the context of this high school. The ethnolinguistic boundary is a salient one which is constantly being reinforced, and is the principal reason a koine is not forming at Marquin. In this section we will examine the construction of individual ethnic identities and the processes of negotiating this identity. We will see that because ethnic identity and social identity are so interdependent in this school, students put a large amount of effort into the construction of this aspect of identity. As should already be clear, the construction of discrete and prominent ethnic identities only adds to the strength of the ethnolinguistic boundary between Mexicans and Puerto Ricans.

Identity is a complex concept that is composed of many interdependent components. For this reason, it is difficult to separate different aspects of an individual's identity, for example ethnic identity from gender identity. Identity is also fluid and emergent in interaction; speakers index different aspects of identity at different moments, depending on their interactional needs (Mendoza-Denton 2002; Kiesling, in press). In the context of Marquin high school, it has now been established that ethnic identity is a most important social determiner. For example, it was seen that for the students at Marquin, different social practices and ethnicity are intrinsically

linked (e.g. a certain area of the hallway is for Mexicans, a certain kind of music is for African Americans, a certain way of talking is for Puerto Ricans...). For this very reason, the students at Marquin work diligently at displaying and constructing their ethnic identities; it is an aspect of their identities that is quite frequently indexed in interaction. In this section we will look at the ways in which students construct identities that especially highlight (and in one case, downplay) ethnicity. In line with the idea that ethnicity is socially constructed, we will see these students constructing and negotiating their ethnic identities in order to claim a space in a social landscape where ethnicity is of such primacy. While it is true that the different components of an individual's identity are not divisible, we will spend this section looking at instances where a certain aspect of identity, ethnicity, is that which is being emphasized.

Before looking at a few examples of the construction of identity, it is important to remember that while identity is emergent in interaction, it is also constrained by “the sociocultural discourses and ideologies²⁰ that the speakers themselves have about their social world” (Kiesling, in press: 2). It thus becomes necessary to delineate the identity categories that the students themselves recognize as available to them within the Marquin community—the social landscape needs to be adequately portrayed (and understood) in order to be able to stand as an appropriate interpretive framework for the examples of identity construction that will follow. As was discussed in chapter 3, one of the questions posed to participants within the study was meant to elicit this very information. Participants were asked whether or not their school had cliques, and if so, how they would label these cliques. Responses that centered around ethnicity were the most common. Fourteen of thirty students specifically used ethnic group names to label the cliques present in their high school. This is very important in that we again see the

²⁰ While questions of ideology will be involved in this discussion, the topic will be handled most completely in Chapter 5.

overlapping of social identity and ethnicity; it becomes evident that the social identities available to be indexed or constructed coincide with ethnic groups. A line from Transcript 4.4 in the last section exemplifies this quite nicely. Recall that during the discussion about Iris's ethnicity, Vonnie says "We all consider her Puerto Rican" (Transcript 4.4, line 4). Just a few lines later, Iris says, "So, I mean, they *consider* me, you know, to be part of their group..." (lines 14-15). Here, Iris's variation on Vonnie's line (4) associates ethnicity and social groups, thereby indexing the close relationship that exists between the two. Thus, it becomes clear that the most prevalent social identities in the junior class of Marquin are also ethnic identities—the class is made up of "the Mexicans," "the Puerto Ricans," "the Blacks," "the Ukrainians"... In other words, not only is ethnicity an important component of identity for these students, it actually comprises the social scene of Marquin. This is all the more reason why this aspect of overall identity is so often highlighted and so carefully constructed by the students at Marquin.

One of the major exceptions to this one to one correspondence between social identity and ethnic identity is the overlap that exists between PRns and AAns. There is a shared identity that exists, which the students often refer to as a "ghetto" identity. Members of these two groups seem to have overlapped and created a shared urban, local identity, while they each have their own, specifically ethnic identities too. While I refer to this ghetto identity as a "local" identity because of the particular analytic perspective that is taken in this paper, this is an identity that has its roots and models embedded in hip hop culture and as such, has wide recognition throughout the country and beyond. In fact, it is hip hop culture, Puerto Ricans' role in hip hop culture, and this shared yet separate "ghetto identity" that exists between Puerto Ricans and African Americans that is the topic of Raquel Rivera's book, "New York Ricans from the Hip Hop Zone" (2003).

One of the main theses of Rivera's book is that hip hop culture is a joint production between African Americans and Puerto Ricans in U.S. ghettos, and that the idea that this is an exclusively AAn realm which PRns are trying to "get in on" is a myth. While it is true that New York Puerto Rican artistic expressions have often been indistinguishable from African American ones, the reason for this is not the assimilation of Puerto Ricans to African Americans, but rather "the reconfiguration of cultural practices and identities so that Puerto Ricans and African Americans share common terrain" (2). She goes on to say:

"Hip hop is a part of a century-old history of cultural parallels, adaptations and joint production between African American and Caribbean people—among them, Puerto Ricans—in New York City. This history is rooted in their interactions and shared experiences in New York since the early years of the twentieth century. However, this history also is intimately connected to dynamics that extend even further back in time and beyond New York borders. This history of shared cultural expression between African American and Caribbean people in New York is related to common African sources and creolization processes dating to the early days of slavery in the Americas as well as to heavy migration within the Caribbean and between the Caribbean and United States, particularly after the dawn of the nineteenth century" (2-3).

Thus, Rivera's perspective is one that stresses a common history between Puerto Ricans and African Americans—Puerto Rican culture is one of a number of Afro-diasporic cultures in the Americas. These Afro-diasporic cultures share "common cultural threads" which are visible to this day. Numerous artistic expressions are the product of these common cultural threads, such as jazz, funk, *samba*, mambo, bamba and hip hop (3). In sum, shared history and experiences, in both the far and recent past, have led to the creation of shared cultures and identities. Rivera examines the trajectory of these processes through time, and her take on the recent past is especially pertinent to the situation at Marquin High School. In the 1990s, as popular culture in general and commercial rap music in particular began to mass market and glamorize the violence and pain of black "ghetto" life, young black people took to this stereotypically "ghetto" image. Simultaneously, as the focus of rap music changed from the

black experience to the “ghetto”—to contemporary socioeconomic conditions and lived culture—the ethno-racial scope of blackness was relaxed. Now *certain* Latino groups became included under the umbrella of ethno-racial “others” that had experienced class and ethno-racial marginalization. Rivera does hasten to add though, that the identities shared by African Americans and Latinos only involve certain Latinos, namely, Afro-diasporic ones. In order to talk about shared experiences and identities in U.S. ghettos “we must distinguish the intense similarities between African Americans and Puerto Ricans in New York from the comparatively more distinct experiences of Chicanos and African Americans in Los Angeles or Chicago and from the completely divergent experiences of African Americans and Cubans in Miami” (102).

As Rivera makes apparent, while this “ghetto” identity may have begun as a local identity shared between African Americans and Puerto Ricans in the ghettos of New York, the mass marketing and spread of hip hop culture has led to an almost national recognition of hip hop culture and identities and has led to the local enactment of this identity in inner-cities throughout the country. Though African Americans and Puerto Ricans in Chicago have not cohabitated for as long or as intensely as they have in New York, they do share many similarities which they do not share with Mexicans—they share a similar history of slavery and migration, they are both considered “Americans” (with regard to questions of citizenship), and they do in fact have a longer history of living in the same inner-city neighborhoods (and in particular, in Cartagena Square) than either group has had with the Mexican population of Chicago. As a result, the nationally recognized hip hop identity is available to be enacted at the local level by Puerto Ricans and African Americans—it manifests as an urban, hip hop identity which I am calling the “ghetto” identity. To use Barth’s (1969) terminology, the boundary between these two ethnic

groups is much more porous than between any two other groups; more of the cultural content of these two groups is shared.

As has been made apparent from student accounts, African Americans and Puerto Ricans at Marquin share many of the same musical tastes. While numerous Mexican students may also like hip hop music, hip hop music is clearly claimed by the ghetto identity at Marquin. This was most obvious in the preponderance of freestyling observed from both PRn and AAn students throughout the year at Marquin. Within rap music, improvising lyrics is known as freestyling, and recordings from days spent with two Puerto Rican “ghetto” male students, Pun and Noodles, reveal many occurrences of this genre. The ghetto identity at Marquin also consists of other markers. It is acceptable for members of both ethnic groups (PRns and AAns) to put braids in their hair. Their sections of the hallway are not as neatly segregated. They share a similar wardrobe. And in terms of language, both groups share an urbanized English full of AAVE features as their dominant language. This is the variety that students most often refer to as “ghetto English” or just “ghetto.” It is the variety that Rivera is referring to when she says “[f]or the New York Puerto Rican second and third generations, ethno-racial identity often has more to do with the way English is spoken than with the use of Spanish in rhymes” (157). A quote from Noodles is also fitting here. When asked why he thought Puerto Ricans spoke less Spanish than Mexicans, he responded: “Because Puerto Ricans, we think we're Black. We talk ghetto, we don't all talk Spanish.” Both of these quotes deal with the ethno-racial identity of ghetto PRns, which will be addressed below, but they also recognize the existence of this particular variety of English. This language variety is just one more component of the shared space between African Americans and Puerto Ricans at Marquin. It is due to this shared space that, as Berenice puts it,

“Puerto Ricans and Black[s] can mix sometimes.” But the word “sometimes” is also important—while a shared local identity does exist, specifically ethnic identities also flourish.

As the title suggests, Rivera’s book is geographically quite specific to New York, but many of the issues she discusses are applicable to the Puerto Rican youth community of Chicago. For example, she directly addresses the ethno-racial component of the identity of New York Puerto Ricans within the hip hop zone. She offers hip hop culture “as an example of how youth artistic expressions sometimes challenge and sometimes reinforce traditional categories of ethno-racial affiliation. The result is that the cultural boundaries among Puerto Ricanness, African Americanness, *latinidad*, and blackness are in many cases fluid and cannot always be properly established” (12). This fluidity of the ethno-racial (and ethnolinguistic) boundaries of the ghetto identity is also seen at Marquin and is reflected in the shared social practices and symbols of African Americans and Puerto Ricans. The fuzziness of the boundaries is made especially apparent in Noodle’s quote above where he says, “Because Puerto Ricans, we think we’re Black. We talk ghetto, we don’t all talk Spanish.” Or in the following statement from another Puerto Rican student: “We’re on like a, in-between, you know, we’ll go to the—come to the ghetto side and talk English and like Black people, real ghetto, and then we’ll talk Spanish too, so...” Thus we see once again that the ethnic boundary between PRns and AAns is quite fluid, and that the actors themselves navigate this boundary in the negotiation of their identities.

It should be pointed out that while ethnic boundaries within the ghetto identity may be fluid and flexible, this is not to say that ethnicity is somehow an insignificant component of this identity. As was discussed earlier, identity is a fluid concept. Different identities and different aspects of identity are called upon at different times. The ethnic component of the “ghetto” identity is significant enough that it is often indexed by the involved actors. The indexing of

affiliation and identity in general and ethnic identity in particular is often referred to as “representing” within hip hop culture (and beyond). That the process of indexing ethnicity has its own vernacular term only underscores its importance within this subculture. Thus, while the fluidity of the ethnic boundary between AAn and PRns “within the hip hop zone” has been the focus of this discussion, this should not obfuscate the fact that a specifically PRn ethnicity does exist as a part of the continuum, and is often indexed by the PRn students at Marquin. The ghetto identity and the indexing of PRn ethnicity are the topic of the following passage taken from an anonymous chatroom posting found on the internet:

“I don't dress/talk ghetto like the fake Puerto Ricans in NY, and I don't, have never, and will never, live in the projects. I don't like hip hop, I don't dress that way, I talk a right, in fact better than the American's english, etc.” [...] “Anywho, the Hispanics in the US kill the Hispanic reputation most times, they act so ghetto all the time, and they're proud of it, they think they're "representing". Representing what? I went to the Puerto Rican Day Parade, and all I saw where these ghetto-*** fake Puerto Ricans (fake, because the closest heritage to Puerto Rican they have is usually their grandparents). I am an island, not NY or NJ, native Puerto Rican, and I can assure you all NO real island native Puerto Ricans act like these morons. All they do is give us a bad name” (Anonymous, Dec 2004).

While the writer obviously feels quite strongly towards “ghetto PRns,” this passage nevertheless gives us added evidence of what this identity is perceived as consisting of. According to the writer, ghetto PRns dress ghetto, talk ghetto (which is an incorrect English), live in the projects and listen to hip hop music. And they represent this “adulterated” Puerto Rican ethnicity at events like the Puerto Rican Day Parade. This idea of “representing” ethnic identity has added significance in the context of Cartagena Square, as will be recalled from chapter 2. As a response to gentrification, the PRn community of Chicago, centered in Cartagena Square, has adopted a strategy of asserting ethnic identity as a way to reclaim space. It is this sentiment that was seen in the following passage from Noodles (recopied here from chapter 2):

Transcript 4.6

- 1 Noodles: Yup. Cause it's changing over here, they're trying to take off our flags,
2 off Duffy St.=
3 EGJ: =Yeah, that's what somebody said, I can't believe that,
4 really?
5 Tuti: Uh huh
6 Noodles: Yeah. They're still trying to do that. I'll bust me the nigga that say "oh
7 take off that Puerto Rican"- oh, don't tell me that

Thus we see that ethnicity is not only an important component of the ghetto identity, but that a specifically Puerto Rican ethnic identity plays an important role in the process of negotiating identity for the Puerto Rican youth of Chicago.

The prior discussion brings to light the question of other possible "in-between" identities—identities which do not fall squarely into any of the ethnic group categories above mentioned. I would argue that aside from the "ghetto" identity discussed above, the only way to achieve an in-between identity in the context of the junior class of Marquin is to background one's own ethnicity. In a context where ethnicity plays such a central role in social categorizations, the only way to achieve an alternative status is to downplay one's own ethnicity. Take for example the "nerds" that were at times referred to—the CREAM group. This is an ethnically mixed group, as was seen in chapter 3, but more importantly, the core members of the group were seldom observed displaying stances associated with the identities delineated above. Conversations about music that were witnessed while spending time with CREAM students often involved white, alternative music bands such as White Stripes, Blink 182, and Nirvana. None of these students were ever involved in the numerous fights that broke out throughout the year. Many of the core CREAM girls wore little to no make-up. And as was discussed during the

network analysis, the language of the CREAM is a relatively “Standard English”.²¹ Thus this in-between ‘nerd’ identity becomes one that is ethnically more neutral and free of overtly ethnic symbols.

The following discussion of a group interview with two CREAM students, Pri and Berenice, lends support for the above hypothesis. In fact, three things will become quite apparent:

1. (We will see once again that) ethnicity and social identity are tightly bound at Marquin.
2. No in-between ground is recognized between ethnicities.
3. Due to 1 and 2, the only way to construct an alternative social identity is to de-emphasize one’s own ethnicity.

While discussing the Mexican students at Marquin, both Pri and Berenice asserted that the Mexicans at Marquin were not as “noticeable” as the Puerto Ricans, even though they might be evenly represented in terms of numbers. When asked to explain what they meant by this, their response was the following:

Transcript 4.7

- 1 Berenice: I don’t know, like I was telling you, they’re so quiet. Mo- have you
2 noticed most of the Mexicans are shy?=
3 EGJ: =Mmhm=
4 Berenice: =And quiet=
5 Pri: =((and did you
6 notice??)) most of them join soccer.
7 Berenice: ((laughing)) Yeah=
8 EGJ: =What? --- [Oh ((laughing))]
9 Pri: =((laughing))[You go to a soccer game]
10 Berenice: Most of them join soccer ((laughing))
11 Pri: And the Puerto Ricans join baseball
12 EGJ: Uh huh ((laughing))
13 Berenice: No, and then like, um, a lot of Mexicans do mix with the Puerto Ricans?
14 And some-some of them don’t even act Mexican? they act like
15 Puerto Rican? So they join and, they’re- they’re like, Puerto Rican,
16 basically.

²¹ The use of English within the CREAM network may be multiply motivated. As was discussed in chapter 3, that this group of students has more non-Spanish speakers and is relatively more college-bound than the rest of the class may also be partially responsible for their choice of language.

17 EGJ: Uh huh.
 18 Berenice: Or like me, I'm not even nothing? ((laughs))=
 19 Pri: =We're nothing. We
 20 can't say we're Mexican [--] Sometimes=
 21 Berenice: [I-] =I consider myself Mexican, but-
 22 other people don't.
 23 EGJ: ((laughs))
 24 Pri: She tells me [that I talk 'white']
 25 Berenice: [they see me as 'the Polack']--You do. (((laughing)))You talk
 26 so funny sometimes.
 27 Pri: (((laughing)))
 28 EGJ: ((laughing)) Like how?
 29 Pri: [I don't know]
 30 Berenice: [She'll *be like*] *talking like dis* or like "Oh my God!"
 31 EGJ: (((laughing)))
 32 Pri: (((laughing))) I said Oh [my God]
 33 Berenice: [I feel *the pa:in*]=
 34 Pri: =((laughing hard)) I was referring
 35 [to a so:ng-]
 36 Berenice: [She was] listening to Nirvana and- she was like=
 37 Pri: =((laughing))She won't
 38 let that go!=
 39 Berenice: =*I feel the pa:in*
 40 Everyone: ((laughing))
 41 Pri: She won't let that go- She's like [ok, you're weird].
 42 Berenice: [It was funny.]
 43 Berenice: [Well you said it.]
 44 Pri: [I'm acting- I'm acting] seriously and she's like you don't- se- you know,
 45 I'm like, you don't get it? and she's just like=
 46 Berenice: =I do: but I'm not gonna sa:y
 47 [it], like, ((low voice)) *I [feel the pa:in]. It's incredible. Overpowering.*
 48 Pri: (((laughing))) ----- [No ((laughing))]
 49 She talks funny ((laughs))
 50 EGJ: ((laughing)) That's so funny, talking white, yeah, I guess that's definitely
 51 [a different way of talking, huh?]
 52 Berenice: (((laughing)) *Like, oh my go:d*)
 53 EGJ: ((laughing)) She's gonna spit out her milk=
 54 Berenice: =[*Du:de*]
 55 Pri: =(((laughing))) I don't-] No, I
 56 Pri: say dude, [but I don't-]
 57 Berenice: [She says dude] a lot.

The first thing that is observed in this conversation is once again, the idea of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans as separate social groups. The Mexican students are less "noticeable" at

Marquin because they are more quiet (lines 1 and 4), shier (line 2). This complements depictions from other participants (mentioned earlier) of Puerto Ricans as loud and boisterous. Pri chimes in with the observation that Mexicans play soccer while the Puerto Ricans join baseball (lines 5-11). The two ethnic groups are thus portrayed as separate social groups with different inherent characteristics and social practices.

We next learn about another category of Mexicans, those who mix with Puerto Ricans and end up shedding their own ethnicity (lines 15-16: *So they join and, they're- they're like Puerto Rican, basically*). These “wanna-be’s,” as they were often referred to, are testament to the fact that at Marquin, it is nearly impossible to achieve any sort of an in-between ethnicity and/or identity—you are either Mexican or Puerto Rican. In a different group interview, another Mexican participant, Isa, also mentioned Mexicans who “will wear that brand name stuff and fit in with the Puerto Ricans.” And on another occasion too, a student was heard talking about a Mexican girl who acts Puerto Rican. The speaker went on to say something to the effect of ‘the only thing she has that’s Mexican is her flat ass.’²² This awareness of people who construct ethnic identities in order to “fit in” only bolsters the assertion that ethnic and social identities are intrinsically tied in this school, and that very little in-between space is recognized. Little Girl, who was discussed in the previous chapter (see page 95), is an example of such an individual. As was discussed in chapter 3, she is a Mexican girl who seemed to identify with a “ghetto” identity and was often observed with Puerto Ricans speaking “ghetto English.” Iris is another interesting example. As was seen above in Transcript 4.4 (page 149), when Iris does talk about her mixed ethnicity, Vonnie responds with, “Shut up. We all consider her Puerto Rican,”

²² Incidentally, while this comment speaks to the agency of the individual in the process of ethnic identity construction, the speaker is also calling attention to the fact that there are constraints on this agency (Bailey 2002, Cameron 1990)—that this Mexican girl can not possibly reconfigure her “flat ass” to be Puerto Rican is, in fact, what makes this comment humorous.

thereby making it clear that alternative ethnic/social identities are not recognized at Marquin. Not much in-between space is recognized at Marquin—an individual can be *either* Mexican *or* Puerto Rican, but not something in-between. In other words, there are only so many identity categories available to students. Mexicans who want to “fit in” with other groups can assume a Puerto Rican and/or “ghetto” identity, but this requires, or is at least is perceived as, a renouncement of their own Mexican identity.

The next section of the transcript currently under discussion illuminates the strategies used by individuals such as Pri and Berenice who want to avoid these strict categorizations and construct alternative social identities. It also sheds light on how these individuals are perceived by others. It is apparent from the first part of the conversation (lines 1-16) that Pri and Berenice find ethnicity and social identity to be tightly bound at Marquin, and that no in-between ground is recognized between ethnicities. At line 18, after talking about Mexicans and Puerto Ricans up until this point in the conversation, they begin to discuss their place in this social landscape:

- 18 Berenice: Or like me, I’m not even nothing? ((laughs))=
19 Pri: =We’re nothing. We
20 can’t say we’re Mexican [--] Sometimes=
21 Berenice: [I-] -- =I consider myself Mexican, but-
22 other people don’t.
23 EGJ: ((laughs))
24 Pri: She tells me [that I talk ‘white’]
25 Berenice: [they see me as ‘the Polack’]--You do. (((laughing)))You talk
26 so funny sometimes].

It is obvious from the placement of line 18 after the discussion of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans at Marquin that, in this context, “nothing” means “no ethnicity.” Berenice is, in effect, saying that she is of no apparent or obvious ethnicity, which Pri makes even more explicit in lines 19-20. Information gathered from other contexts is useful here. Earlier in this same conversation, while discussing what keeps the Mexicans and Puerto Ricans at Marquin so

separate, Pri and Berenice had launched into a discussion of the way Mexicans speak Spanish. After discussing some of the features of this Mexican variety of Spanish, which they themselves call “the stereotype,” both Pri and Berenice assert/admit that they speak this way too—Berenice comments that she speaks this way at home while Pri maintains that she speaks this way more with her Mexican friends. Both of these comments are interesting. Berenice’s shows a distinguishing between two domains, school and home. Pri’s comment, on the surface, makes a distinction based on the ethnicity of her interlocutor (Mexican and non-Mexican.) But, when one takes into consideration the fact that Berenice is Mexican and is one of Pri’s good friends (and the fact that they are both discussing when they talk like this which makes it obvious that they do not talk like this to each other), it becomes clear that Pri’s “Mexican” refers to more than just “inherited” ethnicity. Pri is referring to a constructed Mexican ethnicity— she speaks Mexican Spanish with her “Mexican” friends, the ones that really act Mexican. This interpretation is reinforced when one listens to the way Pri enunciates this turn. She says:

Pri: I talk like that too. But with like- ((*low voice*)) the “Me:xican frie:nds,” not with the other-- friends.

As is shown here, there is a pause before Pri says “the Mexican friends,” and the intonation for this phrase is lower, of a slower pace, and almost sing-songy. In other words, she verbally puts quotation marks around this phrase (as I have reflected in the transcription) to show that she is animator, but not necessarily author, nor principal, of this phrase. She is referring to the social discourse of the school, the social category called “the Mexicans.” Berenice (and the others in the CREAM cluster) do not fall into this category. And this is exactly the point of Pri and Berenice’s assertion that they are “nothing” (lines 19 and 20), of no apparent ethnicity. Pri does not “act or talk Mexican” with anyone but her “Mexican” friends. Berenice does not “act or

talk Mexican” in school. This becomes even more evident in a different conversation when Berenice comments that she is actually very Mexican in the music she listens to, the music she dances to, and the television she watches, “even if it doesn’t seem like it in school.” In other words, as had been posited earlier, in this school where ethnicity and social identity are intrinsically linked and little in-between ground exists, Pri and Berenice construct “anethnic” identities by de-emphasizing their ethnic identities. The only way to avoid strict categorization into the social landscape they have described is to minimize their Mexican ethnicity—to not act or sound “Mexican.” This is the only way to occupy an “in-between” space.

The perception of these “anethnic” identities constructed by Pri and Berenice is interesting. While in other settings in the U.S. the unmarked, default ethnicity is “white” (Bucholtz 1999, Kiesling 2001), the situation at Marquin and in Cartagena Square is a little more complicated. As Bucholtz (1999) points out, “whiteness” is both an identity and an ideology. The cultural ideology of Marquin associates “whiteness” with “Americans,” money, privilege, and territory. This was made apparent in an interview question in which groups were asked “What or who is ‘American?’” An overwhelming number of participants answered “whites,” and many elaborated this as “whites with money.” It was clear from these responses that “American” and “white” often referred to the same category of people—European-Americans who were rich, privileged, had blonde hair and blue eyes, and had been in the U.S. for so many generations so as to territorially have virtually no ties to any other country but the U.S. Marquin has almost no students who fit this description. Cartagena Square has, in recent years, started to see an infiltration of people who fit this description, but they are still in the vast minority. Thus, at Marquin, the ideology regarding “whites”/“Americans” refers to a group of people who are not an unmarked, default category, largely because of their virtual absence from the lives that

these students lead. At the same time, there is a small population of “ethnic whites” at Marquin and in Cartagena Square. I use this term to refer to those students of Ukrainian or Polish descent whose families have been in the U.S. for at most two generations. These students further complicate the situation—it seems that students at Marquin may consider them ethnically “white,” and may even refer to them as “white,” but these students do not fit with the ideology of “white” that was sketched above. This is largely because their families have not been in the U.S. for long enough, nor are they rich enough or privileged enough—after all, they live in the same inner-city neighborhoods as everyone else. At Marquin, many of these students form their own social group, which is identified by ethnicity—this is the group most students at Marquin refer to as “the Ukrainians” or “the Polacks.” Still, mostly due to skin color and because they are non-Hispanic, these same students can also be considered/referred to as “white,” but a different kind of “white” than “Americans.” At the same time, “white” can indeed be used as a default category to refer to those who do not clearly fit into any of the ethnic/social categories present at the school—an ambiguous ethnic/social identity may be identified as “white.” Thus, the use of the term “white” by students at Marquin can be quite indeterminate, but is quite clearly shaped by the demographics and ideologies discussed here.

Given this backdrop, it is interesting to see how the “anethnic” identities created by Berenice and Pri get perceived. Aside from “nothing,” Berenice reveals that many people think of her as “the Polack” (line 25). On other occasions she had discussed that many people assume that she is “white.” In fact, an example of this was seen and discussed earlier in this chapter (page 6). Pri reveals in the present conversation (line 24) that Berenice has often told her that she “talks white.” In other words, given the social landscape of strict ethnic polarizations at Marquin, their construction of “anethnic” identities often gets interpreted as some version of

“white.” It is obvious that language plays a role in this. The sequence of turns between lines 18 and 24 suggests that part of the reason Pri is “nothing” (line 18) and “can’t say [she’s] Mexican” (line 20) is because of the way she talks (line 24). Because Pri uses a language variety which is not ethnically and socially charged within the context of the school, Pri is perceived of as “talking white” (and in this case, it would seem, “American”/“white”). Key features of “talking white” can be found between lines 30 and 57 where Berenice intermittently imitates Pri’s way of speaking. According to this imitation, “talking white” consists of standard, mainstream European-American phonology (transcribed in italics); elements of “valley-girl speech” (lines 30 and 52)—the speech associated with “affluent white girls who are or present themselves as shallow and unintelligent” (Cameron 2001: 112); the lexical item “dude” (lines 54-57), which is strongly associated with young, white males, but is slowly spreading to women (Kiesling 2004); and the ability to intensely empathize with the words of Kurt Cobaine (lead singer of the alternative, white rock band *Nirvana*) (lines 33-47).

Without delving much further into this issue, I would hypothesize that while often perceived as some version of “white,” Pri is not so much striving for an “American”/“white” ethnicity as she is trying to construct a social identity that is alternative both within the school context and within white, mainstream society. I would posit that both the band Nirvana and female use of the term “dude” fall into this persona, along with her denial of valley-girl speech in line 55. Numerous other habits Pri discussed in other conversations such as her countless hours spent drinking coffee and reading at Border’s, her aimless wandering on various modes of public transportation, her weekly search for the alternative and satirical newspaper “the Onion,” her trench coat; and her thick, black-framed glasses can all be seen as facets of this persona. And even if Pri were striving for an “American”/“white” ethnicity, this ethnicity does not have a place

amongst the dominant identity categories at Marquin, as was explained above. Thus it seems that Pri wants to claim an “in-between” space for herself, an alternative identity in which ethnicity does not play such a prominent role. She does this by appropriating a foreign social identity and by de-emphasizing her own ethnic identity, which has too many associations within the context of Marquin. Her efforts at constructing an alternative, “anethnic” identity seem semi-successful—while Berenice does tell her she “talks white,” other conversations with Pri revealed that rather than being accused of being or acting “white,” (or any other ethnic identity), she was most often accused of being “weird” or a “freak.”

In this chapter we have seen that there is a tightly coupled link between ethnicity and social identity at Marquin. This both contributes to the ethnolinguistic boundary and makes it stronger, since it drives students to work harder to construct this aspect of their identity. In other words, the construction of these ethnic/social identities becomes yet another component of the construction and maintenance of the ethnolinguistic boundary between Mexicans and Puerto Ricans at Marquin. This will be further exemplified in the case study below. The conversation with Pri and Berenice (Transcript 4.7) shows us that the ethnolinguistic boundary is so strong that it is quite difficult to construct an identity other than “Mexican” or “Puerto Rican/ghetto.” This was also made painfully clear by the “wanna-be” discussion, and in particular, through the example of Iris. All of this has important repercussions for the issue of koineization. After all, it is the “in-between spaces” that are the breeding grounds for koines. Pri and Berenice’s way of constructing an alternative identity was to de-emphasize ethnicity. We saw that language also played a role in this process of identity construction. In fact, when the added ingredient of language choice is added into this landscape, the full picture of why there is no koineization becomes complete. Therefore, before proceeding to another examples of ethnic/social identity

construction, it is important to address the question of “in-between” identities and the language varieties spoken by these individuals.

As was mentioned above, it is in the “in-between spaces,” the social spaces where ethnic mixing is allowed and strict ethnic categorizations are not so salient, where a koine could form. Those occupying these spaces were referred to in the above discussion as “in-between identities,” and it was revealed that there are very few such spaces and identities allowed or recognized at Marquin. Possible in-between spaces and identities were addressed in the peer network analysis in chapter 3, precisely because of their significance to the question of koineization. Here we will look at the same issues through the lens of identity. What becomes clear is that the salience of ethnic identity at Marquin, and the non-recognition of alternative or hybrid ethnic/social identities, influences the language choice of many individuals in such a way as to inhibit the formation of a Hispanic koine.

One “in-between” identity that was discussed above was the “ghetto” identity. Though ethnicity is still a very salient aspect of this shared identity, the social space occupied by these individuals allows for a relatively intimate mixing between Puerto Ricans and African Americans, and thus allows for the sort of inter-ethnic communication and accommodation necessary for koineization. As was discussed in chapter 3 and above, the language of this social space is English, and in particular, “ghetto English.” A thorough examination of the “ghetto English” spoken by the Puerto Ricans and African Americans at Marquin may, in fact, reveal that the process of koineization has occurred between these two ethnic groups’ varieties of English. In fact, I would hypothesize that “ghetto English” is a relatively focused koine which has not been locally constructed, but rather has spread to and throughout Marquin. Further investigation would be necessary to support this claim and to determine the extent of diffusion of

this variety. This was not the focus of this study though. Possibilities for the formation of a Hispanic koine within this social space are non-existent.

In the above discussion, the case of Iris (Mexican/Cuban) and the category of people referred to as “wanna-be’s” were held up as examples of the lack of in-between space at Marquin. These are people who could have been good candidates for koineization—simply put, they are Mexicans (or part Mexican) who are friends with PRns. But, because of the salience of ethnicity at Marquin, and the lack of recognition of multiple or alternative ethnicities/social identities, these individuals can only maintain identities as *either* Mexicans *or* Puerto Ricans. And this is reflected in their linguistic behavior. Iris was never observed to speak Spanish outside of her Spanish class—like most Puerto Ricans, her dominant language in school was English. And as has already been discussed, Iris is an interesting example because of her upbringing—she had been raised and surrounded by Puerto Ricans since a young age, and this is reflected in her Spanish. Thus, while Iris seems to embody an in-between identity, she is perceived as Puerto Rican, and in terms of language, “acts like a Puerto Rican.” As such, she does not participate in the dialect mixing necessary for koineization.

To reiterate, the situation at Marquin is such that ethnic identity and social identity are essentially linked, and the boundary separating Mexicans and Puerto Ricans is stark. As for the wanna-be’s, it is probably clear by now that most wanna-be’s want to be Puerto Rican/“ghetto.” This is in large part due to the Puerto Rican dominance of the school discussed in chapter 2, and will be handled in depth in the next chapter. At Marquin, the Puerto Ricans and/or “ghetto” PRns speak English, and quite often, “ghetto English.” Thus, speaking “ghetto English” becomes a part of the construction of the “ghetto”/Puerto Rican identity and drives wanna-be’s to speak “ghetto English” (or at least English). This was observed in the case of the non-participant

Little Girl, and will be seen quite explicitly in the case of T below. In sum, the lack of in-between space at Marquin and the dominant social status afforded to Puerto Ricans drives “wanna-be’s” to embrace the “ghetto”/PRn identity, and with it, ghetto English. Thus, these people whose peer networks look to be possible sites for dialect mixing, will not engage in such mixing due to questions of ethnicity and language choice.

We have seen then that there are few alternatives to strict ethnic categorizations within the social landscape of Marquin—it is quite difficult to achieve an in-between identity/ethnicity. Thus, as was seen with the CREAM students discussed above, one of the only recourses left to students seems to be the de-emphasis of ethnicity. Language once again plays a part in this process of identity construction. Because ethnicity and language are so linked in this school, the strategy of neutrality becomes to speak a relatively more “Standard English” and to stay away from more ethnically charged varieties such as Mexican Spanish. This is what we saw above in the case of Pri and Berenice—they consciously avoid speaking Spanish, and especially the well-recognized and stigmatized Mexican dialect of Spanish, in order to achieve an alternative identity within Marquin’s social context. This socially motivated language choice removes the possibility of dialect mixing and accommodation between distinct varieties of Spanish.

We will now turn to another individual example of the construction of an ethnic/social identity. Through this case study, it will be further illustrated that one’s place in the social landscape must be negotiated, and that this negotiation is in large part about ethnicity. In fact, this case study of a student who I will call T will embody (in a somewhat exaggerated form) much of what has been illustrated thus far—that the lack of inter-ethnic interaction and the linguistic choices which are inhibiting the formation of a Hispanic koine are quite often driven by (among other things) questions of ethnic/social identity.

T is a Puerto Rican male student and was a key participant in this study. He is in the CREAM program, but is in one of the lower levels of the program and does not consider himself (nor is he considered) a part of the CREAM cluster. Though he is Puerto Rican (both of his parents were born in Puerto Rico), he speaks only nominal Spanish. T was both very aware and explicit about the social and ethnic divisions in the school, and more than any other interviewee, was quite explicit with respect to his maneuverings within this context in order to achieve a certain social status. For these reasons, T is an interesting individual to focus on when examining the construction of identities. At the same time, for the same reasons, the following discussion cannot help but touch on some of the sociocultural ideologies present in the school. These ideas will be included here to the extent necessary, and will be further examined and contextualized in the next chapter on ideology.

Data collected from various interviews with T reveal that he finds ethnic identity, social identity, and social status to be tightly intertwined at Marquin. One of the questions in the first interview asked for the participants' current friends, and the ethnicity of these friends. After naming a long list of people (all of whom were Puerto Rican except for two Mexicans, Enrique and Margarita), T went on to say:

Transcript 4.8

1 T: I mean I have some Mexican friends, but like, I don't hang out with them too
2 much. ((laughs)) Like, I see them in the hallways and I'll say hi but, other than
3 that- cause like, they hang out with their Mexican friends, so-

Here, in inquiring about the ethnicity of T's friends, an extra piece of information is elicited—that he does not socialize with his Mexican friends at school. While he leaves this sentence unfinished, the cause and effect discourse markers “cause” and “so” (Schiffrin 1987 in Johnstone 2002) in line 3 indicate that his Mexican friends hanging out with their Mexican friends causes T to “not hang out with them too much” (lines 1-2). Taken alone one could

assume a variety of things, e.g. that the Mexican students at Marquin form an exclusive group and actually distance themselves from him; that when in a group, the Mexican students speak Spanish and thus language becomes a barrier... But information gathered later in this same interview challenges these interpretations and points us towards a different one. In answering another question, T again mentions Margarita, one of the two Mexican friends he had mentioned earlier. This time, T is explaining why Margarita does not know or hang out with the rest of the friends (PRns) he had mentioned:

Transcript 4.9

- 1 T: And neither does Margarita. Margarita's a lamie²³ so she doesn't hang
 2 with them=
 3 EGJ: =What's that?
 4 T: She's a lamie? Oh, neither does Olga.
 5 EGJ: She's a what?
 6 T: A lamie?
 7 EGJ: What's that? ((laughs))
 8 T: She's not popular? ((laughs))
 9 EGJ: Oh. ((laughs)) Okay.

Thus we can conclude that the friends T had mentioned earlier are “popular,” and therefore Margarita, who is a “lamie,” does not hang out with them. T's other Mexican friend, Enrique, also resurfaces later in the interview when T is discussing his lunch period:

Transcript 4.10

- 1 EGJ: Okay, and, uh, who do eat lunch with here?
 2 T: Here? This is- like- this- lunch period? is *not fun*
 3 EGJ: ((laughs))=
 4 T: =It's like, none of my friends are in here=
 5 EGJ: =Oh really?
 6 T: Like Enrique and stuff but he sits with his lame friends and I don't want to
 7 sit with them=
 8 EGJ: =((laughs))=
 9 T: =Like, so, I sit with my other friends who are not
 10 T: so lame? but they're still kind of lame?

²³ It should be noted that since T is the only student who was ever heard using this social category label, it was treated as a part of his personal discourse regarding the social categories in the school rather than as a part of a larger, shared sociocultural discourse.

At this point, we can piece together the following: T does not hang out with his Mexican friends (Transcript 4.8). Margarita and Enrique are the two Mexican friends that he mentioned in his list of friends. According to T, Margarita is a lamie, and Enrique sits with his “lame friends” during lunch. T is concerned with his own social status (this can be gathered from, among other things, the fact that he would rather sit with his marginally less lame friends than with Enrique and his definitively lame friends). Therefore, it is very likely that it is the social status of Margarita and Enrique that keeps T from socializing with them in school. The fact that in Transcript 4.8 T had connected his not hanging out with his Mexican friends (Margarita and Enrique) to the fact that they hung out with all their Mexican friends now takes on a different tenor. It now starts to seem that Enrique and Margarita’s social status as “lamies” may somehow be connected to the fact that they and their friends are Mexican. In fact, in a later interview, when T and a friend are asked whether they think it is harder to be Mexican or Puerto Rican, T answered that he thought it might be harder to be Mexican “because they look real Mexican and some people don’t like Mexicans.” He went on to say that he knew “a lot of Puerto Ricans who don’t like Mexicans.” Thus, a social stigma associated with Mexicans once again surfaces. Furthermore, when asked about the cliques at Marquin and what forms the basis of their formation, T’s written answer reads: “race, popularity,”. In this manner it becomes clear that not only are ethnicity and social identity linked in this school, but that ethnicity, social identity *and* social status may be significantly intertwined. It is this sort of thinking that deepens the ethnolinguistic divide, and makes someone like T all the more reluctant to traverse it. Instead, in order to navigate this social landscape, T negotiates a “ghetto” PRn identity. This is what we will turn to now.

As was mentioned above, T is fairly explicit regarding his social aspirations. This was seen above in his choice of lunch tables. In fact, after discussing the fact that he had no friends in this lunch period except for some lame and some other less lame friends, he went on to say that “there is a popular table in there,” but apparently Pun (another PRn participant) sits at this table and doesn’t like T and therefore T can not sit there. In other words, the popular table is where T would like to be sitting, but he is not welcome at this table. The “popular kids,” according to T, are Noodles, Tuti, Pun, Manny, Oscar, Georgie, Luna... almost all those who were discussed in chapter 3 as members of the almost exclusively Puerto Rican “ghetto” cluster. It is this PRn cluster that T aims to be a member of. In terms of the identities delineated earlier in this section, these individuals are the very Puerto Ricans that other students in the school, and importantly, T himself, describe as epitomizing the “ghetto” identity: while their immediate cluster does not include many African Americans, there is talk of friends who are black, boys and girls alike in this cluster braid their hair, listen to hip hop, wear certain brands of clothes, and “talk ghetto.”²⁴ They are also fiercely and proudly Puerto Rican, as was shown through Noodle’s stance towards the Puerto Rican parade and their neighborhood. Because T wants to be a part of this cluster, he works at constructing this “ghetto” PRn identity that he knows is associated with “the popular kids.” Though he is PRn by birth, he still has to construct this local Puerto Rican identity in order to negotiate a place in the Marquin social landscape. It is this sort of construction of an ethnic identity that further strengthens the ethnolinguistic boundary.

One of the ways in which T works to construct this “ghetto” identity was already seen above—in his own words, T admits that he disassociates himself from his Mexican friends at school. In this context where in-between spaces are few, to be seen intermingling too closely

²⁴ That the members of this network are considered “ghetto” and speak “ghetto English,” despite a lack of an African American presence in their network, can be seen as evidence of the spread of both the “ghetto” identity and variety

with Mexicans would render him “one of them,” which is not the identity T is trying to achieve. In a similar vein, T was found to associate himself with the popular students, even if the relationship was not reciprocated. This was most clearly seen in the same interview question mentioned above, where T was asked to list his friends. As can be seen in the sociogram in chapter 3, while T named many members of the “ghetto” cluster as his friends, not one of these people did the same. In fact, throughout the whole academic year, and in one full day spent solely with him, he was never seen interacting with three of the five members of this cluster that he had claimed as his friends. Thus, it would seem that T was using the interview process to construct an image of himself as a member of the “ghetto” cluster.

Another facet of T’s construction of a “ghetto” PRn identity is “talking ghetto.” Elsewhere, T himself labels the language variety he speaks “ghetto English,” and, as can be seen in the following passage, his attitude towards this is somewhat conflicted:

Transcript 4.11

- 1 T: Oh man, I love- I- I loved freshman year cause I had, I had- my grade
- 2 point average was like four point something.
- 3 EGJ: Wow=
- 4 T: =I know. And then like- so- I know, the school got to me. [??]
- 5 EGJ: [Really?]
- 6 Like [you don’t] do as well?=
- 7 T: [Yeah] =Yeah, now I’m like, what is it, three point,
- 8 two point something? [Almost three.]
- 9 EGJ: [Wow, what happened?]=
- 10 T: =I don’t know. I changed,
- 11 I can- I noticed myself.
- 12 EGJ: Huh.
- 13 T: I changed a lot.
- 14 EGJ: That’s tough to realize, like, to know, like, [it’s happening]
- 15 T: [I know], I can, no I feel it that
- 16 I changed.-- I’m more-- ghetto-- now.
- 17 EGJ: ((laughs)) What do you mean by that? Li[ke, how]
- 18 T: [Cause like] I don’t know, I used
- 19 to be- I never used to swear=
- 20 EGJ: =Uh huh=

of English.

21 T: =I used to know how to *speak*
 22 [(laughs)] *correctly*=
 23 EGJ: [Uh huh] =Uh huh, uh huh

It is obvious from this passage that T has some remorse about the changes he has undergone—he looks back at his freshman year with nostalgia. The sentiment expressed by T in this passage is somewhat reminiscent of prevalent theories on low academic achievement amongst involuntary minorities. These theories hold that groups who were forcefully incorporated into the United States (African Americans, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans and Native Americans) “tend to experience difficulty maintaining ethnic identity and academic success simultaneously because academic success is perceived by them as characteristically ‘white’ behavior” (Fordham 1988; Fordham and Ogbu 1986 in Flores-Gonzalez 1999: 343). At Marquin, to do well in school is not necessarily interpreted as “acting white,” nor is doing poorly an essential component of the “ghetto” PRn identity. But, it is obvious that, at least for T, constructing and maintaining this local ethnic/social identity while continuing to do well in school are incompatible. In his own words, the school got to him, he has changed and is now more “ghetto,” (which he defines in terms of speaking a more “incorrect” English), and as a result, he does not do as well in school. In this social landscape where ethnic identities converge with social identities and the categories are quite discrete, T aligns himself most closely with this local, PRn identity called “ghetto,” seemingly against his better judgment. This alignment is largely due to questions of social status and stigma. As has been established by him and numerous other students, “ghetto” Puerto Ricans speak “ghetto English” and thus, in order to be who he wants to be—in order to construct this local PRn identity, T has come to adopt this language variety, this persona, and the accompanying consequences.

We will now turn to some examples of T's use of "ghetto English" to see how he uses language in the construction of a local "ghetto" identity. The following passage comes from the day spent with him as a key participant. He, like all the key participants, has carried the recorder and microphone with him throughout this day, and this is the microphone being referred to in the following transcript:

Transcript 4.12

- 1 T: Stop hitting the [μ α :ψκ]! It's the [μ α ψκ] [vIγ: ϕ]!
- 2 Melo: ((laughs)) He's spitting all over the mike.
- 3 T: It's the mike! ((into microphone)) Jewels, what's up baby? I love you.
- 4 I'm not payin no more child support.
- 5 Jewels: Good for you.
- 6 T: You're crazy. That is not [μ α] [κI:ψ↔δ].
- 7 Jewels: Yes it is.
- 8 T: That's not [μ α] [κI:δ]. No it ain't.

In this passage, we see numerous features that characterize "ghetto English," many of which are held in common with AAVE. Terms of address such as "nigga" (line 1) and "baby" (line 3) fall into this category. The lexical item "mike," with its accompanying phonology, is commonly heard in hip hop music and culture. AAVE phonology is evidenced throughout this passage, often in the form of monophthongized and lengthened vowels. Also, double negatives are found in line 4 and lines 6-7, along with the reduced form "payin'" in line 4. Of interest, too, is the content of talk. T is pretending that he has a child with Jewels and uninstitigated, insists that he will no longer be paying child support. This indexes a sociocultural image in which men father children, leave, and take no responsibility, often denying the biological relationship. Importantly, this very image of men is often glorified in hip hop culture. Thus, T is indirectly indexing an identity that is socioculturally specific to the inner-city, hip hop, "ghetto" culture described earlier. The indexing of a specifically local "ghetto" identity is seen in the seemingly misplaced "What's up baby? I love you." (line 3). While the semantic content of this line seems

mismatched with what comes next (“I’m not paying no more child support”), the mismatch is resolved when one realizes that T’s “What’s up baby? I love you,” is actually a semi-formulaic greeting used by many of the “ghetto” PRn and AAn males, which, while not completely bleached of its semantic content, is more emblematic of a “ghetto” identity than it is indexical of a romantic relationship.²⁵ Thus, the juxtaposition of these two phrases in T’s turn (lines 3-4) simultaneously indexes both an overarching gender identity associated with hip hop culture, and a more specifically local gender identity associated with the “ghetto” PRns and AAns.

T is further seen indexing this local “ghetto” identity in the following example. During a passing period, T is walking along by himself when he is recorded saying:

Transcript 4.13

T: Ugly mother fucker.
 [ɸ γ κ λ ι μ γ ɸ ? ↔ Δ ↔ φ □ κ ↔].

This line, like the semi-formulaic greeting discussed above (“What’s up baby? I love you”), was heard on more than one occasion while at Marquin . One such occasion is transcribed below. This passage comes from a day spent with another key participant, Nani (PRn, female). The participants in this conversation are in Spanish class and the topic of discussion is a boy who had started a food fight in the cafeteria on the previous day. A non-participant, whose line will be left out, asks who this boy is and Al answers:

Transcript 4.14

1 Al: The ugly mother fucker
 [ɸ : κ ξ λ ι μ ɸ Δ ↔ φ □ κ ↔]=
 2 X: =XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
 3 Al: ((laughing)) Naw this mother fucker *ugly*!
 [μ ɸ Δ ↔ φ : ɸ : κ ξ : λ ι]

A few things are important here. First of all, Al is one of the members of the “ghetto” cluster who T had claimed as a friend (but with whom T was never seen interacting and who did

²⁵ While this was not recorded from any of the participants in the study, it was heard often throughout the year at

not name T as one of his friends). Al is a fairly well-connected member of this “ghetto” Puerto Rican cluster. Also important is the fact that Al, Nani (who is close friends with numerous people who are linked to this “ghetto” PRn cluster) and the non-participant girl (who was of mixed African American-PRn descent) had been engaging throughout this period (and leading up to this passage) in the verbal sparring referred to as “playing the dozens” (Labov 1972, Morgan 2002) which is associated with inner-city African Americans. In other words Al, who is a prominent member of the “ghetto” PRn cluster, while engaging in this typically African American genre, goes on to participate in the preceding passage. It is through this type of a process that the verbal antics undertaken with the phrase “ugly mother fucker” come to index the “ghetto” identity. T was not present when this interchange took place in Nani’s Spanish class. Thus it is even more apparent that this phrase has a certain circulation throughout the school and that by uttering it, T is once again indexing this local “ghetto” identity.

In the preceding two examples we have seen T constructing a “ghetto” Puerto Rican identity through both the form and content of his talk. Examples such as these were plentiful throughout the day spent with him. But the case of T is also interesting to the question of the *negotiation* of ethnic identity. In order to gain insight into the process of negotiating identity one must look to the context of speech; the negotiation of identity is an interactional process. And it is here that something interesting emerges with respect to T—T’s talk, and in particular his “ghetto talk” very often has no particular addressee. This is seen in the second example above where, as was mentioned above, T’s “ugly mother fucker” is addressed to no one. And in the instances where there is an addressee, there is often no uptake to his talk. This was the case in the first example, (replicated below for convenience) where his first turn of “ghetto” speech in line 1 is met with a rather derisive comment (“He’s spitting all over the mike”), and laughter

(line 2); and his second ghetto turn, where he asserts that he will no longer be paying child support (line 4), is met with an equally derisive “Good for you” (line 5):

Transcript 4.15

- 1 T: Stop hitting the [μ α :ψκ]! It’s the [μ α ψκ] [vIγ: ϕ]!
- 2 Melo: ((laughs)) He’s spitting all over the mike.
- 3 T: It’s the mike! ((into microphone)) Jewels, what’s up baby? I love you.
- 4 I’m not payin no more child support.
- 5 Jewels: Good for you.
- 6 T: You’re crazy. That is not [μ α] [κI:ψ↔δ].
- 7 Jewels: Yes it is.
- 8 T: That’s not [μ α] [κI:δ]. No it ain’t.

While Jewels does reply to T in line 7 (rather unenthusiastically), the overriding tone of the exchange is one of non-compliance. This type of an interaction can be contrasted with the above example from Al where, though the non-participant’s turn can not be transcribed, it should be obvious that she was a willing and able co-participant in this exchange of “ghetto talk.” Or it can be compared with the other episode described from Nani’s Spanish class where Nani, Al and the non-participant all participate equally and whole-heartedly in “playing the dozens.” These are examples of the negotiation of identity where, through their participation, the interlocutors validate each other’s construction of identity (Lo 1999, Schilling-Estes 2004). These types of interactions filled the days spent with Pun and Noodles, and along with their friendships and social practices, are what result in the characterization of them as hard-core “ghetto” Puerto Ricans. And again, it is these types of validating interactions that are missing in the day spent with T. As was mentioned above, numerous instances of T’s “ghetto English” were addressed to either himself or the recorder, and therefore could not be validated. Oftentimes, his ghetto speech was directed to people who were not in a position to validate it—people such as the researcher herself, Mexican friends, CREAM friends, etc. In fact, it could be hypothesized that T’s choice of addressees (or the absence of) may actually have had to do with a fear of having

his talk go not only unvalidated, but actually rejected, which is what seems to have happened in the above example (Transcript 4.16) and again below. The following greeting is uttered in the middle of a class and across the classroom, and therefore is contextually quite out of place:

Transcript 4.16

- 1 T: Whassup, Noodles ((rising intonation))?
- 2 Noodles: ((silence))

Here, we see one of the only times T actually interacts with a member of the PRn cluster with whom he said he was friends, and it goes pointedly unanswered. The possibility that T's greeting is unheard by Noodles is unlikely, since there is virtually no other noise in the classroom when the greeting is uttered, T enunciates it loudly and clearly, and the seating arrangement of the class is such that they are actually facing one another. Thus, while we have seen numerous instances of T attempting to construct a ghetto Puerto Rican identity (in this last example, through an attempt at contact with a key "ghetto" cluster member) the *negotiation* of this identity often fails. As is discussed in Lo (1999), the process of negotiating ethnic identity requires validation, and it is this that is missing from the vast majority of T's observed interactions.

Now we will turn to a summary of this case-study of T. T is a student who is trying to navigate the Marquin social landscape. The Marquin social landscape consists of a deep ethnolinguistic boundary and subsequently discrete ethnic/social identities. While possibilities for crossing exist, as was evidenced in the "wanna-be" discussion, due to questions of social status and stigma, and possibly also due to inherent ethnicity, the identity that T most identifies with/likes is the "ghetto"/PRn identity. So while T is PRn by birth, he must still construct and negotiate this local ethnic identity. He does this by disassociating himself from his Mexican friends, by trying to associate himself with members of the PRn "ghetto" cluster, and through his

speech. As was demonstrated though, his negotiation of this ethnic/social identity often goes unvalidated. Thus, this case study of T embodies much of what has been said throughout this chapter—the salience of ethnic identity at this school, and its close relationship with social identity, often influences students’ linguistic behavior and their choice of interactional partners. In turn, these choices influence the possibilities for, and obstacles to, koineization.

4.4. CONCLUSION

To summarize this chapter, we have seen that the ethnolinguistic boundary at Marquin is wide and deep (especially between Mexicans and everyone else). It is a boundary that undergoes constant construction and reinforcement. Directly related to this is the fact that students at Marquin recognize and label quite discrete ethnic identities as those which are present in their school. In fact, these identities are what make up the bulk of the social landscape of Marquin High School—we have seen that the school’s social scene is composed of ethnic groups rather than the typical social practice oriented “cliques” of many other U.S. high schools. And an analysis of numerous interactions with T revealed that ethnic identity, social identity and social status may all be quite intertwined at Marquin. This close relationship between ethnic and social identity both constitutes the ethnolinguistic boundary and makes it stronger, since it drives students to work harder at constructing this aspect of their overall identity. As was gleaned from student interviews and observations, it is this relationship that most often motivates the “wannabe’s” to ethnically and linguistically “cross.” It is also what motivates a student like T, as was seen in the preceding case study. It is through these efforts that students can claim a space within the social landscape. The construction of these discrete and prominent ethnic identities, along with their consequences for linguistic choices and choices of interactional partners, were

shown to be yet another component of the construction and maintenance of the ethnolinguistic boundary which prevents koineization at Marquin.

It was also shown that the ethnolinguistic boundary is in fact so strong that very little in-between space is allowed or recognized between ethnic groups. This too was seen to have consequences for koineization. The only “in-between” identity that does seem to be recognized at Marquin is the “ghetto” identity. While this “ghetto” identity is, in fact, an ethnic identity for the respective constituent groups, it does allow for a shared space between African Americans and Puerto Ricans. This shared identity allows for the sharing of numerous social practices, including “ghetto English.” As was discussed earlier, I would hypothesize that “ghetto English” is in fact a focused koine that originated outside of Marquin, and has diffused to and throughout Marquin.

Because ethnic identity is so polarizing at Marquin, and because so little “in-between” space is recognized, it would seem that to occupy any other “in-between” or alternative social space requires a de-emphasis of ethnicity. In this school where language variety is such a salient index of ethnic/social identity (as will be seen even more clearly in the next chapter), a de-emphasis of ethnicity requires the employment of a non-ethnically charged language variety. This is what was seen in the last section with the CREAM students Pri and Berenice, who chose to avoid “Mexican Spanish” and instead employed a relatively “Standard English.” This socially motivated linguistic choice also prevents the formation of a Hispanic koine, and shows once again that ethnic identity plays a prominent role in explaining the lack of a Hispanic koine that was evidenced in the last chapter.

5. ESSENTIALIST DISCOURSES: “THEY’RE JUST DIFFERENT”

Salient social categories at Marquin revolve around ethnicity—this has been made evident in the past few chapters. It is worth pointing out that social categories could just as easily have involved neighborhood affiliations, gang affiliations, or affiliations based on social practice (jocks, nerds, student council people, druggies vs. non-druggies...). Instead, we saw in chapters 3 and 4 that ethnic identity is the most important axis of differentiation at Marquin. We have also seen that the boundary created by ethnic identity can be considered a constructed boundary, and is, in large part, a **discursively** constructed boundary focused on bringing differences between groups to the fore and de-emphasizing similarities. In this chapter, we will approach these same ideas from a slightly different/wider perspective and will consider such discourses both the manifestation of and constitutive of a larger ideology of essentialized differences. Following a framework put forth by Ramos-Zayas & De Genova (henceforth RZDG 2003), we will consider these discourses, which span the range of a number of different themes, to function as racializing discourses. In other words, the discourses of difference deployed by the students at Marquin will be viewed as discourses used to create and sustain an ideology of essentialized difference. (They will also be treated as a locus for the discovery of these very ideologies.) In the second part of this chapter, we will consider how these discourses and this ideology have affected the linguistic and social practices of students at Marquin.

5.1. HISTORIES OF INCORPORATION, CITIZENSHIP, AND MIGRATION

A relatively objective examination of the similar but significantly different histories of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans as minority groups in the U.S. serves as a useful backdrop to this chapter. As

many authors have pointed out (Klor de Alva 1988, Oboler 1995, RZDG 2003), the various national-origin groups encompassed by the term ‘Hispanic’ have come to be incorporated into the U.S. via quite heterogeneous historical processes. In fact, according to these authors, it is largely because of these historical differences and their various implications that these groups continue to have distinctive identities and should not be subsumed under the label “Hispanic.” In the case of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, a defining difference between these two groups has to do with the question of citizenship. While a significant portion of Mexico was incorporated into the United States, the vast majority of Mexicans in the U.S. have come to the U.S. via migration, and in many cases, illegal migration. Puerto Ricans, on the other hand, are U.S. citizens, due to the complete colonization and incorporation of the Island. We will briefly examine the historical processes that led to these divergent statuses below, along with the major periods of migration for each group, as they provide insights into the discourses of difference which will be examined later in this chapter.

5.1.1. Mexicans and the U.S.

After the U.S. invasion of Mexico and war in 1846, the northern portion of Mexico was conquered by the U.S., thus imposing a border for Mexicans where there had previously been none. According to the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the Mexican population on the U.S. side of the new boundary was to be stripped of their Mexican nationality and was to be considered U.S. subjects, but not citizens. This was the first instance in what was to be a long history of ambiguous legal status and accompanying mistreatment for the Mexican population in the U.S. As new industries opened up in the U.S., more and more Mexican labor was brought into the country to serve in these industries and agriculture. Much of this migration was unregulated and numerically unrestricted. The years between 1910 and 1930 saw one tenth of the total

population of Mexico move north of the border, due both to the political and economic uncertainty brought on by the Mexican Revolution in Mexico and labor demands in the U.S. (RZDG 2003).

The creation of the Border Patrol in 1924 began a “revolving door” policy consisting of mass deportations juxtaposed with an overall, large-scale importation of Mexican labor. Deportation was used to both discipline the labor force and discourage unionizing among workers, as well as a way to reduce competition for jobs in leaner times, as was the case during the Great Depression. Deportation was quite often carried out with little regard for the legal status of the individuals involved (RZDG 2003). On the other hand, when labor demands were high, as was the case during and after World War II, the U.S. once again turned to the Mexican labor force to fill the shortage. In this case, the U.S. government initiated the “Bracero Program” which legalized the importation of Mexican labor via the contracting of migrant workers. Thus, U.S. employers were guaranteed an endless supply of cheap labor. A byproduct of the Bracero Program, though, was an unprecedented amount of undocumented migration, facilitated by the migration infrastructure established by the Bracero Program and by employers in the U.S. willing to take advantage of this workforce which allowed them to evade the safeguards that had been established in the employment of braceros. This period of large-scale influx of Mexican migrants was soon followed by another swing of the pendulum, known as “Operation Wetback,” which saw the deportation of 2.9 million “illegal” Mexican workers (RZDG 2003, Klor de Alva 1988). It becomes clear, then, that “the tenuous distinction between ‘legal’ and ‘illegal’ migration has been deployed to stigmatize and regulate [via deportation] Mexican/migrant workers for much of the twentieth century” (RZDG 2003: 6). Since the 1950s, Mexican migration has steadily and exponentially increased, but due to increasingly restrictive

immigration policies, more and more of these migrants are doomed to illegal status. These “illegal immigrants” have provided the U.S. with a tractable and cheap labor force that has been increasingly criminalized and stigmatized. In fact, according to RZDG (2003), “illegality” is a defining feature of *all* Mexicans in the U.S. and is integral to their racialization as “Mexicans” (7).

5.1.2. Puerto Ricans and the U.S.

Puerto Ricans, on the other hand, have a similar history of conquest and colonization, but because the whole island of Puerto Rico was conquered as an “unincorporated territory” (later to become a “commonwealth”), leaving no borders, Puerto Ricans do not face these same issues of migration and “illegality” as Mexicans do. In fact, all Puerto Ricans are citizens of the U.S., albeit second-class ones.

After the Spanish-American War in 1898, the U.S. occupied Puerto Rico. U.S. interests in the Caribbean, and in Puerto Rico in particular, were largely economic, and were especially focused on the production and export of sugar. In the meantime, labor demands in the industries of the U.S. Northeast were growing. Puerto Rico’s newfound status as an “unincorporated territory” rendered its citizens colonial subjects, and thus provided the U.S. with a new source of cheap labor to fill employment needs on both the Island and the Mainland.

In 1917 the Jones Act was passed, which unilaterally stripped Puerto Ricans of their Puerto Rican citizenship and bestowed upon them U.S. citizenship. While this could be seen as a benevolent gesture, this citizenship was granted with no dialogue as to aspirations of independence for the Island. Furthermore, the citizenship conferred upon the Puerto Ricans was one with many strings attached. While Puerto Ricans could now fight in the wars of the U.S., they were not fully protected by the Constitution of the United States in the same way that all

other citizens are. While a senate was put into place for the Island, citizens had limited say in its formation. Instead, the federal government would continue to have maximum influence over the workings and governing of the Island, while Island citizens would have minimal influence over federal politics. For example, residents of the Island would not be allowed to vote in U.S. national elections.

Some of these conditions were superficially improved in the post-World War II era of decolonization. It was at this juncture that Puerto Rico's status was designated a "commonwealth"—something in between a colony, a state, and autonomy. Puerto Ricans were now granted more power in the workings of the Island's government, but the U.S. federal government retained the power to veto many of the decisions made by the Island's senate and its inhabitants. At the same time, many of the changes which ensued from this change in status and government had major benefits for U.S. economic interests on the Island. The commonwealth model made foreign investment for U.S. corporations both attractive and profitable by promising low-wage labor, political stability, and local government compliance. The rapid industrialization which ensued came to be called "Operation Bootstrap" and was held up by the U.S. as a model of development. At the same time, in order to really be able to showcase Operation Bootstrap as a success, it needed to be visible to outsiders that this development model had actually improved the lives of middle class Puerto Ricans. This resulted in a push to "clean up" Puerto Rico, which was achieved via a sterilization program for the women of Puerto Rico, and incentives to induce a mass migration of largely unskilled workers to the U.S. (RZDG 2003). The years between 1950 and 1959 saw the biggest Puerto Rican wave of migration that had taken place to date, and never after would the Island see such a mass exodus of its inhabitants. After this period Puerto

Rican migration to the Mainland tapered off (Klor de Alva 1988), though relatively large numbers continued to migrate into the 1970s.

If, as was discussed above, the Mexican migrant is defined by “illegality,” the Puerto Rican resident of the U.S. is most often defined by a stigma of “welfare dependency” and the accompanying conception that as a group, they have not been able to succeed, *despite* the advantages of U.S. citizenship. This perception is due to the fact that a disproportionate number of Puerto Ricans live in poverty (30.4% as of 2000), and many are unemployed and on some form of public aid (RZDG 2003). A host of historical and current factors would need to be taken into account in explaining this state of affairs, but that is not the purpose of this brief history. The point is that because Puerto Ricans do indeed have a high index of poverty, and because they are U.S. citizens, there exists an insinuation that “endemic poverty and ‘welfare dependency’ can ultimately be attributed to Puerto Ricans’ own ‘failings.’” In this sense, the image of ‘welfare dependency’ marks Puerto Ricans as a culturally ‘deficient’ group who apparently lack the work ethic and concern for family that are celebrated as good ‘immigrant values’” (RZDG 2003: 7).

5.1.3. Periods of migration

To address the question of periods of migration once more, the most significant movement of Puerto Ricans to the Mainland occurred in the 1950s and 1960s, with a considerable drop-off after these decades. The result of this is a large and constantly growing population of Mainland-born Puerto Ricans. Mexican migration, on the other hand, was strong as early as the 1950s, but has been accelerating dramatically ever since then, and especially since the 1970s. This, in turn, has led to a huge “foreign-born” population amongst Mexicans; whose numbers outweigh those of U.S.-born Mexicans. Thus, while in the larger panorama of “Hispanics” who have come to the U.S., Puerto Ricans and Mexicans (from their major migratory waves) actually have quite a

bit in common as to the historical processes that led to their migration, the profile of the individual migrant, and where they incorporated into U.S. society (Klor de Alva 1988); a significant difference between the two groups is that the majority of Puerto Ricans on the Mainland have been here longer than a large proportion of Mexicans.

The demographics of Marquin High School roughly reflect these migration histories. After collecting informed consent forms from 102 of the 383 students in the junior class of Marquin, a demographic survey was administered to 80 of these students²⁶. In this survey, students were asked to identify both their birthplace, and their parents' birthplace. These questions were included to ascertain information regarding students' generational status. Data from this survey should be fairly representative of the junior class, unless there was some response bias outside of the awareness of the researcher (i.e. a certain generational group was for some reason under- or over-represented). Of these 80 students, 68 were classified "full" Mexican or Puerto Rican (defined as the parents and grandparents being all of the same ethnicity, regardless of birthplace). 29 of these 68 students were Mexican and 39 were Puerto Rican. These students were then designated a generational status, seen in the table below:

²⁶ In the interest of time, the remaining students were not further pursued after numerous attempts to track them down.

Table 11: Generational status of students at Marquin

	Mexicans		Puerto Ricans	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Gen 0	17/29	58.6	6 of 39	15.4
Gen .5	0/29	0	2 of 39	5.1
Gen 1	10 of 29	34.5	20/39	51.3
Gen 1.5	1 of 29	3.4	7 of 39	17.9
Gen 2	1 of 29	3.4	4 of 39	10.3

Gen 0= student born in country of origin, both parents born in country of origin

Gen .5= student born in country of origin, one parent born in U.S.

Gen 1= student born in U.S., both parents born in country of origin

Gen 1.5= student born in U.S., one parent born in country of origin, one parent born in U.S.

Gen 2= student born in U.S., both parents born in U.S.

These figures (if taken to be representative of the junior class) reveal that the demographic make-up of Marquin's junior class is roughly reflective of the larger migration histories discussed above for Mexicans and Puerto Ricans as groups. 79.5% of the Puerto Rican students in this sample were born on the Mainland, while 20.5% were born on the Island. Of these eight Island-born Puerto Rican students, six have been in the U.S. for at least ten years, while two have less than five years of residence in the U.S. At the same time, it is important to note that the bulk of the 79.5% Mainland-born Puerto Ricans, and indeed, the bulk of the Puerto Rican students, are only first generation residents of the U.S. (51.3%). Thus, while it does seem to be true that the overwhelming majority of Puerto Rican students at Marquin (and their families) have been in the U.S. longer than a large proportion of the Mexican students (and their families), it is also true that a good portion of the Puerto Rican students have a history of residence that only stretches back one generation. In this case (PRn Gen 1 residents), it would be interesting to know the age of arrival of their parents (those who were born on the Island but migrated to the Mainland.) Unfortunately, this information was not elicited.

These Puerto Rican generational figures are likely to be representative of the population of Cartagena Square. At the same time, the overall Puerto Rican population of Chicago is likely to have a slightly longer history of residence than these figures indicate. As was discussed above, Chicago has seen significant numbers of PRns since the 1950s. Puerto Ricans began to congregate and form a “community” in Cartagena Square in the 1960s. Thus, one could easily expect two or even three generations of native-born Puerto Ricans in Chicago. The absence of longer U.S. nativity histories amongst Marquin students may be explained by the fact that Cartagena Square has always been and still is a “port of entry” (Badillo 2005). After gaining a foothold in society and/or achieving middle-class or professional status, many Puerto Ricans leave the area in favor of other neighborhoods within the city or its suburbs. In fact, one of the goals of the redevelopment plan for Cartagena Square (discussed in chapter 2) is to try and stem this tendency (Flores-Gonzalez 2001).

As for the Mexican students at Marquin, the generational data above show that a majority of these students (58.6%) are foreign-born. This is largely reflective of the Mexican population of Chicago as a whole—the 2000 census indicates that of the 1.1 million Mexicans in the greater metropolitan area, just over half (N=563,500) were foreign-born. Of these 17 foreign-born students, nine have been in the U.S. for at least 10 years, while five have been in the U.S. less than five years. A relatively large proportion of the Mexican students (41.3%) were born in the U.S. Again, it is not know when the parents of these students arrived in the U.S.

We have seen here that while Puerto Ricans and Mexicans in the U.S. share quite similar histories of colonization and annexation, each ethnic group is differentiated from the other with regard to the issue of citizenship. In addition, Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in Chicago are differentiated with respect to their generational status. Due to different peaks in migration

patterns, much of the Mexican population of Chicago is more recently arrived than much of the Puerto Rican population of Chicago. At the same time, it was noted above that this difference in length of U.S. residency is not as great in Cartagena Square as it is in the city of Chicago as a whole. Still, we will see in this chapter that these differences are pivotal within the ideology of essentialized difference held by the students of Marquin.

5.2. IDEOLOGY OF ESSENTIALIZED DIFFERENCE

Throughout this section, we will discuss the ideology of essentialized difference that seems to exist among many of the students at Marquin. This ideology amounts to the belief that the two major social groups in question, the Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, are essentially, *intrinsically*, different. We will also see that these differences are often assessed in hierarchical terms. It is this overarching belief that was sitting at the periphery of the last chapter and was often alluded to. It will be posited in this chapter that this ideology of hierarchically assessed essentialized difference can affect socio-linguistic behavior by posing a significant barrier to interaction, and also, by affecting language choice. Thus, ideology will be shown to play a significant role in the question of koineization.

It should be noted that the examination of discourse in this chapter will span two planes. Firstly, these discourses are treated as reflective—they serve as a locus for the discovery of the underlying ideology of essentialized difference. At the same time, each example of discourse examined is also meant as a snapshot of the larger creative process—it is through the deployment of these discourses of difference that the ideology is created (and sustained). In the present section, we will first explore this mechanism by which the ideology of essentialized difference is created and propagated.

The ideology of essentialized difference can be considered the product of what many have called racializing discourses (Hill 1999, RZDG 2003)—discourses that conflate meaningful but superficial differences between groups with their intrinsic qualities. Gal and Irvine (1995) is probably one of the most well known formulations of this semiotic process which they call *iconicity*. Gal and Irvine (1995) identify three semiotic processes through which ideologies in general, and ideologies of language in particular, come to signify. In the case of language ideologies, it is through these semiotic processes that individuals map their understanding of linguistic varieties, *and the differences among them*, onto the people who speak them. It is important to note that “these ideologies are suffused with the political and moral issues pervading the particular (sociolinguistic) field, and are subject to the interests of their bearers’ social position (Gal and Irvine 1995: 971).

The three semiotic processes outlined by Gal and Irvine (1995) are *iconicity*, *recursiveness*, and *erasure*. *Iconicity* is the process by which a linguistic form is interpreted not just as a dependable index of a social group, but also as a transparent depiction of the distinctive qualities of the group. This can be seen in a situation described by Gal and Irvine (1995) where the “simple folk” in a community, the farmers, get characterized by “plain,” “restrained,” and “simple” speech; whereas the craftsmen’s speech was characterized as more “ornate” and “elaborate” and thus reflective of the traits attributed to this group by the community (976). *Recursiveness* involves the projection of an opposition, salient at some level of the relationship, onto some other level. In the case of this same example, it could consist of the recursive projection of this symbolic opposition between farmers and craftsmen onto individuals. For example, a craftsman could situationally shift their style of speaking “and sound like a farmer.” Thus an opposition that exists at the group level, i.e., between groups, gets projected onto the

individual level. *Erasure* is the process by which people, acts or sociolinguistic phenomena are rendered invisible because they are inconsistent with the ideological scheme. In other words, when elements that do not fit the interpretive structure of the linguistic ideology emerge, they are ignored or transformed. Thus, erasure does away with the contradictions that are created by iconicity. This process often accounts for the non-recognition of variation in languages. Languages may be represented in an impoverished way, ignoring variation and overlaps between groups and their languages, in order to differentiate the two and accord each with ideologies about their essences.

Silverstein is another researcher who discusses the semiotic processes by which ideologization occurs. Silverstein makes use of the concept of indexicality and maintains that it is in the transformation of first-order indexicality into second-order indexicality that instances of speech that are statistically associable with an aggregate of individuals get typified as “a way of speaking” and thus associated with a “type of people” (Woolard 1998). As Woolard (1998) puts it, “when a linguistic form-in-use is thus ideologized as distinctive and as implicating a distinctive kind of people, it is further misrecognized or revalorized as transparently emblematic of social, political, intellectual, or moral character” (18-9). This process described by Woolard is another example of *iconicity*. Silverstein emphasizes the inherent shortcoming of this process—the confusion of indexicality with reference and of reference with the nature of the world (Hill 1998).

In discussing the racializing discourses observed at Marquin, more will be discussed than just linguistic ideologies. I will follow a framework put forth by RZDG (2003) and will explore how PRns and Mexns at Marquin deploy discourses of difference on a number of themes in order to uphold and propagate the ideology of essentialized difference reflected in these very

discourses. Discourses of difference regarding language (i.e. linguistic ideologies) will receive the bulk of our attention in this chapter. We will see how these discourses are deployed in such a way as to conflate superficial differences between groups with intrinsic qualities of the respective groups which, in turn, are often hierarchically assessed. We will also see the ways in which dominant groups control the discourse. In the last section, we will explore how these different aspects of ideology may be affecting the socio-linguistic practices of participants in the Marquin community.

5.2.1. Discourses of difference regarding citizenship

In a collaborative ethnography entitled “Latino Crossings,” Ana Ramos-Zayas and Nicholas De Genova (2003) examine a topic quite similar but actually broader than that of the present study: the possibilities for, and obstacles to, a shared *latinidad* between Puerto Ricans and Mexicans in Chicago, and on the larger scale, in the U.S. Ramos-Zayas and De Genova place the unequal politics of citizenship at the heart of this issue. They examine how Puerto Ricans and Mexicans in Chicago deal with the effects of unequal citizenship, and how these differences in citizenship rights are racialized to frame their competing ideas of one another’s work ethics, modernity, cultural authenticity, language, family, and gender relations. Their work “foregrounds the active process of ‘racial’ differences in the making” (22) by exploring various discourses of difference utilized by Mexicans and Puerto Ricans to “uphold notions of the meaningful differences between one another” (29). Thus it provides the perfect framework for the description of the discourses of essentialized difference witnessed at Marquin.

Ramos-Zayas and De Genova found that discourses of “welfare” and “illegality” were variously elaborated in terms of competing ideologies of work and competence, as well as respectability and dignity. In their ethnography, they found Mexican conceptions of PRns’

“welfare dependency” to condemn their citizenship to be conflated with laziness and a poor work ethic. In contrast, the Mexicans in their study depicted themselves in contradistinction to this; they constructed themselves as hardworking, more “respectable,” and in many ways, the ideal immigrant and thus more deserving of the benefits of citizenship. At the same time, the Puerto Ricans observed asserted their own lifestyles as indicative of their political savvy and knowledge of how to work the system, and in juxtaposition, constructed Mexicans as illegal, helpless, and submissive newcomers from a “Third World” who had little sense of dignity and allowed themselves to be exploited by employers and “the system” at large (57).

Similar discourses were evidenced from the students at Marquin. Once it became apparent that students at Marquin perceived of their school as divided along ethnic lines, students in the group interview were asked whether they thought it was harder to be Hispanic or African American in Chicago, and subsequently, whether it was harder to be Puerto Rican or Mexican. In response to the second part of this question, 23 of 28 students, Puerto Ricans and Mexicans alike, felt that it was harder to be Mexican. And more importantly, almost every single respondent who elaborated on this response referred to Mexicans’ illegal status as somehow being involved in this perceived hardship. Thus it becomes apparent that the question of citizenship and legal status is a very salient component of Marquin students’ conception of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans as distinctive groups.

In numerous discussions which ensued from this question, it became apparent that, as Ramos-Zayas and De Genova observed, many of the Mexican students were not only aware of Puerto Ricans’ automatic claim to the benefits of U.S. citizenship, but felt that this citizenship was wasted on Puerto Ricans due to their laziness and ungratefulness. The following transcripts reflect this general sense of frustration. In the first transcript, both Vero and Gio have just

expressed their opinion that it is easier to be Puerto Rican than Mexican since Puerto Ricans are “automatically” citizens of the U.S. and Mexicans have to fight for their papers:

Transcript 5.1

1 Vero: And, I mean, it's not- I mean, it gets me mad sometimes cause you know,
2 Mex- I mean Puerto Ricans and Black people have their, um, citizen here
3 and everything, and it's like, they get me mad because they don't *do*
4 something about it and I was gonna say, well, I have 'em?, now?=
5 EGJ: =Uh huh
6 Vero: that peo- Mexican people that need it or they really want it to work tha-
7 and- [it's like- they're throwing the thing away]=
8 EGJ: [Right, and they just can't] --- =Yeah. Right. Right,
9 where you're like, agh!, like, [like if] w- if these people could have it
10 Vero: [Yeah]
11 EGJ: they'd be so happy and [you have it and you're not using it]
12 Vero: [and they would actually do something] with it and
13 like get a better job- = [or try to] go to school or something
14 Gio: =[that's true]
15 EGJ: =[Uh huh]
16 Vero: And it's like, these people are just, ooh, [*do* something] you know, you
17 Gio: [Por ejemplo]
18 EGJ: [Right]
19 Vero: have a- you have the things to- *do*, get good money and everything but
20 [you don't use them]
21 Gio: [Yeah, that's true]

And in the following transcript, Berenice and Pri too are discussing the unequal politics of citizenship:

Transcript 5.2

1 Pri: You know that's a bitch? You know, did you ever think of that? [??]
2 Berenice: [They
3 don't] even want to go to school, [and they're]
4 Pri: [and they're] they made it, the Puerto
5 Rico now a part of Chi- of, the U.S.
6 Berenice: And they don't wanna be?
7 Pri: ((laughing)) I know--And- we're stuck here.
8 Berenice: And people that wanna study, keep on studying, they can't?=
9 Pri: =((laughs))
10 EGJ: Right, so [okay], so then
11 Berenice: [It's frustrating]

The (Mexican) participants in these discussions express frustration at the irony of the situation: PRns are citizens, but they don't try to do better, get better jobs, go on to college. Berenice and Pri go further in discussing the status of Puerto Rico "as a part of the U.S." and again express frustration at the fact that "they don't (even) wanna be," which is a reference to the strong pro-independence movement in Chicago. Thus Puerto Ricans are constructed as ungrateful, apathetic, and if not lazy, idle. This construction of Puerto Ricans, by Mexicans, construes Mexicans as the opposite. Mexicans are thus constructed as diligent and hard working, and gracious and humble enough to accept citizenship rights as the gift they perceive them to be.

Discussions with Puerto Rican students regarding the legal status of Mexicans were quite different. While a few expressed a sense of sympathy for the exploitation many Mexicans suffered due to their vulnerable position in the labor force, most did not. What was quite interesting in these discussions was the way in which Puerto Ricans discussed Mexicans' status—beyond just the content of their discourse, the form it took was quite revealing. Disparaging terms such as "immigrants" and even "not real people" were frequently used to describe Mexicans, even outside the purview of this question. With respect to this question, which inquired as to whether it was harder to be Mexican or Puerto Rican, many responded that it would be harder to be Mexican because of stereotypes that existed about them being "illegal immigrants," "real good swimmers," that they were "border jumpers," or that they should "go get a green card." Quite often these discussions were accompanied by laughter. That these disparaging terms and stereotypes exist (and were so often accessed in response to this question) indicates the existence of a racializing discourse that depicts all Mexicans as "illegal" outsiders who don't quite belong, due to their divergent standing vis a vis U.S. citizenship. By default then, Puerto Ricans are constructed as "insiders." Furthermore, the existence of such racializing

representations as “good swimmers” or “border jumpers,” in addition to the laughter that often accompanied these conversations, indicates that this illegal status attributed to all Mexicans is somehow worthy of ridicule (and thus is being hierarchically assessed.) As we shall continue to see below, Mexicans are ascribed an “immigrant” or recently arrived status, which is directly linked to what is perceived of as their inherent backwardness and provinciality.

5.2.2. Discourses of difference regarding language

Another prominent discourse of difference revolved around the topic of language. Language was held up by students at Marquin as more “proof” that Mexicans and Puerto Ricans were essentially different. In other words, discourses about language created and sustained (as well as reflected) the ideology of essentialized difference. In the following subsection, we will explore discourses at Marquin by which ways of speaking are attributed to distinctive groups. In the next subsection, we will examine discourses that conflate these linguistic differences between groups with their intrinsic qualities.

5.2.2.1. Who speaks what: second-order indexicality

The commonly held linguistic ideology at Marquin was two-pronged. First of all, Mexicans were considered to be highly proficient in Spanish with lower English proficiency. Conversely, Puerto Ricans were believed to be English dominant with lower Spanish proficiency. The second part of this linguistic ideology held that the Spanish that each group does speak is very different from one another. These second-order indexicalities, to use Silverstein’s term, were explicitly formulated by participants countless numbers of times during interviews and discussions on various topics. A frequent location for the emergence of this linguistic ideology was precisely in response to the question discussed above regarding whether participants felt it was harder to be Mexican or Puerto Rican. Numerous Puerto Rican participants cited Mexicans’

low English skills as a reason why they thought it would be harder to be Mexican. Others, both Puerto Ricans and Mexicans, cited the stereotype of Mexicans as monolingual Spanish speakers as a reason why it would be/was harder to be Mexican. Hence, either by appropriating the ideology or by showing an awareness of the stereotype, (thus acknowledging the hierarchical assessment inherent in these discourses of linguistic differences), the prevalent belief that Mexicans speak little to no English was voiced by many participants. A response from the participant Muñeca (PRn) to this question is representative of the opinions voiced by many. She responded that she felt it would be harder to be Mexican since “they can't get jobs because a lot of them are immigrants.” She then went on to say that it is also harder for Mexicans “because most of them barely speak English.”

The flip side to this construction of Mexicans as poor-English speakers was the depiction of them as predominantly Spanish-speaking. Many students, particularly PRn students and AAn students, expressed the belief that not only did the majority of Mexicans prefer Spanish, they preferred Spanish in more domains than what PRns and AAns deemed appropriate. This was seen in comments such as those seen below from Tuti and Noodles:

Transcript 5.3

- 1 Noodles: We talk, we all talk- ghetto, we don't all talk [Spanish]
- 2 Tuti: [They talk] Spanish all day.
- 3 Noodles: Yeah, they talk Spanish all day cause they're just, you know- they're not
- 4 [like --] combined with the Puerto Ricans so they don't need- they don't
- 5 Tuti: [used to it]
- 6 feel the need to talk--[English.]
- 7 EGJ: [Because] they're not combined with the Puerto Ri-
- 8 Because I mean, you guys could communicate to each other in Spanish, I
- 9 [mean-]
- 10 Noodles: [Yeah.]
- 11 Tuti: Yeah.
- 12 Noodles: Cause I mean, when we go home we talk Spanish, and stuff=
- 13 EGJ: =Uh huh=
- 14 Noodles: =But
- 15 we don't come here to talk Spanish, I mean, we come here to-[talk

16 English]
17 Tuti: [We talk
18 Spanish] with like our grandmother[--] that's about it.
19 Noodles: [Yeah]

It is clear from this conversation that the Mexicans at Marquin are regarded as different from the Puerto Ricans, particularly with respect to language: Mexicans speak Spanish, Puerto Ricans “talk ghetto.” By stressing that Puerto Ricans can and do speak Spanish, Puerto Ricans’ use of English in school is constructed as a choice determined by domain. It is obvious that these participants consider this the more appropriate choice, seen most clearly in line 15. To these participants, Spanish is a language used for the home or familial domain. Following this reasoning to its logical conclusion, the Mexicans’ choice to speak Spanish “all day” (lines 2 and 3) gets evaluated as an inappropriate choice.

In contrast to this depiction of Mexicans, Puerto Ricans were constructed as English-dominant with lower Spanish-proficiency. This was partially seen above in Noodle’s comments (line 1: We talk, we all talk ghetto, we don’t all talk Spanish.) Many Puerto Ricans characterized their Spanish as “Spanglish,” which they opposed to the “pure Spanish” spoken by the Mexican students. Others depicted their language skills as a competent bilingualism, with language choice being determined by domain and interlocutor (this was an opinion also voiced by Noodles above.) Still others, such as the following participant (Mexn) expressed the opinion that many Puerto Ricans didn’t actually know Spanish: “Se ven que hablan español, pero no. Porque son puertorriqueños.”

It can be seen then, that the predominant discourses regarding language maintained that this was one of many facets that differentiated Mexicans from Puerto Ricans. Students were in fact quite verbal about the fact that not only did the two groups prefer different languages, but also that each group spoke each language quite differently. Most such discussions centered on

dialectal differences in *Spanish* (which was most likely due to the nature of the questions asked of participants in interviews.) This was seen quite clearly in the group discussion analyzed in chapter 4 between Vonnie, Muñeca, and Iris. The pertinent part of this transcript has been copied below for convenience:

Transcript 5.4

1 EGJ: =Well, but Puerto Ricans and Mexicans both
2 speak Spanish. So wh=
3 Vonnie: =It's not [the same]
4 Muñeca: [It's not] the same though.
5 Iris: The [way they speak Spanish]
6 Vonnie: [It's not the same]=
7 Muñeca: =It's not the same though.
8 Iris: The way[they speak Spanish]
9 Muñeca: [It's not]-- [It's not]-- [They're- they- they're very different
10 though].
11 Vonnie: [It's not the same. Like- I can- I can sit there and have a
12 conversation with a Mexican? But there's a lot of things that they'll say?]
13 And I don't understand=

Numerous other participants also discussed the differences in the dialects of Spanish spoken by Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, without direct instigation. Dialectal differences were often discussed during conversations about ethnic divisions in the school. According to these students, one of the reasons Mexns and PRns at Marquin stayed separate was because of language—each group speaks/chooses to speak different languages. And, according to these students, while both groups *could* communicate in Spanish, dialectal differences hindered such communication. These accounts, along with this piece of conversation transcribed from the Vonnie group discussion, reveal the process of erasure at work. The dominant ideology at Marquin holds Mexicans and Puerto Ricans as separate groups. Their language preferences, and the way they speak Spanish, are proof of how different the groups really are. Given this ideology, any areas of overlap must be erased. Thus linguistic similarities between the two

groups, such as the fact that they do speak a common native language, are minimized; while differences in their dialects are magnified.

5.2.2.2. Iconicity

We have now seen the process by which certain linguistic varieties come to be associated with certain social groups at Marquin. This, again, is the transformation of first-order indexicality into second-order indexicality that Woolard (1998: 18) discusses. Participants' understanding of this indexical link is where another layer of ideology can come into play. These ideologies can be located in explicit talk about language, or more implicitly in language in use (e.g. hypercorrections) (Woolard 1998). At Marquin, explicit discussions of language ideology took place with participants in response to a question that inquired directly about their understanding of the indexical link they had drawn between language variety and social group. Once it was established that students at Marquin believed that Mexicans spoke more Spanish than Puerto Ricans (and Puerto Ricans more English than Mexicans), participants were asked *why* they thought this was so. As we will see below, most students formulated their explanations of these linguistic differences in "cultural" terms, but these explanations relied upon ideas of intrinsic group differences. Thus, linguistic (and other) differences between groups were constructed not only as indexical, but also referential—dominant discourses on language conflated superficial differences with inherent group characteristics. In other words, these discourses functioned as racializing discourses. It will then be seen that as a result of this semiotic process of iconicity, the different language forms themselves, (and other superficial differences), come to be seen as reflective of the respective groups' inherent characteristics.

Participants' explanations of the linguistic differences between the Mexicans and Puerto Ricans at Marquin varied, but touched on a number of common themes. One very frequently

offered explanation for why the Mexican students at Marquin speak more Spanish than the Puerto Ricans was the perceived “immigrant”/recently arrived status of the Mexican students. Closely related to this was the pervasive construction (by Mexican and Puerto Rican students alike) of Mexican parents as monolingual Spanish speakers, and thus Mexican homes that were Spanish only households. This, according to these students, explained why the Mexican students at Marquin were more Spanish-dominant. According to many of the same students and others, Puerto Ricans, in contradistinction to Mexicans, had “been here longer,” and had parents who spoke English. This then, explained the Puerto Ricans’ English dominant linguistic behavior. The following conversation with two Puerto Rican students summarizes many of these viewpoints:

Transcript 5.5

- 1 EGJ: So why is that? I mean, if you guys are- like you’re saying, raised Puerto
2 Rican, why are Mexicans speaking more Spanish than the Puerto
3 [Ricans?]
4 Fred: [Because,] like, they haven’t been here that long=
5 Manny: =((laughing)) That’s-
6 Fred: No, seriously, like, they, like, a lot of them are immigrants, you know?,
7 they came here=
8 Manny: =They, they, they stick, they stick to their, to their style,
9 their lifestyle their Mexican style, we stick- we’re in like on a- in between,
10 you know, we’ll go up to the- come to the ghetto side ((claps)) and talk
11 English and talk like Black people, real ((claps)) ghetto, and then we’ll
12 talk Spanish too, so.
13 EGJ: Mmhm. You guys just make that[-]that adaptation more=
14 Manny: [Yeah] =Yeah
15 EGJ: And you think it has to do with how long they’ve been here?
16 Fred: Yeah, because they haven’t, like, a lot of them are just coming from
17 Mexico, with their families who like, left Mexico, like, you know, and im-
18 immigrated over here=
19 =Mmhm, mmhm=
20 =And they haven’t learned, a lot of
21 English.
22 EGJ: Uh huh. Well what about the ones that are more like you guys?, like
23 second-generation, you know, like, they were born here, or more or less
24 brought up here. Why would they still be speaking more [Spanish]?
25 Fred: [Maybe] their

26 families are not teaching them it at home. Their families are used to-
 27 Spanish and they don't get- [English]
 28 EGJ: [Uh huh]

In this transcript, we first of all see the prevalent discourse of Mexicans as recently arrived immigrants (lines 4, 6, 16-8) offered as an explanation for their linguistic preferences. That this is, in fact, a prevalent discourse that bears a negative connotation is apparent from Manny's quick response in line 5 which manifests as laughter and the initiation of a sentence with "That's," indicating that he does indeed recognize this sentiment. The perception that the Spanish-dominance of Mexican homes and parents has an affect on the next generation's ability to learn English is seen in lines 25-7. A related discourse regarding bilingual education was also observed from numerous students (and will be seen throughout this section). According to these accounts, many Mexican students had spent some time in bilingual education classes either because they "needed it," or because Mexican parents preferred this option for their children. These types of discourses, used to explain the linguistic preferences of Mexican students, construct Mexican homes, families and lives as significantly and completely distinct from those that the Puerto Rican students are familiar with. The reverse is also true, as seen below in this account from a Mexican student:

Transcript 5.6

1 Gaby: Pues, como los de Puerto Rico?--um, como pertenecen aquí? casi- pues, se
 2 vienen aquí- bueno- siem- todos nacen acá, bueno, muchos--- Pues, como
 3 pertenecen acá, um, pues, saben mas inglés, un, algunos, porque unos no
 4 saben español tampoco=
 5 Shorty: =(laughs softly)
 6 EGJ: Uh huh.
 7 Gaby: Y se ven que hablan español, pero no. Porque son puertorriqueños.
 8 EGJ: Porque son- dices porque, o sea, porque Puerto Rico es parte de los
 9 Estados Unidos.
 10 Gaby: Sí.

And later (30:12):

- 11 Gaby: Y como- como nacen aquí los de- niños Puerto Rico?- pues crecen en el
12 inglés y---=
13 EGJ: =Mmhm=
14 Gaby: =Y como sus papás también saben inglés, pues, tal vez
15 se- se comunican mejor en el inglés.

We have already seen that the participants themselves consider language to be one of the prominent differences between Puerto Ricans and Mexicans. In explaining these linguistic differences, Gaby, like many of the other participants, points to cultural differences such as home language usage and birthplace. She also alludes to the status of Puerto Rico vis a vis the United States. Numerous other students explicitly singled out the fact that Puerto Rico was a part of the U.S. and relatedly, that English had a large presence in Puerto Rico, to explain why Puerto Ricans were more comfortable with English than their Mexican peers. According to Gaby, Puerto Ricans “*pertenecen aquí*” (belong here) (lines 1 and 3), were born here (lines 2 and 11), and have English-speaking parents (14). This is why they speak more English than the Mexicans, who, by extension, don’t belong here, weren’t born here, and don’t have English-speaking parents and therefore speak less English.

To summarize this section thus far, I am positing that the students at Marquin subscribe to an ideology of difference between Mexicans and Puerto Ricans. This ideology is reflected in, and created and sustained by discourses of difference which are elaborated on a number of different themes. We have seen Mexicans and Puerto Ricans constructed as significantly different via an “immigrant” discourse which addresses the differential sociopolitical status of these two groups, and another which emphasizes linguistic differences between the two groups. We then began an exploration of the “linguistic ideologies” of Marquin students, located in their explicit discussions of the indexicality they had drawn between Mexicans and Spanish and Puerto Ricans and English. This revealed a small range of explanations which spanned the

Mexicans' more recently arrived status to their upbringing in Spanish speaking households with parents who preferred bilingual education. The linguistic preferences of Puerto Rican students, on the other hand, were explained by their longer residence in the U.S., the role of English in Puerto Rico, and the English language skills of Puerto Rican parents. I will now assert that these discourses used to explain linguistic differences reveal (and create) an ideology that these two groups are *inherently* different. In other words, the confusion of indexicality with reference (and of reference with the nature of the world) which Silverstein emphasizes as an inherent weakness of ideological discourse (Hill 1998) will be exposed. Furthermore, I will show that the essential differences believed to exist between Mexicans and Puerto Ricans are hierarchically assessed by dominant discourses. These ideologies, in turn, determine the indexicalities of language and other social symbols.

While many of the discourses evidenced above explained linguistic differences between groups through cultural explanations (e.g. Mexicans are “immigrants” who are more recently arrived and thus more monolingual), we also see that often, these explanations of linguistic differences are constructed “as transparent depictions of the distinctive qualities of the group,” the process Gal and Irvine refer to as iconicity.

This is seen quite clearly in another recurrent theme that “explained” linguistic differences between these two groups: Mexicans as less sociable, more insular, and more traditional. Discourses that depicted Mexicans in this way were already seen above in Transcript 5.3 (lines 3-4: Yeah, they talk Spanish all day cause they’re just, you know, they’re not like, combined with the Puerto Ricans so they don’t feel the need to talk English), and again in Transcript 5.5 where Manny maintains that Mexicans speak more Spanish because they are more

‘stuck’ to their “lifestyle,” their “Mexican style.” The same idea is voiced by Pat, an African American student:

Transcript 5.7

- 1 Pat: They all speak it but I think it’s the Mexicans that speak it more, cause
2 they got- cause they get- (??)- no you ain’t in there no more, Claire?, uh,
3 first period, I mean, second period gym where (??) that’s all they speak!
4 EGJ: Not the Puerto Ricans though so much.
5 Pat: Not the Puerto Rican so much, they be playing basketball and talking
6 English and all that, be getting along with other people=
7 EGJ: =Uh huh=
8 Pat: =But
9 Mexicans be all grouped and they be sitting there playing basketball
10 together, everyday, I sit and watch it, every day.

Through these similar discourses Mexicans are constructed as less sociable and more insular than Puerto Ricans who, in contrast, are more “combined” and sociable. As Pat observes, PRns will speak English and ‘get along with other people,’ unlike the more clannish Mexicans in his gym class who stay “all grouped.” Thus, the Mexican students’ language preference is depicted as an unwillingness to speak English, which is seen as reflective of inherent attributes of this cultural group. These attributes, in turn, are viewed unfavorably by these Puerto Rican and African-American students.

Another example of the construction of linguistic differences as reflective of inherent group traits was evidenced in an explanation offered by Vonnie during her group interview. It is also a good example of the fine line that exists between explanations based on cultural differences and more essentialist explanations. In this group interview, when asked why they thought Mexicans spoke less English than Puerto Ricans, Vonnie and Muñeca answer that the explanation was to be found in the education systems in their home countries: English is not taught in the schools in Mexico, whereas in Puerto Rico it is. They further elaborated that all Puerto Ricans can at least read and write English, and understand when they are spoken to,

because English is part of the school curriculum in Puerto Rico starting in elementary school. Therefore, Puerto Ricans who come to the U.S. have basic English language skills, while this is not true for Mexicans. When further pressed on the issue of second-generation Mexicans, Vonnie responds with the following:

Transcript 5.8

- 1 Vonnie: No, they speak *less* English. And the thing is is why- in the second
2 generation, I'm sorry, like us?, that are Mexicans, that- speak
3 less English than we do?, it's for the simple fact that- their parents weren't
4 born here like most Puerto Rican parents were=
5 EGJ: =Mmhm, mmhm=
6 Vonnie: =Their
7 parents were born in Mexico so they speak nothing *but* Spanish=
8 EGJ: =at
9 [home]
10 Vonnie: [Okay?] At home, and that's the way they were raised from the time they
11 were born was to speak nothing *but* Spanish=
12 Muñeca: =[Right]
13 EGJ: =[Mmhm,] mmhm=
14 Vonnie: Which is really, I don't know, I think it messes you up because we're in
15 America and everyone speaks English and that's the primary language and
16 if you're not gonna sit there and teach your children English, you know,
17 you're really gonna screw them up. And that's why a lot of kids are- not
18 in regular classes that are Mexicans, that- they do have to take, you know-
19 [a complete Spanish course]
20 EGJ: [Like they're in bilingual] classes?=
21 Vonnie: =[Yeah]
22 Muñeca: =[Right]=
23 EGJ: =Uh huh=
24 Vonnie: =And take *English* as
25 a language.
26 EGJ: I see, uh huh=
27 Vonnie: =When they were *born* here, that makes no sense.

At the beginning of this passage we see Vonnie continue with a “cultural” explanation for the linguistic differences between the second-generation Mexicans and Puerto Ricans. According to her, it is because these peers’ parents were born in Mexico, unlike most Puerto Rican parents who were born in the U.S. (which, according to demographic information reflected

in Table 11, is not quite accurate). Therefore, these Mexican parents are monolingual Spanish speakers who raise their children in Spanish-only homes. It is at this point in the discourse that the explanation switches from one based on cultural differences to one based on inherent group attributes. While lines 10 and 11 are a little ambiguous, in the turn that takes place between lines 14 and 18, it becomes clear that Vonnie is constructing the Mexican parents' choice to maintain Spanish as the home language as just this, a *choice*. And, as is also made clear during this turn, Vonnie strongly expresses the opinion that this is the wrong choice, since it so clearly 'screws up' their children. Thus, according to Vonnie, most Mexican parents are consistently making a blatantly unintelligent choice regarding the upbringing of their children. This, in turn, casts the decision-making skills of this group, and by extension, their intelligence, in a dubious light.

Also embedded in Vonnie's discourse in the passage transcribed above (lines 14-17) is a subscription to a dominant language ideology which maintains that English is the language of progress and development; the language needed for getting ahead. This standard language ideology is discussed at length by Lippi-Green (1997), and casts linguistic assimilation as natural, necessary, and positive for the greater good. Within this framework, Mexicans, who are choosing not to assimilate, are cast as inherently deviant and less progress- and development-oriented. Puerto Ricans, on the other hand, are constructed as much more modern and as better "citizens." Furthermore, if this ideology is to be extended back to the earlier portion of this conversation where Vonnie and Muñeca elaborate the role of English in Puerto Rico and directly oppose this to the lack of such a role played by English in Mexico, then Puerto Rico is constructed as a progressive and worthy counterpart to the U.S., whereas Mexico emerges as a backwards and under-developed country which produces thousands of non-English speaking "immigrants."

The idea of Mexns as more traditional and less oriented towards progress and development can actually be seen as underlying the “immigrant” discourse prevalent at Marquin. As we have seen, this discourse constructed Mexicans as different from Puerto Ricans, and was often called upon, by Puerto Ricans in particular, in explaining the linguistic differences observed by the students. But inherent in the idea of recently arrived immigrants is that these same immigrants still have one foot in their land of origin, in this case, rural Mexico. Generally speaking, “immigrant” discourses rely on cultural models that depict these countries of origin as rural, under-developed, and third-worldly, and recent arrivals from these countries as “fresh off the boat” and unaccustomed to the traditions and ways of the new country. This idea finds further support when one considers the fact that those who have immigrated from more developed countries are not often the subject of “immigrant” discourses. At Marquin, we have just seen in the analysis of Vonnie’s response above that Mexico is in fact depicted as a backwards and under-developed country. Thus, depictions of Mexicans as “immigrants” can be interpreted as going beyond innocent observations regarding tenure in the U.S. to a construction of Mexicans as provincial and backwards outsiders. Counterpoised to this, Puerto Ricans emerge as modern, progressive and urban, and “deserving” (RZDG 2003) of their U.S. citizenship. In this way, differences between groups are recast as inherent group inequalities and simultaneously, as racialized distinctions.

It should now be clear that predominant discourses at Marquin not only racialize differences between groups, but also hierarchically assess them. As Ramos-Zayas and De Genova observe in their own study, “distinctions that apparently concerned ‘culture’ often served to differentiate the two groups’ respective and distinct locations along the kind of presumed unilinear scale of ‘progress’ and civilizational ‘development’ that has historically served to

insinuate ‘cultural’ differences into the hierarchical assessment of racialized inferiority and superiority” (143). As we have seen, this analysis also pertains to the situation at Marquin.

5.2.2.3. Contesting ideologies, dominant discourses

Contributions to the language ideology literature have warned against assuming homogeneity in ideology. Gal (1998) notes that many earlier studies “attributed to each social group a single, patterned worldview about language” (320). More recent discussions of “dominant” language ideologies can fall into the same trap. There are, of course, heterogeneity of views within social groups (and even within individuals), and contesting ideologies between social groups. For example, within Puerto Ricans, while many expressed the view that, as a “civilization,” Puerto Ricans were superior to Mexicans due to their English language skills and educational infrastructure in their country of origin, some of these same Puerto Ricans, and others, expressed a sense of shame at Puerto Ricans’ loss of their native language. Numerous students expressed the view that Puerto Ricans, as a group, spoke Spanish “incorrectly,” or, as seen above, that they spoke “Spanglish” rather than “pure Spanish.” These conflicted feelings regarding the language skills of Puerto Ricans as a group were also found amongst the Puerto Ricans in RZDG’s (2003) study.

Also, as might be expected, numerous Mexican students expressed contesting ideologies to those discussed above. This was already seen in the discussion of the two groups’ differential status regarding U.S. citizenship, where numerous Mexican students constructed Puerto Ricans as lazy and ungrateful and themselves as hard working and diligent. Also, while Mexican and Puerto Rican students alike cited the differential proportions of Mexicans in bilingual education as a reason for their lesser English language skills, the Mexican students attributed this choice made by Mexican parents to their stronger desire for language maintenance, not as a reflection of

the inherent unintelligence or backwardness of Mexicans as a group. Similarly, rather than the view expressed by many Puerto Ricans that the Spanish spoken by Mexicans was not only different, but strangely colloquial and comical, several Mexican students expressed the view that their Spanish was superior to that of their Puerto Rican peers, and one Mexican student in particular expressed the view that their Spanish was actually a reflection of their inherent racial superiority. Because this aspect of the linguistic ideology of students at Marquin has not yet been addressed, I will include two short discussions that reflect these opposing ideologies.

In an interview between two Puerto Rican students, T and Minnie, it became quite apparent that the Spanish spoken by Mexicans was considered both colloquial and comical. Throughout the discussion of who spoke more Spanish, T made references to Mexicans speaking “Mexican,” each instance of which provoked laughter from Minnie. When finally asked by the interviewer to elaborate, both participants immediately pointed to lexical differences between the two groups, particularly the Mexican term of address “huey,” and several other lexical differences which meant something “bad” for one dialect group and were devoid of such meaning for the other group. These very dialectal differences were singled out by many other Puerto Rican students, thus indicating the salience of these differences. This was seen in the transcript from Noodles in the last chapter, and will be returned to later in this section.

On the other hand, numerous Mexican students did present an opposing view to this depiction of their Spanish. In an interview with two Mexican students, Gio and Vero, they were also asked to explain why they thought Mexicans spoke more Spanish than Puerto Ricans. Gio’s immediate response was “Because we are really Latinos.” Offered as justification for this statement, or “proof,” was the following:

Transcript 5.9

1 Gio: Okay, for example, uh, Mexican people?- not Mexican, yeah, Mexico, in,

2 you know, I say Mexico=
3 Vero: =in general?
4 Gio: Yeah, in general, um, they, uh- we speak more Spanish, like, the one from
5 Spain, then what? Puerto Ricans, Colombians- no, not Colom- yeah,
6 Colombians? Yeah, Colombians, um, Cubans, like we speak more the
7 real- [the real Spanish,] than what they do. [Like for example]
8 EGJ: [Uh huh]--- [What is their Spanish] like?
9 Wha- How [is it different?]
10 Gio: [Like for example,] like for example, well, like, she was
11 saying the other day? that uh, like for example, s... if, uh there's a Puerto
12 Rican word, right? like what? give me one- something about- umm [- it]
13 Vero: [Oh, like]
14 means something different to us, than- [??]
15 Vero: [It could] mean something good
16 for us but it could mean something bad for them or it could be something
17 good for us and something bad [for us]
18 EGJ: [Sure, right.] Yeah, there are different
19 words [that] you guys use=
20 Gio: [Yeah] =And if you go to Spain what's the right words?
21 It- it's really Latino, it's, you know-

Underlying Gio's discourse is another dominant linguistic ideology that the Spanish of Spain is the most "authentic" and "pure" due to its purportedly closer ties to Latin and its less "contaminated" past. In this passage, Gio claims authenticity by presenting the Spanish spoken by Mexicans as more closely linked to the Spanish of Spain than that of the Puerto Ricans. These linguistic differences are presented by Gio as reflective of intrinsic differences—the Spanish spoken by Mexicans "proves" that Mexicans are "really Latino" and thus, if not racially superior, at least more culturally authentic than the Puerto Ricans, Colombians, and Cubans. Thus Gio, a Mexican student, also conflates surface differences between groups with traits more integral to the respective groups, and hierarchically assesses these differences. It becomes clear, from this passage and other discourses discussed earlier, that it is not only the Puerto Ricans who feel that Mexicans are different from themselves. Mexican students at Marquin also consider the Puerto Ricans as different from themselves, and as this passage insinuates, as culturally less

authentic than themselves. A related sentiment was evidenced in Gaby who, amidst a discussion of identity and how “American” she felt, asserted that she liked Mexican ways better—the food, music, customs—and that this preference did not have anything to do with being born in Mexico. While Gaby does not necessarily assert a sense of cultural superiority, she asserts pride in remaining culturally authentic. Taken together then, the views and discourses expressed by these various Mexican students present a contesting ideology to that discussed earlier (evidenced mostly in the discourse of Puerto Rican students.)

Bailey’s (2002) discussion of the stigmatization faced by Dominican-Americans is reminiscent of the Mexicans at Marquin and this idea of a contesting ideology (though he does not actually call it this). According to Bailey, Dominicans-Americans are disparaged in both the local context and in the more global context of the U.S. This stigmatization, he maintains, leads to higher collective consciousness, solidarity, and pride. It also influences their linguistic choices: “disparaged groups maintain disparaged varieties to resist cultural/linguistic hegemony [...]” (118). It is quite possible that the pride that the Mexican students discussed above take in their cultural authenticity is, to some degree, a response to the stigmatization they face in both the local context of Marquin and Cartagena Square and the more global context of the U.S. And it is also quite possible that language choice is an act of resistance to cultural and linguistic hegemony. We will address this possibility further in the next chapter.

This heterogeneity of linguistic ideologies, however, “suggests only a linkage between ideologies and diverse [...] social positions.” This, as Gal (1998) points out, “is analytically distinct from the role of ideologies in the acquisition or maintenance of social, economic, and political power” (320). The idea of a dominant ideology does not only refer to the ideas and practices of a dominant social group; some ideas and practices are “dominant” “because their

evaluations are recognized and accepted by, indeed partially constitute, the lived reality of a much broader range of groups” (321). One formulation of this insight into ideology is Gramsci’s hegemony. Another is Foucault’s “discourse” (Gal 1998). Foucault explicitly links ideology to language and considers the way in which discourse is “*disciplined*” (Lippi-Green 1997: 64). According to Foucault “discourse [...] is the thing for which and by which there is struggle, discourse is the power which is to be seized” (Foucault 1984 quoted in Lippi-Green 1997: 64). Thus, discourse is something to be disciplined or controlled, and s/he who controls it is s/he who is allowed to speak, and thus, who is heard (Lippi-Green 1997).

At Marquin, the dominant linguistic ideology is that which was expressed in the last section: Mexicans speak much less English than the Puerto Rican students, and much more Spanish, particularly in school. This is a “transparent depiction” of their more inherent characteristics—less modern, more traditional, green and backwards. Puerto Ricans, on the other hand, speak less Spanish, and only at home. They speak more English than Mexicans, and can “talk” and “be ghetto.” Thus they are constructed as more urban, sociable, and progressive. In addition, Puerto Ricans are depicted as “belonging” in the U.S. These ideas are embedded in discourses of difference not just about language, but also those regarding the two groups’ sociopolitical status, their appearance (which we will see below), and various other topics such as music. These discourses contribute to an overall ideology of essentialized difference.

As was seen and discussed in chapter 2, at Marquin High School, it is the Puerto Rican students who are the dominant group. In this local context, Puerto Rican students’ position as the dominant group seems to be related to the history of the school and neighborhood—both Marquin and Cartagena Square are constructed and perceived as Puerto Rican spaces. We saw in chapter 2 the physical and perceptual ownership of these spaces by Puerto Ricans, and the

Mexicans' recognition of this ownership. As was seen in the current chapter, the sense that Puerto Ricans "belong" in the U.S. also seems to contribute to their position as the dominant group. As such, Puerto Ricans, and in particular, certain more "cool" and visible Puerto Ricans, control the discourse. Such students were recognized almost unanimously by the rest of the student body, and include, among others, Manny, Fred, Tuti, Noodles and Pun—all members of the largely PRn "ghetto" cluster, and all of whose views and ideologies were expressed above.

That they are indeed the dominant group at Marquin is seen in the fact that this groups' evaluations "are recognized and accepted by, indeed partially constitute, the lived reality of a much broader range of groups" (Gal 1998: 321). This is perhaps most clearly seen in response to the question referred to above, which asked students whether they felt it was harder to be Mexican or Puerto Rican. All of the Mexican students interviewed answered that it was harder to be Mexican, and *many* of them cited the very stereotypes and dominant discourses that have been discussed here, and the prevalence of these stereotypes and discourses, as reason why. Thus, these discourses are very much recognized by the Mexican students, and they do indeed "constitute their lived reality." And it is also true that many of the Mexican students *accept* the evaluations inherent in dominant discourses. One way in which this became evident was Mexicans who distanced themselves from the very practices which are the topics of these discourses of difference. An example of this was seen in the last chapter, where Pri and Berenice (both Mexns) discuss the stereotype of the way Mexicans speak Spanish and assert that while they do talk like this, they only talk this way at home or with their "Mexican friends" (see discussion in chapter 4). In this same discussion, it was noted that Berenice also comments that she is actually very Mexican in the music she listens to, the music she dances to, and the television she watches, "even if it doesn't seem like it in school." This reveals not only an

awareness of the evaluations inherent in dominant discourses, but also a level of acceptance of these evaluations that drives these participants to hide these emblems of “Mexicanness.”

Another example of this same sort of acceptance was found in Isa, another Mexican student. When asked why she thought the Mexicans at Marquin spoke more Spanish at school, she quickly and abruptly answered, “I don't. I really can't answer that because I don't. If someone asks me a question in Spanish I'll answer, but that's really it.” In this same interview, when discussing what causes such a separation between Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, Isa answers that the two groups listen to different music, and that the Puerto Ricans really don't like Mexican music such as *ranchera*. She then goes on to say that she used to like the Mexican music, but not anymore, and that she now listens to hip hop and R&B. Thus, we see Isa distance herself from two prominent differences singled out by the dominant discourses at Marquin—Mexican music and Spanish. She asserts that she only speaks English at school, unless otherwise spoken to, and has changed her musical preferences to music associated with Blacks and Puerto Ricans.

It becomes apparent from this discussion that the dominant ideologies discussed throughout this chapter are indeed dominant or “hegemonic,” since these ideas and evaluations are recognized and even accepted by many Mexicans at Marquin. Mexican students themselves often made disparaging references to “the real Mexican Mexicans” or the “braserish Mexicans,” defined by one group as those who “tienen el nopal en la frente” (literally translated to: wear the cactus on their forehead.) We have also seen, through this discussion, the way in which social practices themselves become symbols. The dominant ideology at Marquin is constructed through (and reflected in) discourses which hold up certain social practices as evidence of the inherent differences between groups. As a result, these social practices themselves become

emblematic, indexical, of these inherent characteristics. Thus, the dominant ideology at Marquin determines the indexicality of the music, clothes, hairstyles, food, sports, and language of Mexicans—they are all regarded as emblematic of the backwardness and outsider status of Mexicans. It is for this reason that many Mexican students distance themselves from these very practices.

Before moving on to a brief discussion of the last topic of these dominant discourses of difference, appearance, we will revisit a transcript from the last chapter and view it as another example of discourse that creates (and reflects) the dominant language ideology. The exchange being referred to is that which took place between Noodles and Dre in chapter 4. It has been copied below for convenience:

Transcript 5.10

Heading towards gymnasium.

- 1:48 1 Noodles: *Acá huey, vamos cabrón.* So, *qué pasó* Dre.
 2 Dre: Nada, huey
 3 Noodles: *Nada?* Chilling, chilling? *Sí?* Okei, okei.
 4 Dre: (??)

In gymnasium, now playing badminton with Dre.

- 4:45 5 Noodles: Holy crap man, this guy can't play nothing. He sucks.
 6 Noodles: Come on Dre you suck. *Pinche vato.* --- Come on *vato.* Aw
 7 man. Why you tryin to make me run?
 8 Noodles: This guy's not very good. At tennis. I am a pro. Oh! I guess I
 9 missed the ball over here. -- Da:mn. He's pretty good. While all-
 10 we're over here chilling in the gym- Come on Dre!
 11 Noodles: Man, this guy is really garbage.
 12 Noodles: We're in D'Agostino's class and he says we got a bomb.
 13 Noodles: Look at that, you like that, backstroke, right?
 14 D'Ag: That was great=
 15 Noodles: =I know. I should be a pro.
 16 Noodles: Here. -- There you go Dre. *Ándale vato.*
 17 Noodles: Man, this guy can't hit nothing. For nothing.
 18 Noodles: Man, this game is kind of hard to play. --- And I'm off.
 19 Noodles: *MA' PAR'ALLÁ HUEY!* Man this guy can't hit. He's hitting to
 20 the people who are playing volleyball. Garbage ((??)) Ugh. –
 21 Man. *Par'allá huey* ((under his breath)). Damn.
 22 Noodles: Yeah baby, here we go. I'm on a roll. Ha ha! There you go.

23 There you go. Aaaw. I missed. Garbage. Oh well.
24 Noodles: *Acá huey!*
25 Noodles: We're still waiting for the teacher over there. --- I'm very talented
26 as you can see. I'm playing I don't know what kind of game. *And*
27 talking at the same time. Man, I'm good.

This example differs from the prior examples explored in this chapter in that the ideology in this case is located not in explicit talk about language, but rather, more implicitly in language in use. Woolard (1998) offers a discussion of the multiple sitings of ideology. According to this discussion, ideology is variously located in explicit talk about language, or through more “implicit metapragmatics.” “Implicit metapragmatics” refers to “linguistic signaling that is part of the stream of language use in progress and that simultaneously indicates how to interpret that language-in-use” (9). According to Woolard, Gumperz’s contextualization cues are a formulation of this mechanism. The exchange analyzed between Noodles and Dre in Ch 4 is an example of this type of discourse which reflects ideology through implicit metapragmatics. In fact, it was already discussed in chapter 4 that Noodle’s language choice of Spanish (seen in bold-face italics),²⁷ and furthermore a stereotypically “Mexican Spanish,” served as a contextualization cue that his message was not intended to be taken seriously, or, more specifically, as crossing for solidarity (see chapter 4 discussion). Thus, Noodle’s choice to speak Spanish, and in particular, “Mexican Spanish,” alerted his audience to the fact that this was indeed a site of ideology.

But, as was also discussed in chapter 4, in order to “get” Noodle’s use of Mexican Spanish, one must already have access to the local dominant ideology and its racializing representations. This is because Noodle’s discourse functions through indirect indexicality. In this sense, Noodle’s use of Mexican Spanish is very similar to Jane Hill’s (1999) analysis of the workings of “Mock Spanish.” According to Hill, “Mock Spanish,” “the incorporation of

Spanish-language materials into English in order to create a jocular or pejorative ‘key’” (682), pejoratively racializes the members of historically Spanish speaking populations through indirect indexicality. In other words, these messages are conveyed without ever being acknowledged by the speaker—they are deniable. According to her analysis, the indirect indexicality works in the following way:

“in order to ‘make sense’ of Mock Spanish, interlocutors require access to very negative racializing representations of Chicanos and Latinos as stupid, politically corrupt, sexually loose, lazy, dirty, and disorderly. It is impossible to “get” Mock Spanish—to find these expressions funny—unless one has access to these negative images” (683).

Due to the indirect way in which this pejorative racialization functions, the result of which are deniable messages, Hill calls Mock Spanish a “covert racist discourse” (683).

Noodle’s use of Mexican Spanish, or, his “Mock Mexican Spanish,” functions in a similar way. In order to “get” this use of Spanish—that he is not, in fact, crossing to show solidarity with Dre, but rather is reaffirming dominant ideologies of difference—one must have access to the negative racializing representations of Mexicans which exist at Marquin and have been discussed in this chapter. Most specifically, one must have access to representations of Mexicans as non-English speaking, backwards outsiders, and of their Spanish (and by extension them) as comical and highly colloquial. With this local dominant ideology in place, it becomes clear that through implicit, indirect indexicality, Noodle’s discourse reflects and reaffirms these pejoratively racializing images.

Lastly, it is worth emphasizing the ways in which this discourse is, in fact, an example of *hegemonic* discourse (which reflects and reaffirms the dominant local ideology.) As Hill points out in her analysis of Mock Spanish, by crossing and thereby *indirectly* indexing characteristics associated with Mexicans within the ideology of Marquin, Noodles is able to propagate this

²⁷ Recall that Noodles is an English-dominant speaker

ideology in a way that is at the same time deniable. In this sense, this passage shares one of the hallmarks of hegemonic discourse that is pointed out by Kiesling (2001): the discourse distances the relations of dominance from the speaker; the message is *deniable*. Secondly, elements of this passage can be interpreted as complying with another hallmark of the working of hegemony, namely, “the participation of the dominated in their domination” (Kiesling 2001). This is the understanding of “dominance” discussed by Gal (1998) and seen above, where some ideas and practices are “dominant” “because their evaluations are recognized and accepted by, indeed partially constitute, the lived reality of a much broader range of groups” (321). In the passage seen above, Noodle’s discourse is performed “playfully,” and “in good fun,” which can be seen to fall in line with the deniability inherent in hegemonic discourse. What is noteworthy is that Dre himself seems to accept it as this. This is seen in his ratification of Noodle’s use of “Mock Mexican Spanish” in line 2 where he “plays along” by responding in Spanish and using the Mexican in-group term of address “huey.” That Dre ratifies Noodle’s crossing which, as we have seen, reaffirms pejoratively racializing images of Mexicans, can be interpreted as this second aspect of the workings of hegemony.

5.2.3. Discourses of difference regarding appearance

We have now seen that students at Marquin employ racializing discourses on themes including sociopolitical status and language to create and propagate an ideology of essentialized difference. By stressing differences between the two groups regarding these topics, and through discourse which constructs these differences as emblematic of inherent group characteristics, the two groups are depicted as intrinsically different. In addition, we have seen that while there may be heterogeneity within group ideologies, and contesting ideologies between groups, the dominant ideology is the one created and disseminated by the Puerto Rican students, and recognized and

accepted (to some degree) by all groups. This ideology and related discourses hierarchically assess the racialized differences between Mexicans and Puerto Ricans. In the following pages, I will broach one more theme of these racializing discourses of difference—appearance. We will then examine a conversation which exemplifies this and many of the other issues addressed in this chapter.

It was quite clearly seen in the group discussion between Vonnie, Muñeca and Iris in the last chapter that differences in appearance are a common topic of discourses of difference at Marquin. In that discussion, the highly interactive and enthusiastic nature of the conversation were pointed out as evidence that this was not a novel topic of conversation for these girls. The interviewer did little more than to pose the initial question; the participants carried the conversation from there. Thus, it would seem that appearance is treated as yet another indicator of how significantly different the two groups really are.

A look back at this analysis reminds us that this conversation between Vonnie, Iris and Muñeca did not only point out differences in appearance between the two groups; their talk in this conversation also served to essentialize these differences. The three participants, and the two PRn participants in particular, discussed numerous fashion fads (hairstyle and soda shoes) that the Mexican girls at Marquin still participated in, and which the Puerto Rican girls had left behind long ago. There it was seen that both through the content and form of their talk, these participants indexed a disparaging stance towards Mexican girls and portrayed them as ‘stuck in the past;’ doing things that these Puerto Rican girls used to do “back in the day” but would never do anymore. With the added perspective of the current chapter, we see that this is another example of the dominant racializing discourses prevalent at Marquin—differences in appearances between Mexican and Puerto Rican girls are constructed as indicative of the

inherent differences between the two groups. Mexicans are outdated and backwards. Puerto Ricans, on the other hand, are much more hip and savvy. This construction of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans fits in with the larger perceptions/constructions seen in this chapter: Mexicans, who are recent “immigrants” with one foot still in Mexico, are “green” to the ways, and fashions, of the U.S. Puerto Ricans, on the other hand, who have “been here longer” and “belong” in the U.S., are much more aware of the ways and trends of American inner cities.

The following transcript reflects this newest discourse of difference and a number of the other issues discussed in this chapter. First of all, we will see more confirmation of the idea that dominant discourses at Marquin treat Puerto Ricans and Mexicans as essentially different, and that these differences are hierarchically assessed. We will also see that appearance, and clothes in particular, are salient differences targeted by these discourses as indicative of these inherent differences. Lastly, we will see that this ideology of essentialized difference is indeed a *dominant* ideology. The transcript to be analyzed is the following between Green (Mexn), Jeka (PRn), and Tag (Filipina/Spanish):

Transcript 5.11

- 1 EGJ: Let me ask you this, when somebody asks you guys, what are you?, right,
 2 like if somebody, you know, [on the street]- whatever
 3 Green: [Mexican! And proud of it]--I'm serious.
 4 [I say that] I say that. Cause you know ((whispers)) there was this one girl
 5 Tag: [That's what you say?]
 6 here she was ((normal volume, claps)) Mexican, Mexican, more Mexican
 7 than me, right? ((whispers)) She's going to say she's half-Black and half-
 8 Puerto Rican=
 9 Everyone: =(laughs)
 10 Green: Girl please! Oh yo yeah ((claps)) [okay ((claps))], mmhm
 11 Tag [Wow, ??]
 12 EGJ: Why? Why would you do that?=
 13 Green: =Probably cause [she's ashamed of being]
 14 Tag: [To fit in]
 15 Jeka: [That's what I
 16 was going to say]
 17 (Green): Mexican cause um, people will say aw, just because you're Mexican you-

18 you:re probably retarded or you're a nothing and you ain't cool or
19 something like that? But there's Mexican co- Mexicans cool as hell, you
20 know that be[--] probably- you know- okay- what in school they care
21 Tag: [Mmm]
22 Green: about is if you wear Ecko, Foo Woo?, Baby Phat, Rhine Chez Paul?, they
23 all that that's the only thing they care about- Air Force Ones, Nike, you
24 know?, they [be looking] at that, that's the only thing.
25 EGJ: [Sure]
26 Green: So they think that Mexicans only *Dickeys* and, and-uh- Mexican things,
27 [you know?]
28 Tag: [laughs]
29 Jeka: [laughs]
30 Green: So [okay]--[I'm proud] of *myself*, I mean[--] I'm Me- ((claps)) I'm
31 Tag: [Aaaw]
32 Jeka: [Aaw, you]
33 EGJ: [Uh huh]
35 (Green): Mexican! Either you like me or you don't. You [know?- I'm not,] okay,
36 Tag: [Yeah we can-]
37 (Green): one thing, yeah, I'm not gonna, I'm not gonna say--I'm not ashamed of
38 Mexi- being Mexican, right? But--sometimes Mexicans make me feel
39 ashamed of being Mexican, of Mexicans *sometimes*, because the way they
40 act, the way they talk=
41 Jeka: =Exactly=
42 EGJ: =Uh huh=
43 Green: =You know what I'm saying? It, ooh, I be
44 like, oh my god, I can't believe I'm Mexican, I'm [serious], I'm for real,
45 EGJ: [((laughs))]
46 (Green): *but* I see it like- they were grown in different way that I was grown up,
47 so[-] I was grown up like more in the ghetto, more in the American, more
48 Jeka: [Mm]
49 EGJ: [Uh huh]
50 (Green): in the Puerto Rican you know what I'm sayin like more Ecko more this
51 and this an woo woo[--] And the other ones just grow up in the 26th Street
52 EGJ: [((laughs))]
53 Green: [with their elotes] and tamales--[No, no **agh** ((laughing)) **no, no, I don't**,
54 Tag: [And the Dickeys]
55 Jeka: [((laughs))]
56 Tag: [O:h]
57 Green: **no**] that's what I'm saying, no, I mean, [I eat that? you know] don't get
58 Jeka: [((laughing)) Yeah]
59 Tag: [((laughs))]
60 (Green): me wrong but you know, you you [feel ??]
61 Tag: [Paleta, paleta]
62 Jeka: [Paleta ((laughs and claps))]
63 EGJ: [So here's my question-
64 ((laughs))- I love the paletas, I have to say, I love them]=

65 [Everyone laughing---]=
66 Green: =Oh my gosh, is it
67 hot in here?=
68 Everyone: =(laughs)
69 EGJ: So wait, I have a question, is there that feeling then, that like- Mexicans
70 aren't that cool? like, does that, [that, like- idea exist]
71 Green: [I think]=
72 ?? =[??]=
73 Tag: =You know, I think,
74 Mexicans can be cool but if you're like on the *braser* type, you know?

In this conversation, we see again that dominant discourses at Marquin treat Mexicans as essentially different and lower on the social hierarchy than Puerto Ricans and African Americans. At the beginning of this passage, Green recounts a story about a girl who, when asked, purposely misrepresents herself as PRn/Blk, rather than as Mexican, her “true” identity. This is reminiscent of the “wanna-be’s” discussed in Ch 4. When asked by the interviewer why someone would do this, all three participants respond with similar answers, seen in lines 13-16. All of these answers indicate that there is a social stigma associated with being Mexican. Green elaborates on her explanation of why someone would be ashamed of being Mexican. According to her, “people will say aw, just because you’re Mexican you’re probably retarded or you’re a nothing and you ain’t cool or something like that?” (lines 17-19). Thus it seems that “people,” through their ‘talk,’ attribute properties such as unintelligence and backwardness to Mexicans as a group. The “dominance” of these racializing discourses, which we will discuss further below, is cited by Green as reason why someone would misrepresent their ethnicity. That this girl would choose PRn/Blk as her alternate identity in order to “fit in” (line 14) indicates the higher social status of this identity.

In lines 20-27, it becomes clear that appearance, and clothes in particular, are targeted by the discourses mentioned in lines 17-19 as indicative of how “retarded” and backwards Mexicans

are. As mentioned above, in lines 17-19 we learn about the existence of dominant racializing discourses aimed at Mexicans, which Green attributes to “people.” In expanding on the dominant discourses of these “people,” the discourses get attributed to students at the school (line 20), which is made up of Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and African Americans. Both by process of elimination, and through familiarity with the social structure of the school which holds Puerto Ricans, and to a lesser extent, African-Americans, as the dominant groups; it is clear that the authors and animators of these dominant discourses are to be understood to be the Puerto Rican and African American students at Marquin.

Between lines 20 and 27, then, we learn that students at Marquin are differentiated, by these dominant groups and discourses, according to the brand name of the clothes they wear. According to Green, these discourses depict Mexicans as wearing the Dickey brand and “Mexican things” (line 26). Thus, it would seem that the other name brands mentioned in lines 22-23 are associated with African-Americans and Puerto Ricans. This is confirmed later in lines 47-50. In other words, clothing is a common topic of the dominant discourses of difference heard at Marquin. That these discourses regarding clothing racialize these differences, (i.e. conflate these differences between groups with their intrinsic qualities), is also implicit in this turn. Between lines 17 and 27, the dominant racializing discourses at Marquin which depict Mexicans as “retarded” and “nothing” and “not cool” (framed within Green’s turn in lines 17-19) are chained with one popular discourse of difference, dress (also framed within Green’s turn, lines 20-27). This chaining of elements indicates a link between the two components, emphasized by the “okay” between them in line 20. I am asserting that this link is one of iconicity—Green’s discourse indicates that at Marquin, brand of clothing is seen as an index of ethnicity and the inherent traits attributed to each ethnic group. Brands such as Dickey index a

Mexican identity and the inherent properties of unintelligence and lack of coolness attributed to them by the dominant ideology at Marquin. Brands such as Ecko index ghetto and Puerto Rican identities (seen explicitly in lines 47-50) and the traits attributed to them by the dominant ideology at Marquin.

Finally, in this passage we see further evidence that the ideology of essentialized difference at Marquin is indeed a *dominant* ideology. Again, according to Gal (1998), some ideas and practices are “dominant” “because their evaluations are recognized and accepted by, indeed partially constitute, the lived reality of a much broader range of groups” (321). That this is the case at Marquin is evidenced in numerous moments during the conversation transcribed above. It is seen, first of all, in the participants’ answers to the interviewer’s question as to why someone would misrepresent their Mexican ethnicity in favor of a PRn/Blk ethnic identity. Tag and Jekas’ theories that someone would misrepresent their ethnic identity in order to “fit in” indicate that the discourses of certain “people” are powerful enough to constitute the reality lived by the Mexicans at Marquin and cause them to renounce their Mexican identity. This is Green’s theory too, as was seen in lines 13-19.

The dominance of the ideology of (hierarchically assessed) essentialized difference is also found in Green’s reports of her own conflicting ideologies. In lines 1-35, Green’s discourse can be interpreted as an assertion of the fact that she does not buy into the dominant ideology that pejoratively racializes Mexicans. This is seen in her immediate answer to the interviewer’s question in lines 1-2. She declares that she responds to this question with “Mexican! And proud of it!” (line 3), and proceeds to contrast this with the example of the girl who has bought into the dominant ideology and therefore denies her ethnic identity. That she does not agree with the dominant ideology is also seen in line 19 where Green says “But there’s Mexicans co- Mexicans

cool as hell,” and also in her reaction to this girl’s behavior, seen in line 10. In the following lines (20-26) Green explains that the dominant groups hold up certain superficial differences, such as brands of clothes, as proof of how not cool Mexicans are. In lines 30 and 35 Green does not actually contradict this discourse which she has just attributed to the dominant groups at Marquin, but asserts once again that she is proud to be Mexican, despite this dominant discourse.

After some faltering and hedging in lines 35 and 37, Green changes course and admits that she does feel ashamed of being Mexican, sometimes, because other Mexicans force her to feel this way (lines 38-9). Green elaborates that these Mexicans exhibit certain characteristics—it is the way they talk, the way they act (lines 39-40), where they grew up (26th Street), what they eat (elotes and tamales), and the clothes they wear (Dickey rather than Ecko) (lines 46-54) that cause her to feel ashamed. Notably, these are some of the very differences singled out by dominant discourses of difference. Thus, it would seem that Green has fallen prey to the dominant ideology of the school, complete with the confusion of indexicality with reference that is inherent in racializing discourses of difference. That certain Mexicans do display the very superficial attributes that racializing discourses conflate with intrinsic, negatively assessed traits is what causes Green to feel shame—Green does not recognize neither the arbitrariness nor the racism inherent in this semiotic process. Instead, it is clear that the evaluations of the dominant ideology have come to constitute her lived reality.

In lines 44-74 it becomes all the more apparent that Green does subscribe to the dominant ideology, albeit in a slightly altered form. We see in this section the semiotic process Gal and Irvine (1995) refer to as *recursiveness*. Through recursiveness, an opposition salient at one level of a linguistic or social relationship is projected onto some other level. In lines 44-74 we see that Green uses the process of recursiveness to resolve the conflicting ideologies she has outlined up

until this point in the conversation. Here, Green actually reproduces the dominant ideology which she had rejected in the first part of the conversation (lines 1-35), but at a different level. Rather than subscribing fully to the dominant ideology which judges all Mexicans as ‘nothings’ or ‘not cool’ or “retarded” (line 18), and Puerto Ricans as more urban and hip and savvy, Green distinguishes between different kinds of Mexicans. And she distinguishes between Mexicans using many of the exact same social practice indicators targeted by the discourses of difference disseminated by the Puerto Rican and African American students—clothes, food, space, behavior and language. In lines 44-62 the hierarchical assessment of these differences is specified. In lines 47 and 50, Green identifies herself with the ghetto, America, Ecko and Puerto Ricans. Thus we realize that all of these things are strongly linked, and as should be clear by now, “cool.” Through this discourse, she distances herself from the “other” Mexicans. In line 51 we learn that the “other ones,” the Mexicans that are different from Green and can make her feel ashamed of being Mexican, “just” grew up around 26th Street eating elotes and tamales and wearing Dickey’s. The laughter and Tag and Jeka’s imitation of the paletero’s calls of “paleta, paleta,” also associated with 26th Street, make it undeniable that these are pejoratively racializing discourses that equate the same superficial differences targeted by dominant discourses with the same intrinsic, negatively assessed traits.

Thus, through the process of recursiveness, Green reproduces the dominant ideology at a different level in order to deal with her own conflicted ideology. She distinguishes between Mexicans using the very same discourses of difference deployed by dominant groups. She distances herself from the ‘not cool’ ones, the “braser type” (line 74), through identification with the ghetto and Puerto Ricans, and also through her use of AAE, seen throughout this passage (e.g. line 10). It bears mentioning that many students at Marquin resolve the same contradiction

that is inherent in Green's talk through the process of *erasure*. Mexicans who are more "ghetto" and less "braserish," and in general, "cooler," do not fit with the dominant ideology's depiction of Mexicans. Therefore, these Mexicans are, loosely speaking, *erased*—as was seen in chapter 4, these Mexicans are perceived as Puerto Rican or "ghetto" "wanna-be's," or they are simply mistaken for being non-Mexican. In fact, later in this passage Green conveys that she is often mistaken for PRn or mixed PRn and Black. This is an example of the process of erasure at work, and, as a piece of discourse within the context of this larger conversation, can be seen as "evidence" deployed by Green that she is in fact, not one of those "nothing" and "uncool" Mexicans.

5.3. IDEOLOGY AND SOCIO-LINGUISTIC PRACTICES

In this final section, I will emphasize some of the ideas discussed in this chapter; in particular, the effects of ideology on linguistic and other social practices. It was discussed in chapter 4 that a) the salience of ethnic identity at Marquin poses a barrier to inter-ethnic interaction and that b) the "association" of certain L varieties with these social/ethnic identities seems to influence choice of language variety for many of the students at Marquin. We saw that these associations of language variety with ethnic identity led to some interesting choices for certain in-between identities which, in turn, had implications for the question of koineization. In this section we will explore the role of ideology in these phenomena.

As has been seen throughout this chapter, both Mexicans and Puerto Ricans subscribe to an ideology of essentialized difference—both feel that they are significantly and intrinsically different from one another, regardless of hierarchical assessments. This is the barrier posed by ethnic identity that has been discussed in the past few chapters. In chapter 3 we saw that ethnic identity did indeed seem to be posing a barrier to the type of inter-ethnic interaction necessary

for koineization. This was seen most clearly in the analysis of the social networks of Marquin students. In chapter 4 we explored more evidence of this ethnolinguistic boundary at Marquin, and reviewed prior literature which supports the idea that ethnic identity can indeed pose a barrier to the type of interaction necessary for koineization. Seen within the framework of the current chapter, we realize that it is this ideology of essentialized difference that *creates* a boundary out of ethnic identity. The belief, held by each group, that the other is intrinsically different from themselves, creates a boundary. It is hard to imagine Vonnie or Muñeca, with their strong views about how different Mexican girls are from themselves, as having many intimate friendships with Mexicans. A look at their friendship clusters confirms this suspicion (see Figure 1 and Table 2).

In addition, it was seen in this chapter that the dominant ideology at Marquin holds that the two groups are not only essentially different, but also unequal. Within this ideology, Mexicans are backwards, traditional and uncool; Puerto Ricans are hip, urban and American. This, too can pose a barrier to inter-ethnic interaction, as was seen in the case of T in the last chapter. It was seen that due to his social aspirations, T minimized interaction with his Mexican “friends.” It can only be assumed that T is not alone in his socially motivated decisions. For example, it is quite unlikely that Green, with her feelings of embarrassment towards the very “Mexican Mexicans,” has very intimate interactions with this group of students. Thus, the ideology of essentialized difference, shared by both groups, and the additional layer of a dominant ideology which imposes a stigma on Mexicans, can be seen to create a boundary of ethnic identity and inhibit qualitatively meaningful inter-ethnic interactions.

It was also seen in chapter 4 that the “association” of certain L varieties with these very salient social/ethnic identities seems to influence choice of language variety for many of the

students at Marquin. In the present chapter, we have seen the semiotic processes through which these “associations” between social/ethnic identity and language variety are created. In the section on the linguistic ideologies of Marquin students, it was seen that students overwhelmingly associate Spanish with Mexicans, and English with Puerto Ricans. And more specifically, they attributed a distinctively “Mexican Spanish” to Mexicans, and “ghetto English” to Puerto Ricans (and African Americans.) Discourses drawing these associations were evidenced in explicit talk about language during interview sessions, both in response to questions that did and did not directly ask about this issue. The citing of stereotypes that drew these associations also made it apparent that this was the subject of dominant discourses. This dominant discourse was also detected, implicitly, in the exchange between Noodles and Dre. Thus, through various forms of discourse, the indexicality linking Spanish and “Mexican Spanish” to Mexicans, and English and “ghetto English” to Puerto Ricans, was drawn.

We also saw that dominant discourses at Marquin went beyond drawing just a simple relationship between social/ethnic identities and language varieties. In this chapter, discourses of difference regarding various themes (amongst them language) were analyzed. In these discourses we detected an ideology of hierarchically assessed, essentialized difference. At the same time, the deployment of these discourses created and propagated the essentializing ideology through iconicity—these discourses constructed superficial differences between Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, i.e. social and linguistic practices, as reflective of hierarchically ranked intrinsic qualities. Thus, these discourses, in conflating superficial differences with intrinsic qualities, determined the indexicalities of these superficial differences. Dominant ideologies at Marquin determine the indexicalities of numerous social practices: Mexicans listen to ranchera music and duranguense, play soccer, wear Dickey’s and other non-name-brand

clothing... and speak “Mexican Spanish.” Each of these things, through indirect indexicality, reflect intrinsic characteristics attributed to Mexicans by the dominant ideology and discourses of the school: that they are backwards, not cool, not modern/traditional, and unintelligent. Puerto Ricans, on the other hand, listen to salsa, bachata, merengue, and hip hop, play baseball and football, wear name-brand clothes, and speak “ghetto English.” Through indirect indexicality, each of these social practices signal traits that are racialized as Puerto Rican: that they are hip, urban/“ghetto,” modern, savvy, and inherently American. Thus, the dominant ideology of hierarchically assessed, essentialized differences that was found to exist at Marquin determines the indexicalities of various social and linguistic practices. It is being posited that these indexicalities affect participants’ socio-linguistic choices. This idea finds support in the language ideology literature.

Woolard (1998) argues that ideology can indeed have an important role in linguistic choices, and cites the work of Errington (1988) to explicate this idea. Errington cites native speakers’ “pragmatic salience”—their “awareness of the social significance of different leveled linguistic alternants” (Errington 1988 in Woolard 1998: 13) and argues that this does indeed determine linguistic choices, and can drive language change. “Social significance” here, can be understood as indexicality, derived, as we have seen, from dominant ideologies. These indexicalities, then, can drive linguistic choices, and eventually, language change.

Kulick (1998) also demonstrates the influence of ideology on linguistic indexicalities, and how these indexicalities affect linguistic choices. He presents an example from Silverstein (1985) of the Quaker shift to the symmetric use of the familiar pronouns T [thee/thou]. At this time in 17th century England, the larger population still made a distinction between intimacy and deference, reflected in the T/V pronoun distinction. The Quaker shift to the symmetrical T forms

was based on the Quakers' own linguistic ideology which held that their language should reflect their belief that all people were equal before God. This flouting of the sociolinguistic norms of the time was poorly received by the greater public, and so as to not be confused as Quaker, speakers began to avoid all symmetrical T usage and switched completely to symmetric Y [ye/you]. In other words, because T usage indexed a Quaker identity, T usage was abandoned by non-Quakers and a structural change in language occurred.

Wassink and Dyer (2004) discuss the fact that changes in ideology over time can produce changing indexicalities, which are also shown to affect language. Dyer notes that the dominant ideology in Corby, England has changed. In the past, the salient social categories, held in opposition to one another, were Scottish versus English. As a result, Scottish English was quite stigmatized in England. She found that this is no longer the case, and that the new salient opposition in Corby is one of locality—Corby versus Kettering (another nearby town). Thus, variants which used to index a Scottish identity (i.e. those variants that were regarded as “Scottish”) and were thus avoided by the English, no longer index such an identity. With this barrier removed, dialect contact between the Scottish and English in Corby has led to dialect levelling. This, of course, is a particularly pertinent example since it is the type of dialect contact situation which had been expected to be found at Marquin. To transpose the logic of Dyer's argument to the present context, because the dominant ideology at Marquin does hold Mexicans and Puerto Ricans as oppositional and salient social categories, it is possible that members of the other group are avoiding linguistic forms and varieties which are indexical of these social/ethnic groups, thus preventing dialect levelling. Data examined in chapter 3 would support this theory.

Zentella (1990), discussed in chapter 1, deserves mention here. While Zentella defers to attitude in explaining the dialect contact situation in New York, this can just as easily be seen

through the framework of ideology. According to Zentella, amongst the Latino groups she observed (Colombians, Dominicans, Puerto Ricans and Cubans) the Dominicans were the most disparaged group. For this reason, Dominicans were the only group whose lexical items were not borrowed by any of the other groups, while Dominicans borrowed lexical items from all other dialect groups. In other words, the dominant ideology amongst the Latino groups under study in New York holds Dominicans (and to a lesser degree Puerto Ricans) as stigmatized groups. Zentella offers the close relationship between race, education, and class in New York as an explanation for these negative attitudes towards Dominicans and Puerto Ricans—Dominicans and Puerto Ricans in New York are the poorest, least-educated, and darkest in skin color of the major Latino groups. Within the framework of ideology, it can be assumed that these differences between groups are racialized by dominant groups (i.e. Colombians and Cubans), leading to the ideology which holds these groups as racially inferior. The linguistic ideology of these dominant groups holds up dialectal features of Dominican Spanish as indexical of the inferiority of Dominicans—aspiration and deletion of /s/, widely stigmatized features of Spanish, are “proof” of the inherent inferiority of Dominicans. Zentella makes an interesting point though—Cubans, who are a “dominant” group amongst Latinos in New York and who participate in this dominant ideology, also aspirate and delete /s/. According to Zentella, that this apparent contradiction in their linguistic ideology persists “reveals the overriding power that social factors have in the face of linguistic ones. Even when speakers of the higher status groups have radical phonology, they can evaluate their dialect positively and express negative attitudes towards the other” (1102). Within the ideology framework, the persistence of this apparent contradiction attests to the power of *erasure*—though Cubans also aspirate and delete /s/, this is not “seen” by the dominant (linguistic) ideology.

Another pertinent example is discussed by Kulick (1998). In his study of linguistic ideologies in Gapun, New Guinea, he shows that ideologies of language, affect, and gender combine in such a way as to provoke language shift. In this village, linguistic practices of expressing anger “reinforce and are reinforced by particular ideas that exist in [the] community about language, affect, and gender, and the relationship among those phenomena” (100). In Gapun, the different genders handle and express anger in different ways, and these linguistic practices reflect, and create, ideas about the different genders. Women are seen as stubborn and emotional and unable to handle anger properly. Men are constructed as calm, communal, and able to handle and express anger in such a way as to not anger the spirits. These ideologies extend to the languages in which these linguistic practices are encoded: a local vernacular for the women’s speech, and Tok Pisin for the men’s speech. Because these language varieties have come to be indexical of the intrinsic properties attributed to the different genders through dominant ideologies, this village is experiencing a language shift to Tok Pisin. Thus, in this example, we see dominant ideologies determine the indexicalities of whole linguistic *varieties*, not just forms. These indexicalities influence linguistic behavior, namely, language choice.

Given this framework, it would seem that the various practices which make the two ethnic groups at Marquin distinctive have become indexical of the very traits attributed to the social groups by dominant ideologies. Most pertinently, Spanish and Mexican Spanish index Mexicans and “Mexican traits,” and “ghetto English” indexes Puerto Ricans and “Puerto Rican traits.” Furthermore, like in the numerous examples from the language ideology literature cited above, it seems that it is these indexicalities which are affecting the behaviors of many Marquin students. Given that Spanish is the language of Mexicans, and through indirect indexicality, Mexican traits, Puerto Ricans choose to speak English, at least in school. Put another way,

Puerto Ricans (and some Mexicans) would never want to “sound Mexican.” Therefore, they avoid Spanish, and furthermore, Mexican Spanish. As for the various “wanna-be’s” and in-between identities discussed throughout these two chapters, it would seem that the indexicalities carried by the distinctive social and linguistic practices of Mexicans is what drives them to eschew such social practices and embrace alternate ones. This was seen quite clearly in the case of Green seen at the end of the last section. It was also seen in the case of Berenice and Pri in the last chapter, who, while not necessarily wanna-be’s, nevertheless strove for an in-between identity devoid of the stigmas associated with “the Mexicans.” Thus, as they explained, they chose not to speak Mexican Spanish, or even “act Mexican” in school. This was also seen in Isa’s response to the question of why Mexicans spoke more Spanish where she quickly asserted that she never does speak Spanish in school and later went on to make evident that she had also made a move away from Mexican music, another stigmatized social practice.

Thus, it seems quite clear that ideology is, in fact, affecting socio-linguistic practices at Marquin. The ideology of essentialized difference, and the dominant ideology which hierarchically assesses these differences, can be seen to affect both interaction, and in many cases, language choice. It should not be forgotten that there does seem to be a contesting ideology, held by Mexican students, which holds Mexican social practices, including language, to be emblematic of their stronger cultural authenticity. This too can affect interaction and language choice—after all, there are many Mexicans at Marquin who *can* speak English and often choose to speak Spanish. This also reminds us that there are, of course, other factors aside from ideology affecting both interaction and language choice, and consequently, koineization. It is to these issues that we will turn in chapter 6.

6. LANGUAGE CHOICE AT MARQUIN HIGH SCHOOL

Marquin High School, located in Cartagena Square, Chicago; was chosen as the site for this study due to the assessment that it was an optimal site for observing the phenomenon of dialect contact. As was outlined in chapters 1 and 2, this site exhibited many of the conditions that models of dialect contact consider to be predictors of the process of koineization. This study focused on a youthful population of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, represented in fairly equal numbers, who come from similar socioeconomic backgrounds and live in the same neighborhoods. Thus, interaction between individuals of the two groups and with it, dialect contact, was expected. We have seen in this dissertation that this is, in fact, not the case. It emerged that ethnic identity is a salient and divisive issue at Marquin High School and in the neighborhood. Observations and a sociometric analysis revealed that truly ethnically integrated peer networks/friendship clusters are few, and that inter-ethnic interaction is infrequent. It was also seen that where inter-ethnic relationships and interactions do occur, the language of communication is often English. Of course, these circumstances do not allow for the formation of a Hispanic koine. A quantitative, linguistic analysis confirmed that the two ethnic groups are indeed maintaining distinct Spanish dialects—these groups act as two separate speech communities.

The infrequency of inter-ethnic interaction and the language choice of English for occurring inter-ethnic interactions could alone explain the maintenance of distinct Spanish dialects amongst students at Marquin. In fact, the lack of inter-ethnic interaction between Mexican and Puerto Rican students is the most striking and probably the most important factor preventing the formation of a Hispanic koine. But the question of language choice further

complicates the issue. It is not as though individuals interact with their co-ethnics in Spanish and then only switch to English for their infrequent inter-ethnic interaction. While this is true for some individuals of both ethnicities, it is also true that as a group, Mexicans speak much more Spanish than Puerto Ricans do, at least while in school. These diverging group language choices were evidenced through prominent discourses on the topic (seen in chapter 5) and through independent observations. These independent observations can be quickly summarized through a quantification of the days spent with the 12 key participants.

Key participants were considered to “speak Spanish while in school” if they were observed to engage in at least three different Spanish speaking interactions throughout the school day spent with them. The participant had to have at least two predominantly Spanish turns (subjectively determined) within each of these interactions in order for the interaction to be counted as a true instance of interaction in Spanish. Of the six Puerto Rican key participants, only one met these criteria and could be considered a student who speaks Spanish while in school.²⁸ On the other hand, four of the six Mexican participants met these criteria, and three far surpassed them. It will be recalled that these key participants were chosen to be representative of the junior class as a whole. This admittedly informal analysis confirms that while very few Puerto Ricans speak Spanish while in school, many if not most Mexicans speak a significant amount of Spanish in the school domain, along with English. This differential is enough to engender prevalent discourses that hold Mexicans to speak “pure Spanish/puro español” and Puerto Ricans to speak “ghetto English.”

These divergent language preferences answer some questions, and raise others. On the one hand, they give us added insight into why the two groups are maintaining distinctive Spanish

dialects. Here, an explanation offered by Otheguy for his findings of a dialect contact study amongst New York Latinos is pertinent (Otheguy 2005). Otheguy reports that “Caribbean” and “Continental” immigrants (those who arrived in the U.S. sometime after the age of twelve and who had been in the U.S. at least 5 years) do converge in their Spanish dialects, but that those Caribbeans and Continentals who were born in their country of origin but raised in New York since a young age actually diverge in their Spanish dialects.²⁹ Among other explanations, he offers the following as an explanation of this re-differentiation amongst New York raised Latinos: “The [New York raised Latinos] probably are speaking more English in the streets, and more English with Latinos of their own generation, thus limiting Spanish to familial uses, where regional characteristics may reappear and be reaffirmed” (translation mine). This explanation would seem to apply to the Puerto Ricans at Marquin—because they are, for the most part, speaking English in school and with their peers, their Spanish models are limited to Puerto Rican family, often of older generations. In the case of the Mexican students at Marquin, many are interacting in Spanish with their peers, but these peers are by and large Mexican. Therefore, Mexican students are exposed to a variety of Mexican dialects, but still receive very little cross-ethnic Spanish input. Thus, a lack of inter-ethnic interaction and divergent group language choices explain the maintenance of separate Spanish dialects.

Now on the other hand, why do the two groups speak separate languages? Is this why they aren’t interacting? It could be hypothesized that Puerto Ricans and Mexicans are not interacting **because** of linguistic (and cultural) differences—if the two groups speak different languages, then this may be the reason they do not interact. And since they don’t interact, their

²⁸ It may be recalled that one of the key participants was actually ¼ African American. Because he was raised by his Puerto Rican mother, (and self-identified as Puerto Rican most of the time), he is grouped with the Puerto Rican students in this analysis.

Spanish dialects stay distinct. But even under this scenario (i.e. the two groups end up [and stay] separated because they speak different languages), it seems that this linguistic divergence becomes accompanied by a belief and a prevalent discourse of essentialized difference. After all, it has already been established that such an ideology and accompanying discourses do exist at Marquin.

Moreover, this is not an explanation in and of itself. The issue of language choice remains—why are so many of the Mexican students choosing Spanish while most Puerto Ricans choose English? After all, it is quite clear that many Puerto Ricans *could* be speaking more Spanish in school, and many Mexican students *could* speak more English in school. For example, of the six Puerto Rican key participants, five reported at least some Spanish usage in other domains (e.g. home, work, with extended family in Puerto Rico...). Yet only one was classified as a student who speaks Spanish while in school. Of the six Mexican students, all six were quite comfortable in English and reported speaking English in numerous circumstances and with numerous interlocutors. Yet many of them conducted much of their school days in Spanish. Self-reported language use data gathered from 49 “full Mexican” or “full Puerto Rican” participants interviewed during the first interview indicate that 26 of the 28 Puerto Ricans speak Spanish as well as English in some domains and/or with some interlocutors. Eighteen of 21 Mexicans report speaking English as well as Spanish in some domains and/or with some interlocutors. In other words, only two Puerto Ricans self-reported as English monolingual, and only three Mexicans self-reported as Spanish monolingual. Thus, it is clear that language alone should not stand in the way of inter-ethnic interaction. And yet, it remains that the Mexicans speak more Spanish while in school than the Puerto Ricans, and that members of the two groups

²⁹ In this study, “Caribbean” refers to those from the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, and Cuba while “Continental” refers to those from Ecuador, Colombia, and Mexico.

interact infrequently. In this dissertation I have presented a view of both interactional choices and language choices as the *choices* of agentive individuals—individuals of each group are choosing to speak different languages and to not interact. We have seen that these choices are constrained by issues of ethnic identity and ideology—due to their strong sense of separate ethnic identities and the belief that they are essentially different (and maybe even better), Mexicans and Puerto Ricans at Marquin choose to speak different languages. I have also put forth that separate ethnic identities have different languages and inherent traits associated with them within the ideology of the school, and that this plays an important role in constraining the language and interactional choices of individuals in their everyday constructions of identity.

Of course, there are other factors involved in language choice, and particularly in the question of language shift versus language maintenance. Numerous models illuminate macrosocial factors that can slowly drive sociolinguistic groups to assimilate to the dominant culture and its language. This type of language shift brings with it the limiting of the minority language to fewer and fewer domains until it is completely lost. In light of this description, it may be said that the Puerto Ricans at Marquin are in the midst of a language shift to English whereby their use of Spanish is being limited to fewer domains. On the other hand, Mexicans can be viewed as maintaining Spanish.

In this chapter we will examine a number of factors which determine whether or not a community will shift to the dominant language in order to better understand the divergent behavior of the Mexicans and Puerto Ricans at Marquin. If the two ethnolinguistic communities differ with respect to these variables, it will help to explain why the Puerto Rican students are choosing to speak English in domains where so many of the Mexican students are still maintaining Spanish. We will see that while largely similar, there are a few macrosocial

differences between these two ethnolinguistic communities. In the case of Marquin students, it will be shown that these differences, rather than directly constraining language choice, act upon individuals via the intervening variables of identity, the related factor of social status, and ideology. These factors, in turn, influence the social networks students construct and participate in, and together, constrain the linguistic choices of students at Marquin.

As would be expected, language shift and dialect contact models identify many of the same factors as those which will determine if language shift/koineization will occur. Therefore, this analysis will cover some of the same issues as were already discussed when describing the circumstances that made this a good site for the study of dialect contact. Still, given the finding of divergent language choices, it seems important to re-examine some of these same questions and others, through a language contact model. A closer examination of the factors identified by such models will shed new light on the differing ideologies and sense of group identity that were seen to exist amongst the students at Marquin High School.

6.1. FACTORS IN LANGUAGE SHIFT/MAINTENANCE

In this chapter, an ethnolinguistic vitality model and a few factors from independent models will be used to structure the description and of the linguistic situation found at Marquin High School. Giles, Bourhis and Taylor's (1977) model systematizes the various factors that contribute to the vitality of an ethnolinguistic group. The vitality of an ethnolinguistic group is "that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and collective entity within the intergroup setting" (Giles et al. 1977: 308). According to this model, ethnolinguistic minorities with little vitality will eventually cease to exist as distinctive groups. With respect to language, low vitality will result in shift towards the majority language, or, in some cases towards another more prestigious vernacular. A linguistic group with high vitality, on the other hand, is more likely to "survive

and thrive as a collective entity in an intergroup context,” and the language of such a group will not only be maintained, but may even shift toward extended use (Appel and Muysken 1987: 33).

This model identifies three main categories of structural variables which are considered most influential in assessing the vitality of an ethnolinguistic group and its mother tongue. These factors are organized as *status*, *institutional support*, and *demographic factors*. The *status* component of ethnolinguistic vitality comprises the economic status, the social status, the sociohistorical status, and the language status of the minority group; and considers both inter- and intra-group status. According to Giles et al., the more status a linguistic community is ascribed to have on these items, the more vitality it can be said to possess as a collectivity (Harwood, Giles, Bourhis 1994). This is because a “high-status group position can contribute to a more positive social identity for group members than low-status group membership. Being a member of a disparaged low-status linguistic group can take its toll on the collective will of members to survive or maintain themselves as a distinctive linguistic community in the intergroup structure” (Harwood et al. 1994: 170). Thus, we see that status factors act on individuals through the intervening variable of ethnolinguistic identity—high prestige affects individuals’ sense of ethnic and social identity positively, and this, in turn, will favor ethnic group language maintenance. Low prestige will negatively impact individuals’ sense of ethnic identity, and will discourage them from maintaining the group language. On the other hand, it should be recalled that stigmatization of an ethnolinguistic minority can actually favor language maintenance. As Bailey (2002) discusses, stigmatization can lead to higher collective consciousness, solidarity, and pride for group members. This heightened pride and solidarity on the part of members of disparaged ethnolinguistic groups can bring with it ethnic language maintenance.

The consequences of economic status for ethnic language maintenance are similarly ambivalent. On the one hand, low economic status indicates low vitality, and can predict shift towards the majority language. Appel and Muysken (1987) give the example of Spanish speakers in the U.S. to explicate this component of Giles et al's ethnolinguistic vitality model. According to their explanation, low-income groups such as most Spanish speakers in the U.S. come to associate speaking English with academic achievement and economic progress. Spanish incurs the stigma of "the language of poor people" (33), and parents who have internalized the societal attitudes towards Spanish themselves urge their children to speak English. In other words, the economic status of a group determines inter- and intragroup attitudes towards the ethnolinguistic group and their language variety. According to this explanation, it is ultimately the linguistic ideologies of ethnolinguistic group members that impact language shift/maintenance.

On the other hand, low economic status can also predict language maintenance for the minority group. As Jaramillo (1995: 73) explains in her analysis of Spanish maintenance in Tucson, Arizona, "low socioeconomic status of the ethnolinguistic group and dense social networks within predominantly Spanish-speaking neighborhoods heighten the likelihood of preserving Spanish by significantly reducing the availability of English-speaking contexts." Here, socioeconomic status and social networks work together to impact language maintenance or shift. Jaramillo is speaking of the tendency of low socioeconomic status to correlate with other factors (e.g. residency in "ethnic ghettos"), which limit access to (speakers of) the dominant language. By this same argument, high socioeconomic status brings with it freer access to (speakers of) the dominant language, which can facilitate loss of the minority language in favor of the dominant one. Thus, we see that status factors are important to consider—it is

clear from the language maintenance/shift literature that these factors have a significant impact on language choices. But the effects of these status variables are neither straightforward nor simple. These factors interact and correlate with other factors, and via other intervening variables, can influence individuals and ethnic groups in numerous ways.

The second group of factors in Giles et al's ethnolinguistic vitality model are *institutional support factors*. This set of factors refers to the extent to which an ethnolinguistic group has gained formal and informal representation in the various institutions of a community, region, state, or nation. Informal representation refers to "the degree to which an ethnolinguistic group has organized itself as a 'pressure group' to represent and safeguard its own ethnolinguistic interests in various state and private activities including education, mass media, government services, business, finance, etc." (Hardwood et al. 1994: 168). The existence of organizations and associations dedicated to the ethnolinguistic groups' particular needs and interests thus indicates high vitality, as does the use of the minority language in various institutions such as governmental institutions, churches, cultural organizations, the mass media, and schools. High vitality, as was discussed above, predicts ethnic language maintenance in this model. Formal institutional support refers to the degree to which members of an ethnolinguistic group have gained positions of control at decision-making levels of the government, in business, industry, mass media, and religious and cultural domains. According to Harwood et al. (1994), the institutional support dimension of ethnolinguistic vitality (both formal and informal) is closely inter-linked with the social power (and thus social status) enjoyed by the ethnolinguistic group. The presence of quality leaders to head institutions and to represent the minority group is also an important component of this dimension of the ethnolinguistic vitality model.

The last group of factors included in the ethnolinguistic vitality model are *demographic factors*. Demographic factors that are pertinent to the question of language maintenance/shift include absolute numbers of members of a linguistic minority group, and their geographical distribution. When members of a minority group live concentrated in certain areas, they have better chances of maintaining their language than when they are dispersed throughout a large area. Other important distribution factors include the proportion of minority group members relative to out group members, and whether or not the group still occupies its “traditional” or “national” territory (Harwood et al. 1994: 168). A high proportion of minority members favors maintenance, as does residence in “the homeland.” In addition to absolute numbers of minority group members, other numerical demographic factors that are important to consider are birth rates, the incidence of mixed marriages, immigration, and emigration.

In addition to these factors discussed by the ethnolinguistic vitality model, there are a few other factors identified by other models of language shift/maintenance that I believe are also important to consider. Paulston (1994) discusses numerous variables in the question of language shift/maintenance. Her discussion includes insights from Schermerhorn (1970). According to Paulston, opportunity and incentive are the overarching factors that move a minority group towards shift—if opportunity and incentive are there, a group is likely to shift to the dominant language. If opportunity and/or incentive are missing (and socioeconomic incentive, in particular), the minority language is more likely to be maintained. Incidentally, this echoes Rickford’s identification of “opportunity” and “motivation” as the most important factors in determining whether linguistic convergence over ethnic lines will occur (1985: 112). This is then broken down into related factors by Paulston (1994). Amongst many factors discussed, one is the origin of the contact situation. This is recognized by Schermerhorn (1970) as an important

factor which will influence the integration of the minority ethnic group into the dominant culture. Integration brings with it more opportunity and likelihood for language shift. According to Schermerhorn (1970), voluntary migration, especially of individuals and families, leads to the most rapid cases of language shift. In contrast, involuntary migration (e.g. slavery), colonization and annexation all result in contact situations where language shift is unlikely to occur very rapidly. Another factor made explicit by Schermerhorn is the issue of access to scarce resources in the community. Schermerhorn maintains that free and equal access to scarce resources such as land and jobs will facilitate language shift. If a dominant group exercises strict control over access to these and other scarce resources, language shift is more unlikely.

Also discussed by Paulston (1994) is the issue of access to the majority language. If there are barriers to access to the majority language, the minority language is more likely to be maintained. Schooling is one of the most important social institutions to grant this sort of access. Required military service, religious institutions, exogamy, and the mass media are examples of other social institutions that can provide access to the majority language. Non-institutional factors that influence this question of access include demographic factors such as the size of the minority group, the degree of isolation of the group, etc. Thus, this factor is largely determined by other, independent factors that have already been recognized within language contact models.

Appel and Muysken (1987) point out that the generational status of speakers is another important consideration in the analysis of language shift. This has been seen in numerous studies, amongst them Silva Corvalán's studies of the consequences of language contact between Spanish and English in Los Angeles. Language shift may come about slowly and go on for several generations, but especially in changing social situations, such as those brought about by immigration; language shift can in fact be a rather rapid process. According to Appel and

Muysken, the general pattern for language shift in immigrant groups is as follows: “the first generation (born in the country of origin) is bilingual, but the minority language is clearly dominant, the second generation is bilingual and either of the two languages might be strongest, the third generation is bilingual with the majority language dominating, and the fourth generation only has command of the majority language” (42). Of course, as Appel and Muysken point out, this pattern varies from group to group, and largely depends on the factors being discussed in this section. This actually seems a rather conservative estimate—the U.S. is oftentimes more typical of three generation shift (Paulston, personal communication). I would add that even within the first generation of immigrants, there is linguistic variability that is largely influenced by the age of arrival of the speaker. This is implicit in the study discussed above (Otheguy and Zentella, in progress) where immigrants were divided into two groups based on age of arrival, and is pointed out by Zentella as an important factor to be considered (personal communication).

Another very important factor in the question of language shift/maintenance is that which was discussed in chapter 5 as the ethnic and linguistic ideologies of ethnolinguistic group members. Giles et al’s (1977) ethnolinguistic vitality model addresses this factor indirectly, through its discussion of social status (within the factor group of status variables). Within this model, social status is taken as a macrosocial factor, which in turn affects the positive or negative social identity of group members (Harwood et al. 1994: 170). This same idea will be discussed further in the analysis, where it will be shown that ultimately, it is the effect of macrosocial factors on individuals’ ideologies and identities that determines linguistic behavior. It is also important to note that the same macrosocial setting may affect different groups in different ways, and may in fact affect individuals within the same group in variable ways. Paulston (1994) discusses this possibility when she says, “[g]roups also vary in group adhesion, and there is wide

intra-group variation in members' attitudes toward language maintenance and cultural assimilation" (16). As an example of this phenomenon, she points to the Mexican-American Richard Rodriguez's controversial stance against bilingual education and for assimilation. Appel and Muysken (1987) also warn against treating minority groups as "undifferentiated, monolithic wholes," all reacting similarly to the large-scale sociological factors identified by models of language shift (42). Thus, the ethnic and linguistic ideologies/attitudes of group members do need their own place within language shift models. In this sense, the ethnolinguistic vitality model's closest approximation to such a factor is its consideration of intragroup language status (also within the factor group of status variables). Jaramillo (1995) includes "ethnic intra/intergroup attitudinal postures" as a component of her description of the linguistic situation in Tucson, AZ; and Paulston also discusses the importance this factor. Appel and Muysken (1987) also address it, though encapsulated under the title of "identity."

It is perhaps obvious from this survey of the factors at play in language shift/maintenance that many of these factors are interrelated, correlate with one another, and thus are by no means all independent variables acting directly upon language maintenance/shift. While effort will be taken to not ignore these complexities, the idea behind the following description and analysis is that by paying particular attention to how the two ethnolinguistic groups in question *differ* with respect to these variables, additional insight may be gained into the differential behavior of the two groups with respect to language shift and maintenance. To this end, the factors highlighted by the literature discussed above will be used to structure the description of the ethnolinguistic groups under study. These factors are summarized below:

1. Origin of contact
2. Economic status
3. Social status
4. Socioeconomic incentive to shift

5. Demographic factors
6. Institutional support
7. Access to resources
8. Access to majority language
9. Generational status
10. Linguistic and ethnic ideologies/attitudes

6.2. DESCRIPTION OF THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC CONTEXT

6.2.1. Origin of the contact situation

Because the migration histories of both Mexicans and Puerto Ricans have been covered in detail in both chapters 2 and 5, I will only summarize them here as pertains to the current description. Both Mexicans and Puerto Ricans share similar histories of colonization and annexation—this is indeed the origin of the contact situation for both ethnolinguistic groups. At the end of the Mexican-American War, in 1848, the U.S. annexed the northern half of Mexico's former national territory. Puerto Rico was occupied at the end of the Spanish-American War, in 1898. In the intervening years, both groups have come to the U.S. and Chicago in large numbers, via voluntary migration. While Puerto Rican migration has tapered off since the 1970s, Mexican migration continues in full force. In other words, both groups share similar histories of colonization, annexation, and migration. While the legacy of colonization and annexation persists for both groups, my interpretation of Schermerhorn (1970) is that the intervening years of voluntary migration would predict language shift rather than language maintenance for both groups.

6.2.2. Economic status

In chapter 2, it was demonstrated that the Puerto Ricans and Mexicans in Cartagena Square have very similar socioeconomic conditions—it was seen that Puerto Ricans and Mexicans in

Cartagena Square are for the most part poor and under-educated.³⁰ The profile for Latinos in the city of Chicago as a whole is only marginally better. Of the various Latino ethnic groups in Chicago, Puerto Ricans have the lowest economic status and the highest poverty rate (Community Media Workshop). As of the 1990 census, 30% of Puerto Ricans in the Midwest³¹ lived below the poverty line, while closer to 20% of all Mexicans did the same (Aponte and Siles 1994). As of the 2000 census, 14.6% of Mexicans in Chicago lived below the poverty line (Paral & Ready 2005). Comparable 2000 statistics were not found for the Puerto Ricans. Still, it seems that while both Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in Chicago are quite poor, the Puerto Ricans in Chicago are economically slightly worse off than the Mexicans. This is also pointed out in a report on the 1990 census put out by the Samora Research Institute at the Michigan State University (Aponte and Siles 1994). In fact, this report finds that on numerous indicators of economic status, Puerto Ricans rank as the worst-off amongst all Latino subgroups in the Midwest, and approximate the economic status of African Americans. Because many of these indicators are actually indicators of social status, they will be discussed in the subsection dedicated to social status.

Unemployment rates for Latinos in Illinois were quite high as of the 1990 census. Approximately 20% of all Latino men were unemployed between 1980 and 1990, and approximately 15% of Latino women were unemployed (Aponte and Siles 1994). Labor market comparisons by gender and race/ethnicity show that among men over 25, Latino job holding tends to lag white job-holding, but is better than African American job-holding. According to Richard Fry of the Pew Hispanic Institute, “Puerto Ricans are the only Hispanic subgroup with

³⁰ Please refer to page 22 of chapter 2 for a complete socioeconomic description of Cartagena Square.

³¹ The twelve states comprising the Midwest, in order of Latino population, are: Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Kansas, Wisconsin, Missouri, Minnesota, Nebraska, Iowa, and North and South Dakota. As of 1990, Illinois had roughly 900,000 Latinos, while the next largest home state to Latinos, Michigan, had only 200,000.

male employment rates trailing those of African American men. Among women, Latino employment rates are substantially below white and African American levels, with the employment deficits being especially large for females of Mexican and Puerto Rican origin” (2003: 1). Thus, we see that adult Latinos as a whole can be characterized by low economic status as measured by job holding. Amongst all Latinos in the U.S., it seems that Mexicans and Puerto Ricans trail other Hispanic subgroups with respect to economic status. Wage outcomes among Latinos varies greatly from generation to generation—overall averages suggest that Latino workers (over 25) are the lowest paid workers in the U.S. labor market, but averages for native-born Latinos are substantially better.

It should be noted that Latino teens and young adults, and in particular immigrant Latino youth, do quite well in the labor market. Almost half of recently arrived immigrant Latino teens hold jobs. Thirty four percent of second-generation teens do the same. Recently arrived immigrant Latino teens are also quite well paid, and are better paid than the second-generation Latino youth in the labor market. This labor market participation though, comes at the expense of education—much of the Latino youth, and in particular the recently arrived Latino youth, are working rather than going to school. As a result, their earnings remain flat as they age. As Fry (2003) puts it, “the lack of education and skills locks immigrants into the low-end of the U.S. labor market through adulthood. Thus, the American economy’s appetite for young, low-skilled immigrant labor inevitably produces a substantial supply of adult workers with minimal qualifications” (2). It should be pointed out here that most recent Latino immigration to Chicago is Mexican (with a substantial number of Central and South Americans following suit). Puerto Rican immigration to Chicago has largely declined in recent years.

In conclusion, both Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in Chicago and in the U.S. are characterized by low economic status. Indicators of economic status considered here were the proportion of the population living below the poverty line, rates of unemployment versus rates of labor market participation, and wage outcomes. While the Latino population does vary with respect to generation, age, and gender, it is safe to say that both Mexicans and Puerto Ricans display low economic status relative to other Hispanic subgroups in the U.S., and relative to the U.S. population as a whole. Between Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, Puerto Ricans trail Mexicans on some indicators. As was discussed in the last section, low economic status has been posited by some to precipitate language shift—low economic status can bring with it linguistic ideologies which encourage language shift. On the other hand, low economic status may correlate with other factors which limit access to (speakers of) the dominant language, and thus facilitate language maintenance.

6.2.3. Social status

In this subsection, social status will be assessed through available statistics on a number of common indicators of social and/or economic status. It will also be assessed more qualitatively, through a brief discussion of other sources. We will see that most indicators reveal a similar picture as to that seen above—Mexicans and Puerto Ricans group together and apart from other Latino subgroups in their relatively low social status. Some indicators show Mexicans as worse off than Puerto Ricans, while others show Puerto Ricans as worse off than Mexicans. At the same time, we will see that, perhaps due to the non-quantifiable nature of “social status,” a quantitative analysis misses the covert prestige/status often associated with Puerto Ricans, and particularly Puerto Rican youth.

One common indicator of social status is educational attainment. Educational attainment, in turn, closely correlates with and predicts economic status (Fry 2003). The 2000 census shows that 53.4% of adult Hispanics in Chicago (70% of whom are Mexican) do not have a high school diploma, and 34.3% have less than a ninth-grade education (Northeastern Illinois Planning Commission 2000). These data, like those shown above for economic status, can be parsed in many interesting and relevant ways. For example, Kao and Thompson (2003) show that in 1980, among foreign-born Mexican-Americans (aged 26-35), 29% of the men and 27% of the women had obtained a high school diploma. Amongst native-born Mexican-American men and women, 68% and 64% had done the same, respectively. While these figures are still low, they are significantly higher for native-born Mexican-Americans than for foreign-born ones. Puerto Rican adults showed a rate of 54% graduation for men and 53% for women. In other words, adult Mexican-Americans showed lower levels of high school educational attainment than Puerto Ricans, but native-born Mexican-American adults fared better than Puerto Ricans. As of 1990, adult Hispanics showed the lowest rates of high school completion amongst whites, African Americans, Asians, and Native Americans or Alaskan Natives. Among Hispanics, Cubans showed the highest high school graduation rates, followed by Central/South Americans, Puerto Ricans, and lastly, Mexican-Americans (Kao and Thompson 2003). Thus, it would seem that Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in the U.S. are characterized by low educational attainment relative to the rest of the U.S. population, and relative to other Hispanic subgroups. Mexican-American adults, as a group, show lower educational attainment than Puerto Ricans, though native-born Mexican-American adults were seen to surpass the educational attainment of Puerto Ricans. On an optimistic note, Kao and Thompson (2003) and Fry (2003) point out that high school completion rates for Latinos increase with each generation. In the meantime, if educational

attainment is a predictor of social status, both Mexicans and Puerto Ricans display a similar and low social status.

Many indicators of social and economic status (surveyed by Aponte and Stiles 1994) rank Hispanics in the Midwest as slightly better off than African-Americans, but worse off than whites. Within Hispanics, a number of the indicators discussed in this and the last subsection show that Mexicans and Puerto Ricans approximate each other's status at the bottom of the Latino ladder. To generalize the situation for Latinos in Chicago, "Mexicans have the lowest educational attainment of any Latino group, while Puerto Ricans have the lowest economic status" (Community Media Workshop). It may also be recalled that both groups suffer from their own respective social stigmas—Mexicans are often characterized as "illegal immigrants," while Puerto Ricans are quite generally characterized by a welfare stigma. At the same time, a few other social status indicators analyzed by Aponte and Stiles (1994) show Puerto Ricans as the lowest ranking Hispanic subgroup, and on some, "figures on Puerto Ricans mirror or exceed those of Blacks" (2). Such indicators include central city residence and number of female-headed households. Aponte and Stiles conclude that "although a consideration of explanatory hypotheses for these similar Black/Puerto Rican profiles must await further work, it is worth noting the likelihood that these patterns are related in some way(s)" (22).

As was discussed throughout this dissertation, it does seem that Puerto Ricans and African Americans, and in particular, PRn and AAn youth, often share a similar social status/identity. Flores (2000) addresses this shared social status, albeit in an indirect way. Flores (2000) begins with a discussion of the "Latin@ fever" that has gripped the nation. According to Flores, Latinos, and Latino fever, have permeated all arenas of U.S. pop culture and public life. The media portrayal of Latinos only adds to the hype. But, as he goes on to point out, this

obscures the lived reality of many U.S. Latinos and “the decidedly unceremonious and unenviable social status of the majority of Latin@ peoples. The spectacular success stories of the few serve only to mask the ongoing reality of racism, economic misery, and political disenfranchisement endured by most Latin@s” (para. 4).

The author also points out that Latinos are not a monolithic group:

“it is certainly a spurious sociological exercise to conjoin in one unit of discourse Puerto Ricans and Mexican Americans on the one hand, whose position in U.S. society is fully conditioned by legacies of conquest and colonization, with on the other hand immigrant and exile nationalities of relatively recent arrival from varied national homelands in Latin America. Differences along the lines of economic class and educational and entrepreneurial capital are striking, as are those having to do with issues of race and national cultures” (para. 7).

Thus, Mexicans and Puerto Ricans are once again seen to be grouped together for their similar sociopolitical histories which in turn have shaped their present social standing as quite different (and presumably worse) than other Latinos. Flores then goes on to point out that both pan-ethnic labeling and the portrayal of Latinos in the media also contribute to another erasure—“the relation of Latin@s to blackness, and to African Americans in particular” (para. 9).

According to Flores (2000), the social reality of many Latinos, and especially many inner city Latinos, is that they are perceived and treated the same as Blacks. For example, Flores maintains that with respect to such issues as racial profiling and police brutality, no distinction is made between Blacks and Latinos. This is especially true for many Caribbean Latinos, whose skin color adds to the blurring of distinction. Thus, Flores concludes that “while this [consumer] version [of Latino ethnicity] tends to racialize Latin@s towards whiteness, much in tune with the racist baggage of Latin American and Caribbean home cultures, on the streets and in the dominant social institutions, brown is close enough to black to be suspect” (para. 10). In response to this similar/shared social experience and status in the U.S., Puerto Rican and

Dominican youth in New York (the focus of this article) have embraced an Afro-diasporic identity. This identity emphasizes not only Afro-Boricua heritages, but also an identification and solidarity with American Blacks that is rooted both spatially and temporally in the here and now. Today, “[c]ultural expression in all areas – from language and music to literature and visual arts—typically illustrate fusions and crossovers, mutual fascinations and emulations, that have resulted in much of what we identify, for example in the field of popular music, as jazz, rock and roll, and hip hop” (para. 11).

We can conclude from this summary of Flores’ article that first of all, while there is variability amongst Latinos, many Latinos, and particularly Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, are marked by a low socioeconomic position within U.S. society. Secondly, a shared social/ethnic identity has formed between African Americans and Puerto Ricans, due to a shared ancestry and questions of race and lived experience in the U.S. This shared identity was discussed in chapter 4, and does not include Mexican-Americans. The discussion above implies the low social status that is accorded to “performers” of this identity—according to Flores; they often reside in inner cities and are often subject to racial profiling and police brutality.

The Afro-Boricua identity discussed above is the same identity that was discussed in chapter 4 as a “ghetto” identity. There we saw that such an identity does indeed exist in Chicago, and that Mexican ethnicity does not have a place in this social/ethnic identity. Here I will assert that while macrosocial indicators show Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and African Americans as exhibiting low social status in the U.S., there is also a covert prestige associated with African American and Puerto Rican youth, particularly in U.S. inner cities, which is missed by such an analysis.

As discussed in chapter 4, Raquel Rivera's book, "New York Ricans From the Hip Hop Zone" (2003) focuses on this shared identity between African Americans and Puerto Ricans in New York, and on one shared cultural expression in particular—hip hop. Her discussion of this identity reveals that while born of largely unfortunate circumstances, a covert prestige has come to be attached to this identity, and its various forms of cultural expression. She maintains that in the 1990s, popular culture in general and commercial rap music in particular have "mass marketed and glamorized the violence and pain of black 'ghetto' life" (97). As a result, youth from all across the country want to be from the "ghetto" and "speak the ghettocentric language" (98). Melissa Chadburn (2003) makes a similar point in her discussion of Rivera (2003). According to her, the mass marketing of hip hop "has had much to do with the exoticization of dark ghetto 'virility' as a temporary distraction from 'white' suburban monotony" (para. 7). She likens the portrayal of hip hop today to the way in which "breaking" (a style of dance made popular in the 1980s) was portrayed at its peak. According to Chadburn, both are described by such words as "natural," "instinctive," vibrant," "gritty," "dynamic," and "exciting." These descriptions, in turn, "bring to mind cliché exoticizations of the ghetto, particularly Black ghetto as primeval, exciting, dangerous, mysterious and cool" (para. 7). According to Rivera (2003), by the 1990s, Puerto Ricans were perceived to share this ghetto blackness with African Americans, but were still presented (and presented themselves) "as a lighter ('brown' or 'butta pecan') variation on blackness given their tropicalized and exoticized *latinidad*" (11). Puerto Rican women, in particular, had come to be portrayed as "an exotic and tropical (i.e. Latinized) variation on black womanhood" (11).

Thus, it would seem that there is indeed a prestige and romanticization associated with the "ghetto" identity shared by Puerto Ricans and African Americans, and with symbols of this

identity. Language is one of these symbols. These ideas were discussed at length in chapters 4 and 5 where it was seen that this prestige is attached to the “ghetto” identity at Marquin—symbols of this identity are regarded as “hip,” “urban,” and “cool.” This image also finds representation in the mass media. While an exhaustive survey is outside of the realm of this discussion, a good example can be seen in the recent Spanish-language McDonald’s ad campaign. A number of commercials in this campaign, known by the tag line “Me encanta/I’m lovin’ it,” portray very urban scenes—in one, young men in stocking caps and low riding jeans are shown skateboarding in a cement filled city park. Interestingly, the Spanish spoken by the actors in this commercial (and other similar ones) is decidedly Caribbean in flavor.

As macrosocial analyses indicate, in U.S. society at large, African Americans and Puerto Ricans sit at the bottom of the socioeconomic ladder, and this brings with it much racial and class discrimination, both from the dominant culture, and from within Latinos. This was alluded to above in Flores’ (2000) comments on “the racist baggage of Latin American and Caribbean home cultures” (para. 10), and was evident in the quote included in chapter 4 (p. 172) from a posting on an Internet chatroom. But a covert prestige also exists, and is in fact quite vibrant, though it can be missed by macrosocial analyses. As was discussed in chapter 5, this “covert prestige” is in fact the dominant ideology at Marquin High School.

In conclusion, numerous macrosocial indicators of social status show that Mexicans and Puerto Ricans share a low position on the socioeconomic ladder of U.S. society. There are indications that Puerto Ricans are in fact positioned slightly lower than Mexicans, and closer to African Americans. Perhaps due to this similar socioeconomic position, and perhaps also due to questions of shared ancestry, Puerto Rican and African American youth have come to participate in a shared identity, particularly within U.S. inner-cities. This identity and its cultural symbols

are celebrated by pop and youth culture, and grant Puerto Ricans a covert prestige that is not shared by Mexican youth.

6.2.4. Socioeconomic incentive to shift

According to Appel and Muysken (1987), language shift will occur when speakers expect that speaking the dominant language will afford better chances for social mobility and economic success. It seems quite clear that in this country, if not in most of the world, there is socioeconomic incentive to speak English. Not speaking English in the U.S. brings with it social stigma, which can be seen as a consequence of the standard language ideology discussed by Lippi-Green (1997). This standard language ideology casts linguistic assimilation as natural, necessary, and positive for the greater good. While this dominant ideology can lead to contesting ideologies which manifest as stigmas against “talking white” or against speaking English in certain domains (e.g. home); to my knowledge, there are few (if any) groups within the U.S. amongst whom this sort of stigma converts into motivation to not learn/speak English at all. Economic motivation to shift is equally unquestionable. Drawing a connection between income and language, HispanTelligence, the research arm of Hispanic Business Inc., reported in December that English-dominant Hispanics account for a disproportionate 59 percent of Hispanics' spending power (Lazaroff 2005). A study based on data from the 2000 census reported that amongst Mexicans in Chicago, knowing English correlated strongly with both higher earning levels, and a higher home ownership index (Paral & Ready 2005). In fact, English language deficiencies are a common explanation for wage gaps, as is mentioned by Fry (2003). Thus, it seems clear that for both Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in Chicago, there is equal and strong socioeconomic incentive to shift to English.

6.2.5. Demographic factors

Most pertinent demographic factors have already been discussed at length throughout this dissertation. Absolute numbers for both Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in Chicago are large, though Mexicans significantly outnumber Puerto Ricans—of a total population of 2,896,016 in the city of Chicago; there are 530,462 Mexicans and 113,055 Puerto Ricans. Thus, they make up 18.3% and 3.9% of the total population, respectively. More importantly for the question of language shift, both groups are geographically concentrated in various neighborhoods throughout Chicago. Cartagena Square is one of these neighborhoods, and as has been discussed, each ethnic group is equitably represented in this neighborhood. Thus, both absolute numbers and the geographic concentration of each group favor language maintenance. Birth rates for both ethnic groups are also high—while statistics could not be found for each group within the city of Chicago, it is known that 40.6% of Cartagena Square residents were under the age of 20. Recall that almost half of Cartagena Square residents are either Mexican or Puerto Rican.

Another demographic factor pertinent to the question of language shift/ maintenance is immigration. If immigration rates are high, the ethnolinguistic group in question is continually “refreshed,” and thus language maintenance is facilitated. It has already been established that Mexican immigration to the U.S. and to Chicago continues in large numbers, while Puerto Rican immigration to the U.S. and to Chicago has seen a large drop-off in recent decades. In fact, more than half the Mexicans residing in the Greater Chicago area as of 2000 were foreign-born (Paral & Ready 2005). At the same time, because no legal barriers prevent migration between Puerto Rico and the mainland, first- and second-generation migrants move freely and frequently between Chicago and Puerto Rico (Peréz 2005). This back and forth migration (with residence in each place stretching from months to years), can also lead to a “refreshing” of the language pool.

Numerous Puerto Rican students at Marquin reported such residence histories and/or extended vacations spent in Puerto Rico. As will be seen in the analysis, this transmigration is different from immigration with respect to its impact on group identity, but may also refresh the language pool of Puerto Ricans in Chicago.

Numerous language shift/maintenance models identify exogamy as an important factor to be considered (Giles et al. 1977, Paulston 1995). As Jaramillo (1995) explains, high rates of intermarriage are commonly seen as an indicator of cultural assimilation, which brings with it language shift for the ethnolinguistic group. On a smaller scale, intermarriage can oftentimes provide heightened access to the dominant language for children of such marriages, thus facilitating shift within the home domain.

Lee and Edmonston (2005) show that roughly the same proportion of Hispanic couples are intermarrying now as they were in the 1970s. At the same time, there is variation within Hispanic subgroups. They show that Puerto Ricans are the most likely of all Latino subgroups to out-marry, while Mexicans and Cubans are least likely. Cubans though, have shown a more rapid rate of increase than Mexicans, whose rates increased between 1970 and 1990, but then decreased between 1990 and 2000. This has led to the conclusion that Mexicans, the largest Hispanic subgroup in the U.S., are in fact the slowest to assimilate (Rubinstein 2005).

The comparatively lower rates of Mexican exogamy are largely attributed to the relatively large proportion of the Mexican population who are immigrants. Immigrants, in general, tend not to inter-marry, presumably due to their desire for ethnolinguistic ties as newcomers (Lee and Edmonston 2005). Thus nativity is an important factor in Hispanic exogamy. Even naturalization seems to favor intermarriage—foreign-born Hispanics who were naturalized citizens were more likely than native-born Hispanics to inter-marry. Relatedly, Lee

and Edmonston attribute the high inter-marriage rates found amongst Puerto Ricans to their U.S. citizenship—“Puerto Ricans had the highest intermarriage rates in 2000, which is not surprising, considering that Puerto Ricans are mostly U.S. citizens by birth” (25). Though the authors do not make explicit why citizenship should be a factor in exogamy, the above discussion would imply that citizens, like native-born residents, tend to have both a longer history of residence in the U.S. than immigrants, and also a stronger sense of “American” identity. For these reasons, native-born and naturalized citizens are more apt to maritally integrate into U.S. society.

At the same time, there are other important factors aside from nativity/citizenship that influence Hispanic exogamy, namely, age and education. According to Lee and Edmonston, older Hispanics favor endogamy, while the highly educated youth tend towards exogamy. While exogamy rates for Hispanics in Chicago were not found, the population of Marquin High School is characterized by low rates of exogamy. The propensity of Puerto Ricans to out-marry was not born out—of the 58 students of Hispanic descent who were interviewed in the first round of interviews, three students were the product of Puerto Rican/Mexican inter-marriages, two were the product of other Puerto Rican inter-marriages (one PRn/Italian, one PRn/Brazilian), and two were the product of Mexican inter-marriages (one Mexn/Cuban, one Mexn/European-American). Two students had a parent of mixed ethnicity (one PRn/Mexn, one PRn/AAAn).

To summarize these demographic factors, absolute numbers and the geographic distribution of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in Chicago would predict maintenance for both groups. Immigration rates are higher for Mexicans and thus facilitate language maintenance for this group. It was noted that the facility with which Puerto Ricans can maintain a transmigration with Puerto Rico also aids language maintenance for these individuals, and for the ethnolinguistic community they come back to and “refresh.” Overall exogamy rates in the U.S.

are relatively high for Puerto Ricans and relatively low for Mexicans. This may indicate cultural assimilation on the part of Puerto Ricans, and predicts language shift. The lower exogamy rates for Mexicans indicate a resistance to assimilation and to language shift. It was noted that differences in cultural assimilation and thus exogamy may be attributed to questions of citizenship, related questions of identity, and length of residence in the U.S. At the same time, Puerto Ricans and Mexicans in Cartagena Square are both characterized by low rates of exogamy. This may be attributed to their low education levels, and also to the fact that despite their U.S. citizenship, many of the Puerto Rican families in Chicago do not have a history of residence in the U.S. of more than two generations.

6.2.6. Institutional support

As was discussed above, institutional status or control refers to the “extent to which an ethnolinguistic group has gained formal and informal representation in the various institutions of a community, region, state, or nation” (Harwood et al. 1994: 168). The idea is that more control predicts language maintenance, because such groups will be in a position to advocate and push through their ethnolinguistic desires and agendas.

The institutional status of a group can be assessed by surveying the visibility of the mother tongue in areas such as the mass media, religious services, and education. The presence of the minority language in advertising (television, billboards, signs, etc.) and in printed materials in such places as hospitals, local/state/federal governmental offices and agencies, airports, etc. also indicates a high ethnolinguistic vitality (Jaramillo 1995). This visibility of the minority language affords speakers *access* to the minority language, and in some cases allows speakers to subsist without ever learning the majority language. Of course, such situations facilitate language maintenance.

In Chicago, Spanish is indeed quite visible. There are four different Spanish language TV channels on public television alone. There are at least three Spanish language radio stations, two with a Mexican focus. There are also numerous Spanish language publications in Chicago. Aside from neighborhood publications, there are three major Spanish language periodicals—two are major competitors in the city of Chicago, while one focuses on the suburbs. The newspaper *Hoy* is actually a daily periodical, converted from its weekly format in 2003. One of these three periodicals, *La Raza*, concentrates a regional focus on Mexico (Hudson 2004).

Spanish is visible throughout the city of Chicago, and particularly so in and around predominantly Hispanic neighborhoods. Spanish language billboards are quite frequent. Printed materials are available in all levels of government offices, hospitals, banks, etc. Advertising in public places such as the subway, subway stations, and on city buses are quite often targeted towards a Spanish-speaking audience. While exact figures could not be found, religious services conducted in Spanish are quite frequent—numerous students at Marquin reported attending such services.

Spanish is also quite accessible through bilingual education programs. Students who are identified as Limited English Proficiency (LEP) are recommended for bilingual education, but parents may also request that their children be enrolled in such programs. The official Chicago Public School (CPS) policy on bilingual education is that theirs is a transitional bilingual education program—the home language is used as a means of instruction and assistance while the student is acquiring proficiency in English. Students remain in the program for three years, or until proficiency in English is achieved, whichever occurs first. If, after the three years in the program, it is assessed that the student still has not acquired the requisite level of proficiency, the student can remain in the program. According to CPS policy, the focus of the first two years of

the program is on home language literacy, with a steady increase of English as a second language. The focus of the third year is a full transition to English (Chicago Public Schools 2002).

With respect to language shift/maintenance, the focus on home language literacy during the first two years would seem to aid home language maintenance, while the focus on transitioning to English can aid language shift in the long run. Of course, indirect effects of such programs, such as the social networks formed within them, would seem to favor language maintenance. Thus, bilingual education in Chicago may be seen to facilitate prolonged bilingualism. These programs and their effects should theoretically impact Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in the same way—bilingual education programs are not specific to ethnic subgroups. On the other hand, impressionistic data indicate that proportionately more Mexican students at Marquin had at some time been enrolled in bilingual education programs than Puerto Ricans—while students were never specifically asked this question, it often emerged during other conversations. Of course, it is important to consider why more Mexicans than Puerto Ricans participate in bilingual education. Official policy would indicate, and student accounts corroborate, that more Mexicans participate in bilingual education either because more are identified as LEP, or because more Mexican parents request this service for their children. These differences between Mexican and Puerto Rican students/families are presumably the result of the very factors that are being discussed in this chapter.

Thus, it would seem that Latinos in Chicago are ethnolinguistically quite vibrant, as measured by the visibility of the mother tongue. In addition, maintenance of Spanish is facilitated by abundant access to Spanish. Other measures of institutional status also indicate that each ethnolinguistic group, separately, is quite vibrant within the city of Chicago. Members

of both ethnolinguistic groups have achieved high positions within Chicago politics and commerce, and this, combined with a myriad of organizations and social services agencies headed by Latinos from within each community, have helped to further each group's particular needs. An exhaustive survey is, again, beyond the scope of this chapter. Instead, I will try to concentrate on just a few indications of the institutional status of each group.

6.2.6.1. Puerto Ricans in Chicago

The vitality of the Puerto Rican community in Chicago is epitomized in the changes undertaken in Cartagena Square, and in particular, in the renewal of "Paseo Boricua." Flores-Gonzalez (2001) discusses these changes at length, and writes, "this transformation is owed to the visibility and clout gained by Puerto Ricans, particularly among the second and third generations, in economic and political circles in the city" (9). In this article, Flores-Gonzalez maintains that after a history of more violent and grass-root attempts to stave off gentrification within Chicago; Puerto Ricans, with Cartagena Square as their physical and symbolic headquarters, are now fighting gentrification more politically and on several fronts including housing, business, and culture. Unlike in the past, when Puerto Ricans lacked political representation, by the mid-1990s they drew support from "political representatives in Congress, the State Legislature, County Commission, and City Council. In addition, many educated Puerto Rican professionals headed not-for-profit organizations, funded through private, state and federal grants, that serviced the Puerto Rican community" (Flores-Gonzalez 2001:13). The [Cartagena Square] Empowerment Partnership ([CSJEP) was also formed, a coalition of over eighty community organization and business leaders who have banded together and united forces with political leaders in order to stop the displacement of Puerto Ricans. These many organizations have worked together to

conceive a redevelopment plan which is meant to preserve the Puerto Rican identity of the Cartagena Square through commerce, housing, and culture.

Paseo Boricua can be seen as the fruit of these efforts. This initiative and “Paseo Boricua” itself were already described in chapter 2. As Flores-Gonzalez puts it, Paseo Boricua is unquestionably “the economic, cultural, and political space for Puerto Ricans in Chicago” (2001: 17). It houses over ninety businesses and organizations and offers incredibly diverse services. Both Spanish and English are spoken throughout this strip, and throughout the neighborhood. Cartagena Square and, in particular, “Paseo Boricua,” are testament to the relatively high institutional status and ethnolinguistic vitality of Puerto Ricans in Chicago.

6.2.6.2. Mexicans in Chicago

Though large in size, the political clout of Mexicans in Chicago is diluted by the fact that almost half are not citizens, and many are still young. Also, there is a perception that many top Mexican-American political officials who are most connected to the current administration have “sold out”—they are accused of being more interested in their own political careers and in keeping the mayor in power than they are in furthering the needs of their own community (Hernández Gómez 2001). Nonetheless, it remains that numerous Mexican-Americans hold influential positions within city politics. Moreover, Mexicans in Chicago have a strong history of organizing at the community level. A survey of community organizations in the neighborhood of Pilsen, one of a number of predominantly Mexican neighborhoods, shows dozens of organizations providing a variety of services. These organizations provide for the needs of the community on a number of fronts including housing, neighborhood beautification, education, ESL, immigration rights, culture, family services, health and commerce.

Due to the size of the Mexican population in Chicago, it is difficult to speak of “the Mexican community.” But, as mentioned above, Pilsen is one of the older and better-known Mexican neighborhoods in Chicago, and serves as a good case study for the institutional status of Mexicans in Chicago. Like Cartagena Square, Pilsen has a very vibrant commercial district, and is home to numerous cultural institutions such as the well-known Mexican-American Museum of Fine Arts. Spanish is the predominant language in this and adjacent neighborhoods (though English is also quite prevalent). This is somewhat indirectly evidenced in the quantity of agencies that offer ESL classes for adults, which itself is testament to the number of Mexican immigrants who still use Pilsen and adjacent neighborhoods as points of entry. The University of Illinois at Chicago’s Neighborhood Initiative program focuses on Pilsen as one of its target neighborhoods, and their description of the neighborhood supports an assessment of high ethnolinguistic vitality. According to their website, Pilsen “is a well-organized community with a large network of community organizations, social service agencies, churches, and schools.” “Pilsen’s rich cultural and organizational base makes it one of Chicago’s most vibrant and unique communities.”

This review of both formal and informal institutional status reveals that first of all, access to Spanish is available for both Mexicans and Puerto Ricans through the mass media, bilingual education, and religious services, as well as in a variety of other arenas. This conspicuity of Spanish indicates a high institutional status for Hispanics in Chicago. The ethnolinguistic vitality of each ethnic subgroup was additionally seen through each group’s political representation in city politics and in the activism of each group at the community level. It was noted that the political influence of Mexicans in Chicago is not yet commensurate with the size of the group.

6.2.7. Access to scarce resources

Schermerhorn (1970) maintains that free and equal access to scarce resources such as land and jobs will facilitate the process of integration into the enviroing society, which in turn favors language shift. Puerto Ricans and Mexicans are differentiated in this factor due to the question of citizenship. Because Puerto Ricans are U.S. citizens by birth, they are privy to social services such as public aid, jobs, higher education, the ability to buy property, and countless other benefits. Undocumented Mexicans can only access these things through their own, often resourceful, but unsanctioned channels. This differential access to resources can directly affect access to English, can indirectly affect access to English via the nature of one's social networks, and, as I will argue, can affect an individual's sense of identity.

6.2.8. Access to majority language

Most of the factors discussed in this section have the potential to determine the degree of access ethnolinguistic group members have to English. The others, such as social and economic status, quite often correlate with exposure to English. Factors that can either directly or indirectly determine access to English include intermarriage, the geographic density of the ethnolinguistic minority, access to resources such as jobs, time spent in bilingual education, and an institutional status for the ethnolinguistic minority and its language which deems the majority language unnecessary. Generational status, in many cases combined with age of arrival, will also impact access to English via schooling. Linguistic and ethnic ideologies/attitudes can also influence the degree of access group members have to English, through their social networks. This will be discussed further below. Due to a number of the factors cited above, Puerto Ricans in Chicago might have higher access to English than Mexicans, and particularly recently arrived Mexicans.

6.2.9. Generational status

Generational status is quite commonly correlated with language shift, with the idea being that each subsequent generation becomes more and more acculturated to the dominant culture. This acculturation brings with it language shift. As was discussed above, the rate of generational language shift can be quite variable, and is influenced by many of the factors being discussed in this section. Language shift can begin within the very first generation of immigrants, and can take place rapidly or over the period of a number of generations.

The generational status of Marquin students was discussed in chapter 5 (pp. 206-207). There we saw that almost 60% of Mexican students are foreign-born. In comparison, almost 80% of the Puerto Rican students were born on the Mainland. Thus, the majority of the Puerto Rican students at Marquin have been in the U.S. for at least a generation more than most of the Mexican students. This factor, taken alone, would predict Puerto Ricans to be further along the continuum of language shift than Mexicans. As with many of the other factors, this variable can be parsed into finer distinctions. Most of the PRn students at Marquin (51.3%), while born in the U.S., are only the first native-born generation—their parents were born in Puerto Rico. As for the Mexican students, about 40% are native born. And while many were born in Mexico, most of these students have been in the U.S. since a young age. In other words, while the generational status of students at Marquin would predict the Puerto Ricans to be further along in the process of language shift, it would also predict bilingualism for both ethnic groups, (albeit in differing degrees for each group). As was discussed above, data collected at Marquin generally support these predictions.

The generational status of Mexicans at Marquin seems to be reflective of the Mexican population of the city as a whole. A report on 2000 census data indicates that of the 1.1 million

people of Mexican origin living in the Chicago metropolitan area (i.e. the city and its suburbs), just over half (N=563,500) were foreign-born (Paral & Ready 2005). As was discussed in chapter 5, it would seem that the Puerto Rican population of Marquin, while probably representative of Cartagena Square, might be more recently arrived than the Puerto Rican population of Chicago as a whole. While figures on foreign-born versus native-born Puerto Ricans in Chicago could not be obtained, this interpretation follows from a reading of the migration patterns of Puerto Ricans to Chicago. If the major waves of Puerto Rican migration occurred between the 1950s and 1970s, and if migration has dwindled since then, it would stand to reason that a large proportion of the Puerto Rican population is native-born. In addition, two to even three generations of native-born Puerto Ricans can be expected in many cases.

6.2.10. Linguistic and ethnic attitudes/ideologies

As was discussed above, various models of language shift address the importance of attitudes in the question of language shift/maintenance. More specifically, an ethnolinguistic group's attitudes towards the language and culture are considered to impact language choices, as are the attitudes of out-groups regarding the ethnic language and culture. Positive evaluations both within and without the group will favor language maintenance, while negative evaluations will favor language shift. In this dissertation the related issue of language ideologies has also been discussed, and literature which demonstrates the importance of this factor to language shift/choice was reviewed in chapter 5.

6.2.10.1. Inter-group attitudes towards language and culture

According to Jaramillo's (1995) macrosociolinguistic analysis of Spanish maintenance in Tucson, Arizona, the attitudes of a dominant group towards an ethnolinguistic group and its language can be detected in the conspicuity of the language in public domains. This was already

discussed above under the heading of institutional status, and there it was seen that the Spanish language is quite ubiquitous throughout the city of Chicago. Thus, according to this criterion, the dominant group's attitudes towards Spanish and Spanish speakers are generally positive. Along these lines, the consumption of Latin music, other pop culture, and food by the dominant society would also indicate a positive attitude towards "Hispanics" and "Hispanic culture." At the same time, negative stances are apparent. We have already discussed stigmas of illegality associated with Mexicans, and stigmas of welfare dependency associated with Puerto Ricans. Thus, to borrow a term from Jaramillo, it may be that rather than signaling wholeheartedly positive attitudes on the part of the dominant culture, the conspicuity of Spanish and tokens of Hispanic culture may be better understood as the "passive legitimization" of Spanish and Spanish speakers.

In a situation of dialect contact, attitudes between the ethnolinguistic groups in contact must also be examined, for they too can affect linguistic choices. Zentella (1990) discusses the effects of negative evaluations of Dominicans and Dominican Spanish by members of other Latino subgroups in New York. According to Zentella, their status as a disparaged group has caused a linguistic insecurity among Dominicans. This linguistic insecurity was seen to manifest in the propensity of Dominicans to borrow lexical items from other Hispanic dialects, and in their tendency to adopt Anglicisms "as possible status enhancers, and as a way to avoid criticism of their Spanish" (1101). In other words, inter-group attitudes in a dialect contact situation can affect the linguistic choices of group members and, in the case of negative attitudes, facilitate language shift.

Zentella (1990) explains the disparaged status of Dominicans by the factors of race, education, income, and skin color. As has already been discussed, Mexicans and Puerto Ricans

have similar educational and income levels in Chicago. While the factors of race and skin color may explain the negative attitudes of Mexicans towards Puerto Ricans in Chicago, Puerto Ricans too can have quite negative perceptions of Mexicans. Ramos-Zayas and De Genova (2003) explore discourses amongst Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in Chicago, and report that Mexicans perceive of Puerto Ricans as lazy, violent, criminal, and undeserving of their U.S. citizenship. In addition, they consider the Spanish spoken by Puerto Ricans to be a poor, debased variety. Puerto Ricans, on the other hand, conceive of Mexicans as submissive, backwards, and overly traditional, and view their Spanish as comical and colloquial.

Amongst the youth of Marquin High School, the situation seems to be slightly more lopsided. Discourses of ethnic and linguistic ideologies explored in chapter 5 revealed that the Mexicans at Marquin did indeed hold some of the same opinions as those held by the older generation of Mexicans studied by RZDG (2003)—they too were observed to depict Puerto Ricans as lazy and undeserving, and their Spanish as incorrect and debased. At the same time, Mexican discourses more often reflected an ideology of *difference*, rather than hierarchical assessment—the Mexicans at Marquin did not take *as* disparaging a stance towards the Puerto Ricans as the Puerto Ricans did towards the Mexicans. This was also reflected in a survey of attitudes conducted amongst the 12 key participants.

Items on this survey were meant to assess intra- and inter-group attitudes towards the ethnic group itself and its language. Again, the small sample size is a drawback, though it should also be recalled that these key participants were taken to be representative of the social networks/friendship clusters in the school. With respect to the Spanish dialects of each group, four of the six Mexican key participants evaluated Mexican Spanish more positively than Puerto Rican Spanish, and two evaluated them as the same. On a scale of one to six, Mexicans gave an

overall average rating of 4.8 to their own variety of Spanish, compared to a rating of 4.2 for Puerto Rican Spanish. Of the six Puerto Rican students, five evaluated their Spanish more positively than that of Mexicans, and one evaluated the two varieties the same. Of the five who evaluated Puerto Rican Spanish more positively, all judged Puerto Rican Spanish to ‘sound cooler.’ Puerto Ricans gave their own variety of Spanish an average rating of 4.7, while Mexican Spanish was evaluated at a considerably lower rate of 3.3. In other words, the Mexican students evaluated their Spanish variety more positively than Puerto Rican Spanish, but the differential between their evaluation of their own Spanish and Puerto Rican Spanish was not as great as that evidenced from the Puerto Ricans. The Puerto Ricans evaluated Mexican Spanish considerably more negatively than their own Spanish, indicating that their attitudes towards Mexican Spanish were more strongly negative than those of the Mexicans towards Puerto Rican Spanish.

Inter- and intra-group attitudes towards the ethnic groups themselves were even more interesting. Responses to items inquiring about students’ ethnic preferences for friends and marriage partners were used to assess these attitudes. Using these items as indicators of attitudes towards the two ethnic groups, all six Puerto Rican students displayed positive intra-group attitudes, and quite negative attitudes towards Mexicans. The Puerto Rican students averaged a rating of 5.4 (out of six) when responding for their own ethnic group, compared to an average rating of 2.9 for Mexicans. In other words, the Puerto Ricans responded that they would enjoy having many Puerto Rican friends, and would like to marry someone Puerto Rican. Attitudes towards Mexicans, as assessed through these items, were significantly more negative. On the other hand, of the six Mexican students surveyed, only one expressed more positive attitudes towards Mexicans than Puerto Ricans. Three evaluated the two groups the same (though one of

these respondents, Real, left the question regarding friendships blank), and two actually expressed more positive attitudes towards Puerto Ricans than towards their own ethnic group. In other words, these two Mexican students would rather have Puerto Rican friends and/or marriage partners than Mexican. These attitudes were reflected in the overall average ratings. Leaving out the data from Real (who indicated that he was just as happy to marry a Puerto Rican girl as a Mexican girl), the Mexican average rating of their own ethnic group was 5.0, while their average rating when responding for Puerto Ricans was 5.1. In other words, Mexican attitudes towards their own ethnic group, evaluated through the topic of friendship and marriage partners, were quite positive. Mexican attitudes towards Puerto Ricans were just as positive, and in some cases, even more positive than their attitudes towards their own ethnic group.

In summary then, Puerto Rican attitudes towards Mexicans and their Spanish were more negative than were the attitudes of Mexicans towards Puerto Ricans and their Spanish (though as we will discuss below, Mexican attitudes towards their own ethnic group and dialect were quite high). This may be attributed to the fact that Puerto Rican discourses, which assessed Puerto Ricans as racially and culturally superior to Mexicans, were actually dominant or hegemonic discourses which were shown in the last chapter to be recognized and accepted to some degree by the Mexicans at Marquin. In other words, that the Mexicans at Marquin did not take as disparaging a stance towards the Puerto Ricans as the Puerto Ricans towards the Mexicans can be seen as an additional consequence of the hegemonic ideology.

6.2.10.2. Intra-group attitudes towards language and culture

The ethnolinguistic vitality model asserts that social status will predict intra-group attitudes—“high-status group position can contribute to a more positive social identity for group members than low-status group membership” (Harwood et al. 1994: 170). The above macrosocial,

quantitative assessment of social status showed that Puerto Ricans and Mexicans both have similarly low social standing in U.S. society and within Chicago. According to the ethnolinguistic vitality model, this should predict low self-esteem for both groups regarding both their culture and language. A more qualitative analysis revealed a covert status for Puerto Rican youth which would predict more positive intra-group attitudes for Puerto Ricans.

According to Jaramillo (1995), a highly active community with well-run community organizations and associations to further the ethnolinguistic community's needs is an indicator of intra-group attitudes. As was seen under the heading of institutional status, both ethnolinguistic groups meet this criterion for positive intra-group attitudes. In addition, as was largely seen in the last sub-section and in the last chapter, "positive attitudes and beliefs about one's own mother tongue and other manifestations of ethnicity" were also evidenced from both ethnolinguistic groups (Jaramillo 1995:80). The survey discussed above showed Mexicans to evaluate their own dialect quite positively, (4.8 out of 6), and most evaluated it as better than Puerto Rican Spanish. Their evaluation of themselves as friends and marriage partners was also high—Mexicans gave themselves an average rating of five out of six (though we also saw that they actually evaluated PRns more positively than themselves). Puerto Ricans showed similarly positive attitudes towards themselves and their Spanish. Of course, as was noted above and throughout this dissertation, there is significant variation within each ethnolinguistic group with respect to both intra- and inter-group attitudes towards both language and culture.

Lastly, we have seen in this dissertation that an exploration of ethnic and linguistic ideologies, and more precisely, of the link between language, identity and ideology is a necessary endeavor in order to fully understand this and many other changing linguistic situations. It was seen in this dissertation that the dominant ideology of the school held that

Spanish was more suitable as a home language, and that Mexican Spanish and other symbols of Mexican identity were construed as emblematic of the inherent backwards, rural, and recently arrived nature of Mexicans themselves. “Ghetto English,” on the other hand, along with other symbols of the “ghetto identity” shared by Puerto Ricans and African Americans, was seen to reflect the intrinsic properties of urbanity, hipness, modernity, and savvy attributed to Puerto Ricans. The heterogeneity of views within Mexicans in particular was also exposed, and it was seen that intra-group evaluations of cultural authenticity were common, along with the countering depiction of Puerto Ricans as more (African) American and much less culturally authentic.

6.3. ANALYSIS

The above description of the sociolinguistic situation for both Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in Chicago is meant to illuminate any large-scale factors differentially affecting each ethnolinguistic community. It was seen here that on most factors, Mexicans and Puerto Ricans have quite similar standing within the city of Chicago. It would seem that for both groups, there are numerous factors which would predict/facilitate language shift, while there are a number of other factors which would facilitate language maintenance. And yet, we have seen that the Puerto Rican students at Marquin are shifting to English faster, or in more domains, than are the Mexican students. In this section I seek to explain this differential behavior, using the insights gained from the above description.

6.3.1. Mexican language shift/maintenance

A number of factors discussed by models of language maintenance/shift predict language shift for the Mexicans of Chicago. First of all, while Chicanos in the Southwest can be considered a subordinate group that was indigenous at the time of contact, Mexicans in Chicago are better

characterized as a migrant subordinate population. According to both Schermerhorn (1970) and Lieberman (1975), the prior situation is one that is quite resistant to language shift, whereas the latter situation is one in which groups can be expected to undergo rapid language shift (in Paulston 1995). At the same time, the legacy of annexation contributes to the low social status of all Mexicans in the U.S. (Flores 2000). Educational attainment and economic status also contribute to the low social status of Mexicans in the U.S. and in Chicago. Low social status often provides additional incentive to shift, via the factors of identity and ideology (discussed in the theoretical framework). In addition, while the bulk of the Mexican population in Chicago is foreign-born, Mexicans have resided in Chicago since the early 1900s. Thus, while Mexicans in Chicago are characterized as an immigrant population, almost half of the population in the metropolitan area is actually native-born, and many families have histories of residence that stretch back for numerous generations. As was discussed in the theoretical framework, this sort of a generational status predicts assimilation for the involved individuals. Assimilation can be marital, cultural, and linguistic. Thus, this particular constellation of factors does predict/explain the language shift of many Mexicans in Chicago.

While language shift can be expected among many of Chicago's Mexicans, the Spanish language is unlikely to disappear in the city of Chicago due to numerous factors discussed in the above description, and particularly because of the constant influx of Mexican immigrants who refresh the language pool. Mexican immigrants to the city of Chicago (and long-time residents) find a situation quite amenable to language maintenance. In fact, for many, it is quite difficult to make the switch to English. Though a socioeconomic incentive to at least learn English is present, and may be compounded by the low social status accorded to Mexicans as a group,

many other factors facilitate the maintenance of Spanish and in fact limit access and exposure to English.

As was seen above, the institutional status of Mexicans and Spanish is quite high—Spanish is quite ubiquitous in the city of Chicago and is well-recognized by the dominant society. Access to Spanish is abundant. In addition, while political representation of Mexicans may not yet be commensurate with the size of the population, there is an active and well-organized network of Mexicans looking out for the needs of the community in the arenas of health, education (including language), immigration status, and culture, to name a few. Thus, high institutional status facilitates language maintenance due to the ease with which Spanish speakers can subsist on Spanish alone within the city, and because of the positive effects this institutional status has on the individual's ethnic/social identity. In effect, high institutional status can detract from the incentive to completely shift to the dominant language and at the very least, encourages bilingualism. Signs of generational improvement in socioeconomic status (seen to be marginally higher than that of the Puerto Ricans) may have similar effects. In addition, demographic factors such as the large numbers of Mexicans in Chicago and their geographic concentration also favor language maintenance for this population.

Lastly, Spanish maintenance/monolingualism is predicted for many Mexicans in Chicago, and particularly undocumented Mexicans, in a more negative way. As was discussed above, undocumented Mexicans are not privy to the benefits of U.S. citizenship. Undocumented Mexican immigrants of all ages will often bypass education and directly join the work force (Fry 2003). This is largely due to economic needs, but, as anecdotal evidence indicates, is also due to the fear of detection by INS. By not attending school, a major opportunity for exposure to English is missed. In addition, undocumented Mexicans are not eligible for most jobs and

cannot buy property. As a result, they will most often end up working and living alongside immigrants who are in their same position and who also have minimal English language skills. Thus, access to English is largely curtailed both directly, and indirectly via the social networks formed by such immigrants.

As has been seen here, the sociolinguistic situation of Mexicans in Chicago is such that anything from rapid shift to a prolonged bilingualism can be sustained and explained. Spanish monolingualism can even be expected in many cases, though this will most likely be unsustainable past one generation, due largely to compulsory education. The linguistic situation of the Mexican students at Marquin is also quite varied, but can be described as one of bilingualism. Spanish is being maintained by a majority of these students, and in many cases is spoken even in the school domain. At the same time, a great majority also speaks English, and some choose to speak minimal Spanish while at school. The language choices of the Mexican students are well represented by the six key participants—during the day spent with each of these students, two spoke minimal Spanish. One spoke some Spanish but mostly English. Three of the students spoke roughly equal amounts of Spanish and English throughout their school days. The only population not represented is the small number of Mexicans who are very recent arrivals to the U.S. and have limited proficiency in English (and thus are enrolled in bilingual classes). Thus, to return to our original question, what about the sociolinguistic situation of these Mexicans explains their tendency to maintain Spanish, particularly in the school domain?

Many of the factors that were shown above to predict and explain language maintenance amongst Chicago Mexicans do apply to the Mexicans at Marquin. For example, the factors of institutional status, access to Spanish, and the number and concentration of Mexicans in Chicago affect these Mexican youth the same as they affect the greater Mexican population of Chicago.

While these factors do facilitate ethnic language maintenance, these same factors also apply to the Puerto Rican students at Marquin, who are not maintaining Spanish to the same degree that Mexicans are. Thus, these factors alone are not enough to explain the maintenance of Spanish by Marquin Mexicans. Additionally, (and in contrast to the majority of Puerto Rican students) many of the Mexicans at Marquin spent some time in bilingual education, where further access to Spanish and Spanish speakers can occur. Enrollment in bilingual education was variably attributed to the foreign-born status of many Mexicans, their predominantly monolingual early childhoods, and/or the stronger desire of Mexican parents for Spanish language maintenance. Those Mexicans who were not foreign-born were overwhelmingly the children of parents who were foreign-born. Many if not most of these Mexican parents fit the profile of recently arrived/undocumented immigrants discussed above. Consequently, many of these parents have had limited access to English, have had largely monolingual networks, and show very low rates of inter-marriage. Thus, the relatively balanced bilingualism of Marquin Mexicans may very well be explained by their familial “immigrant” status which, for Mexicans in particular, can bring with it minimal access to English.

On the other hand, the Mexican students at Marquin are largely differentiated from their parents due to the mere fact that they are in school in the U.S. This brings with it access to English and English speakers which, at the very least, predicts bilingualism, and can predict language shift. While it is true that many Mexicans were at some point enrolled in bilingual education, it should be recalled that bilingual education within the Chicago Public Schools is a transitional program. Students in this sample who had been in bilingual education in their early childhood oftentimes could not be differentiated by the researcher (with respect to their English) from those who had not been in bilingual education. Therefore, participation in bilingual

education may affect individuals' social networks and even their sense of identity, but it does not hinder access to or fluency in English. This is encapsulated once again in the sample of six Mexican key participants—the two who spoke little to no Spanish during their days had both spent some years in bilingual education in elementary school. The one participant who spoke some Spanish but mostly English had also been in bilingual education. Of the three Mexicans who spoke English and Spanish in almost equal amounts, one had been in bilingual education, but one had not.³²

Access to public education in the U.S. then, at the very least, facilitates a fluency in the majority language. Furthermore, according to Appel and Muysken's (1987) discussion of Tosi's (1984) study of language shift amongst Italian immigrants in England, access to English through schooling can very well precipitate a language shift whereby the domains in which the home language is used become diminished: "English really gains influence when the children go to school and become more proficient in it. English will then inevitably be brought into the household: initially for use mainly with other siblings, but later also in interactions with the parents. A younger person will gradually learn to understand that the two languages are associated with two different value systems, and that these systems often collide with each other" (Appel and Muysken 1987: 42). This quote also brings us to our next point. Access to English and English speakers provides the *opportunity* to shift languages. Low social status provides the *motivation* for language shift. As was discussed in this chapter and the last, within the U.S., there is a strong socioeconomic incentive/pressure to shift to English for all immigrant groups. This is compounded, in the case of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, by their low socioeconomic status. It was discussed above that Mexicans in Chicago might have a slightly higher socioeconomic status than Puerto Ricans. At the same time, the social status of Mexicans at

³² It is not known whether or not the last Mexican key participant had participated in bilingual education.

Marquin, and their language, is considerably lower. The local reality of the Mexicans at Marquin is that which was discussed in the last chapter. The dominant ideology holds that not only are Mexicans culturally different than Puerto Ricans, but that these differences are transparent symbols of their inherent deficiencies.

Thus, it would seem that both opportunity and motive to shift languages exist for the Mexican students at Marquin. The school domain is one of the first places where language shift could be expected. We have seen that while some Mexicans have completely shifted, and some have shifted to a large degree, many use both Spanish and English while at school. As was just seen, factors that predict language maintenance for Mexicans do exist, but these also pertain to Puerto Ricans, who are not maintaining Spanish in the school domain. In addition, Mexicans at Marquin suffer from a low social status. Then why are so many Mexicans maintaining Spanish?

A language shift/maintenance framework has illuminated that the Mexicans at Marquin are differentiated from Puerto Ricans on the factors of generational status, immigration, and U.S. citizenship. As was discussed above, these factors can directly affect Mexican students, or indirectly affect them via their parents. These factors explain the higher incidence of bilingual education amongst Mexican students. Interestingly, these are the very differences seized upon by the Puerto Rican students at Marquin as symbolic of the inherent deficiencies of Mexicans. In other words, dominant discourses pinpoint real differences between the two groups, but then hierarchically assess and racialize these differences, resulting in the low social status accorded to Mexicans at Marquin. This stands in contrast to the factors of race, education, income and skin color used by Zentella (1990) to explain differences in social status/attitudes amongst Latinos in New York. With respect to language choice, these differences, already targeted by dominant

discourses and now independently illuminated by a language shift model, should help to explain the differential linguistic behavior of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans at Marquin.

As was discussed above, these factors of generational status, immigration, and citizenship need not directly constrain the language choices of the youth generation at Marquin, as some models of language shift/maintenance may imply. While these factors may very well curtail the access the parents of these students have to English and English speakers, this is not true for their children. Thus, it would seem that these macrosocial, largely independent factors are impacting the Mexicans at Marquin via intervening variables of identity and ideology. Most Mexicans at Marquin who are speaking Spanish are not doing so due to a lack of English-language competency. Instead, as was seen in the last chapter, the language choices of Marquin Mexicans are restricted and shaped by available social/ethnic identities and existing ideologies, themselves constrained by both the macrosociolinguistic situation, and the local one. Numerous scenarios are possible and can help to account for the heterogeneity of linguistic choices evidenced. Being relatively recent arrivals to the U.S., belonging to a community that is constantly refreshed by immigrants from Mexico, and having home lives and familial networks that are predominantly Mexican and monolingual may foster a strong sense of Mexican ethnicity in students. This can of course be strengthened by the institutional status of Mexicans and Spanish, their social status which is marginally better than Puerto Ricans and presumably improving, easy access to the Spanish language, and the geographic concentration of Mexicans that surrounds these students. These students, though students at a U.S. high school, choose Mexican, Spanish speaking social networks, and maintain Spanish even in the school domain. They do not necessarily have negative attitudes towards other groups, and may even admire/envy other groups and the positive

characteristics attributed to them by the dominant local ideology. But this does not interfere with a strong sense of Mexican identity, cultural authenticity and pride, and maintenance of Spanish.

Alternatively, these same students and others may (also) be reacting to the low social status attributed to them, particularly by the local dominant ideology and discourses. The same factors of generational status, immigration and citizenship account for the stigmatization of Mexicans at Marquin, and as Bailey (2002) has pointed out, stigmatization can lead to higher collective consciousness, solidarity and pride, all of which can manifest in the maintenance of the “disparaged variety.” Thus, low social status will impact constructions of ethnic identity and a contesting ideology, and may encourage students to seek out same-ethnic social networks and maintain the ethnic language. On the other hand, we have also seen that a disparaged status can affect individual constructions of ethnic identity and ideology in a more hegemonic way. For many Mexican students, the disparaged social status of Mexicans and their Spanish, and the elevated status of Puerto Ricans, African Americans, and “ghetto English,” is appropriated to various degrees. These students may distance themselves from other Mexicans, from speaking Spanish, and/or from other symbols of Mexican ethnicity. Finally, it is important to note that the nature of identity is such that individuals may not fit singularly into one of these scenarios, and may in fact fit into all of them. In other words, not only will the constellation of factors described here be perceived and acted upon differently by different group members, but also, individual group members will perceive and act upon these factors differently in different moments and contexts. Taken together, this can begin to account for the heterogeneous constructions of identity we have glimpsed in this dissertation.

A review of the macrosociolinguistic situation of Mexicans in Chicago rightly predicts a heterogeneity of linguistic outcomes for this community. Low socioeconomic status,

compounded by the legacy of conquest and annexation, provides even stronger incentive to shift to the dominant language than that which exists for many immigrant groups. For these reasons, families who have been in the U.S. for a number of generations will often see language shift, especially as children attend U.S. schools. On the other hand, Spanish language maintenance is facilitated, especially for recent immigrants to Chicago, by demographic factors, the institutional status of Mexicans and Spanish, the abundant access to Spanish language resources, and unfortunately, by restricted access to numerous scarce resources and consequently, English. A focus on Mexicans at Marquin reveals that while the factors of generational status, immigration and access to resources do not directly constrain their language choices to the same degree as they do their parents' language choices; these factors do affect the social status, identities and ideologies of these students. These variables, in turn, can affect the social networks Marquin Mexicans choose to form, and ultimately, their language choices.

6.3.2. Puerto Rican language shift/maintenance

As has been discussed throughout this dissertation, the sociolinguistic situation for Puerto Ricans in Chicago is very similar to that of the Mexicans in Chicago—this is why similar linguistic behavior was expected from the Mexicans and Puerto Ricans at Marquin. Numerous factors aid in the maintenance of the mother tongue for Puerto Ricans, while other factors facilitate shift to the dominant language. As has been seen, the institutional status of Spanish in Chicago is high. The institutional status of Puerto Ricans, as an ethnolinguistic group, is also quite high. Both politically and with respect to organizing at the community level, Puerto Ricans and their needs are quite well represented. Language maintenance is also facilitated by access to Spanish, and by demographic factors—while PRNs are not as large a group within Chicago as are Mexicans, they are quite strong in numbers and are the second largest Latino group in Chicago. In addition,

Puerto Ricans are geographically quite concentrated in a number of neighborhoods within Chicago. Lastly, U.S. citizenship allows Puerto Ricans to freely migrate between the Island and the Mainland. Due to these factors, it is quite possible for Puerto Ricans to maintain Spanish within the city of Chicago.

On the other hand, numerous factors illuminated by a language shift/maintenance model predict language shift for Puerto Ricans. Many of these factors too are held in common with the Mexican community of Chicago. Like Mexicans, Puerto Ricans in Chicago (and on the Mainland in general) can be described as a migrant subordinate population with a legacy of colonization and annexation. As was discussed above, migrant subordinate groups can be expected to undergo rapid shift, and the legacy of colonization and annexation can be seen to contribute to the subordinate status of Puerto Ricans. Puerto Ricans in Chicago are also characterized by a low socioeconomic status, and all of these factors can intensify the incentive to shift to the dominant language that already exists within U.S. society. In addition, and in contradistinction to Mexicans, Puerto Rican migration to the Mainland has declined quite drastically in recent decades. Consequently, the Puerto Rican community is not culturally and linguistically refreshed to the same degree as Mexicans are (though transmigration does help in this regard), and secondly, the bulk of the Puerto Rican population in Chicago is characterized by at least a few generations of residency. Both of these issues can predict language shift. Also, unlike Mexicans, Puerto Ricans are U.S. citizens by birth. This affords access to numerous scarce resources such as public aid, jobs, education, and the right to buy property. The degree to which Puerto Ricans in Chicago take advantage of these benefits varies considerably, but theoretically, this U.S. citizenship can lead to heightened exposure to English and English speaking social networks. Thus, while the infrastructure for maintaining a prolonged

bilingualism does exist for the Puerto Ricans of Chicago, numerous factors that can induce language shift also exist.

It was seen earlier in this chapter that most Puerto Ricans at Marquin are indeed bilingual, though quite few choose to speak Spanish in the school domain. Of the six key Puerto Rican participants, only one spoke any significant amount of Spanish during the school day spent with her. In other words, most Puerto Ricans at Marquin are speaking Spanish, but in restricted domains. Given the ability to speak Spanish, facilities for maintaining Spanish, and the fact that their Mexican peers do maintain Spanish to a large degree within the school domain, the question regarding Marquin Puerto Ricans is why they are shifting to English more rapidly than Mexicans. Why are these Puerto Rican youth not maintaining Spanish in more domains? While there are numerous factors that provide both opportunity and incentive to both Puerto Ricans and Mexicans to shift to English, the Mexicans are not shifting very rapidly. Why are the Puerto Ricans?

This survey of macrosocial factors illuminated a number of factors on which Puerto Ricans and Mexicans in Chicago differentiate. Namely, the bulk of the Puerto Rican population has a longer history of residence in Chicago and in the U.S. than most Mexicans, largely due to the fact that migration from the Island to the Mainland is quite low and immigration from Mexico to the U.S. has been continually high for the past few decades. In addition, all Puerto Ricans, and not Mexicans, are U.S. citizens from birth. These factors may directly affect the language choices of the Puerto Rican youth at Marquin, and may also indirectly affect their choices through the variables of identity and ideology, which in turn can affect the social networks students choose to form.

As was seen in the preceding discussion of the language choices of Marquin Mexicans; the generational status of Mexicans, the high rates of immigration, and a lack of citizenship benefits, in addition to the other macrosocial factors that facilitate language maintenance, may have contributed to a largely Mexican and Spanish-speaking early upbringing for many of these students. On the other hand, most of the Puerto Rican students at Marquin were born in the U.S. Their parents presumably migrated to the U.S. at varying ages, but as mentioned in chapter 4, some students reported stories of parents and other family members who had attended Marquin when it was still Ipsilon High School. Thus, some Puerto Rican parents and relatives did attend high school in the U.S. Others who migrated later were not legally limited in their search for jobs, unlike Mexican migrants. As was shown earlier though, low levels of educational attainment limit access to well-paying jobs for Puerto Ricans, as does limited English proficiency. These factors may therefore have influenced the employment opportunities for some of the parents of Marquin Puerto Ricans, and thus their social networks. Still, it is possible that the Puerto Rican students at Marquin, through their familial networks and early childhood in Chicago, may have been exposed to more English at an early age than their Mexican peers. In addition, new Puerto Rican migrants and family members were not moving into the neighborhood as these students grew up, though, on the other hand, Mexican immigrants were. Thus it would seem that while not drastically different from their Mexican peers, the Puerto Rican youth of Marquin High School might have had more exposure to English during their early childhood. This early exposure to English, in addition to the other macrosocial factors discussed above such as low socioeconomic status which provide further incentive to shift, may to some degree explain the observed preference for English in certain domains.

Again, it should be emphasized that the Puerto Rican youth and the Mexican youth at Marquin are not that different from one another. While many Mexicans at Marquin may have had a more monolingual early childhood than the Puerto Ricans, they too were exposed to English from a fairly young age. The Puerto Rican students may have had more early exposure to English than their Mexican peers, due to the differences in macrosocial factors elucidated above, but they too grew up in families and an environment that supported Spanish language maintenance. After all, these students did much of their growing up not only in the same city, but also in the same neighborhood. In addition, it was discussed that most Marquin Puerto Ricans do not have a generational status that is that different from their Mexican peers—most of their parents were born in Puerto Rico. Thus, while some may be quite proficient in English, others may be anywhere from Spanish dominant bilinguals to even Spanish monolingual. Also, it was seen that these students come from parents who show very low rates of exogamy. And lastly, these students go to school with other students who are speaking both Spanish and English while at school. Thus, it would seem that more might be at play than just the direct effect of the macrosocial factors discussed above which predict language shift for Marquin Puerto Ricans. It seems that these macrosocial factors also constrain the identities and ideologies formed by these students, which in turn can restrict and shape the social networks and ultimately, the language choices of Puerto Ricans at Marquin. In other words, Puerto Ricans' choice of English in the school domain (and elsewhere) can be seen as multiply (and variably) motivated—early access to English, incentive to shift, and the effects of macrosocial factors on identity and ideology may all combine in various ways and to varying degrees to constrain the language choices of Marquin Puerto Ricans.

While it is true that a number of macrosociolinguistic factors that Puerto Ricans and Mexicans hold in common can and do foster a Puerto Rican identity and ethnolinguistic maintenance, it is also true that Puerto Ricans are differentiated from Mexicans on a number of key factors which promote an American identity, albeit a non-white one. After all, Puerto Ricans are U.S. citizens who, as an ethnolinguistic group, have been in the U.S. and Chicago for a number of generations. Thus, these factors that differentiate Puerto Ricans from Mexicans can create in Puerto Ricans an identity as non-white Americans, much like their African American neighbors with whom they also share a common socioeconomic status (as was discussed above). This identity, shared with African Americans, brings with it related ethnic and linguistic ideologies, which we have explored throughout this dissertation.

Again, numerous scenarios are possible. Many Marquin Puerto Ricans may indeed be shifting to English due simply to the incentive/pressure to shift to English within the U.S. and the U.S. educational system. A possible early childhood of exposure to English, in addition to a legally sanctioned “American” group and individual identity may facilitate this process. In addition, we have seen that within the local dominant ideology, there is a covert prestige associated with the Afro-Puerto Rican shared identity which we have referred to as the “ghetto identity.” This prestige celebrates the common ancestry, collaborative artistic products, and the history of marginalization of both groups within U.S. inner cities. Symbols of this identity are taken as indexical of intrinsic properties which are positively assessed within this ideology. This social status attributed to the “ghetto identity” and its various symbols, one of which is “ghetto English,” can also drive the linguistic choices of many Puerto Ricans at Marquin. It is interesting to note that while high social status of an ethnolinguistic group can predict maintenance of the ethnic language, in this case, it is the “(African) Americanness” of Puerto

Rican youth which is celebrated, and thus language *shift* is encouraged. Furthermore, we have seen that many students at Marquin not only appropriate and disseminate this ideology, but also construct the “ghetto identity” oppositionally. Macrosocial differences of citizenship, generational and immigration status between Mexicans and Puerto Ricans are racialized and hierarchically assessed to glorify the urbanity, hipness, and modernity of Puerto Ricans and the “ghetto identity,” and to disparage the backwards, rural and traditional nature attributed to Mexicans. Symbols of the Mexican identity/ethnicity, including Spanish, are seen as indexical of these same intrinsic traits. Thus, a shift to English in the school domain finds added motivation. And in the end, because these racializing discourses and ideologies are dominant at Marquin, many Puerto Ricans (and Mexicans) who do not actively construct such oppositional identities and ideologies, may still come to avoid and negatively assess Spanish, and Mexicans. This was reflected in the discourses, friendship clusters, and even in the attitude surveys of Puerto Ricans at Marquin.

We have seen that the macrosociolinguistic situation for Puerto Ricans in Chicago is one that can support ethnic language maintenance and predicts and explains bilingualism for much of the Puerto Rican community of Chicago. On the other hand, much of the youth generation is shifting to English to varying degrees and in varying domains. It was shown here that this shift is multiply motivated—the particular macrosociolinguistic situation of Puerto Ricans can mean early access to English, and may influence the language choices of Marquin Puerto Ricans. This may be compounded by the socioeconomic incentive to shift. In addition, the macrosociolinguistic particularities of Puerto Ricans, namely, their U.S. citizenship, length of residence in the U.S., and lack of new migration; can impact the intervening variables of social

status, identity and ideology. These variables, in turn, can influence the social networks Puerto Rican youth choose to form.

It is worth noting that Appel and Muysken (1987) also posit identity and social networks as important intervening variables in language shift. They maintain that rather than acting directly on language choice, macrosocial factors act on the intervening variables of identity and social networks. They cite Gal's study (1978) in a Hungarian peasant village as a good illustration of the fact that changing social situations may affect different individuals differently, and that in the end, language shift/maintenance may indeed involve strategic and socially meaningful choices mediated by issues of identity, and I would add, ideology. Gal (1978) also illustrates the importance of social networks in linguistic choices, and the model proposed by Appel and Muysken seems to position social networks as an intervening variable of the same level as identity—in other words, this model implies that macrosocial factors act directly on the intervening variables of identity and social networks, which in turn constrain language choices. This may oftentimes be quite true—as was discussed earlier, macrosociolinguistic factors do influence the educational and employment opportunities of Latinos in Chicago, and thus will strongly affect their social networks. But it was also seen that particularly for the youth generation at Marquin, social networks can themselves be affected by the factors of identity and ideology. Within this interpretation, an individual's network of associations is seen to be constrained not so directly by macrosociolinguistic factors, but rather via the intervening factors of local ideologies and available social identities. It should be noted that these options are not mutually exclusive—independent factors may directly constrain individuals' possibilities for their social networks, *and* they may affect social networks more indirectly via the factors of identity and ideology.

6.4. CONCLUSION

In this chapter, a language shift/maintenance framework was used to analyze the divergent linguistic behavior of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans at Marquin. Since it was seen that students at Marquin are choosing to speak different languages, a language shift model was used to illuminate macrosocial factors that might explain the greater language shift of one community compared to the greater language maintenance of the other. Throughout this dissertation interactional and linguistic behavior was characterized as a series of choices constrained by questions of identity and ideology. This analysis was intended to illuminate any macrosocial factors that might independently explain this divergent language behavior.

An examination of the macrosociolinguistic situation of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in Chicago through a language shift/maintenance framework has confirmed, first of all, that the two ethnolinguistic communities are in fact quite similar. It was seen that the circumstances of both communities are such that both language shift and maintenance can be predicted/explained. Numerous factors to encourage language maintenance are present, especially for recently arrived group members, while language shift is also facilitated, especially for later generations. Salient differences illuminated by this analysis are the very ones pinpointed by predominant discourses at Marquin. Namely, Mexicans are more recent arrivals to the U.S. than are Puerto Ricans, many are not U.S. citizens, and in fact, many are altogether undocumented. These differences may largely (though not completely) explain the divergent linguistic behavior of large portions of each community. Specifically, these factors can restrict the amount of access Mexicans have to English and English speakers. This is not true for Puerto Ricans. These same differences may explain the linguistic choices of some Mexicans and Puerto Ricans at Marquin, but early access to English for the Mexicans and support for linguistic and cultural maintenance for the Puerto Ricans indicates that these macrosocial factors alone cannot explain the divergent linguistic

behavior evidenced at Marquin. This analysis confirmed that the interplay of identity, ideology and social status, and its effects on social networks, must come into play to fully explain linguistic choices and the more rapid language shift of Puerto Ricans in comparison to Mexicans. This analysis also elucidated the fact that these variables are intervening variables, themselves acted upon by the macrosociolinguistic situation—existing macrosocial differences were the fodder for the ideologies and identities available to and constructed by Marquin students.

Thus, we can conclude that the Mexicans and Puerto Ricans at Marquin could interact with each other in the same language, but instead, members of each group are choosing to speak different languages and to not interact. These choices are constrained by available identities and existing ideologies—the tightly coupled link between ethnic and social identity that was seen to exist at Marquin, along with the accompanying belief that each group is essentially different from the other (and possibly better), restrict and shape the linguistic and interactional choices of these students. Without interacting in the same language, koineization cannot occur. This linguistic situation follows the sort of model that Leslie and James Milroy (1992) insist should be used for language and social values—one which stresses competing social values, rather than a consensus. In their discussion of Labov and Harris (1986), L. and J. Milroy explain the linguistic divergence between blacks and whites in Philadelphia as a question of competing norms and values. Rather than viewing the linguistic divergence between the two groups as a question of participation in linguistic changes (i.e. the blacks in Philadelphia are not participating in certain changes taking place amongst whites); they propose that the two groups, on the whole connected only by tenuous weak ties, have conflicting norms of usage. This, they argue, is a better explanation for the observed linguistic divergence.

This model of competing social values describes the situation at Marquin to a large extent. Marquin has been shown to be made up of a few larger networks that are constructed along lines of ethnic identity, and these networks have competing norms and values, including language. This was shown in chapters 3, 4 and 5. It was seen in chapter 3 that the divergent Spanish dialects of Marquin Puerto Ricans and Mexicans also organize them into separate networks/speech communities with differing linguistic norms and constraints. Throughout this dissertation, these divergent Spanish dialects were largely attributed to a lack of inter-ethnic interaction and divergent language choices. It is also possible that the divergent dialects are (also) an assertion of distinct ethnic identities, analogous to the way diverging language choice itself was shown to be used. This is one of a few explanations offered by Otheguy (2005) for his finding of dialect divergence amongst Latino youth in New York, and would need to be explored on its own.

While the model proposed by L. and J. Milroy (1992) does describe the situation at Marquin to some degree, this model fails to illuminate an important aspect of the linguistic situation at Marquin. At Marquin, one group, the Puerto Ricans, are the dominant group, and its ideas and evaluations are hegemonic. As has been discussed at length, this has many ideological and identity related repercussions, and has been seen to affect interactional and linguistic choices in many interesting ways.

In sum, it has been seen in this dissertation that the Mexicans and Puerto Ricans at Marquin are not only keeping separate Spanish dialects, but in many cases are speaking different languages. These linguistic divergences were attributed to the barrier posed by an ideology of ethnic difference. Ethnic identity was shown to be a barrier to interaction and to joint identity formation. Interestingly, this is in many ways similar to the findings of RZDG (2003), who also

explore the possibilities for the formation of a joint Latino identity, or *latinidad*, amongst Puerto Ricans and Mexicans in Chicago. They too find ethnic differences to pose too much of a boundary, and posit the unequal politics of citizenship at the heart of the issue. Padilla (1985) studies the emergence and development of a Latino ethnicity amongst Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in Chicago in the 1970s. He shows that such an identity does exist at an institutional/political level, and is used as a strategic identity, “when the benefits of group identity and pan-ethnic coalition building outweigh organizing along nationality-based affiliations” (Rúa 2001: 122). But he also finds that this situational, ethnic political identity does not replace nationality-based identities. Rúa (2001) also recognizes these divisions along ethnic/national lines between Puerto Ricans and Mexicans in Chicago, but chooses to focus on the daily articulations of *latinidad*, which she does find to exist amongst members of both communities. While there is no doubt that such articulations do exist and may be precursors of a more unified future, the overall picture still seems to be one of ethnic divisions between Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in Chicago.

Further lines of research have come to light through the present investigation. RZDG (2003) have posited the unequal politics of citizenship to be at the heart of the ethnic divide between Puerto Ricans and Mexicans. I have shown that in addition to this unequal politics of citizenship, the length of residence of the bulk of each group within the U.S. has also affected the intra- and inter-group identities and ideologies of each group. In addition, one must wonder to what extent race is a factor. After all, Zentella (1990) shows that Puerto Ricans and Dominicans in New York are disparaged groups due to race and skin color. Bailey (2002) discusses a Dominican/Black solidarity that is related to their shared sociostructural position and questions of shared racial ancestry. A similar solidarity was witnessed in the present research context.

Thus, it would seem that the degree to which race intersects with issues of ethnicity and citizenship to explain ideologies of difference between Puerto Ricans and Mexicans deserves further research and attention. Also, the study of these same ethnic groups in other U.S. cities with less spatial segregation would be interesting. As has been discussed in this dissertation, Chicago is a city of strict ethnic segregation, and neighborhoods within the city have vibrant ethnic histories and identities. To what degree does this physical dimension interfere in the formation of inter-ethnic relationships and identities?

Lastly, it is important to review what this dissertation has contributed to the study of dialects in contact. First and foremost, this dissertation has shown that ideologies of ethnicity and language are important factors that must be taken into account within models of dialect contact. As we have seen, such ideologies have caused a linguistic divergence to occur in a sociolinguistic context that was predicted by models of dialect contact to be a site for koineization. Relatedly, the community context of such linguistic situations must be considered. As was seen particularly in chapter 2, the sociohistorical status of a community and a neighborhood can have important repercussions for questions of power, identity, and ideology. The history of Puerto Ricans within Cartagena Square, and the physical and perceptual categorization of Cartagena Square as a Puerto Rican space, was shown to constrain the possibilities for the identity formation of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans within this space in important ways. Finally, this study has focused on the contact between two dialects of a minority language in the context of an overarching, dominant language. It was shown that such a context brings with it additional questions of language choice, shift and maintenance. The wide range of linguistic varieties present was shown to provide further possibilities for individuals in their everyday constructions of identity.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ahrens, F. (2004, August 2). Accent on higher TV ratings [Electronic version]. *The Washington Post*, p. A01.
- Alba, O. (1988). Estudio sociolingüístico de la variación de las líquidas finales de palabra en el español cibaño. In R. Hammond & M. Resnick (Eds.), *Studies in Caribbean Spanish dialectology* (pp. 1-12). Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.
- Amastae, J., & Satcher, D. (1993). Linguistic assimilation in two variables. *Language Variation and Change*, 5, 77-90.
- Anderson, J. (1999, October 12). Community clings to its roots. *The Chicago Tribune*, Metro p. 1.
- Anonymous (2004, December 20). Message posted to Youth Noise: <http://boards.youthnoise.com/eve/ubb.x/a/tpc/f/265299255/m/71010173763/p/2>
- Aponte, R. and Siles, Marcelo. (1994, November). *Latinos in the heartland: The browning of the Midwest*. Retrieved July 22, 2005 from <http://www.jsri.msu.edu/RandS/research/irr/rr05.pdf>
- Appel, R. & Muysken, P. (1987). *Language contact and bilingualism*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Badillo, D.A. Humboldt Park. In *The Encyclopedia of Chicago* [Electronic version]. Chicago: Chicago Historical Society. Retrieved May 8, 2005, from <http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/617.html>
- Bailey, B. (2002). *Language, race, and negotiation of identity: A study of Dominican Americans*. New York: LFB Scholarly Pub.
- Barth, F. (1969). *Ethnic groups and ethnic boundaries*. London: Allen and Unwin.
- Bernard, H.R. (1995). *Research methods in anthropology*. Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press.
- Bucholtz, M. (1999). You da man: Narrating the racial other in the production of white masculinity. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 3(4), 443-460.
- Cameron, D. (1990). Demythologizing sociolinguistics: Why language does not reflect society. In J.E. Joseph, T.J. Taylor (Eds.), *Ideologies of language* (pp. 79-93). London: Routledge.
- Cameron, D. (2001). *Working with spoken discourse*. London: Sage Publications.

- Casuo, J., & Camacho, E. (1995). Latino Chicago. In M.G. Holli & P.A. Jones (Eds.), *Ethnic Chicago: A multicultural portrait* (pp. 346-77). Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company.
- Center for Urban Economic Development (1996). *Analysis of employment and other socioeconomic conditions in the target area of the Humboldt Park empowerment partnership*. Chicago: University of Illinois at Chicago, College of Urban Planning and Public Affairs.
- Chadburn, Melissa (2003). Hip-hop renaissance. *Political Affairs Magazine*, August 2003, Retrieved from <http://www.politicalaffairs.net/article/view/67/1/22>
- Chambers, J.K. (1992). Dialect acquisition. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 68, 673-705.
- Chambers, J.K. (1995). *Sociolinguistic theory: Linguistic variation and its social significance*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Chicago Fact Book Consortium. (1995). *Local community fact book Chicago metropolitan area 1990*. Chicago: Academy Chicago Publishers.
- Chicago Public Schools (2002). *Bilingual education policy*. Retrieved July 22, 2005, from Chicago Public Schools Policy Manual: http://policy.cps.k12.il.us/documents/603_1.pdf
- Community Media Workshop Staff. *Chicago's Latino communities: Diverse, growing*. Retrieved July 21, 2005, from http://www.newstips.org/interior.php?section=Chicago+Sources&main_id=464
- DePaul University 2002, Monsignor John J. Egan Urban Center. Retrieved April 2, 2004, from <http://ctcp.edn.depaul.edu/commPartners.htm>
- Eckert, P. (1989). *Jocks and Burnouts: Social categories and identity in high school*. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University.
- Eckert, P. (2000). *Linguistic variation as social practice*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers.
- Edwards, J. (1996). *Multilingualism*. USA: Penguin.
- Flores, J. (2000). Nueva York, Diaspora City: Latinos between and beyond [Electronic version]. *DRCLAS News David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies*, Spring 2000. Retrieved from <http://www.fas.harvard.edu/~drclas/publications/revista/latinos/flores.htm>
- Flores-Gonzalez, N. (1999). Puerto Rican high achievers: An example of ethnic and academic identity compatibility. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, 30(3), 343-362.
- Flores-Gonzalez, N. (2001). Paseo Boricua: Claiming a Puerto Rican space in Chicago [Electronic version]. *CENTRO Journal of the Center for Puerto Rican Studies*, 13(2), 7-23.

- Flores-Gonzalez, N. *Nilda's Page*. Retrieved February 3, 2004, from <http://www.uic.edu/las/latamst/nilda.htm>
- Fontanella de Weinberg, M.B. (1973). Comportamiento ante *-s* de hablantes femeninos y masculinos del español bonarense. *Romance Philology*, 27(1), 50-59.
- Fought, C. (2002). Ethnicity. In J.K. Chambers, P. Trudgill & N. Schilling-Estes (Eds.), *The handbook of language variation and change* (pp. 444-472). Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Fry, R. (2003). Labor market outcomes of Hispanics by generation [Electronic version]. *ERIC Digest/Clearinghouse on Urban Education*, 188.
- Gal, S. (1998). Multiplicity and contention among language ideologies: A commentary. In B.B. Schiefflin, K.A. Woolard, & P.V. Kroskrity (Eds.), *Language ideologies* (pp. 317-331). New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gal, S. (1978). Peasant men can't get wives: Language change and sex roles in a bilingual community. *Language in Society*, 7, 1-16.
- Gal, S. & Irvine, J. (1995). The boundaries of language and disciplines: How ideologies construct difference. *Social Research*, 62(4), 967-1001.
- Giles, H., Bourhis, R.Y., Taylor, D.M. (1977). Towards a theory of language in ethnic group relations. In H. Giles (Ed.), *Language, ethnicity and intergroup relations* (pp. 307-348). London: Academic Press.
- Goffman, E. (1981). *Forms of talk*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Hammond, R.M. (1980). Las realizaciones fonéticas del fonema /s/ en el español cubano rápido de Miami. In G.E. Scavnick (Ed.), *Dialectología hispanoamericana: Estudios actuales* (pp. 8-15). Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.
- Hammond, R.M. (1982). El fonema /s/ en el español jíbaro: Cuestiones teóricas. In O. Alba (Ed.), *Español del caribe: Simposio de dialectología* (pp. 157-169). Santiago, República Dominicana: Universidad católica madre y maestra.
- Harwood, J., Giles, H., Bourhis, R.Y. (1994). The genesis of vitality theory: Historical patterns and discursal dimensions. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 108, 167-206.
- Hendry, B. (1997). Constructing linguistic and ethnic boundaries in a Basque borderland: Negotiating identity in Rioja Alavesa, Spain. *Language Problems and Language Planning*, 21(3), 216-233.
- Henriquez Ureña, P. (1975). *El español en Santo Domingo*. Santo Domingo: Taller.

- Hernández Gómez, Carlos (2001). Latino leadership: Population soars, but political power lags [Electronic version]. *The Chicago Reporter, September/October 2001*, Retrieved from <http://chicagoreporter.com/2001/10-2001/latinos/latinos1.htm>
- Hidalgo, Margarita. (1990). Sobre las variantes de /s/ en Mazatlán, Sinaloa. *Hispania*, 73(2), 526-529.
- Hill, J.H. (1998). "Today there is no respect": Nostalgia, "respect," and oppositional discourse in Mexicano (Nahuatl) language ideology. In B.B. Schiefflin, K.A. Woolard, & P.V. Kroskrity (Eds.), *Language ideologies* (pp. 68-86). New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hill, J.H. (1999). Language, race, and White public space. *American Anthropologist*, 100(3), 680-689.
- Hochberg, J.G. (1986). Functional compensation for /s/ deletion in Puerto Rican Spanish. *Language: Journal of the Linguistic Society of America*, 62(3), 609-621.
- Howard, C. (1999, January 28). Report on Clemente High School. *The Chicago Tribune*, Commentary p. 18.
- Hudson, E. (2004, December 1). *Market profile: Chicago*. Retrieved July 22, 2005, from http://www.marketingmedios.com/marketingmedios/market_profile/article_display.jsp?vnu_content_id=1000732920
- Humboldt Park: troubled 'island' without clout. (1977, June 12). *The Chicago Tribune*.
- Humboldt Park fights to keep old spirit alive. (1982, May 14). *The Chicago Sun-Times*.
- Humboldt Park needs housing. (1983, January 23). *The Chicago Tribune*.
- Jaramillo, J.A. (1995). The passive legitimization of Spanish. A macrosociolinguistic study of a quasi-border: Tucson, Arizona. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 114, 67-91.
- Jiménez Sabater, M. (1975). *Más datos sobre el español en la República Dominicana*. Santo Domingo: Ediciones Intec.
- Johnstone, B. (2002). *Discourse analysis*. Malden, MA & Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Kao, G. & Thompson, J.S. (2003). Racial and ethnic stratification in educational achievement and attainment. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 29, 417-442.
- Kerswill, P. (1996). Children, adolescents, and language change. *Language Variation and Change*, 8(2), 177-202.

- Kerswill, P., & Williams, A. (2000). Creating a New Town koine: Children and language change in Milton Keynes. *Language in Society*, 29, 65-115.
- Kiesling, S.F. (2001). Stances of whiteness and hegemony in fraternity men's discourse. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, 11(1), 101-115.
- Kiesling, S.F. (2004). Dude. *American Speech: A Quarterly of Linguistic Usage*, 79(3), 281-305.
- Kiesling, S.F. In press. Language and identity in sociocultural anthropology." In K. Brown (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics (Second Edition): Linguistic Anthropology*. Elsevier.
- Kiparsky, P. (1972). Explanations in phonology. In S. Peters (Ed.), *Goals of linguistic theory* (pp. 189-227). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Klor deAlva, J.J. (1988). Telling Hispanics apart: Latino sociocultural diversity. In E. Acosta-Belen & B. Sjostrom (Eds.), *The Hispanic experience in the U.S.* (pp. 107-136). New York: Praeger.
- Kulick, D. (1998). Anger, gender, language shift, and the politics of revelation in a Papua New Guinean village. In B.B. Schiefflin, K.A. Woolard, & P.V. Kroskrity (Eds.), *Language ideologies* (pp. 87-102). New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Labov, W. (1972). *Language in the inner city: Studies in the Black English vernacular*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Labov, W. (2001). *Principles of linguistic change* (Vol. II). Oxford & Cambridge: Blackwell.
- Lazaroff, Leon (2005, August 8). *English enters into media for Hispanics*. Retrieved July 27, 2005, from <http://www.hispanicbusiness.com/news/newsbyid.asp?id=24702&cat=Media+News&more=%2Fmedia%2F>
- Lee, S.M. and Edmonston, B. (2005). New marriages, new families: U.S. racial and Hispanic intermarriage. *Population Bulletin*, 60(2), 24-29.
- Leroux, C. & Grossman, R. (2000, April 4). Worst on the way to first. *The Chicago Tribune*, Tempo p. 1.
- Lippi-Green, R.L. (1989). Social network integration and language change in progress in a rural Alpine village. *Language in Society*, 21(1), 213-234.
- Lippi-Green, R.L. (1997). *English with an accent*. London & New York: Routledge.
- Lipski, J.M. (1988). La discontinuidad fonética como criterio dialectológico. *Thesaurus*, 43, 310-326.

- Lipski, J.M. (1994). *Latin American Spanish*. London & New York: Longman Group Limited.
- Lo, Adrienne. (1999). Codeswitching, speech community membership, and the construction of ethnic identity. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 3(4), 461-479.
- López-Morales, H. (1983). Lateralización de -/r/ en el español de Puerto Rico: Sociolectos y estilos. In *Philologica hispaniensa: in honorem Manuel Alvar* (Vol. 1, pp. 387-398). Madrid: Editorial Gredos.
- Ma, R. & Herasimchuk, E. (1971). The linguistic dimensions of a bilingual neighborhood. In J.A. Fishman, R.L. Cooper, & R. Ma (Eds.), *Bilingualism in the barrio* (pp. 347-464). Bloomington: Indiana University.
- Marciniak, E. (1977). *Reviving an inner city community: The drama of urban change in East Humboldt Park in Chicago*. Chicago: Loyola University.
- Marrero, M., Oquet, C., & Portela, C. (1982). Consideraciones sobre la /r/ implosiva en el español de niños de dos instituciones educativas de Santiago. In O. Alba (Ed.), *Español del caribe: Simposio de dialectología* (pp. 171-181). Santiago, República Dominicana: Universidad católica madre y maestra.
- Martinez, M. (1997, March 4). State begins probe of Clemente. *The Chicago Tribune*, Metro p. 5.
- Matluck, J.H. (1961). Fonemas finales en el consonantismo puertorriqueno. *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica*, 15, 332-342.
- Mendoza-Denton, N.C. (1999). Fighting words: Latina girls, gangs and language attitudes. In D.L. Galindo & M.D. Gonzalez (Eds.), *Speaking chicana* (pp. 40-55). Tucson: Arizona Press.
- Mendoza-Denton, N.C. (2002). Language and identity. In J.K. Chambers, P. Trudgill & N. Schilling-Estes (Eds.), *The handbook of language variation and change* (pp. 475-499). Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Milroy, L. (1980). *Language and social networks*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Milroy, L. (2002). Social networks. In J.K. Chambers, P. Trudgill & N. Schilling-Estes (Eds.), *The handbook of language variation and change* (pp. 549-572). Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Milroy, L. and Milroy, J. (1992). Social network and social class: Toward an integrated social model. *Language in Society*, 21(1), 1-26.
- Moreno de Alba, J.G. (1994). *La pronunciación del español en México*. México, D.F.: Colegio de México, Centro de Estudios Lingüísticos y Literarios.
- Morgan, M. (2002). *Language, discourse and power in African American culture*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Navarro-Tomás, T. (1948). *El español de Puerto Rico: Contribución a la geografía lingüística hispano-americana*. Rio Piedras: Universidad de Puerto Rico.
- Northeastern Illinois Planning Commission, Census 2000 Profiles. Retrieved from http://www.nipc.org/census_2000_gate.htm
- Oboler, S. (1995). *Ethnic labels, Latino lives: Identity and the politics of (re)presentation in the United States*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Olszewski, L. (2001, December 30). School program inspires peace. *The Chicago Tribune, Metro* p. 1.
- Otheguy, R. (2005). *Avances en el proyecto CUNY sobre el español en Nueva York: Variación, cambio e identidad en el uso variable del pronombre sujeto en seis comunidades hispanohablantes de la Gran Manzana*. Paper presented at the 20th annual Spanish in the U.S. Conference.
- Otheguy, R. & Zentella, A.C. (in progress). The CUNY Project on Spanish in New York.
- Padilla, F.M. (1985). *Latino ethnic consciousness: The case of Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans in Chicago*. Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press.
- Pallasch, A.B. (1998, September 6). Changing mix of cultures, neighbors Mexican immigrants replace Puerto Ricans. *The Chicago Tribune, Metro* p. 1.
- Pandharipande, R. (1992). Language shift in India: Issues and implications. In Fase, W., Jaspaert, K., Kroon, S. (Eds.), *Maintenance and loss of minority languages* (pp. 253-276). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Paolillo, J.C. (2002). *Analyzing linguistic variation: statistical models and methods*. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications, Center for the Study of Language and Information.
- Paral, R. & Ready, T. (2005). *The economic progress of U.S.- and foreign-born Mexicans in metro Chicago: Indications from the United States census* [Electronic version], (Research Reports Vol. 2005.4). Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame, Institute for Latino Studies.
- Paulston, C. (1994). *Linguistic minorities in multilingual settings*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Penny, R. (2000). *Variation and change in Spanish*. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Poizone, M. (1997). The cage not the bird: Puerto Rican Cultural Center resists attacks. *Love and Rage*, 8(3). Retrieved February 3, 2004, from <http://www.criminalanarchy.com/History/cage.htm>

- Poplack, S. (1980). Deletion and disambiguation in Puerto Rican Spanish. *Language: Journal of the Linguistic Society of America*, 56, 371-85.
- Puente, T. (1999a, March 9). Professor's trial linked to Clemente controversy. *The Chicago Tribune*, Metro p. 2.
- Puente, T. (1999b, March 1). Professor faces trial in case of bombing. *The Chicago Tribune*, Metro p. 1.
- Ramos-Zayas, A. (1998). Nationalist ideologies, neighborhood-based activism, and educational spaces in Puerto Rican Chicago. *Harvard Educational Review*, 68(2), 164-192.
- Ramos-Zayas, A. & De Genova, N. (2003). *Latino Crossings*. New York and London: Routledge.
- Rampton, B. (1995). *Crossing: language and ethnicity among adolescents*. London and New York: Longman.
- Rand, D. & Sankoff, D. (1999). GoldVarb (Version 2.1) [Computer software]. Retrieved from http://www.crm.umontreal.ca/~sankoff/GoldVarb_Eng.html
- Rickford, J. (1985). Ethnicity as a sociolinguistic boundary. *American Speech: A Quarterly of Linguistic Usage*, 60(2), 99-125.
- Rivera, R. (2003). *New York Ricans from the hip hop zone*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Rojas, N. (1982). Sobre la semivocalización de las líquidas en el español cibaeno. In O. Alba (Ed.), *Español del caribe: Simposio de dialectología* (pp. 271-287). Santiago, República Dominicana: Universidad católica madre y maestra.
- Rúa, Mérida. (2001). *Colao Subjectivities: PortoMex and MexiRican perspectives on language and identity* [Electronic version]. *CENTRO Journal of the Center for Puerto Rican Studies*, 13(2), 117-133.
- Rubinstein, E.S. (2005, July 19). *National data: Hispanic intermarriage swamped by Hispanic immigration*. Retrived July 21, 2005, from http://www.vdare.com/rubenstein/050719_nd.htm
- Sankoff, D. (1986). Ordenamiento de reglas variables: /r/ implosiva en un dialecto puertorriqueño. In R.A. Nuñez Cedeño, I.P. Urdaneta, & J.M. Guitart (Eds.), *Estudios sobre la fonología del español del caribe* (pp. 109-115). Caracas: Ediciones La Casa de Bello.
- Schiffrin, D. (1994). *Approaches to discourse*. Oxford & Cambridge: Blackwell.
- Schilling-Estes, N. (2004). Constructing ethnicity in interaction. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 8(2), 163-195.

- Siegel, J. (1993)a. Dialect contact and koineization. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 99, 105-21.
- Siegel, J. (1993)b. Introduction: Controversies in the study of koines and koineization. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 99, 5-8.
- Suavecito Apparel Company (2005). *Glossary of pachuquismos*. Retrieved April 5, 2005, from <http://www.suavecito.com/pachuquismos.htm#vato>
- Threatening climate at Clemente. (1997, February 5). *The Chicago Tribune*, Editorial p. 18.
- Trudgill, P. (1986). *Dialects in contact*. Oxford & New York: Blackwell.
- Wassink, A.B. & Dyer, J. (2004). Language ideology and the transmission of phonological change: Changing indexicality in two situations of language contact. *Journal of English Linguistics*, 32(1), 3-30.
- Williams, A. & Kerswill, P. (1999). Dialect levelling: Change and continuity in Milton Keynes, Reading and Hull. In P. Foulkes & G. Docherty (Eds.), *Urban Voices*, (pp. 141-162). London: Arnold.
- Williamson, R. (1986). *El habla de Tabasco: estudio lingüístico*. México, D.F. : Colegio de México, Centro de Estudios Lingüísticos y Literarios.
- Woolard, K.A. (1998). Introduction: Language ideology as a field of inquiry. In B.B. Schiefflin, K.A. Woolard, & P.V. Kroskrity (Eds.), *Language ideologies* (pp. 3-47). New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Zambrano, M. (1985, May 5). Inner-city schools: Education in survival. *The Chicago Tribune*, Chicagoland p. 1.
- Zentella, A.C. (1990). Lexical leveling in four New York City Spanish dialects: Linguistic and social factors. *Hispania*, 73, 1094-1105.
- Zentella, A.C. (1997). *Growing up bilingual: Puerto Rican children in New York*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers.