# Through the Magnifying Glass: An Ethnographic Account of the Bilingual Practices of Adolescents in Puerto Rico

Katherine Morales

A Dissertation
Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

School of Linguistics, Speech, and Communication Sciences
University of Dublin, Trinity College

Dublin, Ireland
2019

# DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis has not been submitted as an exercise for a degree at this or any other university and is entirely my own work. I agree to deposit this thesis in the University's open access institutional repository or allow the library to do so on my behalf, subject to Irish Copyright Legislation and Trinity College Library conditions of use and acknowledgement.

_____

Katherine Morales

2019

## SUMMARY

This thesis provides an account of the creative bilingual strategies found in two high school communities in the island of Puerto Rico (P.R.). It examines language use under a framework of indexicality known as the "total linguistic fact" (Silverstein, 1985; 2003): a theory that conceptualizes language as a malleable semiotic tool with the potential of being used towards the construction of social meaning in interaction. This theory simultaneously views language as a flexible tool towards the construction of social identities, or acts of distinction and identification among people.

The present study has three interrelated aims. The first is to provide a holistic picture of the distribution of a non-local, prestigious language (English) in a colonialized society. This is done through the incorporation of ethnographic observational methods and extensive fieldwork. The second is to provide a tangible quantitative account of the English linguistic and stylistic practices among Puerto Rican youth. This is done through the incorporation of Muysken's (2000) typology of bilingual speech which takes into account two overarching manifestations of codemixing: insertion and alternation. These, in turn, are measured against fixed social categories (i.e. class and education) and locally-constructed, practice-based categories (i.e. peer group affiliation). The third aim is to provide an identity-based approach to language use through the incorporation of qualitative third-wave methodologies, such as that of conducting micro-analysis of speech through frameworks of indexicality and ideologies of speaking (cf. Silverstein, 2001, 1989; Agha, 2003; Eckert, 2001). In this way, this thesis aims to provide a holistic account of the distribution and meaning of English among islanders today.

Chapter 1 introduces the theme of this dissertation: the study of language and identity in neocolonial settings. It introduces the community of interest – Puerto Rican adolescents, and their importance in the sociolinguistic landscape of the island as well as their importance for sociolinguistic research as the innovators of language change (cf. Eckert, 2000; Labov, 2001). It also specifies the linguistic matter of inquiry – bilingual speech – specifically, its distribution and social meaning. It provides a brief summary of the politics of bilingualism on the island, and 'sets the scene' or the layout of the present thesis through the introduction of the overarching research question: Do Puerto Rican adolescents use English to construct their social identities? What socio-ideological role does English language play on the island today?

Chapter 2 provides a survey of the study of identity research in sociolinguistics. Reference is made to Mendoza-Denton's (2009) typology of language and identity research, paying particular attention to how an ethnographic approach can address essentialist theoretical limitations in the field. The second part of this chapter looks into our linguistic subject of inquiry – codeswitching or bilingual speech –has been studied across time, from cognitive approaches that have viewed it as an 'aberration' to current approaches that view it as a resource, style, or alternative way of speaking.

Chapter 3 offers a brief historical profile of Puerto Rico. It pays close attention to recent historical events, following United States' military occupation of the island in 1898, the subsequent imposition of English through government and educational policies, and the ideological outcome of this history, particularly in regards to the social meaning attached to the English language. It then discusses class and poverty on the island, and explores the role which education plays in establishing and reaffirming social inequalities and wealth disparities. The chapter concludes with statistical information as to who speaks English on the island.

Chapter 4 describes the methodological procedures followed in order to conduct an ethnographic study of two schools and the research implications to conducting comparative ethnographies or more than one community through observational and participatory methods. It delves further into the specifics of the current study – adolescence and schooling – and why adolescents are the subject of interest and communities under investigation. It then provides a comprehensive account of the data and field instruments, as well as follow-up analytical methods to do with transcription and coding of the data.

Chapter 5 presents the first component towards achieving the "total linguistic fact" (Silverstein, 1989): the examination of the spaces or contexts in which these languaging practices take place. I begin by discussing the linguistic ecology found in each school community, this includes a description of the role of languages on a policy level, local classroom level, signages, and distribution of text and teaching materials. The chapter finishes with a description of the social organization of adolescents in each school, or the formation of communities of practice (cf. Lave and Wegner, 1991).

Chapter 6 presents the second component of the total linguistic fact, a description of the distribution of language(s) across adolescent communities. The first part of this chapter discusses questionnaire findings, these include information on self-reported

language use, target culture engagements and investments, educational background, parental occupation and other identifying features of members of different communities of practice. The second half of this chapter dives into the language styles that were elicited from the ethnographic interviews. It applies the typology of bilingual speech presented in Chapter 4 to the present data. Additional conversational data is provided to describe the language registers or varieties that make up the macro-linguistic labels of bilingualism (i.e. insertional, alternational, nonce borrowing). This chapter fulfils the second component of the total linguistic fact, by providing a snapshot of the bilingual styles found in each school, across social groups or *communities of practice*.

Chapter 7 presents the local (micro) component of this research by providing examples of socially meaningful language styles in interaction. Thus, fulfilling the ideological component of the "total linguistic fact". Before diving into discussions of social meaning enacted through language use, it revisits the question of ideologies of language (Spanish and English) and whether these *inform* language use in a given context. It firstly describes adolescents' metapragmatic awareness of what it means to speak Spanish and English in P.R., as well as what it means to speak these languages in their own school communities, and among friends. Secondly, it discusses how adolescents stylistically orient to language(s) and culture(s) through variable speech styles. Thirdly, whether they use bilingual styles towards the construction of their social identities.The Chapter ends with a discussion of both schools, commonalities and differences in ideologies and practices, and what it means for second language education and the future of English in P.R..

Chapter 8 summarizes some of the key findings of the present research. It positions the current account within current discourses of globalisation and Late Modernity in sociolinguistics, and what these developments mean to politically and ideologically charged linguistic circumstances, such as the one found in P.R. It discusses the linguistic and social implications of the current research, as well as potential setbacks in ethnography. It concludes by suggesting a follow-up study in different school contexts, or a longitudinal 'case study' on select participants, in order to capture how changing social circumstances affect repertoire affordances, language and cultural orientations, and bilingual speech styles.

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I begin writing my acknowledgements in a stage of disbelief, reflecting back at all of the moments, experiences, and people that led me to the very top of the academic hill.

To Dr. Jeffrey Kallen, my Ph.D. supervisor and mentor: you have been a great inspiration to me and role model. Thank you for always being supportive, understanding, and patient with me throughout my Ph.D journey, I learned a lot from our various conversations - I am truly grateful for the way that you always challenged me and encouraged me to think critically and independently. To my internal examiners, Dr. Lorna Carson and Dr. John Saeed, thank you for your feedback at earlier stages of this thesis. To my Viva examiners, Dr. Breffni O'Rourke and Prof. Mercedes Bengoechea for providing invaluable insight as to how to improve my argument and the work presented in this thesis. To members of the School of Linguistics, Speech, and Communication Sciences – Dr. Martine Smith, Dr. Lorna Carson, Dr. Elaine Ui Dhonnchadha, and Rosa Ana Lozano – thank you for providing me with a supportive environment, and for helping me in my development as an academic and professional of Linguistics.

To the person who inspired me to pursue a degree in Linguistics, the one who first introduced me to the field, Dr. Shannon Bischoff. I still remember my very first day of university, when a slightly younger, timid version of me sat a few rows to the front of Shannon's class, listening to him dissect the different components of human communication, both social and biological, and come to understand the field of linguistics as synonymous to 'the *scientific* study of language.'

To my other academic role models and mentors, who I had the pleasure of encountering in my journey towards becoming an academic: Dr. Elizabeth Dayton (UPRM), Dr. Kevin Carroll (UPR), Dr. Lauren Hall-Lew (U of Edinburgh), and Mary Ann Willie (U of Arizona). Each of you have taught me invaluable lessons with regards to the descriptive study of language in society. Both Elizabeth and Shannon encouraged me to look beyond linguistic programs in the States for my postgraduate studies, which explains how I eventually ended up on this 'side of the pond'. Thank you for encouraging me to think big and for believing in me. Dr. Lauren Hall-Lew was instrumental in my formation as a sociolinguist during my time at the University of Edinburgh and after.

To my linguistics friends from the UK and Ireland: Christian Kliesch, Zac Boyd, Irma Bochorishvili, Vicky Garnett, Anna Festa, Stephen Lucek, Theodorus Fransen, Jessica Garska, Alejandra Nuñez, Conor Pyle, Allison Moore, and Chung Kam Kwok. Not many Puerto Ricans make it to this side of the world, I feel truly lucky to have met such wonderful people. Thank you all for supporting me at different stages of my postgraduate academic career. I cannot wait to see the product of all of our hard work!

To the Trinity Long Room Hub Arts and Humanities Institute: thank you so much for granting me two years residence in your wonderful institution. I learned so much from attending events at 'the Hub', and interacting with young, early career researchers there. My research benefitted greatly from the many interactions and friendships I made at the Hub, I would have never thought that interacting with future lawyers-to-be, philosophers, and historians would provide me with a different insight to my own research. A special thanks to Mona Syrbe, Richard Gow, Peter West, Martin Sticker, Lara O'Muirithe, Ellie Payne, Sarah Kuenzler, Jillian Kellough, Marie Sophie Hingst, Eve Cobain, and Ruzana Tukimin. Both Richard and Mona were kind enough to revise earlier versions of this thesis, I am eternally grateful for all of their help.

To my roommates who put up with me on a daily basis: Megan and Ninette. Thank you for always believing in me, listening to me, and encouraging me to complete what I started. To my friends at home potentially reading this – thank you for being my cheerleaders at distance. To the many baristas and librarians who hosted me throughout the writing process, learned my drinks, and gifted me with warm smiles, free chocolates, and words of encouragement – you rock, seriously.

And, of course: This thesis could have not been completed without the help of the students and schools who kindly accepted my invitation to participate in this study, welcomed me into their lives, granted me their time and patience, and shared their stories with me. If any of you are reading this and have any comments or suggestions, or would simply want to keep in touch, please feel free to contact me! This thesis is for you.

And, finally, to my parents – José Morales and Lilliam Lugo – who emotionally supported me through my ten years of academia. This has not been an easy road, but the past ten years have brought us closer as a family – even at distance! I owe every one of my successes to you. *Los quiero tanto, qué Dios los bendiga siempre.*

# FORENOTE

On September 20th 2017 a Category 4 hurricane struck the island of Puerto Rico, leaving the 3.5 million people on the island without power, food, water, or communication. Today it has been approximately three weeks since the hurricane hit the island, many remain uncommunicated, without food or water, experts predict a massive exodus to mainland U.S, of around 100 000 to 200 000 citizens. What remains to be seen is whether the current situation on the island will change the way the United States and the English language has been historically perceived by islanders. It is with this in mind that I now reflect on the anthropological study I conducted in Autumn 2015 to Spring 2016.

At the the outset of this project, I had the intention of observing the role English played on the island. I was interested in observing the linguistic outcome of a 119 year old relationship with the United States following the Spanish-American War of 1898. Contemporary Puerto Rico is divided into three major political parties, all of which reflect a stance on the relationship between the island and mainland U.S.: independence, commonwealth, and statehood ideologies. At the very heart of this struggle for identity – or arriving at an concensus of what Puerto Rico *is* – is the issue of language. In the past, many politicians on the island have used language as a starting point to discussing the fate of Puerto Rico's identity: Spanish is often treated as the most obvious signifier of Hispanic heritage and thus authentic Puerto Rican identity, meanwhile English is treated as an outsider's code, necessary in order to assimilate to a largely English-speaking United States. Some traditionalist scholars and teachers have suggested the co-existence of English alongside the local Spanish as detrimental to the purity of Spanish and Puerto Rican culture.

Inspired by ongoing talks of globalisation and Late Modernity, I was keen to see how technological advances and mobility altered the fabric of traditional language ideologies, as well as the very distribution of languages on the island. I was inspired by the post-structuralist work of sociolinguists such as Ben Rampton in the U.K. and Penelope Eckert in the U.S. and their moves towards incorporating anthropological methods to describing language in society. I saw ethnography as key to arriving at an accurate portrayal of the distribution of English on the island, its contextualised uses, and its social meaning. Beyond immediate political values attributed to the existence of English on the island, English simultaneously possesses an international currency as the language of technology, business, science, and higher education. Thus, the present study is my attempt at doing justice to the issue of the English language in Puerto Rico, considering all of its potential implications or social meanings – that is, "what it means to speak English in Puerto Rico". This dissertation considers the understudied adolescent community: the future of Puerto Rico. With this dissertation I aim to represent the voices of the adolescents who so graciously gifted me with their time and their patience, and helped me accomplish my goal of conducting two school ethnographies in Puerto Rico. I dedicate this thesis to them.

As with any ethnography, the present research possesses the following setback: though a lot of work and time was invested in gathering data to give shape to this study, it still represents a snapshot of society at a particular moment in time. That is, if I were to conduct this same study on the same group of people today, I may not get the same results I once did when I first embarked on this journey in September 2015. This is especially true now, when the island not only faces the consequences of a crushing government debt and high unemployment rate (as it still did at the time of my observations), but now the struggle has become a new one: one of desperation and survival following the aftermath of a powerful natural disaster. Perhaps now, more than ever, English acquisiton will be perceived as a way out of the current state of affairs on the island. Only time will tell.

*Friday, October 17 2017*

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Declaration ....2
Summary ....3
Acknowledgements ....6
Transcription Conventions ....17
list of abbreviations ....18
Pronunciation Conventions ....18

Chapter 1 ....19
1.1 Introduction ....19
1.2 English and Language Politics in Puerto Rico ....20
1.3 Research Aims and Organization of Chapters ....23

Chapter 2 Theoretical Framework ....27
2.1 Overview ....27
2.2 Practice-Based *Identity* Studies ....30
2.3 Practice-Based Variation ....34
2.4 Limitations of Identity-based Variationist Work ....36
2.5 Towards a definition of identity in sociolinguistics ....38
2.6 Code-switching and Identity ....40
2.7 Gumperz Situational/Metaphorical Distinction ....42
2.8 Discourse Models of Codeswitching ....45
2.9 Myers- Scotton's Markedness Model (Theory of Rational Choice) ....46
2.10 Auer's Conversational Analytic Approach to CS ....49
2.11 The Problem with Modelling CS ....52
2.12 Towards a Reconceptualization of Code ....54
2.13 Towards an Indexical Approach of Bilingualism ....57

Chapter 3 Historical Context ....61
3.1 The Research Location: Puerto Rico ....61
3.2 Ideologies of Language on the Island ....67
3.3 Understanding Class & Poverty in Puerto Rico ....72
3.4 The Region: Mayaguez ....78
3.5 English on the Island: Who Speaks It? ....83
3.6 Concluding Remarks ....87

Chapter 4 Methods ....88
4.1 Overview ....88
4.2 Forenote on Methodological Implications ....89
4.3 Defining Ethnography ....90
4.4 Comparative Ethnographies ....95
4.5 Adolescence: a Subject of Linguistic Inquiry ....97
4.6 The Role of Schooling ....99
4.7 Description of Data ....101

4.8 Observation-Based Data....103
4.9 Sociodemographic Data....105
4.10 Fuzzy Class Boundaries & the Role of Adolescence....106
4.11 Determining Class....107
4.12 Fought's Typology of Socioeconomic Profiles....110
4.13 Language Data....112
4.14 Group-Based Sociolinguistic Interviews....116
4.15 Attitudinal Data....118
4.16 Choosing Fieldwork Locations....119
4.17 Research Ethics Procedure....121
4.18 Analytical Framework of Bilingual Speech....122
4.19 Issues in Adopting a Quantitative Approach....124
4.20 Muysken's Typology of Bilingual Speech....125
4.21 Transcription Analysis and Coding Bilingual Talk through NVivo Transcription Software....129

Chapter 5 Observational Findings....130
5.1 Overview....130
5.2 Mission High....131
5.2.1 Mission High School Demographics....134
5.2.2 Facilities in Mission High....135
5.2.3 Policing in Mission High....138
5.2.4 Events & Activities....140
5.2.5 Establishing Rapport with Staff in Mission High....149
5.2.6 Establishing Rapport with Student Body in Mission High..151
5.2.7 School Curriculum and Language Policy....152
5.2.8 In-Class Languaging Practices (from Field Notes)....156
5.2.9 The Social Organization of Adolescent Peer Groups in Mission High....162
5.2.10 Educational Experiences in Students from Mission High..179
5.2.11 Applying Fought's (1997) Class Typology to Mission High....184
5.3 O'Reilly High School....186
5.3.1 Academic Identity....186
5.3.2. Demographics....188
5.3.3 Location and Facilities....191
5.3.4 Policing in O'Reilly High....193
5.3.5 Events and Activities....196
5.3.6 Language Practices in Intermediate English Classrooms....204
5.3.7 Establishing Rapport at O'Reilly High Public School....210
5.3.8 The Social Organization of Adolescents in O'Reilly High..218
5.3.9 Educational Experiences in Students from O'Reilly High...235
5.3.10 Applying Fought's Typology of Class to O'Reilly High...239
5.3.11 Housing....240

5.3.12 Mobility & Transnationalism ....242
5.4 Chapter Summary....243

Chapter 6 English Language Use in Two Schools ....248
6.1 Overview ....248
6.2 Language Varieties Spoken Among Bilingual Adolescents ....249
6.2.1 Overview ....249
6.2.2 Youth Speech and Island Bilingual Styles ....251
6.2.3 Island Puerto Rican English (IPRE) ....252
6.2.4 Puerto Rican Spanish....258
6.3 English Distribution Across Youth Groups ....275
6.4 Incorporating Muysken's Topology....280
6.5 Bilingual Styles in Mission High ....292
6.6 Bilingual Styles According to Categorical Methods....293
6.6.1 Gender ....293
6.6.2. Class ....296
6.6.3 Communities of practice....298
6.7 O'Reilly High Bilingual Styles ....326
6.7.1 Gender ....326
6.7.2 Class, CofP, and Person....330
6.7.3. Communities of Practice ....332
6.8 Chapter Summary....363

Chapter 7 ACTS OF IDENTITY THROUGH BILINGUAL STYLES....366
7.1 Overview ....366
7.2 Language Ideologies ....367
7.2.1 Ideologies of English Language in Elite Contexts ....368
7.2.2 Ideologies of Spanish among Elite Students ....393
7.2.3 Ideologies of English in Students from Non-Elite Settings..398
7.2.4 Ideologies of Spanish in Students from Non-Elite Contexts 416
7.2.5. Summary of Construction and Negotiations of Language Ideologies ....423
7.3 Construction of Ethnic and National Identities ....424
7.3.1. Mission High (Elite Contexts)....424
7.3.2 O'Reilly High (Non-Elite Contexts) ....439
7.3.3. Summary of Acts of Ethnic Identity....449
7.4 Cultural/Subcultural Alignments & Social Identities ....451
7.4.1 Mission High (Elite Contexts)....452
7.4.2 O'Reilly High (Non-Elite Contexts) ....463
7.4.3 Summary of Subcultural Acts of Identity....482
7.5 Construction of Class Identities ....484
7.5.1. Construction of Class Identities in Mission High....484
7.5.2 Construction of Class Identities in O'Reilly High ....489
7.5.3. Summary of Constructions of Class and Local Culture ....494
7.6 Constructing the 'Competent Bilingual' ....495

7.6.1 the Competent Bilingual in Mission High .....497
7.6.2. Construction of the Competent Bilingual in O'Reilly High 509
7.6.3 Summary of the Construction of the Competent Bilingual .529
7.7 Chapter Summary .....530

Chapter 8 .....537
Conclusion .....537
References .....560

# LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Models of identity in variationist research. ..... 36
*Figure 2*. Map showing the location of Puerto Rico..... 61
*Figure 3*. Visualisation of language ideologies on the Island..... 72
*Figure 4*. Percentage of Puerto Ricans fleeing the island (The Economist, 2017). ..... 73
*Figure 5*. Median household income in the U. S. and territories (US Census Bureau, 2015)..... 75
*Figure 6*. English speaking ability, class, and education (Cordero-Guzmán, 2014, p. 80) ..... 77
*Figure 7*. Map of Mayagüez ..... 78
*Figure 8*. Socioeconomic make-up in O'Reilly High and Mission High ..... 82
*Figure 9*. Map of Puerto Rico and its 78 municipalities ..... 84
*Figure 10*. Model of Incrementarion of language variation ..... 99
*Figure 11*. Themes in sociolinguistic interviews ..... 113
*Figure 12*. Muysken's (2000) code-switching typology ..... 126
*Figure 13*. Using NVivo to understand bilingual style..... 129
*Figure 14*. Objective of Mission Academy of Christ. ..... 132
*Figure 15*. Mission High classroom schedule..... 133
*Figure 16*. Mission High student population ..... 134
*Figure 17*. Percentage of Christian students in Mission High ..... 135
Figure 18. Aerial shot of Mission High (Google Maps, 2016). ..... 136
*Figure 19*. Aerial shot of surrounding facilities (Google Maps, 2016) ..... 137
*Figure 20*. Promotional flyer for movie event. ..... 142
*Figure 21*. Casual Day event flyer ..... 144
*Figure 22*. Valentine's day activity promotional flyer ..... 145
*Figure 23*. Valentine's day advertisements. ..... 146
*Figure 24*. Annual Cycling Marathon..... 147
*Figure 25*. Annual Math Competition ..... 148
*Figure 26*. Annual English Spelling Bee Competition ..... 148
*Figure 27*. Mission High school website ..... 153
*Figure 28*. Religion classroom handout..... 155
*Figure 29*. Handout 11th Grade Bible class..... 156
*Figure 30*. Live note-taking demonstration ..... 158
*Figure 31*. Bathroom stalls at Mission High..... 160
*Figure 32*. Writings on the bathroom mirrors..... 160
*Figure 33*. Bathroom stalls at Mission High..... 161
*Figure 34*. Bathroom Stall 2, interior region of the stall.. ..... 162
*Figure 35*. Social organization of Mission High. ..... 162
*Figure 36*. "Goodbye Card" by the Pop Enthusiasts CofP ..... 166
*Figure 37*. Roberto's Marvel themed backpack. ..... 175
*Figure 38*. Class schedule at O'Reilly High..... 188

*Figure 39*. Socioeconomic information of the 12th student population at O'Reilly High ..... 189
*Figure 40*. Las Pruebas Puertorriqueñas for O'Reilly High School (Year 2014 – 2015) ..... 190
*Figure 41*. Aerial shot of O'Reilly High ..... 191
*Figure 42*. Buildings a and B in O'Reilly High ..... 192
*Figure 43*. English classroom poster (O'Reilly High) ..... 195
*Figure 44*. "College Day" at O'Reilly High ..... 197
*Figure 45*. Advertisement for the school dance ..... 198
*Figure 46*. Advertisement for O'Reilly High's Beauty Pageant. ..... 199
*Figure 47*. Advertisement for Marketing Fair at O'Reilly High ..... 200
*Figure 48*. Marketing fair flyer (Spanish) ..... 201
*Figure 49*. Marketing Month Flyer ..... 202
*Figure 50*. Daty Entry classroom sign. ..... 202
*Figure 51*. "The Accounting Cycle" Educational Poster ..... 203
*Figure 52*. Promotion of Annual 'Marketing Month' (January 2016) ..... 203
*Figure 53*. John Lennon 'Imagine' Comic strip in English classroom ..... 206
*Figure 54*. Intermediate English vocabulary list for assignment, O'Reilly High ..... 209
*Figure 55*. 'Character traits' activity information sheet, O'Reilly High ..... 210
*Figure 56*. English expletives in linguistic landscape ..... 213
*Figure 57*. Graffiting practices in O'Reilly High walls ..... 214
*Figure 58*. Non-standard Puerto Rican Spanish in graffiting practices ..... 215
*Figure 59*. Linguistic landscape of O'Reilly High ..... 216
*Figure 60*. Facebook's Pusheen near Cooperativa Region ..... 216
*Figure 61*. 'Bae!' at school walls in O'Reilly High ..... 217
*Figure 62*. Taboo language on school walls ..... 218
*Figure 63*. Spatial segregation at O'Reilly High ..... 220
*Figure 64*. María's description of O'Reilly High ..... 220
*Figure 65*. O'Reilly High friendship network. ..... 222
*Figure 72*. Bilingual styles in Choir Girl CofP. ..... 320
*Figure 66*. Acoustic demonstration of Amaris' uptalk ..... 321
*Figure 74*. Bilingual styles in Outsiders CofP ..... 324
*Figure 73*. Bilingual styles in male speech at O'Reilly High. ..... 328
*Figure 74*. Bilingual styles in female speech at O'Reilly High ..... 329
*Figure 77*. Bilingual Styles according to class in O'Reilly High ..... 331

# LIST OF TABLES

*Table 1*. Language policies in the public schools since 1898. ..... 66
*Table 2*. Mayagüez statistics ..... 81
*Table 3*. Percentage of island Puerto Ricans who claim to speak English "very well". ..... 84
*Table 4*. English speaking ability 5 Years and Over in Puerto Rico (2006 - 2008). ..... 86
*Table 5*. Types of data collected from schools. ..... 102
*Table 6*. Note-taking in linguistic ethnography (LE) ..... 104
Table 7. Sample interview topics & questions ..... 115
*Table 8*. Languaging practices in classroom settings of Mission High. ..... 154
*Table 9*. Pop Enthusiasts demographic information. ..... 167
*Table 10*. Sociodemographic information on Outsider CofP ..... 170
*Table 11*. Gamer CofP sociodemographic information. ..... 174
*Table 12*. Socioeconomic composition of the In-Between Jock CofP ..... 176
*Table 13*. Sociodemographic summary of Choir Girls CofP. ..... 178
Table 14. Labelling strategies for peer groups in private school. ..... 179
*Table 15*. Education background for students in Mission High ..... 183
Table 16. Structure of Events in English Classroom at O'Reilly High. ..... 208
*Table 17*. Members of the Caco Jocks CofP O'Reilly High ..... 226
*Table 18*. Socioeconomic composition of the Gamer Rockers CofP at O'Reilly High ..... 228
*Table 19*. Socioeconomic composition of the Bookworm Rockers CofP at O'Reilly High ..... 232
*Table 20*. The Socioeconomic composition of the In-Between Rocker CofP 233
*Table 21*. Socioeconomic composition of the Marketing CofP. ..... 234
*Table 22*. Educational profiles of students from O'Reilly High. ..... 237
*Table 23*. Socioeconomic profiles for students in O'Reilly High ..... 240
*Table 24*. O'Reilly High participants from residential neighbourhoods. ..... 241
*Table 25*. Summary of school profiles. ..... 244
*Table 26*. Summary of linguistic landscape practices ..... 246
*Table 27*. Summary of communities of practice and local/non-local orientations ..... 247
*Table 28*. Classification of Bilingual Competence in Puerto Rico (Pousada, 2000). ..... 251
*Table 29*. Appropriations and loanwords in Puerto Rican Spanish. ..... 260
*Table 30*. Language profiles of participants in Mission High. ..... 277
*Table 31*. Language profiles of participants in O'Reilly High. ..... 279
*Table 32*. Bilingual styles by male speakers in Mission High. ..... 294
*Table 33*. Bilingual styles by female participants of Mission High. ..... 295
*Table 34*. Female bilingual practices in Mission High. ..... 296
*Table 35*. Social class bilingual styles in Mission High. ..... 297
*Table 36*. Bilingual styles in the In-Between Jock CofP. ..... 298

Table 37. Bilingual styles in Pop Culture Enthusiasts CofP in Mission High 306
*Table 38*. Bilingual styles in Gamer CofP in Mission High. ..... 314
*Table 39*. Bilingual styles in Choir Girl CofP in Mission High..... 320
*Table 40*. Bilingual styles in Outsiders CofP in Mission High ..... 323
*Table 41*. Bilingual styles by males in O'Reilly High..... 327
*Table 42*. Bilingual styles by females in O'Reilly High..... 329
*Table 43*. Bilingual styles according to Class, CofP, and Person in O'Reilly High ..... 330
*Table 44*. Bilingual styles in Caco-Jock CofP in O'Reilly High. ..... 333
*Table 45*. Bilingual styles in Bookworm-Rocker CofP in O'Reilly High..... 343
*Table 46*. Bilingual styles in Gamer CofP in O'Reilly High ..... 354
*Table 47*. Bilingual styles in Marketing CofP in O'Reilly High ..... 361
*Table 48* Excluded participants from O'Reilly High. ..... 546
Table 49. Excluded participants from Mission High ..... 546

# TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

(Adapted from Bucholtz, 2011)

| | |
|---|---|
| . | End of intonation unit; falling intonation. |
| , | End of intonation unit; fall-rise intonation. |
| ? | End of intonation unit; rising intonation. |
| ! | Raised pitch and volume throughout the intonation unit. |
| ↑ | Pitch accent |
| : | Length |
| = | Latching; no pause between intonation units. |
| – | Self-interruption; break in the intonation unit. |
| - | Self-interruption; break in the word, sound abruptly cut off. |
| (.) | Pause of 0.5 seconds or less. |
| @ | Laughter; each token marks one pulse. |
| h | Aspiration; omitted consonant that is aspirated instead *in Bucholtz*: |
| h | Outbreath (e.g. sigh) each token marks one pulse. |
| [ ] | Overlapping speech. |
| {} | Stretch of talk to which transcriber comment applies. |
| () | In Bucholtz (2011) "uncertain transcription" |
| # | Unintelligible; each token marks one syllable. |
| (()) | Transcriber comment; nonvocal noise; usually a description of what is going on. |
| " | |
| " " | Reported speech or thought |
| [. . .] | Omitted material |
| * | Non-standard uuterance; grammatically incorrect construction |
| regular font | the dominant language in conversation (typically *Puerto Rican Spanish*) |
| **boldface** | linguistic form of analytic interest (typically *English*) |
| <u>underline</u> | discourse marker |
| *italics* | Puerto Rican slang (typically *teen talk*) |
| <[ ]> | Phonetic transcription. |

# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

On borrowings and lexical appropriation:

| | |
|---|---|
| P. Int. | Phonologically intergrated to base language structure |
| Not P. Int. | Not phonologically intergrated to base language structure (preserving original form). |
| CofP | Community of practice (see Lave and Wenger, 1991) |
| U.S. | United States of America |
| P.R. | Puerto Rico |
| PR Spanish | Puerto Rican Spanish |
| GenAm | General American (the ideological standard variety) |
| NP | Noun Phrase |
| VP | Verb Phrase |
| AdvP | Adverbial Phrase |
| PP | Prepositional Phrase |
| V | Verb |
| N | Noun |
| Adj. | Adjective |
| DM | Discourse marker |

# PRONUNCIATION CONVENTIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| /i/ | creep, cheese, need |
| /ɪ/ | kit, ship, lip |
| /e/ | may |
| /ɛ/ | bed, dress, less, |
| /æ/ | trap |
| /a/ | hat |
| /ə/ | Tina, the |
| /o/ | go |
| /ɔ/ | all, fought, hot |
| /ɑ/ | lot, walk, pot, palm |
| /u/ | boot, goose, soup, |
| /ʊ/ | cook, hook, foot |
| /ʌ/ | strut, blood, bus |
| /eɪ/ | ate, reign, vain |
| /oʊ/ | toe, row, go |
| /aɪ/ | eye, pie, cry |
| /aʊ/ | loud, house |
| /oɪ/ | boy, Troy |
| /Ø/ | elision (particularly in word-final or pre-consonantal position) |
| /h/ | aspiration (particularly in word-final or pre-consonantal position) |
| ’ | syllable shortening in words like ‘papá’ to ‘pa’ |
| /χ/ | when ‘double r’ in words like *arroz* and *carro* are not realized through rolling of tongue, they are produced as the *loch* in Scottish English (fricativization of /r/ to /χ/). |

# CHAPTER 1

## 1.1 INTRODUCTION

This dissertation explores the linguistic construction of social identities in two high school communities in the Caribbean island of Puerto Rico. Specifically, it focuses on the use of code-switching as a potential semiotic tool towards the formation of personal identification, social identification (through the formation of group boundaries), and meaning. It understands the crucial role of language as contributing to social distinctiveness and how people organize themselves in society, or how "people view themselves and how they use language to construct themselves and their identities" (Bhatt, 2008, p. 180). Furthermore, it adopts the post-structuralist view of language, which places emphasis on the meaning accomplished through language use, and the role that ideologies of language play in the distribution of communicative styles in society. Thus acknowledging that any ideology about language is simultaneously an ideology of the person who speaks that language, and these ideologies in turn are "tied to questions of identity and power in societies." (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004, p. 11).

As one of the most central themes of bilingualism research today, code-switching has enjoyed much attention in sociolinguistics in the past four decades. Following John Gumperz's revolutionary work on code-switching (cf. Blom and Gumperz, 1972; Gumperz, 1982; Gumperz and Hernandez-Chavez, 1975), linguists around the world began to understand code-switching as a skilful socio-pragmatic tool, rather than an act of language interference or linguistic incompetence. Nowadays, many sociolinguists have observed how members of bilingual and multilingual communities can use their distinctive linguistic resources towards the construction of their social identities. Several sociolinguists have come up with finite lists to describe the different functions of code-switching, such as situational/metaphorical code-switching (cf. Gumperz, 1982), the markedness model/rational choice model (Myers-Scotton, 1993). Other models, such as conversation analysis and other sociocultural views of code-switching, understand that variable language can serve several meanings and functions, but that they are ultimately dependent on the local context. In this similar vein, the present study adopts a more fluid

view of meaning in bilingual speech. It adopts both macro and micro analyses: (1) it views the overall patterns of code-switching under a framework of stylistic practice (cf. Eckert, 2001), observing the relative frequency of code-switching patterns in a particular group or community of practice, and (2) it conducts micro-analyses of code-switching and interprets the meaning of code-switching under a framework of indexicality (cf. Silverstein, 2003). Indexicality involves local and global ideologies of language (and people who speak a specific language) and observes how these ideologies are contested and performed in real life through variable language use. Indexicality understands social meaning as dependent on the context of the conversation, the topic, and the participants, as well as the bigger social implications. Further, rather than providing a finite list of the functions of code-switching, indexicality views language as context-dependent – that is, dependent on the interaction at hand, as well as the local sociocultural values - as well as dependent on larger global ideologies of language use. This view differs from previous studies of code-switching which provide deterministic lists of the functions of code-switching, and it also differs from studies of code-switching that study the local at expense of the global implications.

## 1.2 English and Language Politics in Puerto Rico

Sociopolitical changes in the Puerto Rican government following the 1898 Spanish-American War have led to ideological transformations regarding language use on the island. The introduction of English in Puerto Rico resulted in the strengthening of a national identity rooted in the Spanish language. As a former Spanish colony (1493 - 1898) and current U.S. possession (1898-present), Puerto Rico's language contact situation is intricately involved with the politics of the island, where English is promoted on a governmental level (top-down), yet Spanish is defended and maintained on a grass-root level (bottom-up). While Spanish has maintained a primary role in public school education as the main language of instruction, English has increasingly played a communicative role in governmental affairs (cf. Pousada, 2008[1]), businesses (Fayer, Castro, Diaz, and Plata, 1998), higher education (Mazak & Herbas-Donoso, 2015), the media and entertainment industry (Fayer, 2000; Wood, 2009). English's increasing

[1] Pousada, A. (2008). The Mandatory Use of English in the Federal Court of Puerto Rico. Centro Journal, 2 (1). pp. 137 – 155.

presence on the island has naturally influenced Puerto Rican Spanish, most notably on a lexical level (Rivera, 1971) and syntactic level[2] (Morales, 1986).

Despite increasing influence, many linguists describe English use on the island as distributed in terms of socioeconomic class: those who have access to private school education, described as 'the bilingual elite', are more likely to speak English than those who do not. This belief has served as the basis for many sociolinguistics studies on the island, which defend the idea that Puerto Rico is a two-speech community defined by class inequality (cf. Hermina, 2014). Research under this framework has described English as a prestigious code that is limited to members of the upper class 'elite'. Further, many studies describe an ideological divide among the Puerto Rican population, based on their sentiments towards the American culture. Spanish has been modeled according to nationalistic values of *Puerto Ricanness*, *authenticity* and *language maintenance*; while English has been said to describe *elitism,* 'betrayal [to one's own Spanish origins]' and *foreigness/Americaness* (Carroll, 2009; Clachar, 1997a; Mazak, 2007; Pousada, 1999; Schweers & Hudders, 2000). Under an intergroup framework (Tajfel and Turner, 1979), English has been described as the *out-group* code, and Spanish the *in-group* code (cf. Barreto, 2000; Clachar, 1997a). Simultaneously English has been described as the in group code for the elite masses, under strict prescriptivist constraints that prohibit the mixing of Spanish and English codes and promote the idea of *double monolingualism* (cf. Perez Casas, 2008).

In the wake of English globalization in outlets like the Internet and technology, the increase of Puerto Rican migrants to mainland U.S.[3], and the recent desire to become a U.S. State in a 2012 community plebiscite[4], one could suggest that the sociolinguistic distribution of the English language is changing. That is, the once rigid linguistic and ideological boundaries between the bilingual elite and the Englishless masses are becoming fuzzy, as many countries around the world face what Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) refer to as *Late Modernity*. Late Modernity, a result of globalization, stands for 'the intensification of world-wide social relations that link distant localities to

[2] An example of the syntactic influence of English into Spanish can be found in the Puerto Rican phrase: "que tu quieres?" (What do you want?) as opposed to the standard dialect "que quieres tu?" (roughly: What want you?)
[3] Cindy Y. Rodriguez, C. (2014). *Puerto Rico's economic woes trigger U.S. exodus - CNN.com*. [online] CNN. Available at: http://edition.cnn.com/2014/03/22/us/puerto-rico-migration-economy/.
[4] Mariano Castillo, C. (2012). *Puerto Ricans favor statehood for first time - CNNPolitics.com*. [online] CNN. Available at: http://edition.cnn.com/2012/11/07/politics/election-puerto-rico/

proximate ones' (Bhatt, 2008, p. 180). This means that communities which have typically not had the same amount of exposure or access to the English language, are finding different sources, outside of hierarchical class and regionally-based affordances, in which they could potentially acquire and use the language. Furthermore, as English is seen more and more as a tool of upward mobility in Puerto Rico (cf. Bourdieu, 1991), one might expect a shift in attitudes towards speaking the English language on the island. However, the impact of these ideologies of prestige and usefulness among those of the lower classes have often been overlooked in favor of a more traditional 'two speech community' model, where English is described as the language of the elite (cf. Clachar, 1997a; Hermina, 2014).

Therefore, this thesis presents an updated descriptive account of linguistic practices and ideologies, in light of the evolving political circumstances and ideologies regarding Puerto Rico's relationship with the United States, as well as recent developments of Late Modernity. From a sociocultural perspective, I view language as a potential semiotic tool towards the construction of *meaning* in interaction. Thus, the present dissertation offers a meaning-based approach to language variation, taking from the post-structuralist theory of *indexicality* of Michael Silverstein (1985, 2003) and understanding language as a living entity that occurs and acquires meaning in interaction. In the case of Puerto Rico, where certain varieties and ways of speaking have become deeply imbued with political and social meaning, an indexical approach to language use yields insightful information of the ideological orientations to U.S. and P.R. culture, ideologies of language, the social role of English in a neocolonial context, as well as the future of English on the island. While multilingualism on a global level is hardly exceptional, Puerto Rico's historic struggle to embrace the English language and achieve widespread bilingualism in a world where plurality of Englishes is the norm (see Won Lee, 2017) is especially noteworthy. Many have argued that, in this respect, Puerto Rico's linguistic situation is one of *language maintenance* (Carroll, 2009, p. 147). The implications of speaking English in Puerto Rico are different from those found in other communities that have recently come under English influence through globalisation. Behavioral practices and ideological negotiations that arise from this contact situation must therefore be considered in light of the history of the United States with the island. Here, ideologies of Spanish maintenance, English intrusion, ownership of Spanish have been continuously cited in nationalistic literature, political debates and linguistic

scholarship as relevant to the language debate on the island (Clachar, 1997a, 1997b; Pousada, 1999; Resnick, 1993).

Through this thesis, I examine these controversial language ideologies, and observe the role Spanish and English play on the adolescent community today. As the first ethnographic study of adolescents in Puerto Rico, this thesis sheds light on the role of mainstream macrosociological ideologies of English as the 'outgroup' code, and whether these are contested in interactions among adolescents, under what circumstances and how. In particular, I observe language use as a potential semiotic tool towards the construction of social identities. Research in code-switching has found that adolescents in bilingual communities often use code-switching strategies to create group boundaries and social identities that distinguish them from their elders (e.g. Nilep, 2006). With this in mind, I observe the varied language practices and social behaviour of two communities of adolescents', from different educational and socioeconomic backgrounds respectively: (one) private school and (one) public school. By observing the speech of the underrepresented adolescent community, this thesis advances empirical research on *island* Englishes and bilingualism in Puerto Rico. Furthermore, this thesis contributes to wider scholarship in bilingualism and identity by providing the case of an ideologically powerful *community* language (Spanish) subject to a prestigious minority language (English), and the ideological and linguistic outcomes of this context.

## 1.3 Research Aims and Organization of Chapters

This thesis explores the relationship between language and identity in adolescents in the island of Puerto Rico. As a U.S. territory and contemporary colony, the island offers an interesting account of the semiotic potentials of language and the tensions that may arise among developments of Late Modernity, a simultaneous desire for socioeconomic advancement and upward mobility[5], and the implications of adopting a speech style laden with negative undertones of imperialism, social inequalities, racial discrimination, and cultural and linguistic hegemony. In placing its focus on adolescents, it positions itself within recent scholarship in the field of sociolinguistics to do with globalisation and the cosmopolitan currency of English in times of superdiversity (Vervotec, 2007), and aims to observe whether these global occurrences have impacted the extent to which English

[5] In the face of financial instability.

is present on the island, its societal distribution (across traditional social boundaries[6]), and the ideological and semiotic values tied to particular ways of speaking.

The semiotic role of English on the island is explored through Michael Silverstein's (1985, 2003) concept of *total linguistic fact* (or TLF for short), a theory of ideology in language based on actual social practice. There are three core components to TLF which inform the structure of this document and the way language use and speech styles will be interpreted, these are the following:

- **THE STRUCTURE OF LANGUAGE**

The first component is related to the *sociological structure* of language in interaction. Information on the structure may be related to language choice or grammatical functions, such as gendered "noun phrases" or the language "as a means for reference and predication" (p. 222). Structural information is important as it provides insights into the formalised practices (*formal regularities*) of specific language communities. It allows us to understand the set of linguistic potentialities, or of "different ways of saying the same thing" (Silverstein, 1985, p. 222) in a language system. **Chapter 5** provides a look into the instructional practices of languages, or the structure of English and Spanish 'Language' within public and private school systems. Schools are important sites of knowledge production, and influential models of language. These sites have the ability to pursue or challenge the linguistic status quo, produce or reproduce education and cultural knowledge (Nash, 1990); in this Chapter they are the key figures as to the reproduction of structure of language or the role of English in society. Chapter 5 provides evidence to this, as observed through fieldnotes, pictures, and document analysis. I explore how different language planning strategies, or institutional language choices, produce different environments for language learning and knowledge production, as well as linguistic practices.

[6] Socioeconomic, regional, gender-influenced, religiously-affiliated boundaries, and others.

- **THE CONTEXTUALISED USES OF LANGUAGE OR LINGUISTIC FEATURES (THE "PRAGMATIC")**

The second component deals with "the pragmatic" or *contextual*. Here we can speak of values such as 'appropriate' or 'correct' linguistic forms to apply to *specific situations*, contexts, speech acts, or among particular addressees or communities of practice in the micro-contextual speech event. Chapter 6 discusses the contextual distribution of Englishes in adolescent interactions and across peer groups. It also provides information as to the most salient discourse themes that triggered English language use: e.g. when speaking of popular culture, technology, food, or citing mainland fixed expressions (i.e. idioms, lyrics). It also provides information as to the form of bilingualism adopted across gender, class, group, and individual. Ultimately, Chapter 6 provides both structural and contextual information of English language use, and complements the findings of Chapter 5 which offered information as to the role and distribution of English in the school institutions. 'Appropriacy of language' or contextual information is discussed in terms of how it is manifested across different communities of practice.

- **THE IDEOLOGIES BEHIND DIFFERENT WAYS OF SPEAKING (THE "METAPRAGMATIC")**

Chapter 7 addresses the question of ideologies of language practices. It further addresses how speakers used elements from their bilingual linguistic repertoires towards the construction of their own collective social identities in interaction. This question is an important one to pursue, as a lot of the island discourses have suggested a deep-seated link between language and identity, rooted in ideologies of what it means to speak Spanish in Puerto Rico versus what it means to speak English. Other important local ideologies emerge in interaction, such as those to do with private-public school divide as well as ideologies tied to different youth subcultural practices.

The research questions that are informed by TLF are the following:

(1) **Contextualised use of language (s):** What role does language (Spanish, English) play in the social worlds of adolescents today? (Chapter 5).

(2) **Structure and language:** Do adolescents' social circumstances (class, education) constrain or encourage their likelihood to adopt particular bilingual styles (insertional, alternational, congruent lexicalization)? (Chapter 5, 6).

(3) **Language identity and ideologies of speaking:** Do Puerto Rican adolescents use bilingual styles and the ideologies tied to these bilingual styles towards their construction of social identities? If so, how? (Chapter 6, 7).

Existing literature contends that language learners within the context of Puerto Rico have either: (a) restricted access to English through school or (b) favorable access to English, -- primarily through island institutions (schools), home-based practices (languages spoken at home), socioeconomic affordances (television, WIFI, and others), lived experiences (abroad), etc. This thesis offers a complementary analysis in which the islander is awarded agency, beyond inherited societal circumstances, through the inclusion of social identity, or personal engagements, here observed through the *community of practice* framework (cf. Eckert, 2000). This account provides information with regard to societal circumstances which may encourage or inhibit the acquisition of the *ideological Standardised English* (see Rosa, 2016), alongside information of the more fluid social structures and identities created in the micro-context. Ultimately, offering an account of middle ground between structure and agency in practice.

"Do" as a theoretical starting point allows for differences in sociolinguistic potential, rather than assuming *a priori* links between language and identity. The second part to this question addresses *how* speakers stylistically implement bilingual speech styles in social interactions. To answer the question of 'how', I consider bilingual speech styles through Muysken's (2000) codemixing typology. In this way, I adopt structural conventions to discuss the stylistic potentialities of adolescents from diverse backgrounds (Chapter 6) and complement these results later with a qualitative discussion of language, or micro-analysis, through a discussion of stance-taking and discourse analysis. I argue that strategic use of bilingual styles may be used to achieve multiple meanings and social functions, rather than fixed one-to-one correlational values. These functions are also not "random", rather, they are subject to the context in which the conversation takes place (micro-context) and the wider ideologies involving appropriateness of codes (macro-context), as suggested by theories of semiotics and socioindexicality.

# CHAPTER 2
# THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

## 2.1 OVERVIEW

*Framing Language and Identity Research*

The concept of identity has often been theorized in terms of self-identification, sameness, or oneness (Joseph, 2004, p. 2). In the abstract sense, identity is defined as "the quality or condition of being the same in substance, composition, nature, properties, or in particular qualities under consideration" (OED). Indeed, one of the important aspects of identity formation is notion of self-identification, or the ability to identify with a particular representation, type of person, social group, and/ or social construct as being "the same". Essentially, in discovering ourselves we seek to find the answer to "who am I" in relation to others. Identity work also consists on establishing differences both on an individual level (personal identity) and in a social/group level (inter-group identity or social identity), this can be done through distinct positioning techniques, as well as adopting multiple behavioral styles (or ways of being) through social practice. This present study will focus on the creation and negotiation of social identities through linguistic practice. While the concept of identity has been viewed from a number of different perspectives and in different fields – social psychology, sociology, anthropology, applied linguistics, second language acquisition – I will primarily discuss the theorizing of social identity in sociolinguistics.

The beginning of this chapter discusses the different ways in which identity has been conceptualized in sociolinguistics. I make use of Norma Mendoza-Denton's (2002) typology of identity research to discuss the different types of identity research in sociolinguistic variation, I highlight some of the key scholarship in this area, and discuss their contributions and disadvantages. I conclude with an updated definition of identity in sociolinguistics, one which draws from recent sociocultural linguists' definition of identity as a fluid and jointly constructed phenomenon.

- Type 1: Sociodemographic category-based identity.

- Type 2: Practice-based identity.
- Type 3: Practice-based variation.

**Categorical Approaches to Identity**

In traditional sociolinguistics, Type 1 of variationist studies uses identity as an explanation towards the distribution of linguistic features across social groups (Bucholtz 2011: 10). Social groups and their boundaries reflect an inherited set of social constructs, such as those pertaining to region, class, gender, age group, religion, and ethnic background. Type 1 are thus concerned with the categories found in community Censuses; that is, categories of affiliation that are all assigned top down rather than bottom up. These categories are fixed in nature, and all assigned a priori by the researcher. Categorical methods are characteristic of the many large-scale surveys that predominated in sociolinguistics after William Labov's (1966) seminal study of New York City English (see Labov, 1966, 1972a; Trudgill, 1974; Wolfram, 1969). Some of the social variables observed in these studies include:

- Age
- Gender
- Ethnicity
- Religion
- Level of education (highest level of education obtained)
- Occupation
- Residential worth
- Socioeconomic class (sometimes calculated looking at factors 5 – 7).
- Neighbourhood / Place of residence.
- Length of residence in current place.
- Foreign language background.

Sociocategorical labels range from the more abstract labels to least abstract and context-dependent labels (e.g. length of residence in current place, foreign language background). Using sociocategorical labels, Labov observed the large-scale distribution of New York City features like r-pronunciation versus r-lessness in coda position (e.g. in sauce/source, god/guard), and detected variation across social categories like class. His findings regarding the community distribution of language immediately prompted research in other parts of the world, across different communities to discover the stratification of speech. His model of variation was largely based of the idea of variable attention paid to speech, where the prestigious and most standard variant would be produced in more careful speech and the least standard, vernacular, and natural way of speaking would be

used in least attention paid to speech. For instance, in England Peter Trudgill (1974) carried out Labovian-esque methods observing the variable distribution of consonantal and vocalic features in Norwich. He found variable distribution among categories like socioeconomic background and sex. Walt Wolfram (1969) documented variable speech in members of the African American community in Detroit, he also measured these against fixed categories, such as class, racial isolation, age, set, and style.

Type 1's conceptualising of identity is primarily concerned with the impact of social stratification in speech. This type of method lends itself to the observation and documentation of large-scale sociolinguistic trends and dialectology. Much of the influential work in sociocategorical techniques has been conducted in urban contexts, where the linguistic population is diverse and can provide a snapshot of changes in progress and socially stratified language use (see Sankoff, 1993; Silva-Corvolan, 1989; Tagliamonte & Hudson, 1999; Thibault and Daveluy, 1989). Type 1 research has continued to this date, one of the biggest contributions is provided by William Labov, Sharon Ash, and Charles Boberg (2006) for their work on 145 cities in the United States.

Stratification studies provide the foundation for many ethnographic studies: by quantitatively representing the sociolinguistic trends in a community, ethnographers are provided with a snapshot of some of the most important and salient linguistic features of a community. Ethnographers can then arrive at better conclusions about synchronic language use and language change, according to what they have gathered from fieldwork observation and what they know from larger statistical studies. An additional advantage to Type 1 studies are that they lend themselves to replicability and statistical analysis, thus presenting a strong case for sociolinguistics in its much sought-after label as a quantifiable 'science'.

Despite all of its contributions and implications in terms of statistical findings, Type 1's methods are both its strengths and weaknesses. Its categorical tendencies have been criticized as being 'deterministic' and an over-simplification of social relations, consequently an oversimplification of society's language use. Sociocategorical methods continuously face allegations of essentialism, or the "reductive tendency by analysts to designate a particular aspect of a person or group as explanations for their behavior" (Mendoza-Denton, 2002, p. 476). The researcher through the use of predetermined categories, such as 'Latina' or 'female' often designates the essence, or social affiliation, of a speaker. These categorical tendencies present limitations to sociolinguists'

understanding of language use in society, particularly in that speakers' social identities are not accurately represented, rather they reflect top-down categorization techniques in which the role of the researcher is influential to its analysis.

## 2.2 PRACTICE-BASED *IDENTITY* STUDIES

From the systematicity of Type 1 arose a desire to extend our knowledge of sociodemographic factors by providing explanations to the distribution of linguistic features among these social variables. Type 2, or practice-based identity, suits sociolinguistics research whose main interest is observing the construction of identity as it unfolds through joint practice. That is, Type 2 is primarily concerned with describing identities in terms of the activities people engage in – as members of a study group, basketball team, etc. – which are believed to describe someone's identity more accurately than predetermined social labels. Mendoza-Denton defines these practices as "participation in common social projects, or in voluntary affiliation groups that are defined around activities or enterprises" (Mendoza-Denton, 2002, p. 486). In placing emphasis in social practice, both the interlocutor and the audience (i.e. the individual and the addressee) are in the forefront for the negotiation and construction of social identities. Thus, identity is defined as practice-based phenomenon in that it is determined by speakers' participations in activities and their negotiations of roles and identities through language use. This differs greatly from Type 1's labels, which were largely based on the researcher's point of view and their ascribed labels. Rather than describing a subject with an arbitrary identity, such as one like "female", belonging to the "20 – 30 age group" (or young adults), there is a tendency to conduct ethnographic research to uncover a person's role in society.

Type 2 sought to revise variatonist understandings of sociodemographic categories like class and gender, placing an emphasis in the local construction of social relationships and straying away from hierarchical stratifications. For instance, Charlotte Linde (1988) examined the negotiation of identities in the joint practice of cockpit interactions. While it had been previously assumed that there were fixed hierarchical identities for participants in organizations (or work place settings) related to occupation and class, Linde wanted to bring into question the predetermined hierarchical positions and argue for the role of identity negotiations among participants. In doing this, she

examined the negotiation of authority status in task based situations and found that participants' negotiation of authority varied from moment-to-moment, according to the task at hand and who was an expert in that task (Linde, 1988, p. 2). In this way, rather than describing participants in terms of their roles and occupations, e.g. pilot and co-pilot, and how they used language in their fixed identities, Linde was able to explain the shift in identity negotiations beyond the hierarchical sociodemographic titles and describe linguistic behaviour and the negotiations of identity in joint practice.

The sociocategorical understanding of gender was questioned by Eckert and McConnell-Ginnet's (1992) article *Think Practically and Look Locally: Language and Gender as Community-Based Practice*. In this article Eckert & McConnell-Ginnet discussed their dissatisfaction towards the way gender had been previously conceptualised as a fixed entity in sociolinguistics, arguing for a more local definition of gender rooted in ethnography, through the approach of community of practice.

The community of practice approach (CofP), originally theorized by Lave and Wegner (1991), views people affiliations of social identities as the outcome of their multiple engagements in society or different communities. These communities of practice represent "ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, values, power relations – in short, practices – emerged in the course of a mutual endeavor" (Eckert & McConnell-Ginnet, 1992, p. 464). CofP viewed an individuals' identity as emerging from the different communities they socialized in, such that not only were their identities defined in terms of how they saw themselves, but also how they saw others, and how others saw them in joint practice. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet argued that in the mutual engagement of practices subjects "create, sustain, challenge, and sometimes change society and its institutions" (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1992, p. 462). This statement echoes much theoretical frameworks in practice-based studies, which strongly opposed to fixed models of society, and believed that predetermined categories were not representative of more locally-constructed groups. Community of practice is one of the methods that was developed as a reaction to categorical studies which argued for a more local view of identity and gave subjects more agency towards their construction of identities.

A community of practice, defined above, could be a garage band, a book club, a marriage, a sports team, a group of friends, etc. The key idea behind CofP is that subjects' identities and affiliations are formed voluntarily; their identities are created and assigned in mutual practice. While engaging in social practice, subjects develop ways of speaking and being

according to the different communities they engage in. Penelope Eckert's (1989) study of adolescents in a Detroit high school is a well-known example to how this type of research is carried out. She conducted her research in a predominantly white, suburban high school and found that the social hierarchy of high school, particularly in terms of class, did not reflect the categorical affiliations and language use of the parents'. Furthermore, she found that - while social class was an important factor to consider in adolescents' speech - more local community affiliations such as that of *jocks* and *burnouts* were more salient ways of identification among youth and, therefore, more accurate descriptors of language use. Eckert's study contributed to the wider array of variationist studies in that she noted other practices, in addition to linguistic practices, that were used as symbols or semiotic tools towards construction of group identity. CofP advocates for the incorporation of other non-linguistic symbolic tools in addition to language as a tool, in other words "rather than investing language with a special analytic status, the community of practice framework considers language as one of many social practices in which participants engage." (Bucholtz, 1999, p. 210). Another way community of practice distinguishes itself from sociodemographic models is that it is treats a community as a heterogeneous entity, it sees individuals' orientation to a community as variable, understanding that not all speakers orient the same way to the same practice, but that they each have their own personal identity within the community. Under CofP, social identities are "rooted in action rather than categories" (Bucholtz, 1999, p. 210).

Le Page and Tabouret-Keller's (1985) seminal study of acts of identity describes another practice-based approach that has been instrumental in modelling language as a form of social practice. The Acts of Identity framework emerged as a reaction to the fixed label of ethnicity and its inability to capture the social and linguistic changes occurring in postcolonial Caribbean islands, Belize and St. Lucia. Accordingly, they came up with a more local approach to identity which granted speakers more agency by focusing in the active construction of identity in interaction. Their approach argued that speakers have the ability to adopt linguistic behavior particular to social groups in order to perform acts of identity, or to create or perform their own social identities (p. 14). Their theory rests on the assumption that speakers engaging in joint practice are negotiating their identities with regards to social groups, or making acts of identities, through variable language use. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller's framework is in par with previously mentioned approach

of communities of practice, as they emphasize the role of practice and social group alignment in the construction of identities. One of the examples provided in their study was of an old lady who shares stories and has the capacity change her speech style as well as "shift her identity" according to her audience. This ability to shift appropriately according to addressee resonates with Giles et al. (1991) accommodation theory, which argues that "when people interact, they adjust their speech, their vocal patterns and their gestures, to accommodate to others" (Giles et al., 1991). However, the authors go further than Giles' distinction of association and dissimilarity so as to state that speakers can shift their behaviour according to who they are speaking to and to the degree to which they wish to be identified to someone and "proclaim political and cultural identity" (p. 14). This exemplifies the main argument that Le Page and Tabouret-Keller's put forth, which claims that "the individual creates for himself[/herself] the patterns of his of his [/her] linguistic behaviour so as to resemble those of the groups with which from time to time he [/she] wishes to be identified or so as to be unlike those from whom he [/she] wishes to be distinguished." (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller, 1985, p. 181).

The contribution of Type 2 studies is found in the explanations it brings forth to the local construction of identity. In questioning labels of sociodemographic methods, and wanting to explain identity as it is constructed in social practice, emphasizes the role of the individual's perception of themselves (personal identity) with regards to larger social groups (social identity). Further, while sociodemographic details are part of one's self conception and identity, (e.g. the same way our occupation can play an influential role in defining ourselves), it is also important to see how the label is challenged, altered, and negotiated through different practices. In identifying different social practices, or evolving conditions, Type 2 studies present the linguistic outcomes of partaking in different activities in our daily lives.

Some have criticized Type 2 studies in their definitions of language use (i.e. meaning in language) are bound to the social practices in which you engage in, rather than promoting creative agency beyond the practices informants engage in (c.f. Cameron, 1990). Type 2 studies have been said to simply "aggregate" behaviour and conceptualize identity in terms of these behaviours and social practices. This dissatisfaction of agency in Type 2 led to an even more fluid and flexible way of theorizing identity: one that is not category-bound, nor practice-bound, rather highlights the non-structural uses of language.

## 2.3 PRACTICE-BASED VARIATION

Type 3, or practice-based variation studies, seeks to explain identity and language use beyond the sociodemographic labels and social practices speakers engage in. While emphasis is still placed in social practice and the way identities and language use unfolds in them, more emphasis is placed on the symbolic nature of linguistic variables. That is, Type 3 research is concerned with the social meaning behind a way of speaking, and how these words and sounds (or ways of speaking) come to be associated with a particular type of person or acquire a specific type of social meaning. Type 3 research conceptualises language as a social phenomenon first and foremost, and then seeks to identify the people who use it. It is almost always ethnographic and concerned with issues of socioindexicality, i.e. when a sociolinguistic variable, set of linguistic features, or way(s) of speaking, indicate – or indexes – a particular social identity or social meaning.

Rather than assuming speakers' social identities based on their inherited set of sociodemographic information or the practices they engage in, Type 3 understands identity as involving both of these things (i.e. partially to do with your affiliations), but not determined by these affiliations; rather, a speaker is free to negotiate and construct their identity in interaction through deployment of stylistic features. This means that a speaker's identity is understood of as part- social demographics, part- community affiliations, and part- other types of identities and resources to which a speaker has access to (or comprehends) and draws upon. Under Type 3, Eckert recasted her conceptualisation of community of practice to serve as a model of identity (affiliation) and of social meaning. She argues that a community of practice is the "prime locus" to which different styles or ways of speaking emerge and come to be associated with specific values and meanings. Communities of practice (such as a garage band, a family, or a gang) jointly establish their linguistic norms and social identities, they "look out jointly on the social landscape, interpreting the landscape, and constructing their place and stance within that landscape" through language use and other semiotic means (Eckert, 2004, p. 44). In this way, an analysis of variation begins locally (bottom up), rather than globally (top down). That is, rather than viewing the social meaning of language according to affiliations, the stylistic approach first looks at the styles being deployed in local practice and the values they indicate locally, and trace back their local

meanings to the global values and affiliations, i.e. "ultimately… [we] begin with a style, tracing the contributions of individual resources to that style" (ibid).

Sociolinguistic variables in Type 3 are then analysed in terms of what they index in moment-to-moment interaction, according to context. As a result, many of the studies in Type 3 analysis are of discourse or conversational analytic nature, containing qualitative (rather than quantitative) results. By placing emphasis on the active negotiation of identity through the deployment of certain indexical values, Type 3 brings an even more in-depth way of viewing the relationship between language and identity: that of micro-analysis. Thus, tracking the way the social meaning of language shifts according to how it is used in interaction. In this way, not only can we appreciate the differences in locally constructed social groups, but also the linguistic diversity within these groups, thus capturing the political and sociohistorical connotations behind different ways of speaking and being, or their distinctive indexical meanings. Linguists in Type 3 studies emphasize that much like social identity, the meaning of language is not fixed, rather it must be interpreted with regards to the other constellations of potential meanings in interaction. The theory of indexicality will be explained in further detail in Section 2.5.3, which describes the application of this theory to code-switching research. In the diagram below I have included the three ways in which participants and their identities have been modelled in variationist research. Each way of visualizing identity is relevant, and each brings a different aspect of the participant into view: Type 1 looks at the inherited set of social information of an individual and the role it plays in language use, Type 2 looks at the different practices and group memberships of an individual and how identity choices influence language use, Type 3 looks at how local interactions, ideologies of language and the people who speak that language (i.e. the social meaning) may shape the likelihood that subjects interact in a specific scenario. The last type of variationist research is in line with post-structuralist beliefs of language, arguing that language bares no fixed value, no fixed affiliation with a category or practice; rather, the meaning of language is fluid, unstable, building on previous beliefs and ideologies of language and creating new ones. Type 3 understands that both language and society are unstable constructs; they are not universal, unchanging or fixed.

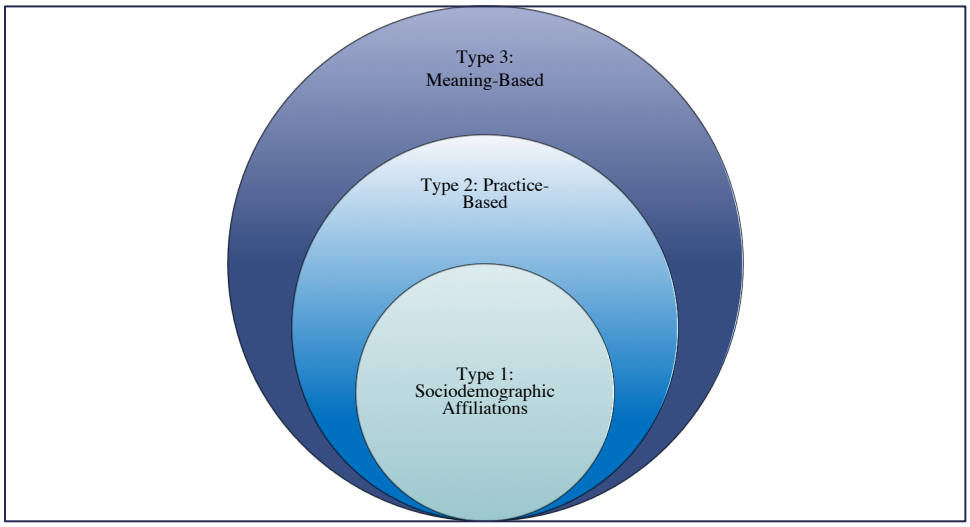



Figure 1. *Models of Identity in Variationist Research.*

## 2.4 Limitations of Identity-based Variationist Work

Although a wealth of research has been done in the area to discover the dynamics between language and social identities, there are still limitations that sociolinguists have yet to resolve. Questions that revolve around essentialism plague sociodemographic research, as well as more ethnographic s as they are prone to making judgments in their observations of and bring their own experiences and ideologies into the analysis. Another question that prevails is the discrepancy between what analysts' believe to be influential in the distribution of language use and what participant's believe to be important. The ongoing battle of every sociolinguistics study is that against observer's paradox, or the participant's linguistic self-awareness and consciousness that they are being recorded – an awareness which can ultimately have an affect on the type of data collected -- that is, whether the speech is reflective of naturalistic behavior or an outcome of more careful and self-monitored behavior (Labov, 1963). While sociolinguists have tried to combat this limitation through ethnographic methods, the problem still persists in much sociolinguistics research particularly in situations when a researcher is an outsider to a community (cf. Rickford and McNair-Knox, 1994). Observer's paradox also presents a drawback to replicability of research, indeed, studies have shown that researchers' experience interviewing and interacting with a community and its speakers' can be very individualistic. Informants can respond differently to physical features of an interviewer,

as well as their personality and sociodemographic affiliations. Thus, even in naturalistic settings, sociolinguists still face the difficulty of gathering natural speech.

An additional difficulty is analyzing speaker agency or intentionality – while it is true that participants can make use of features and repertoires available to them, it is also true that these abilities occur within cognitive and social constraints (see Mendoza-Denton's 2008 on exemplar theory[7]). There is great danger in assuming unlimited amounts of agency and speaker creativity, and few studies make reference the constraints of agency. Mendoza-Denton (2008) and other linguists have tried to account for sociolinguistic constraints by suggesting that motor principles of effort and habituation (i.e. the way a person has been socialized, together with the historical trajectory of a variable and routinized speech), as well as perception, influence or inhibit a speaker's ability to produce a sociolinguistic variable. Some have suggested a threshold for when semiotic intentional moves become an automatic part of our speech, or a part of our habitus[8] (Bourdieu, 2000) or ways of being, and frequency and experiences have been highlighted as important factors in this.

While Mendoza-Denton distinguishes between three types of identity variationist studies, this does not indicate that their consecutive orders suggest one method is better than the other, rather all methods can be seen as complementary (Mendoza-Denton, 2002, p. 476 - 491). All Types of variationist studies (1, 2, 3) bring us closer to understanding the interrelations and complexities of language and identity, and some methods suit particular situations – and research questions – better than others.

---

[8] Habitus refers to "everything, without exception, in the activities of the men, the women, and the children, is abruptly altered by the adoption of a new rhythm: the movements of flock, of course, but also the men's work and the domestic activities of women, the place where the cooking is done, the rest periods, the food eaten, the times and the itinerary of the women's movements and outdoor work, the rhythm of the men's assembly meetings, of the ceremonies, prayers, markets, and meetings outside the village" (Bourdieu, 1977: 159).

## 2.5 TOWARDS A DEFINITION OF IDENTITY IN SOCIOLINGUISTICS

The present study will adopt Type 3's definition of social identity, often present in much sociocultural linguistics research. Sociocultural linguists argue that language, along with other non-linguistic resources (such as physical appearance – clothes, hairstyles), can serve as semiotic tools for the construction of social identities (cf. Fuller, 2007). The same way meaning in language may vary according to context, identity is not fixed – it is not the property of an individual – rather, it can change across space and time. Social identities may vary according to the way speakers' position themselves in relation to others, the way they position themselves with regards to larger ideas or social constructs (e.g. gender, religion), in the way they present themselves stylistically across different interactions, or at different points in their lives. Identity is therefore seen as an inherently relational construct that is "jointly produced rather than individual, locally situated rather than universal, and agentively constructed rather than passively inhabited." (Bucholtz, 2011, p. 10).

Individuals can also display more than one social identity through variable language use. For instance, Nikolas Coupland's (2001) study of a disc jockey in Cardiff showed how one individual could draw from different registers or dialects of language to create a playful social persona. By adopting different styles of speech, the disc jockey was calling on a variety of social meanings, and strategically using these different styles and meanings to create a "fluid" and cultured persona rather than a fixed and static social being.

Thus, The Handbook of Language Variation and Change argues for an understanding of identity as "the active negotiation of an individual's relationship with larger social constructs, in so far as this negotiation is signaled through language and other semiotic means" (Mendoza-Denton, 2004, p. 475). Key to this definition of identity is the use of the word "active" which emphasizes speaker agency. An individual is therefore seen as actively constructing their identity, it is a continuous process such that identity is never fixed or a passive construct. A speaker does not passively inhabit a social category, such as gender, and linguistically behaves according to the norms of this category; rather, a speaker actively negotiates and constructs his/her identity taking from the linguistic features available to him/her, both from macro-level (social constructs) and

micro-level (culturally specific) resources. Further, identity is understood as an "individual and collective-level process of semiosis" (p. 475), or a process that assigns symbolic meaning at an individual and collective level. Identity is constructed, negotiated, and performed locally (in social interaction), and is also ideologically informed by larger constructs (i.e. behavioral ideologies of gender, occupation, and socioeconomic status) and draws from their linguistic resources. Moreover, social identities are dependent on ideologies or beliefs about social constructs and social groups, which in turn influence language choice or language use (Bucholtz 2011, p. 9). Below I have included a brief summary on how social identity is conceptualised in sociolinguistics today.

- Identity as a fluid and active construct: not a fixed construct.
- Identity as inherently relational: jointly constructed through social practice.
- Identity as a multivalent entity: it is not a single entity; it does not posses a single value (i.e. a person can have multiple identities and position themselves in a variety of ways, depending on the pragmatic context).
- Identity as a local construct: it is constructed, negotiated, and performed locally in interaction, rather than a prescribed non-local construct (this ties with #2).
- Identity as informed by macrosociological and microsocialogical ideologies on ways of speaking and being.

Many fields of linguistics have expressed interest over the role of identity in language, among them are subfields of sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology, social accounts of discourse analysis (e.g. conversation analysis, critical discourse analysis), these subfields together have formed part of what is referred to sociocultural linguistics[9]. What these fields have in common is that they all are all interested in the intersections of language, culture, and society.

Similarly, this study will take a sociocultural approach to variation. It aims to build on previous work of sociocultural linguists on the relationship of language and identity. Its goal is to serve as an extension to studies of linguistic practice and identity by providing the case of Puerto Rican bilinguals. Through methods of ethnography and

[9] Which is not to be confused by the sociocultural theory to second language acquisition proposed by Lantolf and Thorne (2006).

communities of practice, I hope to understand the social meaning of language, and the role language plays in the everyday lives of Puerto Ricans.

## 2.6 CODE-SWITCHING AND IDENTITY

### *Towards a Definition of Code-switching*

Language contact can give rise to all kinds of linguistic phenomena: from bilingualism to the creation of new hybrid varieties (creoles, pidgins), from borrowing to code-switching, from language shift to language death. The present study is concerned with code-switching as an outcome of language contact and as a tool of social distinctiveness and identity construction towards the construction.[10] Because of the vast amount of code-switching research definitions for the concept have varied throughout the years, as well as theoretical approaches towards it analysis. One of the most accepted definitions was provided by John J. Gumperz (1982), who defined code-switching as 'The juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems of subsystems.' (p. 59). Code-switching can occur between turns in conversation, sometimes within an utterance in a single turn. Moreover, code-switching differs from other language contact phenomenon such as borrowing, in that code-switching requires knowledge of the grammaticality of languages involved; whereas, borrowing which may occur in the speech of people with a primary monolingual competence (Gumperz & Hernandez-Chavez, 1975). I approach my study of language variation adopting Gumperz's definition, understanding that code-switching is a linguistic practice that involves the use of two or more languages within a same conversation. That is, code-switching can occur (1) between participants in single conversation (speaker A speakers in one code, speaker B switches to another), (2) within a single participant turn (inter-sententially), and (3) within a single utterance (intra-sententially) (Milroy and Muysken, 1995, p. 7). Others also make the distinction between intra-sentential, inter-sentential, and emblematic/extra-sentential code-switching, where

[10] While some researchers have differentiated between what is known as "code-mixing" and what is referred to as "code-switching", I will make use of the larger umbrella term "code-switching" to refer to the alternational strategies implemented across different types of bilingual communication. For some, code-mixing is referred to as switching that occurs within an utterance, whereas code-switching is between sentences (cf. Chen, 2008, p. 41). However, this modelling of bilingual speech will not be adopted in the present account.

intra-sentential switching describes switches that occur within a sentence, inter-sentential defines switches that occur between sentences, and tag-switching refers to the type of switching between an utterance, where a tag or interjection is attached to it (Poplack, 1980, p. 240).

Much of the bilingualism research today interprets code-switching as not synonymous to incompetence in either language. However, this perspective was quite prevalent in traditional bilingualism studies, primarily in generative studies, where the concept of a monolingual 'native' speaker was used as a point of reference to arrive at an understanding of bilingual proficiency (e.g. Bloomfield, 1927; Ronjat, 1913; Weinreich, 1953). Code-switching was viewed as an "aberration", or deviating from the 'ideal bilingual' norm, i.e. one bilingual speaker with the competence of two 'native' monolinguals. Indeed, the notion of the ideal bilingual was present in Bloomfield's (1927) account of inadequate use of speech in English-Menomini bilinguals. Uriel Weinreich (1953) defined the ideal bilingual as "someone who can switch from one language to another in appropriate speech situations but certainly not in an unchanged speech situation and within a single sentence." (p.73-4).

A lot of research has surfaced since then that has challenged Weinrech's statement, in particular Jan-Petter Blom and John J. Gumperz's (1972) study of code-switching practices in Norway, which was one of the first to argue that code-switching was not a random nor inferior way of communicating, rather an interactional skill that could serve multiple discourse functions when implemented in interaction. John Gumperz (1982) created a framework in which he attempted to account for the multiple functions of code-switching, most notably the dichotomy between situational code-switching and metaphorical code-switching, which I will talk about in detail in the sections to follow. Additionally, Gumperz emphasized the social aspect of code-switching, particularly the importance of social relationships in interpreting the switches: "in order to interpret what he hears, the investigator must have some background knowledge of the local culture and of the processes that generate social meaning" (Blom and Gumperz, 1972, p. 434). In this way, language choice came to be seen as a potential symbolic tool to communicate desired social information (e.g. such as social identities, language ideologies), provide information on the structure and organization of the interaction, negotiate group memberships, as well as other socio-interactional functions.

Most researchers nowadays agree the following statements: (1) code-switching is not 'random' but an interactional skill that is rule-governed and orderly, and (2) bilinguals who code-switch do not do so because they lack competence in either language, or are "incompetent bilinguals". In fact, extensive research in the area has found that most bilinguals do not code-switch unless appropriate, they first determine and interpret their interlocutor's linguistic background, skills and social identities (Becker 1997), and this very act of interpreting interlocutors serves as a window to the language ideologies of speakers towards each code, and notions of who they think are "the appropriate speakers of a language or language variety" (Negron, 2014, p. 90). What is yet to be agreed upon among most researchers in the area is the exact nature of code-switching: what ultimately motivates a switch? Or, "Why do bilingual speakers switch from one language to another in conversational interaction?" (Wei, 1998, p. 157). In the following section I discuss the three of the most influential theories of code-switching today and I highlight their contributions to sociolinguistic theory and weaknesses. I then conclude with a discussion of my own adopted framework of code-switching.

## 2.7 GUMPERZ SITUATIONAL/METAPHORICAL DISTINCTION

John J. Gumperz (Blom and Gumperz, 1972; Gumperz, 1982) pioneering work on bilingual communities marked a change in traditional studies of bilingualism. His framework was based on data from 10 years of research of different communities in India, Europe, and the United States. Prior to Gumperz's study, most code-switching research viewed language alternation as a 'random' act associated with lack of competence in language. However, upon observing bilingual interactions involving code-switching, Gumperz realized that code-switching was a linguistic skill achievable through pragmatic competence and therefore "speakers communicate fluently, maintaining an even flow of talk" (Gumperz 1982, p. 59-06). He also noted that few if no hesitations were involved, no change in rhythm, pitch level and intonation, which could potentially indicate lack of competence in language use. Gumperz's interactional framework demonstrated that code-switching was not a random phenomenon, but a legitimate interactional strategy, systematic and rule-governed, and subject to certain pragmatic and interactional constraints. Under his approach, code-switching is seen as part of the communicative repertoire of a bilingual speaker, and a skill that involves

pragmatic competence. Code-switching ultimately provides a set of discourse functions, or stylistic features, that can be strategically deployed in conversation to communicate social meaning.[11]

His framework proposed two functional strategies of code-switching, categorized as the following: (1) situational switching, and (2) metaphorical switching. These two categories have serve as the basis for many of code-switching studies to date. The first distinction, *situational switching*, refers to code-switching that occurs as the outcome to a change in the extra-linguistic environment; that is, a change outside the linguistic interaction. Situational changes can be a change in participants in a conversation (for instance, the presence of a non-speaker of one of the codes may trigger a switch to a particular language), or a shift in social settings (e.g. a change to an environment where one of the codes is not normally used). This latter situation is comparable to Fishman's (1965) concept of 'domains', which views language variation as a reaction to different social settings and the behavioral norms pertaining to those settings. Most situational code-switching occurs at an inter-sentential level, or between utterances (Woolard, 2005, p. 75). Accordingly, those who study situational code-switching refer to code-switching as a type of "language choice" or "code selection" (ibid). The second distinction made by Gumperz, also known as 'metaphorical code-switching', accounts for variable language use that is not the outcome of a change in setting, rather, serves as a specific conversational strategy. In using code-switching as a conversational strategy, speakers allude to the indexical associations or meanings of the codes; in this way, metaphorical code-switching carries a semantic effect. Not only does it depend on the indexical associations of the codes in interaction, but it also depends on the indexical associations of the codes in a speaker's consciousness. Metaphorical code-switching is also referred to as 'conversational switches' as its main function is to facilitate or enhance meaning in conversation.

One example of metaphorical code-switching is provided by Gumperz, when discussing a Spanish-speaking mother's switch to English as metaphorical (Gumperz, 1982, p. 92). In the example below, the mother switched to English when she wished to communicate an authoritative and assertive stance in reprimanding her disobedient child.

[11] This is comparable to monolingual speakers who can draw from their own linguistic repertoires (composed of dialectal features) and use specific linguistic features in interaction to achieve desired meaning.

In the case of many minority communities in the U.S., English carries authoritative implications; the mother was aware of these implications, and chose to exploit them when chastising her child.

> (1) Ven aca. Ven aca. (Come here. Come here.) Come here, you. (Gumperz, 1982, p. 92).

Essential to metaphorical code-switching is Gumperz's (1982) concept of the *we/they* code. The often-cited we/they code describes in-group and out-group language practices. Gumperz distinction was largely based on the concept of majority and minority communities: where the majority 'standard' language signaled values of formality, stiffness, and less-personal relations as the *they code*, and the minority vernacular language signaled familiarity and solidarity as the *we code* (Gumperz, 1982, p. 66). A classic example of we/they code in metaphorical codeswitching is the following: a banker and a costumer might conduct business in the majority out-group ('standard') language, meanwhile a friend might talk to another friend in the minority ('informal') in-group language. However, this distinction can be quite problematic when it comes to ascribing we/they code values, and there is uncertainty to whether a speaker is truly assigning these values, or whether the researcher is assuming them. Moreover, up to a certain extent this approach leaves no room for variation outside of this dichotomy and is slightly deterministic in practice. Its binary nature rejects the contemporary understanding of meaning in language as fluid and creative; rather, suggests that its meaning is static and predictable. The meaning of a switch, whether it be authoritative, comical, or intimate, depends on the local context; yet, for Gumperz, all of these meanings are made possible through the we/they code. The we/they code sees minority ethnic communities as the "prototype" bilingual communities (Woolard, 2005, p. 77), but this conceptualizing in itself is incredibly narrow and not applicable to other communities where multilingualism is the norm (e.g. Papua New Guinea or Indonesia). Further, the associations of the *we code* as being the minority code does not fit with Puerto Rico, where the *we code* is the majority code (Spanish), and the "they" code is the minority code (English).

While the we/they code has faced much criticism, others have built on Gumperz's model and adapted it to modern understandings of language and identity. That is, instead of representing a binary minority community subject to a majority community

relationship, some linguists see the we/they distinction as a speaker's variable positioning to multiple social entities (Woolard, 2005, p. 77), rather than literal binary values. Under this understanding, the we/they code demonstrates how speakers "can shift their own perspective from experience-near ("we" or first-person) to experience distant ("they" or third person) vantage points" or how speakers can accommodate or distance themselves to others (Woolard, 2005, p. 77).

Gumperz's contribution to code-switching inspired much research in code-switching to come, and Gumperz played a key role in emphasizing the importance of the 'social' aspect in code-switching practices. He reminded researchers to become familiar with the macro-social norms[12] (through we/they) and relations of the communities under study: "in order to interpret what he hears, the investigator must have some background knowledge of the local culture and of the processes that generate social meaning" (Blom and Gumperz ,1972, p. 434). Additionally, he demonstrated that analyzing code-switching in terms of predetermined social categories and conversational contexts was an insufficient way of describing what was going in real time interactions, contrary to Fishman's (1965) approach in domain theory. Rather, Gumperz saw code-switching as a stylistic strategy that could be implemented in interaction to serve a number of social and discursive strategies.

From Gumperz's we know that switches can indicate a change in conversation topic or subject, they can be situational, and they may carry additional semantic meaning, as metaphorical switches.

## 2.8 Discourse Models of Codeswitching

Some discourse models of code-switching have raised objections towards Gumperz's (1982) approach, particularly the classification of what counts as "metaphorical code-switching". Some argue that his approach is too macro-sociological or that it "assumes than an ethnic contrast created by social structural arrangements is always relevant to speakers and invoked in conversational code-switching (Woolard, 2005, p. 78). Furthermore, meanings behind switches are not always metaphorical or based on macro-sociological ideologies. Code-switching, for instance, may also be used to create

[12] Macro-social norms here include the knowledge of different social groups, status, roles, and social functions of particular codes.

interactional or discourse effects, the same way loudness and pitch do in phonology (ibid). Code-switching may be used to indicate a change in topic, to serve as an additional commentary to an ongoing conversation, to indicate a side comment slightly off topic, to indicate a change of in addressee (from a single addressee to multiple addresses), etc. Some of these examples, however, can be said to derive from Gumperz's (1982) situational category, such as the change in topic or addressee. These switches can be made without invoking macro-sociological information of codes. Woolard (1995), for instance, provides the example of Catalan-Spanish code-switching in the speech of a radio presenter (p. 234-5). In the example below, the radio presenter is switching to indicate a punchline, for comedic effect, or to indicate a change in the narrator's voice (Woolard, 2005, p. 79).

> Creo que con las cronicas taurinas lo hara mucho major, digo yo, vamos, porque si no; Bueno! Allavorens moltissimes gracies a tota la gent maca…
>
> (I think he'll do much better with the bullfight reports, that's what I say, anyway, because if not, Well! So then, many thanks to all the beautiful people…) (Woolard, 1995, p. 234 – 5).

Conversational analytic research (cf. Auer, 1984; Gafaranga, 2000; Wei, 1995) also argues for a more local, interactional approach to code-switching. They argue for a model that takes into account the sequential organization of a conversation and the way code-switching is used to add structure and meaning to an interaction. Evidently, code-switching can serve as a malleable strategy for meaning-making, but it is incredibly difficult to describe a finite list of all of the discursive functions code-switching may serve in interaction. Rather than modeling code-switching off a list of possible interpretations, switches must be analysed first and foremost in interaction, against the backdrop of social context. It must be analysed for its discursive functions, semantic social meaning and overall usage across several contexts.

## 2.9 Myers- Scotton's Markedness Model (Theory of Rational Choice)

Carol Myers-Scotton (1993, 2001) has also been an influential voice in studies of code-switching. Following Gumperz situational/metaphorical categorization and we/they code, Myers-Scotton called for a reinterpretation of the role of macrosociological information and away from the idea of locally negotiated meaning. Both Woolard (2005)

and Auer (1984) have criticized Myers-Scotton's approach for being "too macrosociological" (Woolard, 2005, p. 79).

Myers-Scotton model aimed to account for the instances of code-switching that did not fall under Gumperz's dichotomy of metaphorical, such that her account would be more systematic and universal. She argued that any attempt to account for all the local, semantic strategies across interactions was futile. She came up with the concept of *markedness model* (MM) to emphasize the macro indexical values of codes in interaction, which she maintained was a more systematic and accurate way of explaining the social meaning of language use. In contrast to some of the Type 3 research of variation, Myers-Scotton avoids any statements of language use being locally negotiated in a single interaction, or as "the product of the individual interaction in which they occur" (Woolard, 2005, p. 79). Rather, the core of the markedness model is that a bilingual speaker has knowledge of, sometimes unconsciously, marked and unmarked values of codes, or a set of marked and unmarked rights and obligations; where marked values are those that are unexpected in interaction, and unmarked values are the 'norm' and expected medium in a specific context (Myers-Scotton, 1993, p. 89 - 90). Individuals can use these values stylistically to maximize their needs in interaction, thus they can "choose their codes based on the persona and/or relation with others which they wish to have in place" (Myers-Scotton, 1993, p. 75).

A key concept to MM is the idea of *rights and obligations* for each code (RO sets), that is, according to the markedness model there is a set of rights and obligations among participants depending on the situational context, and participants negotiate their positions according to these sets (Myers-Scotton, 2007, p. 98). Myers-Scotton's model has been compared to Gumperz's situational code-switching in that specific topic, setting or participant (a situation) influences the likelihood of a specific RO set, as opposed to a metaphorical or semantic motivation.

Her theory posits that interaction styles, or indexical knowledge and uses of marked and unmarked codes, are conventionalized in a community through repeated use, such that speakers acquire knowledge of a script or schema on how to interact in an unmarked and 'accepted' way (following the norm). In this way, choices in linguistic interactions are seen as "cognitively based calculations", which rely on a speaker's previous experiences on "what actions offer him/her the greatest utility" (ibid). Each code symbolizes a set of rights and obligations, and a speaker's uptake or rejection of these is

indexical of the nature of a speaker's interpersonal relationships (Myers-Scotton, 2007, p. 97). MM argues that at some level of awareness, consciously or unconsciously, speakers realise a link between the situation and the RO set.

Myers-Scotton's code-switching approach is ultimately an approach towards rules of appropriateness and meaning in code-switching. Although Myers-Scotton's approach seems to be more in par with other sociolinguistics research today on macro-sociological approaches to sociolinguistic variation, researchers have argued that it is ultimately a deterministic approach to language variation subject to general categorization. Indeed, Meeuwis and Blommaert (1994) contend that the concept of unmarked RO sets as conventionalised interaction types that provide certain indexical values and 'overall social meaning' to code-switching strategies could potentially fall under 'a-priori given factors'. Myers-Scotton's dichotomy of marked and unmarked values, while useful towards the analysis of general social values, suggests that interaction "merely consists of the reproduction or reification of pre-existing social meaning, and itself is not creative" (p. 399 - 400). Meeuwis and Blommaert further contend that Myers-Scotton's model does not fully predict the way in which participants themselves negotiate and interpret meaning in language choice. They provide a counterexample of situationally ambiguous interactions, when a person does not possess the knowledge of marked or unmarked norms in that society- how then would they be able to implement Myers-Scotton's distinction? Moreover, even when the situation is clear, Meeuwis and Blommaert state that participants probably do not have enough time in real time interactions to interpret common cultural features or negotiate macro-sociological meanings with interactants. Rather, they negotiate meaning in what is currently in front of them, the conversational situation at hand, in a local and interactional context, i.e. "their attention is paid first and foremost to the 'new case' itself and each and every new move by their co-interactants" (Auer, 2013, p. 159).

Upon certain criticism, particularly from the conversational analysis (CA) strand of code-switching, Myers-Scotton (1999) later re-casted her markedness theory into a model of rational choice (based on research by Elster, 1983), awarding *agency* to participants in interaction. Under the rational choice model, Myers-Scotton argues that linguistic choices are rationally made, and that rational individuals "make choices that optimize their rewards" in an interaction (Myers-Scotton, 1999, p. 1261). Speakers, thus, choose from the *possible set* of linguistic choices, the best choice to convey desired

meaning. As rational thinkers, Myers-Scotton argues that choices are made based on: (1) speakers desires, values, and prior beliefs, (2) the consistency of these three elements, and (3) and that these desires, values, and beliefs take into account evidence in interaction regarding things like 'content and form of the interlocutor's turn' (Myers-Scotton, 2001, p. 5). Moreover, while in her previous approach Myers-Scotton emphasized the set of rights and obligations of a code in interaction (e.g. the indexical values of codes), in this approach she places emphasis on the individual as a social actor, thus trying to fight off previous claims of essentialism of linguistic behavior. Moreover, she argues that rational choices are "cognitively based calculations in bilinguals' language choices" (Wei, 2005, p. 376). Another comparable rational choice model is that of Brown and Levinson's (1987) *politeness theory*, which argues that speakers alter their linguistic behavior in order to maximize benefits to themselves, or provide 'save face' strategies (Wei, 2005, p. 377).

## 2.10 Auer's Conversational Analytic Approach to CS

Conversational analysis as a theoretical framework of code-switching situates itself as a more local approach to meaning in code-switching. It views other explanations of code-switching (e.g. Myers-Scotton's markedness model, and Gumperz's metaphorical categorization) as too macrosociological and deterministic, and argue against the tendency in code-switching research to attribute universal macrosociological values to codes and assume intentionality as a response to these universally 'understood' values (Wei, 1995, p. 163).

Peter Auer (1984, 1988, 1991) is the leading advocate for conversational analysis theory. Conversational analysis (CA), in line with current studies in anthropology and sociocultural linguistics, argues for a more local approach to explaining code-switching. For CA, the social meaning of code-switching lies within the sequential organization of the interaction. Conversational analysis argues for the role of all participants in conversation, therefore, it does not view code-switching as a phenomenon that can be stripped away from the conversation in which it occurs. Rather, it emphasizes the role of the participants in assigning meaning and orderliness; for instance, it argues that "whatever language a participant chooses for the organization of his or her turn, or for an utterance which is part of the turn, the choice exerts an influence on subsequent language choices by the same or other speakers" (Auer, 1984, p. 5). This statement is

comparable to what it understood in accommodation theory, and it is also emphasized in one of the points of the markedness model when negotiating RO sets[13] (Myers-Scotton: 1993, p. 142). Further, rather than solely relying on the interpretation of the linguistic analyst, conversational analysis claims to be a more accurate depiction of social meaning of a switch, and interprets the meaning of switching as it unfolds between speakers, rather than focusing on a single token and assigning meaning outside of its interactional context. Priority is given to the structural organization of talk, in which properties such as turn-taking and adjacency pairs are seen as key to deciphering meaning. Social context is understood as something constructed by participants in interaction, they give shape to the context, but context is not assigned a priori in conversational analysis (see Wei, 1995, p. 163; Auer, 1990, p. 80).

> "Our purpose is to analyse members' procedures to arrive at local interpretations of language alternation." (Auer, 1984, p. 3)

CA analysts do not believe in asserting direct correlations between identity and language use, but strive to demonstrate how such relations are built through ongoing talk. One of the major strengths of conversation analysis is its emphasis on joint construction of meaning. In doing so, conversation analysis fits in perfectly with identity framework that highlights the importance of self and other in construction and negotiation of meaning.

While some have argued that Myers-Scotton's approach is 'too macrosociological', conversation analysis seems to be positioned in the other extreme side of the spectrum as 'too local'. There is great danger in overlooking the ideological values and linguistic histories that codes possess in a given community. While participants are indeed creative agents of meaning who can make stylistic use of their codes and respond and react to their interactants and the environment accordingly, participants also possess greater knowledge from past experiences of what it means to speak a certain way or employ a certain features in a specific context (as pointed out by Myers-Scotton in her rational choice model). For instance, among adults of a certain profession – e.g. a teacher, a lawyer – there is macrosociological awareness of how they should speak in formal situations, particularly as 'language models' in society. This macrosociological awareness or knowledge is what informs the participants of the appropriateness behind

[13] In particular, the negotiation principle which states that speakers "choose the form of… [their] conversation contribution such that it indexes the set of rights and obligations which…[they] wish to be in force between speaker and addressee for the current exchange." (Myers-Scotton, 1993: 113).

speaking a certain way and may encourage a specific way of speaking. A teacher, as a language model, might opt to avoid codeswitching in the presence of his/her students, but among friends he/she might include more instances of codeswitching (see Jaffe, 2007).

Without looking at the social histories, conversation analysis seizes to possess any social theory itself, and could be described more as a linguistic model that operates in an interactional vacuum. CA claims to be more about the procedure and strategies of code-switching and less about the 'theory' (cf. Wei, 1995, p.164), but their preference for the local -- at expense of the metapragmatic values and linguistic histories of codes -- positions itself within a framework of theoretical linguistics. The focus in this approach is too concerned in code-switching's interactional functions, rather than social meaning, when both have been shown to be relevant in code-switching research. Conversation analysis uses the sequential organization of a conversation as point of departure for their analysis of meaning and functions of code-switching; such method pays little or no attention to ideologies of ways of speaking and being, social affiliations and whether they play a role in the distribution language use. And, while social information, in the form of categories, in no way should serve as deterministic explanations to language use, they do provide insight to how speakers have been socialized according to their social backgrounds. Furthermore, while the conversational analytic approach has provided fruitful amount of research in code-switching as an interactional approach, it would not be a useful framework to adopt in order to describe the role of the English language in Puerto Rico, where both codes are imbued with sociopolitical histories and ideologies, and codes are distributed differently across participants.

Auer's research in conversation analysis marked a change in traditional code-switching studies, and emphasized the need for a more 'local' approach to the study of meaning in linguistic variation. Ultimately, it paved the way for much needed micro-analysis in code-switching. However, despite the contribution of conversation analysis and the many researchers that have conducted research under this approach (e.g. Auer 1988, 1995, 1998a; Cashman 2005; Gafaranga 2000, 2005; Wei, 1994, 1998, 2005), it is ultimately a more interactional approach to code-switching than a social one.

## 2.11 THE PROBLEM WITH MODELLING CS

Since the 1980s, many sociolinguists have attempted to come up with models to account for all instances of code-switching. Research has highlighted topic, settings, participants, community norms and values, and sociopolitical and ideological values as relevant to explaining the meaning behind a switch. Others, have argued that it is impossible to come up with a model that assigns an arbitrary meaning to every instance of code-switching, as the very nature of language itself is multivocalic, or multiple of meaning (cf. Jaffe, 2007; Meeuwis and Blommaert, 1998; Sebba and Wootton, 1998; Stroud, 1992; Zentella, 1997). If two or more languages are involved, then the multiplicity of meaning, or potential for meaning, is amplified and harder to account for. Thus, there is great danger in assigning values to codes a priori, as language itself is a semiotic tool that can take any shape or form in interaction (Auer, 1991, p. 333). There is also great danger in assuming an automatic relationship between language use and identity, in the form of the *we* and *they* code (Sebba and Wootton, 1998, p. 284). A way to get around these preconceived notions of identity and values is to carry out ethnographic research and observe the way code-switching practices are implemented across different interactions and groups. However, it is also important to recognize the wider ideologies that each code has been associated with over time, as these ideologies can serve as a window to illuminate speakers' language choices under certain circumstances and whether these choices communicate meaning that can be interpreted. Work in phonology and other areas of sociolinguistic variation have accomplished a wealth of research on bringing micro and macro social information together. However, work in discourse analysis and code-switching in bilingual and multilingual communities has struggled in doing so.

Another issue in much code-switching research is its reliance on unmarked and marked distinctions. Bailey (1999) warns sociolinguistics against the tendency to assume that monolingual speech is unquestionably the unmarked state and most natural way of speaking (p. 241). Research by Poplack (1980) and Myers-Scotton (1988) has shown that code-switching can also be the unmarked norm in certain circumstances. Even linguists that do not overtly use the marked/unmarked distinction, based their theories and research questions on this distinction. The very question of 'why does he/she do that?' in code-switching assumes that code-switching is a marked strategy, which is deviant from the norm, and requires an explanation. Woolard (2005) argues that rather than parting from the 'why', sociolinguists should ask themselves "why not?" (p. 75).

Alexandra Jaffe (2007) argues that another problematic theory of code-switching is the one that focuses on the organization of the conversation solely, when "language contrast is just as important as the direction of the switch" (p. 54). And, indeed, contrasting languages in itself provides social information that is not necessarily equivalent to that found in studies that focus on the sequential nature of language. Woolard (2005) further argues that "contrast between language systems is psychologically real and ideologically meaningful to speakers", therefore contrast as a symbolic function must be seen as "a resource they can mobilize in interaction" (p. 83).

While code-switching can be viewed as a semantic tool that could potentially communicate social meaning, researchers warn analysts against interpretations that assume a fixed relationship between social identity and language use. The analyst must understand that the same way language and relationships themselves are constructed and negotiated in interaction, so are the cultural and linguistic resources that they draw on both from inside and outside the conversation. The most adequate way to capture the resources that influence language use is by carrying out ethnographic research through observation and documentation of language uses in a community. Ethnography allows the analyst to understand the values of each codes and their uses in a given community, and provide a better understanding of how these values are deployed and contested in local conversation. This research must then be complemented with diachronic information of codes and culturally specific values of codes in a specific community, thus providing insight on the specific associations of codes and identities and the ideological values of these codes in a given community.

Another challenge in code-switching research has been the subject of intentionality, or the idea that switching is an intentional or conscious act which requires calculations or strategic planning. In variationist sociolinguistics, some resolve the issue of consciousness or intentionality with exemplar theory (see Mendoza-Denton, 2008), or through the idea of *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1977), arguing for the role of past experiences, socialization and frequency. In this case, variationists hold that the sociolinguistic use of a specific language is in most cases unconscious under naturalistic settings, and conscious strategic use arrives when there is higher attention paid to speech. Contrastively, in code-switching theory there are two understandings of intentionality: (1) intentionality in terms of whether code-switching is "about something", and (2) the idea that code-switching requires strategic and conscious planning (Woolard, 2005, p.

83). Most theories agree that code-switching strategies carry meaning and their intentions are "about something" whether it is based on the immediate conversation or on the overall conversational style; that is, they agree that code-switching serves an interactional purpose. However, not all analysts agree with the latter, which contends that code-switching is a conscious choice.

There is little disagreement in terms of whether we should model every switch as semantically meaningful. Sociolinguists like Woolard (2005) and Jaffe (2007) have suggested that perhaps not one instance of code-switching might be seem as meaningful, but the overall accumulation of switches is what is meaningful and can serve as a socially dividing construct, or a semiotic tool towards the construction of one's identity. Furthermore, Auer also warns researchers against treating each switch as socially meaningful: "there is a certain danger for the pendulum to swing too far… i.e., to treat each and every instance of language alternation as meaningful in the same 'semantic way'" (Auer, 1984, p. 105) and suggests an understanding of the discourse and interactional functions instead. Alvarez-Caccamo (1998) weighs in on the issue of social meaning of code-switching, highlighting again the idea that its overall usage is often what bares meaning "it has been repeatedly emphasized that not all individual alternations of speech varieties carry interactional meaning; rather, often it is the overall effect of using 'code-switching style' that is tactically exploited for group identification" (pgs. 36 - 37). In this thesis, I adopt a framework that considers the social and ideological underpinnings of distinct *ways of speaking* in Puerto Rico, as understood by previous contextualised uses (i.e. the historical distribution of different ways of speaking), as well as new meanings constructed in interaction. To this end, I adopt a theory that understands language as a malleable stylistic tool, whose properties and social functions are not fixed but *culturally* and *dialogically* situated – as well as the outcome of certain societal circumstances that favor acquisition of a particular way of speaking. In this way, I present an argument for a type of middle ground in the agency and structure debate of bilingual speech. The following section discusses theory of indexicality (Eckert, 2008; Silverstein, 1985, 2003, Peirce, 1902), which has come to play a prominent role in contemporary sociolinguistics and modelling language use in society.

## 2.12 Towards a Reconceptualization of Code

Under the field of *sociocultural linguistics* – concerned with the inclusion of culture and society in its descriptions of language and meaning – several linguists have attempted to break away from previous traditionalist conceptualisations of what counts as a 'code' or a *language* in bilingual speech (see Nilep 2006 for a thorough discussion of code-switching in sociocultural linguistics). People who subscribed to the theory of sociocultural linguistics argue that viewing ways of speaking under the concept of a monolithic 'Language' is heavily reductionist, particularly in bilingual and language contact settings, where a variety of innovative forms of speech arise due to the coming together of two languages and two cultures. Within these ideological 'Languages' is an array of different repertoire and stylistic features, complex in construction and composition, and involving a series of social and political histories. More and more sociolinguists have been arguing for a repertoire approach to descriptions of bilingualism, such that the boundaries between different ways of speaking are not rigid and easily defined, but form part of what could be called a *languaging spectrum*. And, thus, theoretical concepts such as *heteroglossia* (Bakhtin, 1991; Bailey, 2007; Creese & Blackledge, 2013), *translanguaging* (Mazak & Carroll, 2017; Wei & García, 2014), *polylanguaging & superdiversity* (Jorgensen, 2011), and *indexical biographies* (cf. Blommaert & Backus, 2013) have become increasingly popular in contemporary accounts of 'the sociolinguistics of bilingualism'. The present thesis adopts a theoretical framework akin to the repertoire approach to bilingualism and to 3rd wave studies of language variation – or *practice-based studies of identity,* as described by Mendoza-Denton (2013), which places emphasis on the social meaning of language use as a *culturally situated* construct. The following section discusses the issue of *discreteness* in language, or the boundaries that socially and politically define a language, an important issue to address before providing accounts of languages in society.

*Discreteness of codes*

Language boundaries, or *discreteness of codes*, are important sociopolitical constructs for communities like Puerto Rico. In this U.S. territory, English has lived alongside Spanish for over a hundred years, since well before 1898. As a result of the island's unique relationship with the United States, several words, phrases, and grammatical constructions from English origin have crossed over to the Spanish language and vice versa, resulting in a type of Spanish-infused English or *Puerto Rican English* (see Dayton

& Blau, 1999). The issue at hand, then, is drawing a line between what could be considered Puerto Rican Spanish and English in Puerto Rico, specifically what are the characteristics of English spoken on the island and to what extent islanders *know* English. In current approaches to bilingualism, the language 'line' need not exist, rather, the bilingual brain is construed as a spectrum of linguistic potentialities, powered by practice or *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1977).

Reconfigurating bilingualism into a more fluid construct is a popular objective in many studies of multilingualism and multimodality today. Traditionally, models of bilingualism observed language practices from a binary 'talking-in-two-languages' perspective. Recent work in sociolinguistics has advocated for a paradigm shift in the study of bilingual talk, moving away from this compartmentalised view of languages. Woolard (2005), Bailey (2000), Blommaert (2007) and others have argued for the multiplicity and hybridity in codes, particularly in their approaches to code-switching. Some have argued for a middle-ground, claiming that discreteness may be adequate for some studies as a starting point, but in other situations it may not (Gafaranga, 2000, p. 66). My position is that, in the case of Puerto Rico, separateness of codes may hold to an *ideological* as well as *social* extent given the long controversial history tied to the presence of English in Puerto Rico, as well as its undeniable presence in elite contexts (see Hermina, 2014; Perez Casas, 2008) – due to the instruction of English in private schools and its role in prestigious domains such as medicine, technology, law, and higher education. In line with island scholarship and evidence of a 'language gap', I adopt a *semi-structural* approach to observing bilingualism on the island, one that attempts to capture "the dialectic (relationship) between social structure and human agency" (Li 2017, p. 10).

Therefore, through this thesis I unpack the different ways of speaking in the lives of island Puerto Rican adolescents. I adopt a typology of bilingualism found in Muysken (2000) which accounts for what he calls 'code-mixing', in order to arrive at an understanding of the *distribution* of English on the island as well as structural information as to how English behaves (syntactically and lexically) alongside Spanish within island contexts. Macrolinguistic information is essential in order to appreciate the social significance of locally deployed language styles (Chapter 6, this thesis). In Chapter 7, I complement distributional information with ideological information as to the values attached to different bilingual styles, and how subjects orient to these in interaction.

In later chapters, I provide descriptions of what I mean by *Puerto Rican Spanish*, *Puerto Rican English,* and other hybrid varieties that emerge in conversation (Chapter 6), as well as the functional and semiotic tools that they might play in interaction when employed stylistically (Chapter 7). Through the model of indexicality (Silverstein, 2003), discussed in greater detail below, I involve structural information with regards to previous uses, forms, and social meanings, as well as novel agent-driven trends. Thus, modelling language in a way that is dynamic, living, historically as well as dialogically construed, fluid and variable - ultimately paving the way for a thorough account of *the total linguistic fact* (Silverstein, 2003) of language in society.

## 2.13 Towards an Indexical Approach of Bilingualism

*The fluid social meaning if language and bilingualism*

Studying the social meaning of language facilitates an in-depth look into language in society that other frameworks to language variation, such as those concerned with categories or variation as "reflections of speakers' membership in social categories" (Eckert, 2008, p. 453) do not. The theory of indexicality, as understood by Silverstein, offers an understanding of variable language as possessing "general meanings" that "become more specific in the (sociocultural) context of styles" (Eckert, 2008, p. 453) or language distribution, such that the nature of meaning in communication is additive rather than fixed, and builds on language ideologies and previous uses or *voices* (Bakhtin, 1994).

Usage-based models of language variation (Type 3) emphasize the role of *ideologies* tied to ways of speaking. They argue that any "linguistic fact is necessarily an indexical fact" (Silverstein, 2003, p. 195) or a social fact of life. Research on bilingualism has discussed indexical facts in terms of prestige, appropriacy and norms of politeness, assimilation and resistance to an ethnic group, *in-group* and *outgroup* status (social identity), among others, performed through variable bilingual talk. While there is a lot to say about studies of bilingualism and meaning, particularly as it involves two or more 'languages' and varieties within those languages, a model that observes the different orders of indexicality enables a rich account of the sociolinguistic lives of Spanish and English in Puerto Rico.

Michael Silverstein's (2003) contends that social meaning is orderly and may manifest itself in ordinal degrees of meaning, or nth order indexicals, like *first-order indexicality*, *second-order indexicality*, *third-order indexicality,* etc. ultimately creating a "general schema of dialectic" or of *dialogic potentialities*, such that any meaning is an n-th order indexical "*presupposes* that the context in which it is normatively used" and "has a(n) (ideological) schematization of some particular sort" (Silverstein, 2003, p. 193). In other words, each new use of a particular item builds on the *contextual knowledge* of previous occasions and "appropriateness of its usage" in those occasions (ibid) and creates new entailments. All the while, each new production also *entails* a "creativity effect" to an nth degree, such that its meaning is ultimately negotiated intersubjectively as "a direct (*causal*) consequence of the degree of ideological engagement(s) users manifest in respect of the n-th order indexical meaningfulness" (p. 194).

Importantly, indexicality is not linear, there is not a 'before' and an 'after', rather, this theory can be best understood as a set of semiotic *constellations* or sets of potential meanings that may be activated stylistically in interaction (see Eckert, 2008). We saw in previous sections that Gumperz's theory of we/they touched upon this notion of 'meaning' in bilingual speech. Auer (1984) and Woolard (2005) argue that universal we/they depictions of bilingual identity and meaning are reductionist. The problem with relating an ideological 'Language' to a *value (*or speech community) lies in its inability to account for diverse linguistic strategies (mixed speech) as a performance of (ethnic) identity, further, that a ideological 'Language' may be stylistically deployed to indicate a different meaning unrelated to social identity, or solidarity and distance to a particular group. Universal we/they depictions are linear by nature as they assume a priori a relationship between language and a (particular) society. As we will see throughout this thesis, *traditional* we/they depictions are reductionist constructs incapable of describing linguistically diverse situations and contexts in which speakers posses multiple (and fluid) senses of selves and varied language histories.

*Orders of Indexicality*

First order indexicality is described as the "the semiotic act of noticing the variant" (Woolard, 2008, p.437) as tied to a particular context and/or demographic identity. For instance. when a linguistic form such as word final /-s/ aspiration in Puerto Rican Spanish becomes socially noticeable or *socially indexical* of a region or speech

community, like the islanders residing in mountainous regions. The second order of indexicality involves rationalizing, explaining, and applying ideologies (whether they are moral, political, etc.) to these associations (Eckert, 2008; Foulkes, Scobbie, & Watt, 2010; Woolard, 2008). In the example of Puerto Rican Spanish, /-s/ aspiration, a feature often associated with rural regions on the island, could acquire an additional meaning in second order indexicality, such as indicating an authentic and trustworthy Puerto Rican identity, of the *jíbaro* – the Puerto Rican farmer prior to colonial industrialisation. Using this registered association between linguistic form and social meaning gives rise to the third level, when language users strategically exploit these linguistic forms to index certain personas, styles, stances, and (recognisable) social identities. In the case of /-s/ aspiration and farmer identity, Puerto Ricans may chose to deploy the stereotype of /-s/ aspiration for comedic effect in conversation, in order to communicate a hillbilly persona or, to flag "local status" or legitimate *belongingness* to island life, or to temporarily construct an alignment (or stance) to a collective countryside identity, or a new identity with underlying 'home' values.

While other theories of code-switching have fallen short in describing how ways of speaking acquire meaning(s) (some have relied largely on analysts' interpretation), the theory of indexicality suggests an 'ethnopragmatic approach', which focuses on explaining the social meaning of a form, rather than a model that predicts when a certain form will be used. It observes certain ways of speaking become infused with social meaning. Importantly, it is "not simply a matter of brute statistical correspondence of linguistic and social forms" (Woolard, 2005, p. 88); rather, the association between meaning and form must be noticed and interpreted first in order for it signify a value and become available as a symbolic tool for further interactions. Forms come to acquire meaning through dialectal processes, in which meaning derives from its uses (in certain contexts) and uses derive from meaning (ibid). Eckert contends that an indexical value is not fixed nor specific but constitutes "a field of potential meanings", and that each new meaning may result in the activation of new associations and ideological interpretations of language use (Eckert, 2008, p. 454). Therefore, ideology plays the role of the mediator between form and intended meaning, it is the medium through which individuals interpret utterances and language use; based on these meanings, speakers adopt or reject certain ways of speaking to communicate intended meaning. Under a framework of indexicality bilingual speech is not straightforwardly attached to a particular ethnic or national

identity. Rather, the production and reproduction of mixed speech and the varieties in-between ideological 'Spanishes' and 'Englishes' – or the "*smaller acts* that involve perceptions of individuals or categories that fall under the radar of large sociolinguistic surveys" – are what ultimately results in the construction of social meaning (Eckert 2008, p. 463).

In this way, I propose to view bilingual talk from a framework of indexicality, both taking into consideration global values of ways of talking bilingually, and how these are contested and negotiated in local bilingual interaction. Moving beyond assumptions and a priori models of bilingualism, and towards the fluid use of language and meaning in the act of constructing social identities in interaction.

# CHAPTER 3
## HISTORICAL CONTEXT

### 3.1 THE RESEARCH LOCATION: PUERTO RICO




*Figure 2*. Map showing the location of Puerto Rico (Sound Waves, 2007).

In the Caribbean Sea, east of the Dominican Republic, lies the island of Puerto Rico. Home to 3.5 million Spanish-speaking Puerto Ricans, the island is the third largest in the Caribbean and one of the most densely populated territories of the United States. Like other Caribbean countries, the island has been subject to many ethnic, cultural, and linguistic changes due to a long history of colonialism and different settlement patterns. Prior to its territorial status with the U.S., Puerto Rico was a Spanish colony for over 400 years (from 1492 - 1898). It saw the rise and fall of the Spanish Empire and was one of the last held colonial possessions until it was ceded to the U.S. in 1898, following the Spanish-American War. Consequently, due to its prolonged period under Spanish ownership, the Spanish language plays a central role in the identities of many Puerto Ricans.

Despite its multi-ethnic past, nowadays Puerto Rico is considered a relatively homogenous country in terms of ethnicities and language (Resnick, 1993, p. 267). Indeed, a 2010 Census found that Puerto Ricans almost unanimously identified as being of Latino heritage (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010, p. 6). A census in 2000 found that 72% of Puerto Ricans reported to speak English “less than very well” and 86% stated that they

spoke a language other than English (primarily Spanish) at home. These results are somewhat surprising given Puerto Rico's status as a U.S. territory, and English's official status on the island. After a century of North American influence, many Puerto Ricans have remained functionally monolingual despite compulsory English classes and generally positive sentiments towards individual bilingualism (Resnick, 1993, p. 206).

The reasons for failed widespread bilingualism have been subject to much speculation. Many suggest that Puerto Rico's language outcome is due to feelings of resistance to American culture and loyalty to the Spanish language and culture (cf. Carroll, 2009; Clachar, 1997a; Mazak, 2007). Sources of resistance are found in Puerto Ricans' national identity, where Spanish plays a central role as the island's vernacular language; conversely, English is often seen as a colonial language, or a language imposed upon Spanish monolinguals (cf. Clachar, 1997a, 1997b; Barreto, 2000; Resnick, 1993). Other linguists have suggested that failure in second language attainment is the result of a Spanish-instruction policy which demands that all public schools on the island use Spanish as the main language of instruction for all classes in all levels (cf. Hermina, 2014).

The language issue has been on the forefront of many political debates discussing the island's uncertain future. While Puerto Rico is currently an unincorporated territory of the U.S., one of the major political concerns is whether the island continues its current semi-autonomous status, becomes fully integrated as a U.S. state, or becomes independent (cf. Barreto, 2000). Many members of the public fear that full integration would lead to an erosion of culture – a culture that revolves around the use of the Spanish language (Morris, 1995; Riestra, 1971). In order to fully comprehend the ideological issues involving the English language on the island, a short history on Puerto Rico's colonial past is needed to disentangle the controversial ideologies of speaking English in Puerto Rico. The following sections discuss U.S. invasion, the introduction of the English language, ideologies of English and Spanish on the island, and sources of nationalism.

*The Spanish-American War of 1898 and the Introduction of the English Language*

English was forcibly introduced in Puerto Rico following the Treaty of Paris that ended the Spanish-American War in 1898. Under this Treaty, Spain surrendered its control of Puerto Rico and other possessions[14] to the United States.

As a newly acquired territory, the U.S. sought to foster loyalty among the Spanish-speakers of Puerto Rico. They believed that the best way to do this was through nation-wide instalment of the English language. As part of an openly assimilationist agenda – known by historians as the plan of "Americanization" – English was introduced as an official language in 1902. The Language Law of 1902 granted English equal status to Spanish, however, U.S. administrators predicted that English would eventually eradicate Spanish through the increase implementation of English language policies (Pousada, 1996, p. 500).

Subsequently, English was declared the main language of instruction for all public schools on the island. Education played a key role in the plan of Americanizing Puerto Ricans. Indeed, some might say that education was "the battleground where the war over language was fought" (Mazak, 2007, p. 3). The first half of the century (1900 - 1952) saw a series of changes in language policies, where English was sometimes the main language of instruction for all public schools, or a mixture of the two languages was incorporated. Somewhat paradoxically, what started out as an attempt to incorporate and assimilate Puerto Ricans into the American way of living resulted in the strengthening of a Puerto Rican identity, rooted in the Spanish language.

U.S. officials appointed a Commissioner of Education, whose role was to oversee language education and ensure that English was successfully taught in schools. During the first fifty years numerous commissioners of education were appointed with the task of promoting the English language, yet were all unsuccessful in achieving widespread bilingualism. Each commissioner introduced different language policies in hopes of improving English instruction on the island. Often these language policies reflected a change in the political climate.[15]

The first half of the century under U.S. dominion was made up of two different language strategies: the first had the explicit goal of assimilating Puerto Ricans through

[14] Such as Guam and the Philippines.

[15] Table 1 of the Appendices demonstrates the various changes that took place in public school education from the beginning of the 20th century with regards to language policies.

the instruction of the English language (which meant that all subjects were taught in English) (1898 - 1900), the second was to promote bilingualisation of the island (through the implementation of a bilingual curriculum) (1900 - 1952) (Resnick, 1993: 266). Teacher training was complete and enforced as a prerequisite for all teachers, particularly those from urban areas (Angrist et al. 2008, p. 110), and at times involved training programmes abroad in U.S. universities (Resnick, 1993: 274). Through the first phase of Americanization, several native English speakers from the mainland were hired as language instructors (see Padin, 1935; Resnick, 1993). The pedagogical concerns of the first assimilationist plan were quite obvious: children with Spanish as their mother tongue were sent off to school and expected to acquire proficiency in a language that was not their own. Because English-instruction did not cater to the development of the mother tongue, the openly assimilationist programme failed to produce competent English speakers; further, English teaching of other subjects proved to be a difficult task and resulted in the production of an uneducated population (Clachar, 1997b). These results encouraged mainland educators to reconsider their proposed assimilationist agenda into one that incorporated the Spanish language. Subsequent years saw a myriad of bilingual plans in public school education, where English was sometimes progressively introduced, or introduced in the later grades. It is important to recognize at this point that, although the stated goal was to make education available to everyone, only members of the higher classes (or individuals with financial stability) could afford to have their children remain in higher grades. As a result, most students that became bilingual were those from middle and upper classes.

Despite government efforts and language policies, most Puerto Ricans remained functionally monolingual by the end of the 1940s. It was this lack of societal bilingualism that encouraged counteraction from the U.S. government. In 1942, U.S. administrators threatened to pull back any kind of federal aid in education if English was not made the language of instruction once again[16] (Clachar, 1993b). The threat elicited backlash among the people of Puerto Rico and strengthened associations between English and U.S. imperialism, reminding Spanish-speaking natives once again of those in power.

In the 1950s, Puerto Rico was declared a commonwealth of the United States through the Organic Act. This act granted Puerto Ricans the right to democratically elect their first governor and Commissioner of Education. By this time many Puerto Ricans

[16] Note that during this time, a bilingual curriculum had been adopted.

had established that Spanish was their language of national identity, their preferred language, and decidedly acted upon their ideologies. In 1952 the new Commissioner of Education, Mariano Villanorga, issued a language reform that made Spanish the main language of instruction for all public schools. Under this policy, English was to be taught as a subject through Grades from 1 - 12 and the first two years of university. This policy has remained in effect since. Some have accused the Villanorga language policy as being responsible for the failure of bilingualism on the island. Others have blamed inadequate teaching methods, materials, and even school superstructure (Hermina, 2014). Popular opinions have continued to blame teachers and language policies for failed bilingualism[17], despite linguistic research which has indicated high levels of sophistication in English language instruction [18] (cf. Resnick, 1993). For a complete breakdown of the different series of language policies implemented in public school settings, refer to Table 1 below.

[17] Associated Press (2012). *Puerto Rico aims to become fully bilingual by 2022. Fox News.* Retrieved from http://www.foxnews.com/world/2012/05/08/puerto-rico-aims-to-become-fully-bilingual-by-2022/

[18] "When we read the early reports and publications of numerous Puerto Rican and mainland educations… we discover a surprisingly high level of linguistic and pedagogical sophistication, with insights that are now important principles of language planning, contrastive analysis, error analysis, and communicative methodology" (Resnick, 1993: 265).

*Table 1*. Historical look at the language policies in the public school education system since 1898 (adapted from Maldonado-Valentín, 2016: 6).

| **Administration / Commissioner of Education** | Nature of Policy | Years in Effect | Spanish | English |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Eaton Clark* | English-dominant | 1898 – 1900 | Absent from the national curriculum. | Medium of instruction across all Grades and in all subjects (e.g. Maths, Sciences, Histories, etc.). |
| *Brumbaugh* | Mixed | 1900 – 1903 | Medium of instruction during elementary years, Grades K - 5 (Ages 5 – 11). | Medium of instruction in Grades 6 – 12 (Ages 11 - 18) in all subjects (e.g. Maths, Sciences, and Histories, etc.). Spanish as a subject is added to the curriculum. |
| *Faulkner-Dexter* | English dominant | 1903 – 1917 | Taught solely as a subject. | Medium of instruction across all Grades and in all subjects (e.g. Maths, Sciences, and Histories, etc.). Spanish is taught as a subject. |
| *Miller - Huyke* | Mixed | 1917 – 1934 | Medium of instruction for all subjects from Grades 1 – 4 (Ages 5 - 9). Used together with English in transition Grade 5 (Age 10). | Medium of instruction for Grades 6 – 12 (Ages 11 – 18) for all subjects. |
| *Padin* | Mixed | 1934 – 1937 | Medium of instruction for all subjects in elementary years. | Medium of instruction for all subjects in Grades 7 – 12. |
| *Gallardo* | Mixed | 1937 – 1945 | Medium of instruction in Grades 1-2; English is taught as a subject. A bilingual language program is incorporated in later years, with both Spanish and English as mediums of instruction. | Taught as a single subject in Grades 1-2. Used alongside Spanish, as part of a bilingual program in later years. |
| *Villaronga* | | 1949 - Present | Medium of instruction across all Grades and in all subjects. | Taught as a subject across Grades. |

## 3.2 IDEOLOGIES OF LANGUAGE ON THE ISLAND

Studies in Puerto Rican sociolinguistics have often argued for the role of ideologies of resistance and language maintenance as responsible for the unsuccessful bilingualization of islanders (Clachar, 1997a; Mazak, 2007; Pousada, 1999; Resnick, 1993). As previously mentioned, English was used as the primary tool to incorporate Puerto Ricans into the American way of living during the 1900s. Recent studies suggest that the ideological associations of English as the language of imposition have remained relatively constant despite a century of language contact (Clachar, 1997a; Mazak, 2007; Nickels, 2005). Experts suggest that, while the rest of the world embraces English in an increasingly globalised world, Puerto Ricans' resistance is largely due to the sociocultural implications of adopting English within the colonial context of Puerto Rico (cf. Resnick, 1993). Historically, English instruction has been seen as problematic, as it often represents U.S.'s linguistic imperialism and the erosion of Puerto Rican culture. Thus, the acquisition of English on the island is often loaded with political and nationalistic connotations (cf. Carroll, 2009; Clachar, 1997a; Pousada, 1999; Resnick, 1993). Nevertheless, other existing ideologies problematize this binary distinction between nationalism and U.S. imperialism. Language research has also indicated that while there are ideologies of maintenance and resistance to North American culture, there are also ideologies of ambivalence – these are said to be somewhat correlated to English's status as a prestigious language, which is in constant competition with the Spanish language (cf. Clachar, 1997a, 1997b; Hermina, 2014; Perez Casas, 2008). In this section I will discuss some of the ideologies that have been identified by linguists on the island.

For several years linguistics studies on the island advocated for an intergroup model, by which Spanish played the role of the island's vernacular, and the ultimate symbol of Puerto Rican identity; meanwhile, English was considered an outgroup language in most Puerto Rican interactions (Barreto 2000; Clachar 1997a). The labelling of Spanish as the "in group" code has its roots in Puerto Rico's historical language maintenance, whereby the relationship between Puerto Rico and the U.S. is seen as that between "the ruler and the ruled" and between "the hegemony and the colonized" (Clachar, 1997a: 71). Arlene Clachar's (1997a) first attempt at uncovering the role of English in society involved adopting previously mentioned theoretical model. Other studies shortly followed in their adoption of this simplistic, binary division of "us" and

"them", largely based on the idea of ethnolinguistic identity (Carroll, 2009; Mazak, 2007; Pousada, 1999, 2000).

Contrastively, Clachar's (1997b) work on student narratives demonstrates in greater detail the other side of the coin on language ideologies – linguistic ambivalence. That is, it demonstrates the conflicting ideologies that learners face while learning English on the island. She interviewed university students intermediate-level classes and found that many had a general awareness of the academic usefulness of acquiring English, its global importance, and economic value in the marketplace. One of the respondents signalled the importance of English literacy for classroom discourse and field-specific terminology:

> "The textbooks we use for our accounting and finance courses are all in English. So English is important." (Clachar, 1997b).

Students' awareness of English's role in academia, Clachar argues, increases the perceived vitality and prestige value of the English language on the island. To some level this association elevates English, as the language of intellect and higher education, over the island vernacular Spanish. The interpretation of English as the language of higher education has its origins in the beginnings of U.S. occupation, when educational system enforced an English programme with the idea that students' could later achieve higher education abroad in U.S. universities (cf. Resnick, 1993). Recent studies demonstrate that English continues to have an academic presence in higher education, further fuelling associations between English and economic prosperity (cf. Mazak & Herbas-Donoso, 2014). Nowadays, there is still a general awareness among the Puerto Rican community of the opportunities that learning English provides, as a tool of economic advancement and upward mobility (Hermina, 2014). Puerto Ricans understand that, in order to pursue higher education on the island and become specialized in a certain field, they must come to terms with English and acquire reading and writing skills of the language. Implicitly, the association between English and higher education perpetuates a status of inferiority to Puerto Ricans' vernacular language and culture; it places Spanish in competition against a powerful and prestigious U.S. culture (Clachar, 1993a).

Puerto Ricans' also view English in terms of its international currency (Clachar, 1993a, 1993b). However, such ideology concurrently exists with the recognition that Spanish is an equally instrumental global language. In Clachar's (1993b) study of

university student ideologies, some students felt the need to point out that besides the obvious benefits of learning English for travel, Spanish was equally instrumental for travel and also possible vacation destinations, "Puerto Ricans go very often to Latin American countries and Spain" (ibid). Clachar suggests that this awareness of Spanish as another international language awards Spanish power, thereby allowing it to compete against English in Puerto Rico in the international front. This ideology, Clachar suggests, potentially diminishes motivations acquiring English, thus feeding into Puerto Ricans' English resistance. Melvin Resnick (1993) suggests that this awareness of Spanish's international value serves as a source for negative motivation or *motivated failure* towards second language acquisition (Resnick, 1993, p. 264). Motivated failure, Resnick suggests, also comes from Puerto Ricans' awareness that they can get by and make a living on the island as Spanish monolinguals, without having to acquire English to its full proficiency (ibid). So, while many Puerto Ricans acknowledge the economic, academic, and international usefulness of knowing English as a second language, they are aware too of the international currency of their own vernacular and its local cultural value.

Other positive ideologies associated with English involve Puerto Rico's current status as a U.S. commonwealth. Recall that because of the island's current "colonial-like" relationship with the U.S., most Puerto Ricans see English as an "imposed" language that is associated with U.S. imperialism, rather than a global language – as much of the world sees it in today's world of globalisation. Because of this relationship, the teaching and public use of English is met with some resistance from the general public. However, some political parties on the island still advocate for English-only instruction in public schools, such as the New Progressive Party of Puerto Rico (also known as PNP). The PNP's political platform supports the idea of full-integration (i.e. Puerto Rico becoming the 51st of the United States); as such, they defend the public use of English and often propose an inclusion of English in the public school curriculum (The Huffington Post, 2012). For this reason many Puerto Ricans associate English use on the island, and English language policies, with the Statehood political party ideals; further, they view attempts to integrate English as attempts to integrate Puerto Rico into the American way of living (Santiago, 2008).

Among the elite English is met with less resistance, as it carries symbolic and cultural capital (cf. Hermina, 2014); as such, English is often associated with the elite

community of Puerto Rico. This association is partially based on the relative ease members of the elite community have in accessing bilingual private school education, travel opportunities and other sources of material culture (cf. Hermina, 2014; Pousada, 2000), but also based on the association of English as the major tool for upward mobility. Attitudinal studies have demonstrated that Puerto Ricans assume private school instruction upon hearing a Puerto Rican speak fluent English (Clachar, 1997b). The association between the elite community and English is so uncontested that it is even prevalent in linguistics research, as many assume a model of Puerto Rico as a two-speech community, divided by socioeconomic differences (e.g. Hermina, 2014). Others have decidedly focused on describing the speech of the elite, under the assumption that working class members are Englishless masses (e.g. Perez Casas, 2008; Pousada, 2000; Walsh, 1994). Beyond class, other values are attached to the kinds of people who speak English fluently. Research on the island has shown that many Puerto Ricans view those who speak English in social situations as "snobby" (e.g. Perez Casas, 2008), and that individuals perceive the speaking of English as a betrayal to one's culture and Hispanic roots (e.g. Hermina, 2014; Pousada, 2000). English is simultaneously considered a prestigious language because of its position in technology and the social media today, it is increasingly seen as an essential tool to succeed as a bilingual country in a globalized world (Clachar, 1997a, 1997b; Schweers & Velez, 1992). The figure below takes into account some of these ideologies that may be called upon when incorporating a specific style of speech in interaction.

Informants in this study will most likely be aware, consciously or subconsciously, of some of the language ideologies discussed in this section. However, as language is a semiotic tool that is not fixed but variable, a researcher must also be open to the possibility of English acquiring alternative values and functions in conversation. One of the biggest limitations in sociolinguistic research is the analysis of language use with pre-determined social positions. As such, it is important to recognize that while previously discussed ideologies may play a role in the way individuals' interpret language use in the present study – they are importantly not deterministic and individuals affiliate to these or these affiliate to these in which ever way they desire, and even reappropriate previous styles of language and forge newer connotations.

As suggested in previous chapter, this thesis incoporates a post-structuralist position in describing the social meaning of language. It presents linguistic variables as

heterogeneous in value, and, to some extent *abstract*[19]. Furthermore, it supports the Eckertian view of meaning in language which argues that a way of speaking comes to acquire meaning through stylistic practice, or when a linguistic variable is "combined with other variables and embedded in the speaker's wider linguistic and non-linguistic practice." (Eckert, 2003: 41). It also simultaneously supports the view of meaning dependent on previous uses, although not confined to them, a view that is supported by the Bakhtinian (1991) notion of heteroglossia.

> "All texts, therefore, contain within them the ideological structures and struggles expressed in society through discourse." (Allen, 2000: 36 on Bakhtin).

Below I provide a tentative schema which summarizes the previous work on ideologies of language on the island, this will serve as a base to later discuss whether participants in this study orient to these previously recorded meanings or whether they create new ones in their interactions. I will refer to this visualisation in later chapters (Chapter 7) when discussing ideologies of language use and the stylistic practices prevalent in student participants in this study. In the visualization below I make a distinction between what could potentially be perceived as a negative or 'restrictive' value to English language, in that it poses a direct threat to the island vernacular, and what could be perceived as the most positive value to English, when it is perceived as a tool of self-improvement, stripped from any political or historical connotations. In the middle of this 'restrictive' and 'liberating' spectrum I have positioned the domains of travel aspirations and political inclinations. My reasoning behind these categorization techniques lie in the fact that in previous literature participants have expressed the acknowledgement of Spanish as an equally powerful global language, so English is not necessarily perceived as the language of travel opportunities. In terms of *Statehood* being placed in the middle of the spectrum, this is due to the ideological divide on the island, where around election time approximately half of the population is split on their desire to assimilate or not to mainland United States as the 51st state (Venator-Santiago, 2017[20])

[19] In the sense that language is an abstract tool that comes to acquire meaning through stylistic practice.
[20] Venator-Santiago, C. (2017). Puerto Rico votes on statehood – fifth time's the charm? The Conversation. Available at: http://theconversation.com/puerto-rico-votes-on-statehood-fifth-times-the-charm-75975 [Accessed 9 Jun. 2017].

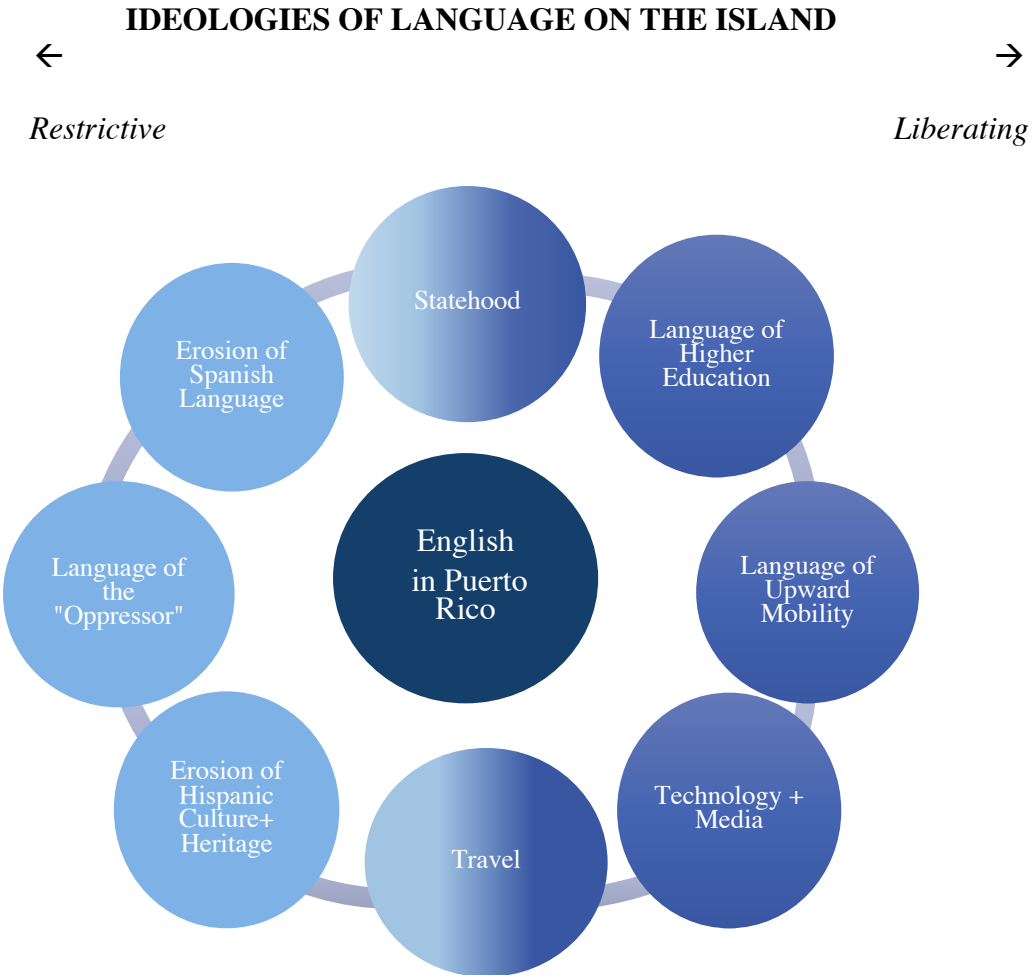



*Figure 3*. Visualisation of Ideologies of Language on the Island.

## 3.3 Understanding Class & Poverty in Puerto Rico

Many studies of sociolinguistics are modelled around the notion of socioeconomic background, or class, yet rarely describe what they mean when they use this label. Arbitrary subcategories such as working class, middle class, and elite or upper class are useful tools in describing a community, but they come with their set of limitations as well as considerations in terms of the specific cultural contexts in which they are being used. In the case of Puerto Rico, the notion of 'middle class' for instance, does not hold the same value as in mainland U.S., and adopting similar demographic benchmarks based on sociological literature in mainland U.S. may be quite problematic. Furthermore, on the island of Puerto Rico, virtually any job does not receive the same amount of compensation as mainland: this is particularly true for the last five years, where multiple education and healthcare government agencies have experienced severe budget cuts on

account of an ongoing financial crisis (see Williams, 2017[21]), better known as *the Puerto Rican Debt Crisis*. The debt crisis in Puerto Rico is due to a difficult recession in 2006 and subsequent borrowing in the form of municipal bonds. Much of the debt is owed to Wall Street hedge funds, labelled by critics as "vulture funds"[22] (Morales, 2015). The island is said to owe over $73 billion dollars with additional pension obligations. Because of the crushing size of the debt, the island is "unable to provide its citizens effective services" (Williams, 2017), and thus the past decade has witnessed the departure of many educated citizens and professionals to the mainland, in search of a better life[23] [24].

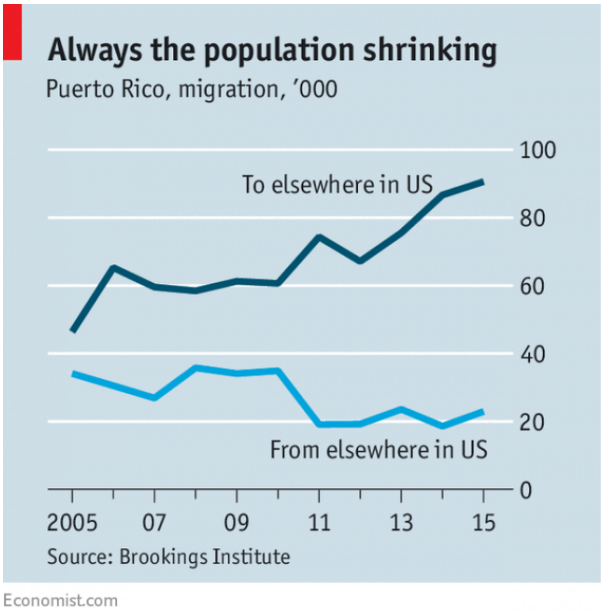



*Figure 4*. Puerto Ricans fleeing the island to mainland U.S. Reprinted from The Economist. 2017.[25]

Consider the job of a licensed practice nurse. In the Mayagüez region alone the hourly wage for a nurse is >$15.06 USD, or $31, 320 USD annually; however, in mainland United States the hourly wage for a licensed nurse more than double of that on the island, with an estimated $ 68,450 annual salary (US Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2017). Class

---

[22] Definition of vulture funds: funds that "specifically target debt that is distressed or in danger of default in troubled economies, hoping to cash in on settlements after buying the dbt for pennies on the dollar" (Morales, 2015).

[23] A phenomenon often referred to as a "brain drain",

[24] As of 2017, the island declared a form of bankruptcy relief, never before seen in any American state, along with the imposition of a financial oversight board known as P.R.O.M.E.S.A. (i.e. *Puerto Rico Oversight, Management, and Economic Stability Act*).

[25] Retrieved from: https://www.economist.com/news/united-states/21729762-island-faced-economic-collapse-even-storm-struck-puerto-rico-could-feel. Copyright [2017] by The Economist Group Limited. Reprinted with permission (Lic. Number 4211370502951).

and wage disparities are so great, that it is often suggested that if Puerto Rico were to be considered admitted as a state, it would be the poorest one (cf. Chappatta, 2016). At the time of the study, the median household income was an estimated $18 626. Meanwhile, the state with the lowest median income, Mississippi, had an average income of $40 593 for that year (Puerto Rico Report). If one were to compare the wealthiest regions on the island, such as the San Juan-Caguas-Guaynabo region, to Puerto Ricans living in Miami (in-state), the median household income for the former is $21 611 USD whereas in-state it is $47 516 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2014).

As is suggested by a preliminary discussion of socioeconomic distribution, a substantial percentage of people on the island of Puerto Rico are not as economically compensated, or perhaps as financially stable, as those living on the mainland. At the time of the study it was estimated that almost half of the population lived below the poverty line at 46.1% (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015). Following a recent natural disaster on the island, Hurricane María, demographics on the island are expected to change even more, as experts predict an unprecedented exodus of 250 000 Puerto Ricans to mainland U.S. (cf. Healy & Ferré-Sadurní, 2017[26]). The families who have been and are expected to continue to migrate to the mainland are those with the sufficient economic stability to do so, however, those less fortunate will likely remain on the island (*The Economist*, 2017).

[26] Ferré-Sadurní, J. (2017). For Many on Puerto Rico, the Most Coveted Item is a Plane Ticket Out. [online] Nytimes.com Available at: https://www.nytimes.com/2017/ 10/05/us/puerto-rico-exodus-maria-florida.html [Accessed 17 Oct. 2017].

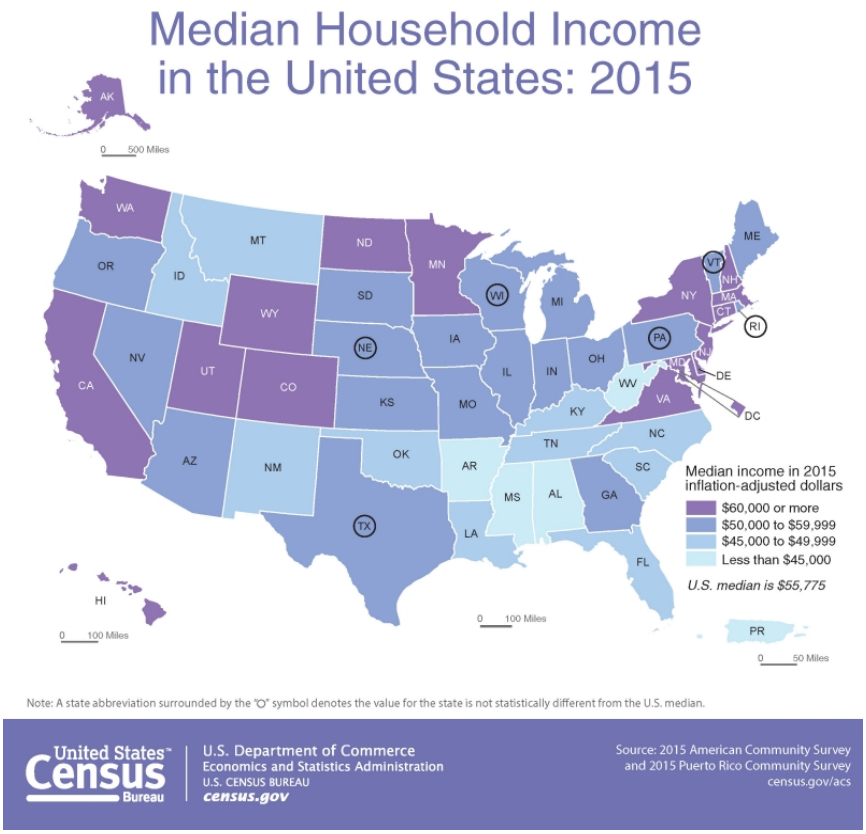



*Figure 5*. Visualisation of median household income in the United States, includes all 50 states and territories[27] (Source: US Census Bureau, 2015).

In terms of employment, in 2015 the unemployment rate was at 12.2%, approximately double the national average in the United States. Of those that are employed, approximately 46.1% are in the labour force (Census Bureau Puerto Rico Community Survey, 2014).

### *Adolescence & Class*

This study focuses on the language of teens, specifically what I refer to as "late adolescents[28]", or the transition period at which teenages (i.e. of fifteen to eighteen years of age) are pressured by adult counterparts (parents, guardians, teachers, and other) to start thinking about a vocation, what they want to do with their lives, and take active steps or make life-changing decisions that will take them down this path. At this time, a child's amount of responsibility also increases, not just in school, or in terms of thinking

[27] Note that Puerto Rico is marked under "less than $45,000".
[28] These labels are arbitrary and should not be interpreted as absolute, but reflective of different research objectives and aims. For the present study I found them appropriate.

about a future, but in terms of helping around the house, taking care of siblings, and, in some cases, taking up summer jobs (although this practice is more prevalent in mainland American teenagers). At the same time, this period is characterised by experimentation, desire, confusion, and rebellion. Some psychologists go as far as to suggest that, during life stage, teenagers desire independence in the form of experimentation: that is, doing things typically accessible to their adult counterparts, but prohibited to them. A lot of these experiences involve risk taking, such as: learning how to drive, dating, having a part-time job, gaining financial independence, having sex, drinking alcohol, falling in love, experimenting with illegal substances, going to parties, among others (see Pickhardt, 2009). Furthermore, as will be suggested in future chapters (Chapter 4), late adolescence is also characterised in terms of a desire of "fitting in" and defining "who you are" (Kirkham & Moore, 2013). This desire of coming to terms with one's identity is also a result of the institutional settings in which teenagers are socialized in, and spend a large majority of their time. Indeed, during adolescence, social relations are at their highest.

In terms of adolescent population, Census statistics on the island suggest that approximately 20% of the population are children ages 0 -15. Out of these, 29.7% live in extreme poverty, and 20% below poverty. Thus, a total of 57.5% -- or roughly half of the children population on the island – lived in poverty in 2014. By the time I conducted my study in 2015 – 2016, some of these children were already in late adolescence, though no specific statistic exists for this particular age group. Nonetheless, this numerical figure "sets the scene" on what one could potentially find when observing these institutions of education. Social disparities in educational settings are expected to increase due to the current brain drain the island is experiences as a faster rate than ever before, particularly now because of financial situations and times of austerity and uncertainty.

### *Class, Education, & English Competence*

Many descriptions of the distribution of English language on the island bring up the issue of class and education, and how these two factors work together in order to prohibit or inhibit the successful acquisition of a language. It is often believed that class disparities are best witnessed in terms of English language competency: those that are in full command of English or are heard partaking in bilingual speech are most likely members of the "elite" community, while those that are not are most likely from lower, working

class backgrounds, with little opportunities for personal or economic growth and improvement. In the Puerto Rico Community Survey of 2014 the following data was provided that allowed for a visualization of these three factors to be observed: social class, education, and language competence. Below I have included a graph formulated by Hector R. Cordero-Guzman (2014, p. 80).

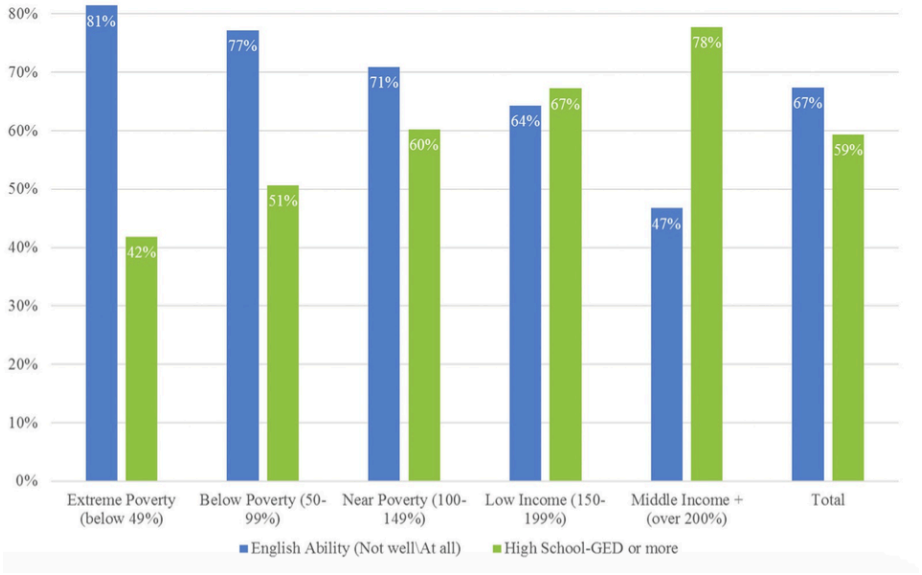



*Figure 6*. Visualization of English speaking ability, class, and education in Puerto Rico (Source: Hector R. Cordero-Guzmán, 2014, p. 80).

The graph illustrated in Figure 6 serves as a good parting point to understanding the role of educational access and socioeconomic upbringing on the island. In terms of English competence, it must be emphasized that these are merely projections based on self-report and are, by no means, actually representative of the linguistic reality. Recall that oen of the question in the Puerto Rico community survey is to rate one's ability to speak English (e.g. "well", "very well", "not well", "not at all"). According to these self-evaluations 81% of those who live in extreme poverty on the island claim to speak English "not well / at all"', and roughly 42% are likely to have finished high school. 77% of those who live below the poverty line claim to speak English "not well" or "at all", and roughly half of these have received a high school diploma. Those "near poverty" and of "low income" still struggle with English language attainment as 71% and 64% of each group respectively still claim to not speak English well or at all. And, finally, we see a slight increase of chance in the English attainment or fluency of the last group, of middle income, in which a substantial percentage (almost half of the population) still claims to not speak English well or at all (47%). Therefore, indeed, the straight-forward assumption that class and education play an integral role onto descriptions of English

language distribution does appear to play a role, at least in terms of self-evaluations; however, importantly, not a decisive or concrete one. The substantial percentage of people who still claim to not speak English very well, despite their educational and socioeconomic background, should serve as an indication that these sort of conclusions or assumptions should not be reached without further inspection.

## 3.4 THE REGION: MAYAGUEZ




*Figure 7*. Figure of Mayaguez, the 8th largest municipality of the island.

*Rationale & Epistemology*

My research is based on a municipality known as Mayagüez, a western town in Puerto Rico to which I am native. My motivations behind conducting ethnographic studies in this region stemmed from my familiarity with the local dialect, knowledge of the town, and cultural norms. Coming into these two communities with insider knowledge served as an asset, particularly when devicing or coming up with discussion questions for the sociolinguistic interviews. It also allowed me to be able to interpret interviewee talk – such as teen slang – and understand references to local events and places at a faster rate than it would take an outsider coming into this community. Beyond the advantages in terms of devicing more accurate data collection tools (e.g. interviews), being able to arrive at more accurate interpretations (analysis), and understanding the local dialect (i.e. forms of communication), perhaps the greater advantage was being perceived as "one of them" (i.e. insider status). The latter advantage is the role that many ethnographers hope to establish throughout their time in a community, however, it is not always possible to achieve. As mentioned in **Chapter 2,** one of the primary aims of the fields of linguistic anthropology and ethnography (LE) is being able to capture and

analyse a situation as it is, in its most natural circumstances. However, if the situation involved a person who was not familiar with the local dialect, or perhaps came from a region that was not highly esteemed by the local community, this could be detrimental to a researcher's efforts at establishing rapport or obtaining participation and interest of the local community. For instance, in the case of Puerto Rico if a researcher from the United States, with little to no knowledge of the local dialect or values, came into the community with the primary aim of collecting natural language data and behavioural practices, this may prove to be a challenging or perhaps unfeasible goal.

Despite my background as a highly educated Latina woman, from a upper middle class family, who had spent the previous three years of her life – at the time of the study – living and studying in Europe, I was able to establish rapport with islanders quite quickly as I still possessed the local dialect and knowledge of events, local ongoings, news, and places. I routinely visited the island once or twice a year, and maintained contact with my family members and friends while abroad. In fact, because I was not associated with an "American" university, but represented an *international* educational institution, many were curious as to how I got to be where I was in the first place. Furthermore, some expressed a desire at visiting the country where I was currently studying, or even in living in a European city. My educational background made my research attractive to some students and staff. On a school-level, some saw it as a badge of honor, being able to participate in a project that could potentially have an international readership. This was indeed the case for the administration in the private school, as will be discussed in greater detail in **Chapter 5**. This was also the case for some of the community members of the public school, specifically the students, many of whom expressed interests in living or visiting European countries and discussed these in the interviews (**Chapter 7**).

In terms of my linguistic awareness, in **Chapter 5** I detail the linguistic strategies I approached each community with, which were both regional specific after my first weeks of observation. However, I will note here that for both schools I approached them in the regional vernacular, Puerto Rican Spanish, and did little effort to mask any stigmatised features I had in my speech (such as word-final /-s/ elision, /r/ lateralisation, and shorterning of words, all which I have noted as part of my speech across recordings). This was an intentional effort from my part, in my attempts at reducing the psychological tension and distance that a researcher may unintentionally impose upon a community.

Thus, my attempts at sounding local came from my intentions of reducing attention paid to speech (see Labov, 1966) and notions of authority and power asymmetry[29] among interviewer and interviewee(s) (Schilling, 2013, p.109).

*Region Specific Demographics*

Mayagüez is the 8th largest municipality on the island. It is the 7th most populated city on the island with 89,080 people and the most populated municipality in the western coast (American Fact Finder, 2010). Mayagüez played an integral role in Puerto Rico's economy with a number of industries, schools, and universities; it was once a leading force in tuna and textile industry, and provider of 80% of U.S.'s tuna consumption prior to the privatization of tuna companies (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2015). However, following the expiration of Law 936 which encouraged mainland and foreign companies to establish themselves on the island at a lower appealing tax rate with various labor incentives, many companies that once prospered on the island (e.g. tuna factories, pharmaceutical companies) were forced to close down, leaving hundreds without employment (cf. "Star Kist Bought by Pridco for $4 Million", 2002[30]). Nowadays, it is primarily known as a college town with three main universities – the University of Puerto Rico at Mayaguez, the Pontifical Catholic University of Puerto Rico and the Eugenio Maria de Hostos Law School. It is best defined as a city, with its own city centre, three major shopping districts, a zoo, and twelve schools public and private schools.

Because of its unique geographical location, Mayaguez offers river valleys, coastal landscapes, mountainous regions, and urban landscapes – although the large majority of the population lives in urban regions (approximately 96% of the population) (Census of Population and Housing, 2010). Therefore, for the purposes of representation my study will focus on the urban-dwelling population, and Mayagüez will be referred to as a city.

[29] Power asymmetry in sociolinguistic interviews refers to the theory that interviewers hold more power and authority as the directors of the conversation, or the one "calling the shots" in each topic of an interview, thus straying away from the goal of a natural linguistic conversation. Power relations are heightened when the interviewer is an outsider to the community.

[30] Martinez, Marialba. (2002). Star Kist Bought by Pridco for $4 Million. *Puerto Rico Herald,* 6 (18) .

Table 1 exhibits some additional facts known to this area, such as population estimate, percentage of individuals of Latino heritage, median age, median household income, percentage of individuals below poverty line, among others.

*Table 2.* Facts and demographic statistics about Mayagüez (Source: US Census Bureau, 2016).

| | |
|---|---|
| Founded in | 1760 |
| Population (in 2010) | 89, 080 |
| Percentage of Latino Heritage | 98.9% (88, 132) |
| Median Age | 37.6 |
| Median Household Income | 15, 112 (US dollars) |
| Individuals Below Poverty Level | 51.3% |
| Veterans | 2, 719 |
| Educational attainment (percentage of high school graduates or higher) | 66.6% |

Mayaguez, along with other major urban districts of the island (such as San Juan metropolitan area), has been amongst the most affected by Puerto Rico's "brain drain" (Caribbean Business, 2013). During the last fifteen years, Puerto Rico has reportedly had the largest population decline in its history as a U.S. commonwealth, with the majority of Puerto Ricans migrating to the United States (NBC, 2014). Experts have confirmed that the island's decrease in population is due to high unemployment rates, which have encouraged much of the Puerto Rican population to migrate in search better career opportunities (Krogstad et al., 2015).

According to the United States Census Bureau, in 2000 Puerto Rico had 3.8 million inhabitants, this number decreased by 2014 to 3.5 million (Cohn, Patten & Lopez, 2014). Nowadays, more Puerto Ricans live on mainland United States than on the island. Recent talk of Puerto Rico's deficit has predicted migration numbers to increase, as the island faces a 73 billion dollar debt that is deemed "unpayable" (Yuhas, 2015). Puerto Rico's economic woes could serve as an additional source of pressure on its Spanish-speaking monolinguals, encouraging the proficient acquisition of English in order to survive in mainland United States, thereby fleeing from a debt-ridden country. My study seeks to find the linguistic ideological repercussions, if any, of Puerto Rico's current economic state of affairs.

*The Schools: Public Schools and Private Schools*

In formulating this project, I was driven by a desire to understand the implications of different language policies in education. As mentioned in previous chapters, education is often at the forefront of Puerto Rico's language debate; while the beginning of U.S. imperialism carried education in English-only settings, education since the 1950s has conducted Spanish-only instruction (with the exception of one mandatory English class). Contrastively, private schools on the island still conduct instruction in the reverse situation: English-only settings with Spanish as a subject. By focusing on these two environments I present the sociolinguistic outcome of English-only curriculum versus a Spanish-only curriculum, both ideologically and linguistically. I account for varying levels of bilingualism and exposure to the English language. The diagram below offers a representation of the schools I observed and the linguistic practices that they followed, as noted on the description above the diagram, English is seen as a compulsory subject at all schools from Grades K to the first two years of university.

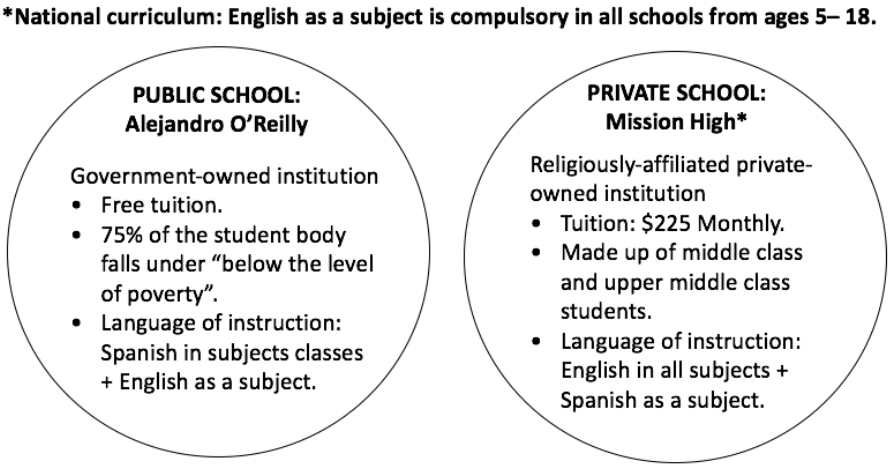



*Figure 8*. Diagram demonstrating socioeconomic make-up and language policy in O'Reilly High versus Mission High School.

My second motivation behind observing these two communities is that they provide a more balanced perspective of the interplay between socioeconomic status and educational opportunities. If I had examined one school community over another – i.e. conduct a private school study – I would only get a grasp of how members of the middle and upper classes exploit English and Spanish language use in their daily lives. Therefore, I would be unable to make any statements with regards to social class and language use, as I have limited my data to a particular social community. Further, by observing one educational background over the other, I would ignore the fact that there

are different language policies being implemented in schools across Puerto Rico, language policies that can potentially influence amount of exposure students receive with regards to English. These two social factors – education and socioeconomic background – have been consistently cited by researchers as influential descriptors of language use; consequently, through the inclusion of schooling and education as independent variables[31], and more fluid and local descriptors of language, such as group membership and social identity, I present a more holistic picture of language on the island.

In sum, the present study attempts to account for these differences in socioeconomic backgrounds and education by observing these two communities individually, and observing the role Spanish and English play in each environment respectively, as well as how and in what situations each language(s) are used. One of the overall aims of this project is to contribute to the research of the underrepresented lower class community and to discover whether they are able to produce features of the English language stylistically in interaction, and to what extent.

## 3.5 English on the Island: Who Speaks It?

This study attempts to provide a description of language practices in two communities of adolescents in the west of Puerto Rico. In order to arrive at a better understanding of the distribution of languages within these adolescent communities, reference to previous research on the island is necessary in order to be able to position present practices within the wider framework of Puerto Rican studies. This section will provide a brief discussion of some of the work conducted in the area of English language on the island, their findings, how they relate and differ to practices found on the mainland, and what remains to be done in studies of Puerto Rican English or English language use on the island.

To begin, it is important to note that a substantial portion of the studies conducted on island Puerto Ricans has been conducted in communities of affluent professionals in the metropolitan regions of the island –that is, belonging to the capital city and surrounding regions, and professionals with past prestigious educational opportunities. Island linguist Alicia Pousada provided a description of small English speaking communities (or 'enclaves') within Spanish-monolingual Puerto Rico in a lecture delivered at a College English Association Conference in March 19 2010. In it, she

[31] Or potential descriptors of language use in my sociolinguistic analysis.

stresses that – according to the 2000 census statistics conducted by the US Census Bureau – regions that contain the highest percentage of bilinguals[32] are those within metropolitan regions. The percentage of English speakers in these enclaves can be seen in the table below.

*Table 3*. Percentage of Island Puerto Ricans who claim to speak English "very well" on Census forms (Pousada, 2010).

| City | Population (in 2010) | Population (in 2016) | Percentage of speakers who speak English "very well" (in 2000 Census) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Culebra | 1, 818 | 1, 797 | 40.2% |
| Guaynabo | 97, 864 | 89, 307 | 29.9% |
| Ceiba | 13, 622 | 11, 937 | 29.0% |
| Fajardo | 36, 965 | 32, 219 | 26.5% |
| San Juan | 395, 074 | 347, 052 | 26.2% |
| Cataño | 28, 106 | 24, 968 | 21.7% |
| Carolina | 176, 633 | 158, 457 | 21.4% |
| Vieques | 9, 303 | 8, 825 | 21.4% |
| Dorado | 38, 109 | 37, 536 | 21.1% |
| Luquillo | 20, 042 | 18, 660 | 20.9% |
| Bayamón | 207, 960 | 184, 374 | 20.6% |

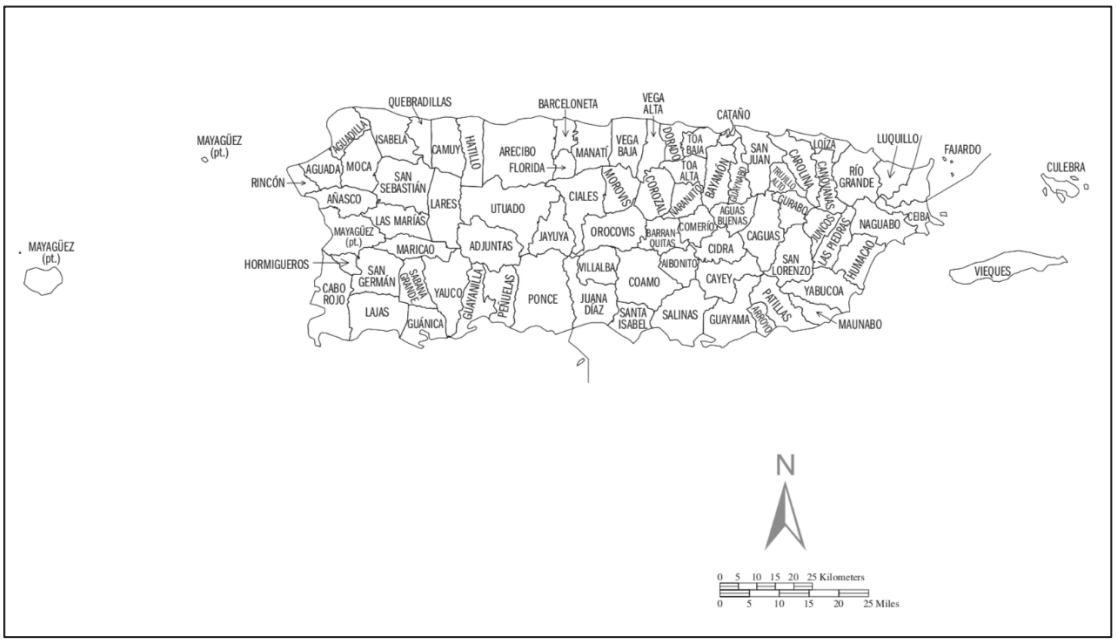



*Figure 9*. Map of Puerto Rico and its 78 Municipalities

(Source: 'State-based County Outline Maps', U.S. Census Bureau, 2000).

As can be noted the percentage of people who claim bilingualism even within these 'highly concentrated areas of English speakers' still represent a minority within each

region. A noteworthy result within itself, particularly for a country that bodes political ties with an English-speaking nation. Smaller enclaves are found scattered across the island, particularly in urbanized settings. In the second rank, according to Pousada's enclave typology, Mayaguez is positioned falling within the description of 15 – 19% bilingualism. In this same category are other major towns with dense populations and urban development (such as Ponce, Arecibo and Hatillo), a U.S. military base town (Aguadilla), and a fishing town known to have a high concentration and historical settlement of mainland U.S. citizens (Rincón[33]).

In her discussion of these English-speaking communities, Pousada only discusses the percentage, but in order to contextualize what this means in terms of overall population I have included the number of Puerto Ricans living at that time in that region (2010), versus the amount of Puerto Ricans living there now, according to most recent census statistics. The number that is most recently projected suggests a decrease in almost every region on this table, and this is due to the economic and employment crisis the island is facing due to its national debt of 72 billion dollars (REUTERS, 2017). The decrease in population can only suggest a change in language demographics. As an island, overall, a total 80% of people claim to speak English "less than very well" according to the most recent language census (conducted 2009 – 2013 and released October 2015), and previous to this poll an 81.2% was suggested (2006 – 2008, released April 2010). Overall, Census statistics have projected a sense of consistency when it comes to self-reports of English speaking abilities.[34] Ultimately, whether these Census statistics portray a linguistic reality remains to be seen. The problem with self-assessment, particularly when it comes to language speaking ability, is that a person may underestimate their own ability, and/or over-state their actual linguistic competency (see Wolfram & Fasold, 1974: 69). Another issue to take into consideration is the simplicity to which language competency in a second language is reduced to in these Census forms, as seen in the following questions:

a. Does this person speak a language other than English at home?

---

[33] 2010 Census statistics for the region of Rincón breaks down its population into the following ethno-racial categories: Hispanic or Latino (13, 499), "white alone" (8, 334), Two or More Races (5, 946), White alone, not Hispanic or Latino (744), Some other race alone (311), Black or African American alone (222), Asian alone (28), (Fact Finder U.S. Census Bureau, 2010).

[34] However, if one were to compare these numbers to the projected statistics of the 2000 Language Census, there is almost a 10% difference, as 2000 results suggested that roughly 71.9% of the population spoke English "less than very well". This 10% drop in language results may indeed be to due increasing change in demographics, as more and more professionals leave the island with presumably some knowledge of English in order to thrive in an English-speaking economy (Acevedo, 2016).

a. Yes
b. No.

b. What is this language? (For example: Korean, Italian, Spanish, Vietnamese).
c. How well does this person speak English?
    a. Very well.
    b. Well.
    c. Not well.
    d. Not at all.

    (Source: US Census Bureau[35])

Narrowing down English speaking abilities to simple "very wells", "wells", "not wells" and "not at alls" washes off the complicated presence of English on the island, and the different perceptions of what it means to be a bilingual, or a competent English speaker – both from an educational standpoint and an individual standpoint. Furthermore, within the context of Puerto Rico, where experts have suggested a grass-root movement against English as a second language, these projections are also subject to ideological inspection – that is, whether these are accurate self-assessments or acts of protest and resistance.

> "Although Puerto Ricans believe that English proficiency is important for them, many questions dealing with their attitudes toward English in Puerto Rico have not been fully analysed."
>
> Fayer, Castro, Díaz, & Plata (1998).

*Table 4.* Census data information regarding English speaking ability for population 5 Years and Over in Puerto Rico (2006 - 2008).

| **Census Data English Speaking Ability for the Population 5 Years and Over in Puerto Rico 2006-2008** | |
|---|---|
| **Population 5 years and over** | **Percentage of Speakers** |
| Speak Spanish at home (3,521,542) | 95.28% |
| Speak English less than "Very Well"(3,000,975) | 81.20% |
| Speak only English at home (174,269) | 4.70% |

In terms of local studies that have attempted to answer the question of "who speaks English in Puerto Rico?" several researchers have provided descriptions of the linguistic behavior found among members of the middle class and upper class 'elites'. The reasons for this demographic focus stems from aforementioned tendencies of families with more disposable income to send their children to private school English speaking institutions in order to increase their chances of attaining a competent level of English, thus broadening career opportunities to places outside Puerto Rico, to mainland U.S. settings

[35] https://www.census.gov/topics/population/language-use/about.html

where monthly salaries are significantly higher for every occupation (e.g. annual salary for architecture and engineering occupations are roughly $55, 320 on the island, in mainland U.S. settings it is $84, 300; Preschool teachers earn around $21,980, whereas in U.S. settings that number is $39, 550[36]). This focus on the island elite also stems from a knowledge of the prestigious currency it even plays within the island of Puerto Rico, where in order to attain a high paying job often applications will ask for some knowledge of English (cf. Nash & Fayer, 1996; Rodriguez, 1993; Pousada, 2000). Overall, elite parents are aware of the social and economic prestige attached to English as a second language on the island, and wish to maintain their position in society by furthering this knowledge to their children.

## 3.6 Concluding Remarks

*English, the Gatekeeper of Upward Mobility and Socioeconomic Improvement*

As has been discussed in this chapter, English on the island is both seen as a tool of liberation and opportunities, but also as a threat to the dominant local culture and Hispanic heritage. The two cultures are rarely seen as belonging to one, and English combined with American culture is often seen as something additional, rather than a part of the whole. Furthermore, I have discussed how these conflicting ideologies, as well as Puerto Rico's struggle towards 'self-identity', has also resulted in the implementation of a host of different language policies in the public school national curriculum. A total of seven different language policies were discussed in this chapter, as well as what they entailed. The differences in terms of public and private school language teaching is also discussed, particulary in terms of the language practices that can be found in each environment. I also presented statistics which contextualised the presence of English on the island, in particular in terms of 'who speaks it', or who actually claims to know how to speak it "well". And, finally, I provide a brief overview of my region of interest, Mayaguez, and how it fits into the larger picture of class, language, and education.

[36] Figures for Puerto Rican occupations https://www.bls.gov/oes/current/oes_pr.htm#00-0000; Figures for mainland U.S. occupations https://www.bls.gov/oes/current/oes_nat.htm#17-0000.

# CHAPTER 4

# METHODS

## 4.1 OVERVIEW

> "Language does not exist apart from culture, that is,
> from the socially inherited assemblage of practices and beliefs
> that determines the textures of our lives."
>
> - Sapir (1921, p. 207).

This chapter discusses the logistics behind conducting ethnographic fieldwork in two school environments which I call O'Reilly High School and Mission High respectively. It begins by outlining my motivations behind choosing ethnography to represent bilingual speech on these two communities, furthermore, why I chose to base my study on schools and adolescent speech. It briefly outlines the ethical procedures I had to follow in order to gain access to these communities, as well as the shortcomings and constraints I faced once in the field, negotiating methodological procedures and ethnographic interviews. It presents a reflexive account of my role as an ethnographer in two drastically different environments, and the methods I chose to actively engage with participants in order to build relationships based on trust and mutual support. It puts forward my background as a well-educated middle-class Puerto Rican, who has had access to private school education on the island, and it also takes into account my current role as a doctoral candidate in a prestigious European university—and how students and staff members orient to this. It discusses the more technical aspects of my fieldwork, in terms of how I chose to present myself to others, how I conducted observations, took field notes, approached teachers and school administrators, and how I chose the participants for my study. Furthermore, how my language background might have influenced what I chose to keep in and what I chose to leave out in my analysis. This chapter will also describe the way in which I approached data analysis across different data sets, based on linguistic practices happening in two different school environments, and which linguistic features I chose to represent in my data during the transcription processes, and how I arrived at making this decision.

## 4.2 FORENOTE ON METHODOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

It is worth acknowledging that the present study is the first adolescent-focused school ethnography conducted on the island of Puerto Rico (up to my knowledge). Most school studies conducted on the island have focused on describing language teaching practices (cf. Mazak & Carroll, 2017; Mazak & Herbas-Donoso, 2014), language ideologies (Clachar, 1997) or language policies in education (Pousada, 1996; Resnick, 1993). Perez Casas (2008) was among the first researchers to adopt ethnographic methods toward her description of Spanish-English language use in San Juan. However, her data was based on older cohorts – adult professionals – from a particular socioeconomic background – the island elite. My study is different in that it focuses on the younger generation, subject to the sociological changes brought upon a heavily connected and globalized world. These are the native users of Internet language, the social media and smartphones technology, technological advances that have transformed the very structure of society as well as the norms of face-to-face interactions. The focus on natural language use of this particular age cohort will be enlightening not only for its immediate implications -- the semiotic values of languages on the island -- but because of the implications with regards to language use in the global youth subculture. Furthermore, rather than observing people belonging to a particular economic demographic, my study will look at subjects from various socioeconomic backgrounds, and aim towards a socio-constructivist approach to the construction of identity in interaction.

The methods I chose to conduct data, are based on studies conducted in other parts of the world. Primarily, I chose to model my study after Penelope Eckert's (1989) seminal analysis of Jocks and Burnouts in a Detroit high school, Norma Mendoza-Denton's (2009) ethnography of Latina youth gangs in California, and Mary Bucholtz's (1999) study of white-European Americans in a San Francisco school. The present study represents an anthropology of youth, or a detailed account of the behavioral practices employed by teens in their respective institutional environments of Mayaguez, Puerto Rico. Following the mindset set forth by Dell Hymes (1971) in his conceptualizing of ethnography of communication, this thesis is built on the foundation that in order to truly understand the distribution of language in a particular community, as well as the social connotations that are called upon in interaction when employing a specific way of speaking, a society must first and foremost be observed as it is, in its natural environment, rather than basing models on self-reported use, existing language policies and Census

statistics. In short, this thesis contributes to dialectology and language use in Latino communities through the implementation of ethnographic methods – a much needed approach to the linguistic situation in the island of Puerto Rico.

## 4.3 DEFINING ETHNOGRAPHY

At the outset of this project, I had the intention of conducting a study that observed the role of identity in linguistic interaction. Various reasons motivated my intentions, one of them was my dissatisfaction with demographically-based studies that had governed thus far among linguists on the island (cf. Pousada, 2007). Factors such as "class" and "education" treated as fixed, unchanging, and uncontestable truths and as solely responsible for the uneven distribution of English on the island (cf. Hermina, 2014). I had thus planned preemptively that my research would make way for deviances and exceptions to these generalizing trends. I would take less of a "bigger picture" approach to language use on the island, and more of a "what actually happens" in day-to-day encounters and how participants create their own identities beyond those ascribed to them by Census statistics. In many ways, I was motivated by the same ideologies that those who follow the Dell Hymes' (1964) theoretical framework of ***ethnography of communication*** profess: an interest in actual language use in natural settings, and away from a competence, top-down driven approach to linguistic interaction. My main source to getting at an understanding of these practices would be long-term residence in target communities, coupled with informal interactions and participant-observations. Observations would be key to me understanding the exact role of languages in Puerto Rico. And, although I did come into the field with certain expectations, certain knowledge of Puerto Rican interactions as a native myself – these were not, by any means, representative of all citizens, but representative of my life experiences and social opportunities.

The present study is an ethnography of youth, that is, it strives to observe and describe a community of adolescents as they go about in their everyday lives. Anthropology of youth is defined as influenced by aspects of modernity and globalization, as well as concerns itself with observing adolescence with regards to adulthood as a benchmark and adolescence as a stage worthy of investigation on its own.

Many sociolinguists and researchers resort to ethnography, however, seldom credit the method at practice. In the following section I will provide a tentative definition

of ethnography, discuss some of the key literature which has cemented this method in contemporary sociolinguistics, describe how I molded my study to fit the requirements of an ethnographic study, and the challenges I faced upon attempting similar methodology in two distinct communities. In later sections, I will also discuss the obstacles I faced once in the field as the conductor of one of the first long-term school ethnographies.

The Oxford English Dictionary (OED) defines the method of ethnography as the following:

> "The scientific description of peoples and cultures with their customs, habits, and mutual differences" (OED).

The role of the ethnographer, thus, is to provide this scientific description and be the voice of singular or multiple communities of people and bring to light their specific social and cultural practices. Thus, my role throughout this very journey was to abandon any preconceived notions or judgements I came with in terms of what it meant to live in Puerto Rico, what it meant to go to high school, the type of people that lived there, went to those types of schools, etc. and be able to position myself as a high schooler today and see the world through their eyes.

The origins of ethnography lie at the beginning of the twentieth century, with the work of Malinwsoki (1922) who believed that the ultimate goal of social science research was to understand the underlying behavior, belief systems, and practices that characterize certain societal groups or peoples (Levon, 2013, p. 196). He emphasized that the only way to do arrive at this understanding was through the development of insider knowledge, or to see things from the perspective of a member of the community (i.e. *to see the world through someone else's eyes*); only then, Malinosky believed, could a researcher be able to adequately assess behaviors – by contextualizing the circumstances in which they occur. However, he argued, an understanding of social behavior could not just be based on this "insider knowledge", but a researcher must have the ability to step back and assess the situation from an outsider's perspective. Thus, Malinoskwi argued for a dual status of a researcher: one of an insider, or active participant of the community, and one of an outsider or observer. This is how the term *participatory-observation* came to be, the result of both inside (Emic) and outside (etic) world views.

This dual status of the "participant-observer", however, is not easily accomplished. And, often times, an ethnography may be leaning towards one status more than another. In order to tap into this "insider knowledge", researchers must learn to abandon all biases and assumptions in order to observe a community as critically and objectively as possible. In its most fundamental definition, insider knowledge is acquired through multiple observations, participations and detailed descriptions of practices that take place in specific communities. While ethnography is typically defined as "data-driven", it is often suggested that researchers come into a community with some idea of what to expect, or at least some rough guide of what to watch out for.

For sociolinguists, ethnography has been raised as an alternative solution to the shortcomings that variationists studies of language face: that of assigning independent and dependent variables *a priori*, (that is, prior to conducting the actual fieldwork). Assigning variables of importance prior to conducting a study can have serious methodological and analytical implications, such as being unable to thoroughly assess factors that contribute to language variation. Indeed, by adopting a "one-size-fits-all" model based on Census statistics, sociolinguists run the risk of overstating the importance of certain variables, such as ethnic background or class, labels that are often problematically defined because they do not necessarily reflect an objective reality, rather a subjective reality of a researcher and his/her categorizing techniques and underlying motivations behind labelling. For instance, there are many accounts that take into consideration the role of ethnic background or ethnicity, however, ethnicity more often times than not turns out to be a problematic label as there is no way of asserting the validity behind the label. Indeed, a participant may choose to highlight a particular version of themselves, or particular background, all the while hiding the other (e.g. an Irish Latina orients positively to her Irish roots due to its prestige, and may hide Latina heritage). Furthermore, a lot of ethnic labels are not homogenous entities, rather representative of ideological constructs or benchmarks in which people orient to. Ethnography, in this sense, can offer a glimpse to the linguistic practices that make up these ideological conceptualisations of ethnicity. Through participant-observation a researcher may be able to provide additional information as to what ideological benchmark a speaker oriented to and at what time and speaking to whom, rather than just observing a glimpse of a speaker in a one-time interview.

Incorporating ethnography can also help in the detection of new factors that are locally-specific. In other words: it facilitates the creation of new independent variables that are constructed bottom-up, such as peer-group orientation or social identity, rather than fixed and arbitrary explanations of language choice, such as those provided by government Census statistics, as well as large scale survey studies. While these tools have been praised for their flexibility and utility in conducting data over a large population of people, they have also been attacked over their determinism and lack of accountability for speaker agency. Penelope Eckert, one of the major advocates for third wave variation, was among the first to come forward and communicate her dissatisfaction over gender as a social category, arguing that "gender… does not correlate quite as consistently with linguistic variables as class […] Females quite regularly lead in sound change, but there are cases in which they do not" (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1995, p. 33). Since then, the field of sociolinguistics has been transformed as more and more studies emerge which make room for participant agency and place more importance on locally constructed meaning, rather than pre-determined patterns of language use.

The major contribution of an ethnographic approach to sociolinguistics lies on its qualitative and subjective lens, that is, it reminds sociolinguists that beyond a social scientist's assessment of a speaker's behaviors their world views and interpretations "also matter" (Levon, 2013, p. 197). In this sense ethnography adds a narrative perspective to the study of language use, or a historical look into the lives of people in a specific community or country.

Furthermore, while quantitative approaches to language – such as those involving the ascription of variables a priori – may yield interesting results, a data-driven approach to language behavior is perhaps most adequate to observing the social nature of language. That is, to enter a community and observe the patterns that emerge in naturally occurring settings. Ethnography can also be defined as a "multimodal" approach to language, as its scope goes beyond what is captured from audio recorded data and moves onto the recording of communication strategies across a number of domains, e.g. gestures, images, books, flyers, etc.

Capturing natural speech is still a major concern to dialectologists and sociolinguistics interested in detailing language variation and change, particularly those looking into the distribution of stigmatized features in language, e.g. such as the copula "be" in African American vernacular. Gaining access to unfiltered speech may be a

daunting task, and sociolinguists have consequently developed a host of tools in order to battle this psychological awareness (cf. Schilling-Estes, 2013). Ethnography has been raised by some as an alternative solution to observe the social role of language, and as a way of gaining "insider status" thus reducing the social-psychological distance between researcher and participant, by making the researcher more familiar to the subject through extended informal conversations. After various engagements with members of a community, only then does a researcher proceed with any kind of recorded data.

For my study, the focus on English use in Puerto Rico was a highly controversial subject. As mentioned in previous chapters, not only is English not supported by the wider public school curriculum, but it is also challenged on the local level. Speaking English in informal encounters in Puerto Rico is imbued with many political and social connotations, among them is that of an inauthentic person, a foreigner (non-Puerto Rican), or a snobby member of the elite class (cf. Clachar, 1997; Perez Casas, 2009). Even in private school contexts, where knowledge of English is promoted and tied to notions of prestige and financial betterment, a student said to me in an interview "hay personas que they get cocky" (there are people that get cocky) and speak English all the time (Dave, interviewee, December 3, 2015). While in a public-school environment, a foreign student from Cuba said to me, "Here people say they don't know English, but their Spanish has more English than the Spanish spoken in Cuba." Having English as the core subject of my study meant that I would have to get past these language ideologies, prevalent among some teens and adult members of the school communities (e.g. teachers and parents). I would have to get past the expectations of members of the administration, such as the school principal in the private school who said to me on our very first meeting "I think it's important that students speak Spanish *correctly*", hinting at other deviations of Spanish-English codemixing. I would have to get past ideologies of code-switching as outward symptoms of a confused state of thinking or an aberration. Indeed, these ideologies were not exclusive to teachers and adults, but they were also visible in students from Spanish-using communities of practice, such as Josue and Bobi. In one of my informal interactions with Josue and Bobi from the Caco CofP we discussed 'first impressions' and how they would judge someone in terms of 'approachability.' Josue said, "like the people that hang around this area are really not approachable," and Bobi added "yeah, they speak English all the time, they listen to Satanic music" (February, 2016).

While I was no longer of the same age of the participants I was studying, nor did I belong to the specific communities under question – public and private schools – I did share with them the experience of growing up in *Mayaguez, Puerto Rico*. Having the cultural knowledge of the city, the country, the customs and the people would serve as an advantage in that they would more likely be able to see me as "one of them" or as "trustworthy" than someone else coming in from another country or region of the island. I knew that if I were to conduct an ethnography in any place, the best place to start would be at home where I knew the language, the local dialect, the jokes, the norms of politeness, as well as other culturally-specific knowledge that may take years for an outsider to obtain or develop. And, indeed, my choice of location was also inspired by the results of Rickford and McNair-Knox's (1996) study of AAVE features, where both topic and addressee influenced style-shifts were the topic under study. In their work together they discovered that while both implemented similar strategies and interview techniques to participants, the results they yielded were different, and could be inferred as different orientations and accommodations from interviewees to interviewers – a Caucasian man and a Black Caribbean man respectively (where the Black Caribbean was most successful in obtaining AAVE features in recorded speech).

## 4.4 Comparative Ethnographies

For the most part, ethnographic approaches have remained primarily singular, that is, a method to be employed on a single community (Brown & Gaskins, 2014, p. 210). Comparison ethnographies are seldom carried out, and those that are tend to be the result of post-investigation collaborations and in conducted in retrospect.[37] However, rarely are comparative accounts carried out by the same researcher, which may be somewhat problematic as participants may orient differently to multiple researchers, as well as different circumstances (cf. Rickford & McNair-Knox, 1994). My study differs from the majority of previous ethnographies in that it presents an attempt at a comparative account of two school communities in Mayaguez, Puerto Rico.

Previous to my study, only one other investigator had conducted a similar account in another region of the island (cf. Hermina, 2014). In her doctoral research, Janette

[37] The field of linguistic ethnography in European has moved towards a more collective approach to ethnographies, and often work in teams.

Hermina conducted a study of English language learning in two small towns of northern Puerto Rico. Like the present study, Hermina was interested in observing the outcome of different language education strategies implemented by public and private schools on the island. She understood the crucial role that education plays in the construction and maintenance of class differences in Puerto Rico, as perhaps the most influential instrument of socialization and life opportunities. Her methodology consisted of a primarily observational component of classroom interactions, this was coupled with interviews from two focal students and their parents, as well as a sociolinguistic questionnaire (Hermina, 2014, p. vi). Key to her understanding of the role of English, however, was parents' perceptions of the usefulness of English, so while the researcher did indeed question students' motivations, most of the attitudinal data was based on parents' perceptions of second language education. This in itself is a methodological oversight, as it overlooks student agency and again focuses on an older generation's perceptions of languages on the island. Not only that, but it says very little of the linguistic practices which occur inside each school community.

In the case of my study, it was imperative that I would be able to gain access to communities that were reflective of different socioeconomic backgrounds and educational and linguistic opportunities. As it had been argued in previous literature, both schooling and socioeconomic status play an important role in the distribution of languages on the island. The extent of their importance, or the extent to which linguistic practices manifest themselves differently in each environment, was a question to follow up on. Consequently, for methodological purposes it made sense for me to carry out my study in two school environments in order to be able to reach more accurate conclusions of the social distribution of English on the island, as well as the social practices that actually take place among students who receive different types of education. In the case of the public school, I was able to access a community that differed drastically in terms of class demographics. For instance, in Grade 11 alone the student body was said to be made up of 70% of people who lived "below the poverty line" in Puerto Rico (*Departamento de Education*, 2014). Meanwhile, while no such socioeconomic information was made public to researchers in the private school environment, perhaps due to confidentiality restrictions and responsibilities of the private school institution to the parent.

## 4.5 Adolescence: a Subject of Linguistic Inquiry

In traditional sociological literature: adolescence is modelled as a consciously 'oppositional culture' (Kirkham & Moore, 2013, p. 278). Adolescence as a life stage has typically been defined in comparison to older cohorts, adulthood, and schooling. This is not surprising as it is in these two environments, home and school, where subjects achieve most of their interactions and are socialized. Later studies observe the adolescence-adult negotiations as more complicated, where adolescence as a life stage represents a sort of *renegotiation* of child-parent interactions (Kirkham & Moore, 2013, p. 278). In this latter approach, adolescents as subjects are given more agency and are not modelled as passively acquiring parent speech, but neither are they framed as straying away too much from parent speak, or regarded as completely oppositional. Adolescence as a life stage does not only represent a biological transitional stage, but sociologically it stands out from other life stages as it 'marks… an increase in the frequency of interaction with peers' and is also characterized for being a stage at which there is an increase in desire of 'fitting in', or belonging, and finding one's sense of identification (ibid).

Adolescence has been problematically defined in much sociolinguistic research, despite its sociological, biological, and linguistic importance as a life stage. Sometimes adolescents are represented as 12 – 27 year olds, for instance (see Dryer 2002), in large scale variationist studies. Some approaches define adolescents in terms of having experienced mutual decades (Kirkham & Moore, 2013), which may be helpful in drawing certain statistical conclusions of a particular time. However, the arbitrary nature of assigning an age group with a label in variationist research has often glossed over agency in social relations (e.g. the ability to forge different relations, outside age group, as well as variation within the same age group) and, consequently, linguistic behavior in adolescents. Linguists such as Bucholtz (1999), Eckert (2000), and Mendoza-Denton (2008) have in their approaches to adolescent ethnographies made way for 'shared experiences' in their description of adolescent speech, rather than used an explicit claim that "this is how adolescents speak". Although adolescents may share certain characteristics in their linguistic behavior that may be down to age, other ways of interpreting this deviation from the 'norm' is by looking at the practices and groups they engage in, without necessarily making sweeping generalizations. In his work of defining child and adolescence speech, Kerswill (1996) makes the distinction that adolescents are not only aware of the linguistic practices and norms of adult speech, such that they are

able to position themselves to it however they wish, but that they are also sensible to norms of other adolescent peers and communities of practice (Kerswill, 1996, p. 198). Such that, to a certain extent, adolescents are more influenced by their knowledge of distinct social practices in their age group and their desire to fit in, than their knowledge of adult speech.

In terms of adolescents Puerto Ricans, not much literature has been conducted to discuss language distribution or the social motivations behind speaking a certain way. In fact, a large majority of the work carried out in Puerto Ricans, both island and mainland citizens, has been done in adults and university students, both subject to a host of different motivations for language use, some career-driven (i.e. subject driven), or to meet the needs of the linguistic marketplace, has frequently made the assumptions that 'the utility of English as a language of wider communication', they simultaneously possess 'considerable resistance toward actually mastering the language.' (Pousada, 2000, p. 104).

According to Labov's (2001) incrementation model of language variation in a person's lifetime, adolescence represents the stage at which a human being is in highest state of linguistic flux, where new and innovative ways of speaking are at its highest peak, later to be cemented and fixed (to a certain degree) in adulthood, where new ways of speaking are acquired at a lesser rate. According to this model, humans go through three stages of sociolinguistic acquisition, these are the following: '(i) acquisition of variation from the language of the caretakers, (ii) incrementation of incoming variants in adolescence, (iii) stabilization' (Tagliamonte, 2016, p. 5). For this reason, it is a widely-held belief that if one wants to look at the current state of language use, the best way to get a grasp at the current state of affairs is by looking at adolescents, often perceived as the innovators and leaders of language change.

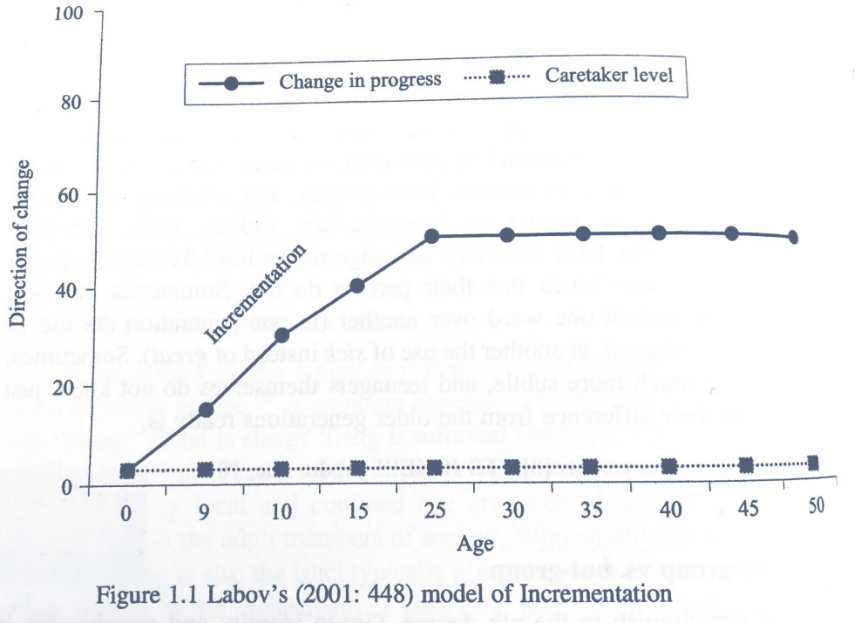



Figure 1.1 Labov's (2001: 448) model of Incrementation

*Figure 10*. Model of Incrementarion of Language Variation Throughouth Lifetime (Tagliamonte, 2016, p. 5).

Knowing adolescents' role in sociolinguistics, and acknowledging the role of institutionalized settings in their socialization and acquisition of language variation, I opted toward conducting school ethnography. Schooling as a community of inquiry is not new, rather, is one that has yielded much insight into what adolescent speech looks like and what practices characterize this age cohort. It is within the microcosm of a school where adolescents socialize the most, and forge relationships that have a potential of influencing their overall social identities and linguistic practices.

## 4.6 The Role of Schooling

Leading sociolinguists such as Penelope Eckert (2000), Mary Bucholtz (2011) and Norma Mendoza-Denton (2008) have repeatedly referred to the importance of schooling in the development of language variation. Their studies have hinted at the fact that a large portion of adolescent socialization practices takes place within institutionalized settings (cf. Kirkham & Moore, 2013). Within school environments adolescents are 'force(d)… to socialize with people of their own age and offer(-ed) little opportunity for meaningful contact with individuals outside this age bracket.' (Kirkham & Moore, 2013, p. 278). Teen language is positioned as distinctive from child language and adult language, as adolescence as a life stage is characteristically made up of dense social networks and

same-age interactions – the result of living, or spending most of their waking hours, in restricted and policed settings. For this reason, adolescence as a life stage is often referred to as being a 'social hothouse' (Eckert, 2004, p. 361), and the outcome in linguistic behavior is very much the result of constraints and opportunities provided by institutionalized settings (Eckert, 2003, p. 112).

Few school ethnographies have been conducted on the island of Puerto Rico, in addition to the present study, I was able to locate another dissertation conducted in private and public schools in northern regions of the island (cf. Hermina, 2014). Other linguistic ethnographies conducted in educational settings include work by Mazak & Carroll (2017) and Mazak & Herbas-Donoso (2014), which have served of much inspiration to this project[38]. The latter have taken place within the context of higher education and have observed the bilingual practices of teachers in Math and Science classrooms —a pedagogical style that they refer to as *translanguaging* (see García & Li Wei, 2014).

In terms of practicality, schools are also able to offer relatively easy access to people from different social backgrounds. Although there are obvious ethical considerations that must be taken into account before embarking on a school ethnography, because of the dense nature of school social interactions, a researcher is able to reach more participants by observing a school because 'everyone knows everyone', or a person is most likely to have multiple connections with people from the school community than, say, a neighborhood context (Hall-Lew, 2009, p. 21). In neighborhood studies the choice of neighborhood can either make or break the study in terms of people's willingness to participate, or to refer you to other people that could participate. Meanwhile, in school studies there are better chances of employing a successful *friend-of-friend approach* to sampling because of the dense social networks that characterize school studies (Buchstaller & Khattab, 2013, p. 80).

[38] Their findings and contributions to language use on the island have enlightened a large part of the work presented here, particularly in terms of providing a benchmark to which I will position my interpretations of youth practices.

## 4.7 DESCRIPTION OF DATA

In order to comply with the methodological nature of an anthropological project, a host of different methods were incorporated to arrive at a better understanding of language in the communities. The triangulation of data included looking into demographic factors, attitudinal data (*based on self-report and interview questions*), and an added layer of naturally occurring conversations and observations. Together, these three elements form the bulk of the data for my research. With these different sources of linguistic practices, I was able to reach a more comprehensive perspective on the role of languages on the island, particularly among the Puerto Rican youth. I argue that in order to assess the statuses of both Spanish and English on the island, a holistic snapshot of language distribution is necessary.

My framework is inspired by studies in linguistic anthropology (namely: Bucholtz, 2010, Eckert, 1989, and Mendoza-Denton, 2009) who have described youth practices in contemporary settings, and demonstrated their importance for the overall field of language and society. A lot of these studies have provided rich accounts of adolescence and subsequently raised important issues relevant to the field of sociolinguistics as a whole: agency in a categorically-minded field. Indeed, a lot of the seminal studies conducted on youth, have raised interesting issues as to whether teens actually fit into the categories their parents fall under, for instance. As mentioned in Chapter 2 the desire of fitting in and peer-group membership often play an influential role in the way a teenager behaves.

Through anthropology of youth these authors have provided evidence of the limitations of merely ascribing participants with labels even to do with social networks or communities of practice. The idea behind anthropological sociolinguistics is that these tendencies to essentialise are lessened through observational practices and a collection of different types of data (beyond those gathered by more systematic approaches to sociolinguistics, such as surveys or interviews alone).

In Table 5 I discuss the different types of data that I took into account for the present study. I provide a brief description as to how I gathered such data. I also discuss the contributions and benefits of gathering these three types of data, but also some of the potential setbacks of limiting myself into viewing these three specific findings.

*Table 5*. Types of data collected from schools.

| TYPES OF DATA | DESCRIPTION | QUALITATIVE OR QUANTITATIVE | INSTRUMENT USED FOR THIS INVESTIGATION |
|---|---|---|---|
| DEMOGRAPHIC | Includes a pre-determined set of fixed variables:<br><br>Age;<br>Region;<br>Gender;<br>Class[39]<br>Education type[40]<br>First language;<br>Family language(s)[41];<br>Places lived;<br>Places visited;<br>Investment in target culture[42]<br>Access to Internet. | Quantative | Collected through the distribution of sociodemographic forms. |
| ATTITUDINAL | I - Typically survey-based studies, reliant on individual self-report, unless perceptual methods are adopted.<br><br>II - Data may also be extrapolated via interview techniques. | (Interview) Qualitative; (Questionnaire) Quantitative. | Attitudinal data was collected through the second half of the semi-structure sociolinguistic interviews. |
| LANGUAGE BASED | Can be either: (1) based on laboratory findings and specific elicitation techniques, (2) based on naturally occurring language use. | (Typological) Quantitative;<br><br>(Discourse analysis) Qualitative. | Language-based data was collected. |
| OBSERVATION BASED | Uses field notes, audio and video recordings, and other types of instruments to gather information of community under study. | (Typically) Qualitative; if recurring observations are made, then this may be quantified for ideas, themes, language use. | |

[39] Based on parental occupation, education, housing, etc.
[40] Private/public distinction.
[41] Parental linguistic abilites.
[42] Measured through reported investement in books, movies, magazines, etc. in target language.

## 4.8 OBSERVATION-BASED DATA

Virtually all of the behaviour discussed in this thesis is the result of a six-month residence in two school communities. In a way, my observational data, or ethnographic findings, intersects with every facet of this research: actual (recorded data), sociodemographic data, and attitudinal data. Indeed, through observational data I observed whether students' behaviour in recordings were 'idiosyncratic' or whether recordings faithfully captured the linguistic behaviour of participants when not being recorded, across different interactions and discourse events. Observational data allowed me to understand whether/how a subject's sociodemographic background was expressed in their everyday lives, whether their background played an important role as to how they lived their lives and carried themselves, or how these roles were challenged. That is, I was able to observe how participants oriented to these "top-down" societal labels ascribed by institutional settings (e.g. gender; being 'below the poverty line') and societal norms (e.g. if someone was 'female', whether they complied with traditional behaviours associated with 'women's speech'). My observations also yielded more insight as to how overtly stated attitudes or beliefs towards languages in Puerto Rico or being Puerto Rican were enacted in day to day lives, to different people, across different discourses.

Observational data was gathered by means of extensive participant-observations, carried throughout my six-month residence. A large portion of observations were written down into three different notebooks. I carried larger 8x11, 3-ring notebooks into the classrooms that I observed. These allowed me to document not just external outgoings, but to write down my reactions to these on goings within the same page. Smaller notebooks were handier for public events where there was more participation than, say, a lecture were most students were writing down at the same time as me. I used a small personal sized notebook to describe in a condensed manner events in which my role and presence was more noticeable, e.g. lunch time, student assemblies, etc.

In order to make sense of the world around me, I incorporated a somewhat systematic approach to taking notes based off of Erez Levon's (2013) book chapter on ethnographic findings. I complemented his suggestions with some provided by Robert Emerson (1995) which stresses the role of the ethnographer in choosing what to keep in/leave out. This latter approach highlights the importance of always keeping in mind who the ethnographer is, keeping track of what the ethnographer did and did not do, the reasons behind writing certain things and overlooking others, potential blind spots and

setbacks and frustrations in the field. Levon's (2013) guidelines were particularly helpful at the beginning of the fieldwork when I was overwhelmed with everyday occurrences and wanted to know how to organize my observations in a way that was relevant to a linguistics audience. These consisted of keeping track of the following features: a description of the type of event taking place, number of notes I took of said event (and – if any – audio recordings were conducted), the date and time of the event, the community members involved, the location of the event, the languages used, among other characteristics particular to said speech event. For a breakdown of each of these features, refer to Table 3.

*Table 6.* Erez Levon (2013: 207) Note-taking in Linguistic Ethnography (LE).

| THINGS TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT | DESCRIPTION |
|---|---|
| TYPE OF EVENT | Nature of the event: Formal/Informal<br>Nature of discourse event: Meeting, conversation, classroom |
| FILE NAMES/NUMBER OF RECORDINGS OF THE EVENT | Journal numbering.<br>Keeping track of recordings, if any took place during the observation. |
| DATE AND TIME | Absolute: actual date when the event took place<br>Relative: Time of day (e.g. early morning, late afternoon); weather descriptions (if relevant). |
| COMMUNITY MEMBERS INVOLVED | Who is talking, or actively participating?<br>Who is listening, or passively participating? |
| LOCATION OF THE EVENT | Where are the observations taking place?<br>Includes: a physical description of the space. |
| LANGUAGES USED | Particularly useful if you're studying a bi/multilingual community. |
| NOTABLE LINGUISTIC CHARACTERISTICS | Discourse topics involved at event.<br>Perceived use of linguistic features: this includes fine-grained features, such as phonological variants, or peculiar word choice or morpho-syntactic compositions. |
| NOTABLE SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS | Clothing; behaviour; emotional responses of participants to ongoing events, or of researcher to ongoing events. |

In addition to some of these guidelines, I also kept track of the following set of behaviours that I found relevant to school communities during my time there: spatial orientation during lunch hours and languages found written on the school hallways, bathroom stalls, and overheard during lunch hours. These small notes allowed me to get a better grasp of the linguistic practices to watch out for when conducted interviews and transcribing interviews.

## 4.9 SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC DATA

What I label "sociodemographic" here are essentially what are known as the top-down social categorical techniques that are prevalent in much traditional sociolinguistic research. Under Norma Mendoza-Denton's (2013) typology of identity-based sociolinguistic research, this is labelled as Type I; under Penelope Eckert's (2012) differentiation of variationist methods this would classify as "First Wave" methodology. Sociodemographic information is an essential component to all linguistic research, even those that claim to not be influenced by these techniques (i.e. more qualitative approaches to identity, or perhaps micro-analysis of a particular strip of speech). It is through the classification of people in terms of gender, region, age, etc. that we get a sense of how society defines people, indeed, it is not just us sociolinguists who differentiate at times depending on gender and how/if it is performed in interaction, but this information forms part of job applications, Census statistics, university admission processes, etc. It is a useful and somewhat practical technique to incorporate when dealing with a considerable number of participants. Though essentialist in practice (it makes little room for individual agency), it lends itself to statistical testing and analysis. Beyond that, gathering information of a person's social background gives us a better idea of how that person was socialized (in terms of behaviour) and the set of opportunities and constraints that were provided to that person (based on their social background). I use sociodemographic information for the latter purposes: in order to arrive at a better sense of who a person is in terms of society's standards, and the potential outcomes of their behaviour based on these labels that are somewhat universal. I use these categories together with more specific bottom-up categories created to do with peer group affiliation, shared practices, and linguistic and social behaviour. Below is a list of the sociodemographic information that I asked for from my participants (Table 4.2). This information was elicited after the interview had taken place.

(1) Age
(2) Gender
(3) Place of Birth (City/Country)
(4) Other places lived/Residence there (mobility)
(5) Class
    a. Type of education received (Public/Private)
    b. Highest Level of Education Achieved by Mother
    c. Mother's Occupation
    d. Highest Level of Education Achieved by Father
    e. Father's Occupation

f. Type of Residence/Living Accommodation (Owned/Rented)

(6) Language Background
   a. First language (level of proficiency: beginning/intermediate/native)
   b. Second language (level of proficiency: beginning/intermediate/native)
   c. What other languages do you speak?
   d. Age in which participant started learning English.
   e. Languages spoken at home.
   f. Languages spoken with friends.
   g. Languages spoken online.

(7) Education History
   a. Elementary
   b. Intermediate
   c. High School
   d. Schooling: Public-monolingual, Public-bilingual, Private-monolingual, Private-bilingual

Important to highlight in this section is how I arrived to an understanding of class, education and language competency, both important yet controversial categorical techniques to implement in this study. I will devote to describing how I arrived at these categorical labels in what is to follow of this discussion.

## 4.10 Fuzzy Class Boundaries & the Role of Adolescence

The subject of class has come under fire in many sociolinguistic approaches. Class, like competence, has been challenged by notions of globalization and Late modernity as linguists have come to argue that our comfortable definitions of these categories are essentialising in nature and gloss over multiple deviances and complications, as well as speaker agency. In particular, research that focuses on adolescents has often suggested that this age cohort cannot comfortably fit into descriptions of class (Rampton, 2006: 216). Eckert (2003), Moore & Kirkham (2013), Tagliamonte (2016) and others have suggested that youth as biological stage represents that stage at which social interactions increase, and adolescent speech can be said to be more accurately determined by the social practices in which they engage in, rather than those that have been instructed to them by their parents. In other words, within the microcosm of the school, adolescents have various opportunities at engaging with individuals from different social backgrounds, thus more opportunities of widening their linguistic repertoires and partaking in creative linguistic practices that do not necessarily reflect their home languages or languages spoken by their parents. The school marks a

transformative platform, by which the speaker has the ability to be whoever they want to be, to choose to affiliate or disaffiliate with whatever ideal or linguistic practice is in the school landscape, at home, and in the local and global spheres of entertainment and the media, and other. It offers an opportunity of learning different sets of identity potentials perhaps unique and unparalleled in a person's life, due to the strong social component in this life stage. Bradley (1996) suggests that many of the concepts discussed in post-structuralist work, particularly that to do with agency is perhaps best felt or witnessed in adolescence as young people are among the first 'to be responsive to media and fashion changes' and 'form distinctive subcultures which signify their distance both from wider society and their one parents... [undermining] traditional working class values', and that the agency is especially due to 'the growth of youth unemployment' which in one way or another has 'contributed to this process of class dissolution' (Bradley, 1996: 77).

## 4.11 Determining Class

Class is ultimately at the forefront of many language debates. In all discussions of English in Puerto Rico, class plays an integral part at defining language differences in society. As mentioned previously, a lot of this has to do with the fact that there is a tendency among middle and upper middle class families to send their children to private school, as they believe that this type of schooling will provide the best socioeconomic opportunities for their child, given their linguistic emphasis on facilitating English language education. My study attempts to break from this class-education bind that has prevailed in much of the previous literature, and to truly deconstruct the idea of class within the microcosm of a school by providing a detailed account of the social backgrounds of participants in current study. The ethnographic component of long-term observations is also incorporated to the concept of class in later sections when detailing practices in which adolescents participate. This section, however, will provide the bigger macro-scale picture of class. It incorporates first wave variation methodology in order to arrive at an understanding of language distribution across different groups. After setting the linguistic scene, and providing a benchmark to which interpret individual practices, later sections will focus more on the individual practices and whether they abide or challenge existing trends in schools, and if/how they can be interpreted as acts of identity. In this way, some structure is taken into account to set the scene, and will be contested

in further sections when providing an in-depth discussion of participants' daily linguistic practices.

Class plays a crucial role in studies of language in society. Indeed, it is taking into consideration social upbringing, opportunities and disadvantages that linguists are able to form a clearer idea of why certain ways of speaking exist more among certain community members. According to Sharon Ash (2004) the main duty of the sociolinguist interested in describing variation is to 'find a way to determine, with reliability and validity, the social ranking, social class, or both, of the members of the speech community under investigation' (p. 404). Different linguists through time have adopted various ways of modelling class, and no one rubric of class can fit all different situations. In many accounts of variation occupation and income serve as indicators of whether some participants fit into working class, middle class, and upper class classifications. However, several studies have found that these two factors though insightful to some extent, do not necessarily provide the full picture of a person's life and opportunities.

One of the leading sociolinguists William Labov (1964, 2011) has conducted several studies on the idea of class and has adopted various methods towards its conceptualization. In his first comprehensive study of variation, known as the Lower East Side study of New York City, Labov utilized sociodemographic information compiled by a team of researchers at Columbia University for a project on Mobilization for Youth Program (MFY). This study established a 10-point scale system that measured socioeconomic class, occupation, education, and the income of informants. Education, for instance, was measured in the following way:

EDUCATION

1 completed some college or more;
2 finished high school;
3 completed some high school;
4 finished grade school or else.

In terms of income, Labov had access to very specific data, some that many sociolinguists perhaps would not have access to. Researchers at Columbia established a median for "weekly income" based on participants, modelling on the following:

INCOME

1 more than the national median;
2 more than the Lower East side media but less than the national median;
3 more than the minimum wage but less than the Lower East Side median;
4 less than the minimum wage.

In this attempt at defining social class, Labov had access to information most linguistics studies of variation would otherwise not have (such as income information), as he had been granted access to that data by a group of sociologists. In his second grand-scale study of variation, conducted in Philadelphia, Labov came up with a point-based system to define class, one which took into account education, occupation, and residence value. Education, for instance, was measured by using a 6-point system:

EDUCATION

5 Professional school;
4 College graduate;
3 Some college;
2 High school graduate;
1 Some high school;
0 Grammar school.

While these methods of measuring social rank and class are useful, particularly towards defining large populations in urban regions, they are not necessarily helpful or accurate in defining class within the context of Puerto Rico. In Puerto Rico, where 45% of the population classifies as living "below the poverty line", and were different hosts of occupational opportunities (and income to these opportunities) are present, it is more helpful to adapt a more customized way of viewing class, one that takes into consideration job offerings and economic potentialities within that specific sociocultural context.

In the following discussion of class, I incorporate a point-system similar to that introduced by Carmen Fought (1997) in her study of Mexican Americans in Los Angeles. Her point system took into account the social opportunities available to this ethnic group, as often marginalized within the larger anglo-society. Fought's model is largely reliant on the notion of occupation, rather than residence value, and the opportunities made available through prestigious occupational status. In the case of Puerto Rico, while there

is no direct overwhelming presence of English-speakers on the island (as is the case with mainland settings), there are somewhat limited opportunities in terms of economic improvement, particularly within the debt situation. The class divides are much deeper and not necessarily tied to housing status, rather a type of economic security at the occupational level. Thus, my point-system takes into account these measures when modelling class and occupation.

## 4.12 Fought's Typology of Socioeconomic Profiles

Blue Collar/ Grey Collar/ White Collar;
Education;
Skill;
Authority level.

The point system sums up to a total of 15 points, most participants never reach this maximum. The point system classifies those that fall between 0-3 to be lower income, 4-5 to be lower working class, 6-8 to be working class, 8.5 – 12 to be lower middle class, 13 – 14 to be middle class. Though the decision to arrive at these labelling strategies is somewhat arbitrary, it still allows for a type of understanding of prestige, advantages and disadvantages, as well as sociological affordances.

The first distinguishing factor is the blue, grey, and white collar distinctions, prevalent in much sociological literature (Fought, 1997). Blue collar as a term is used to refer to manual work, which usually requires a lot of strenuous activity, but does not necessarily require any type of academic training or mathematical skill. At the other end of the spectrum is white collar occupations, those which require more mental skills, tend to take place in office settings, and usually require some type of higher education background. Sitting between these two categories is the "grey collar job", defined as possessing characteristics from both white and blue collar jobs, that is, it requires both office type work but also manual work. Under this category one could expect to find occupations with a combination of technical and manual skills such as police offices, nurses, technicians, salespeople, among others.

Grey collar, though not utilized in Fought's original framework, is incorporated to this class system as only a minority of the caretakers and guardians worked in manual labor, but a majority of the parents fell somewhere in between the two collared

categorizations; that is, they required some type of schooling and higher level reasoning skills, but not the same amount of schooling as would a professional lawyer or professor, for instance. In this way, those who worked in sales would be more accurately defined as placing somewhere between the two collared distinctions, as necessitating some physical power, but also having basic knowledge of mathematics, for instance. For a white-collared job, parents would be assigned the number 3, grey-collared is 2, and blue-collared is 1.

The second factor taking into account towards calculating class was the education requirements demanded by that particular vocation or occupation. Education was calculated according to a 4-point scale.

**EDUCATION (Fought, 1997: 69)**

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 point | If there were no particular educational requirements; |
| 2 points | If the job had no formal requirements but needed some academic ability, such as simple math; |
| 3 points | If the job required a high school degree and possibly some college; |
| 4 points | If the job required college and possible some special additional schooling, such as nursing school or computer training. |

The second factor taken into consideration when calculating class was the level of skill necessitated to practice that occupation. Skill was altered slightly from Fought's original categorization, as I found it more adequate to appoint 3 points to occupations were specific tasks needed to be learnt, rather than tasks that would take a 'couple of days'. I use her definition of knowing 'specific tasks' as having a specific knowledge that could not be acquired in days' time, but perhaps with some type of degree, associate's or higher. 4 points were appointed to occupations that demanded a higher level of skill, a specialization of some sort, such as an additional postgraduate diploma, a Master's degree, or doctorates. Skill was measured based on a 4-point scale:

**SKILL**

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 point | An untrained person could do it immediately; |
| 2 points | If the job is based on a particular set of skills that would take some days to learn; |
| 3 points | If the person would need to be trained on specific tasks; |
| 4 points | If it involves knowledge of complex skills. |

The last factor built into the notion of class is 'Authority level' (Fought, 1997: 71). Authority level is defined as the dependency level involved in the practice of a particular occupation; it may range from little independence in occupation to total independence. It is a four-point system and is divided as following:

**AUTHORITY**

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 point | If the person doing the job was in a service position with no authority or autonomy. |
| 2 points | If the employee worked under direct supervision but had authority to make some decisions. |
| 3 points | If the employee mainly worked alone, had authority to make the most of decisions about daily work but usually not higher level decisions and did not supervise anyone. |
| 4 points | If the job involves mainly supervising or being in authority of others. |

If parent was unemployed, they would be assigned a rating of 2 points. If a child was raised by two parents an average would be calculated of both of the parents' total job score. All of these four factors together helped illuminate the status of each occupation, in relation to the wider context of Puerto Rico. Qualitatively, it provides a formidable way of modelling and observing power and status across different job occupations, particularly in a country with deep divides in social class, that does not necessarily possess the opportunities of economic improvement, as say, mainland settings would.

## 4.13 LANGUAGE DATA

*Individual Sociolinguistic Interviews*

The interviews that were conducted in this study were based off Labovian (1972) structure of sociolinguistic interviews, which typically ask autobiographical questions at the beginning of the speech event, and any questions about "language" are positioned towards the end of the interview. The idea behind the layout is that a participant will become progressively more aware of his/her speech according to the topic that is being discussed. Sociolinguistic interviews are structured around the idea of *attention paid to speech*, or *observer's paradox* (Labov, 1981), i.e. when a participant becomes aware of their own speech and the fact they are being recorded. The aim behind most sociolinguistics research is to arrive at an accurate portrayal of authentic speech, or to be

able to access how language is distributed in society; in order to achieve this, a linguist must 'find out how people talk when they are not being observed' (Labov, 1972: 113). Thus, there are a wide range of linguistic techniques that can be employed to counteract the anxiety that comes with being observed. As mentioned previously, immersion through ethnographic methods is one of them (i.e. becoming a part of the community through extensive participant-observations), but also adopting a Labovian-esque structure to the interview event, modelled below:

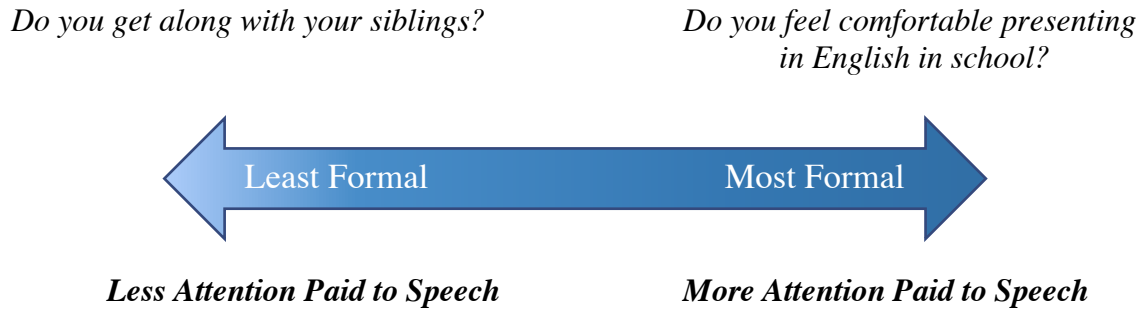



*Figure 11*. Diagram representing the different topics incorporated in sociolinguistic interviews.

My interviews were constructed around these well-documented principles of language variation (cf. Becker, 2013; Schilling, 2013; Tagliamonte, 2006). I also incorporated an element of ethnography to the questions and constructed locally-specific questions on the spot, according to what I knew of a particular participant and his/her group of friends. I also asked them on school-specific issues that were taking place that day, such as the Turkey Race (in Alejandro O'Reilly) or Valentine's Day at Mission High. In this way, I attempted to mimic and event more naturalistic speech event by introducing themes that were relevant to students. Other locally-specific questions included friendship groups, spatial orientation to school communities, events, upcoming holidays, and others. In this sense, interview questions were adapted to fit ethnographic ends and were community-specific, rather than abstract, top-down designated topics. This non-fixedness of interview questions was done in order to arrive at a more realistic, dialogic approach to the interview event. This latter style of interviewing is designed to not only arrive at an understanding of natural speech but also 'locally meaningful topics' that could be 'potentially important to an interviewee's identification and self-

presentation' (Hall-Lew, 2009: 25). Locally meaningful issues are indeed an important aspect of much work on linguistic ethnography.

Table 7 exhibits a non-finite table where the core interview themes are discussed alongside physical examples of some of the questions that were asked in the interview event. The last category was open, rather than closed, and included a wide range of topics that ranged from daily routine, to extracurriculars, to class enrollment and school activities.

Table 7. *Sample interview topics & questions*.

| **Interview Topic** | **Questions** |
|---|---|
| Biographical | How did your parents first meet?<br>Do you have any brothers or sisters? Do you get along with them?<br>Do you come from a big family?<br>Have you (or your parents) ever lived for a long time outside of Puerto Rico?<br>Have you ever visited other places outside of Puerto Rico? Which? |
| Hobbies & Interests | Where do you go when you want to hang out with your friends?<br>Do you have a favourite subject at school? Why is that your favorite subject?<br>What do you do for fun (e.g. music, sports, etc.)?<br>Do you like to read? What kinds of books do you read? |
| Local Culture Affiliations | What's your favorite city in Puerto Rico?<br>What's your favorite type of Puerto Rican food? Why?<br>How often do you watch Puerto Rican television? What kind of shows do you watch?<br>How do you feel about the Puerto Rican culture? Are you proud of being Puerto Rican? |
| Target Culture Affiliations | Do you watch any television in English or from the United States? How much do you watch?<br>Do you watch any television in other languages, from other countries?<br>Do you listen to any music in English? Is this music from the United States that you know of, or is it from other countries?<br>When you go to the movies, do you watch the movies in English or Spanish? Why? |
| Future Ambitions | What would you like to do after high school?<br>Do you see yourself living in Puerto Rico?<br>What job would you like to have in the future?<br>Do you see yourself travelling a lot when you grow up? |
| L2 Motivations | Do you think it's important to speak it fluently in Puerto Rico? Why or why not?<br>Do your parents encourage you to speak/learn English? If yes, in what ways/<br>Do you see yourself living abroad in an English-speaking setting? |
| Language Ideologies | How do you think that to be "Puerto Rican" you must speak Spanish? Why or why not?<br>How do you feel about Puerto Ricans who speak English all of the time / switch to English?<br>How do you feel about the "jibaro" countryside dialect? How do you feel about the people who speak this dialect?<br>How do you feel about Spanish Hip Hop slang? How do you feel about people who speak in this variety/style?<br>Do you think all Puerto Ricans must be fully bilingual? |
| Linguistic Anxiety/Competence | How important to you is English class, in comparison to Spanish class?<br>Do you feel like your Spanish is better than your English? Do you feel like your English is better than your Spanish?<br>What does "being bilingual" mean to you? |
| Miscellaneous | What subject electives are you currently enrolled in? Why? (*Mision*)<br>What vocational program are you in? (*O'Reilly*)<br>What are your plans for Halloween?<br>What are your plans for Christmas?<br>Define your group of friends/ others. |

Interview data was practical in that it allowed for a systematic record of the different styles of a person's speech. It was also useful in that it allowed for a larger quantity of participants to be observed. Ethically, interviews were also less of an 'eye brow raiser' in that they took place in school settings, usually with another adult or student present, and did not involve a student taking a recorder with them and recording their own private interactions. Though self-recordings have proven to be a reliable method in observing intra-speaker variation and the different range of styles implemented by individuals, they also pose problems in terms of being unable to understand the context in which many of the self-recorded interactions take place (as the researchers are often not present). Other methodological setbacks include the loss of 'insider knowledge', that comes with being a participant-observant in an interview setting, as well as being unable to conduct multiple recordings across a larger sample set[43] (Levon, 2013: 210).

## 4.14 Group-Based Sociolinguistic Interviews

The idea of group-based interviews is nothing new. In fact, in one of his earlier studies of East Harlem New York, William Labov (1972b) employed group interviews to lessen the formality of an interview as a speech event. Group interviews, or focus group interviews, are often thought of as being an alternative strategy at arriving at natural speech, witnessing peer group dynamics, performances of sameness and otherness, communicating different ways of thinking, and different ways of speaking. There are different ways of conducting a group interview, I sought to conduct them as I would approach a traditional sociolinguistic interview, drawing from my set of pre-established interview questions, but also asking community-specific, locally-relevant questions based on what I had noted as salient issues in each school community.

I conducted a total of five focus group interviews, three in Mission High and two in O'Reilly High. All five focus group interviews were conducted on participants from peer groups that were considered 'outliers' to the overall school community practices. That is, I focused on the speech of the most salient creative bilinguals.

I also intervened as little as possible when discussions were ongoing, and only provided additional commentary when prompted or questions if students had brought up a controversial topic. However, I did participate more from time to time, for instance,

[43] Other risks that come with self-recordings include the potential damage or loss of recording instrument.

when jokes were taking place I would happily chime in so as to play my part as a *participant*, rather than someone who was analysing their responses and making mental notes at distance. My participation in certain subjects was well-received by students, and this allowed me to receive more unfiltered speech and instances of alternational and insertional bilingual talk. Furthermore, being able to partake in locally relevant discussions and joking practices allowed me to be viewed more as an insider. Below I have included a sample excerpt of my role as a participant-interviewer in focus group interviews:

*Focus Group Interview #1, O'Reilly High School, Rocker CofP*

(Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = standard-like General American; Underline = Discourse marker)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Katherine | Cuéntenme de su momento más vergonsoso en la escuela.<br>(Tell me about your most embarrassing moment in school.) |
| 2 | Federico | Yo no tengo velguenza.<br>(I have no shame.) |
| 3 | Luis | **You can do whatever you want. I admire you** ((*to Federico*)). |
| 4 | Angélica | El e' **bae.**<br>(He is bae.) |
| 5 | Katherine | ¿Cómo que **bae?**<br>(What do you mean **bae**?) |
| 6 | Angélica | **Before anyone else.** |
| 7 | Katherine | ¿En serio?<br>(Really?) |
| 8 | Angélica | Cuando yo digo **bae** no e' como que **"they're babe",** no, e' que<br>(Like when I say bae it's not like "they're babe", no" it's that) |
| 9 | | **they're before anyone else.** |
| 10 | Luis | **The thing is when things begin they just are, and then someone gives it a meaning.** |

As can be suggested by my interjections in the focus group interview between me and some of the members of the Rocker CofP at O'Reilly High, my role in the study was that of a facilitator. I provided the discussion topics for the interviews and interjected enough to keep the ball rolling or the conversation light. If there were moments of tension or uncomfortable behaviour by participants, I would interject and attempt to shift the subject onto something more positive, or perhaps ask the participant to expand on his/her point, and provide contextualisation or background information to their controversial statements. In the excerpt above, the event of the interview is being negotiated, the first topic has been introduced, and students are formulating their responses and thinking how best to come up with a solution to the problem that has been presented. Immediately when the topic of 'most embarrassing moment' (adapted from Labov, 1981) has been

suggested, speaking to light-hearted personality, Federico is quick to reply 'I have no shame' (2). To which both Angélica and Luis express their admirations for this personality trait in Lines 4 and 5. Interestingly when positioning himself as careless, cool, and off-beat person by uttering "I have no shame" defiantly in Spanish, Luis and Angélica reply in bilingual talk. Luis maintains his English-dominant interview style in Line 4 when he says 'You can whatever you want, I admire you.' From a traditional bilingual talk perspective, the action of Luis incorporating predominant-English strategies in replying to a Spanish utterance indicates that he believes the person of the receiving end of the message is equipped and/or able to interpret the message conveyed to him, communicated in a different variety. Contrastively, Angélica showcases insertional strategies, coupled together with reference to Internet slang in Line 5 when she replies with 'El es *bae*' (He is bae). Both evaluations are positive and are demonstrative of varied continuum of speaking styles available in just three lines of speech, whereby Federico represents a dominant-Spanish speaker* in this particular example, Angélica represents the Spanish speaker with insertional strategies, and Luis represents the stylistic employer of English-dominant speech. All of these different language strategies were visible in O'Reilly High Public school, despite previous claims and studies which have suggested a more homogenous Spanish-dominant picture (cf. Hermina, 2014).

## 4.15 Attitudinal Data

In addition to observing behavioral practices within each school community, this study also concerned itself with observing language attitudes or teenage orientations to Spanish and English, as well as the U.S. and Puerto Rico. The overall aim was to arrive at a better understanding of students' ethnic loyalties and their emotional responses to Puerto Rico's complicated history as a United States territory. Attitudinal data was elicited directly via means of interview questions. In particular, the final questions of the interview sessions targeted these specific topics so as to simultaneously observe whether their language changed to address issues related to local identity. Other ways in which linguists may arrive at an understanding of language attitudes is through the implementation of a Matched Guise test (Lambert et al., 1960), which is perhaps a more covert way of measuring language ideologies. This method aims at observing participants' reaction to particular ways of speaking (may be sound based, or perhaps the structure of an utterance) and involves the playing of sound clips to subjects and asking

them to rate these in terms of "likeability" or character traits of the person who is speaking in the clip, e.g. whether they are intelligent/ not intelligent, friendly / unfriendly. These type of survey methods lend themselves to be distributed across different populations and sample sets, however they face the limitation of being essentialist as they establish a priori a limited set of available answers (usually in multiple choice form), and may also prime candidates into answering a certain way. Ultimately, it is quite difficult to assert whether subjects indeed feel a certain way about language – even within interview techniques – a subject may feel the need to gloss over their real beliefs about language, or perhaps to impress the interviewer. For this reason, both survey and interview methods would benefit from receiving insight from ethnographic techniques. Ultimately, I made the decision to elicit attitudinal data from interview techniques, coupled with participant-observer interactions and long-term residence. My motivation for this was to be able to provide a more detailed account into attitudes and linguistic behavior. Below are some of the questions I asked to overtly elicit these ideologies. In relation to the structure of the rest of the interview, these were second to last:

- How do you think that to be "Puerto Rican" you must speak Spanish? Why or why not?
- How do you feel about Puerto Ricans who speak English all of the time?
- How do you feel about the "jibaro" countryside dialect? How do you feel about the people who speak this dialect?
- How do you feel about Spanish Hip Hop slang? How do you feel about people who speak in this variety/style?
- How do you feel about people who switch between Spanish and English in the same sentence?
- How do you feel about people who use Spanish and English online or while texting?
- How do you feel about the signs (road signs, advertisements, etc.) in Puerto Rico that are in English?
- Do you think all Puerto Ricans most be fully bilingual?
- Do you think the Internet affects the way you speak Spanish/English? If so, how?
- If you had to give up one language for the rest of your life, which would it be and why?

## 4.16 Choosing Fieldwork Locations

*Misión and O'Reilly High Schools*

Choosing the fieldwork location of this study was both the product of personal experiences growing up as a bilingual in Puerto Rico, as well as the result of logical considerations of accessing the vernacular, or the authentically natural way of speaking. Indeed, one of the major theoretical considerations of sociolinguistic studies are centred on how best to attain and represent the vernacular, or how to capture unfiltered language behaviour, thought to be representative of natural language use – or of how things actually

*are* in the real world. This concern with natural speech is one that has pervaded in much sociolinguistic literature, and sociolinguists have come up with several creative ways of eliciting unfiltered speech from their participants (see Labov, 1972a; Schilling-Estes, 2004; Eckert, 1989). Having the knowledge of Puerto Rican Spanish, particularly the vernacular way of speaking, would mean that I would be able to engage in informal conversations without causing any linguistic-psychological distance through use of a different dialect or perhaps a more formal variety of Spanish. In terms of my linguistic analysis, it would also be preferable that I possess native-like knowledge of the language variety under study, as it would allow me to achieve more accurate transcriptions of spoken language due to my familiarity with its linguistic features (Nagy & Sharma, 2013: 251)[44].

Another practical, yet perhaps non-sociolinguistic, consideration for observing my home community was the access I had to travel and housing, which would aid the process of getting around from school to school. It also allowed me to be able to help students in a different way, by providing them rides to their homes if their parents were unable to pick them up on time. In this way, I used carpooling as a way of establishing rapport and "paying back" to the community – an essential component of the ethnographic process.

*Choosing Private and Public Schools*

Private and public schools were chosen to capture the linguistic outcome of schooled in different socioeconomic environments, which provide different educational opportunities. In the case of the island of Puerto Rico, the question of 'where you go to school' is often seen as a signifier of class; this is primarily due to the fact that private schools are often believed to provide superior education than public schools. The association with high-standard education has much to do with the linguistic practices promoted in each school, and the inevitable association of the English language as the language of the elite, and as the window of opportunity to greater career prospects abroad. Thus, the fact that these linguistic practices are often the aim of private schools on the island, promote the attendance of a particular type of student from a particular type of

[44] It is also often recommended that if one does not possess native knowledge of a particular language or language variety, to consult someone who is a native speaker of the language or language variety. Contrastively, to a lesser extent, it is also recommended that if one does possess native knowledge of the variety to consult another listener, as sometimes 'familiarity' may cause a researcher to overlook a particular linguistic feature.

family – usually wealthy or economically stable. Very rarely would a family of higher economic standing consider enrolling their child in a Spanish-monolingual public school. Thus, as students are being socialized in two different instructional environments which promote their own set of practices and language ideologies, it was imperative for me to conduct a study of both schools, in order to arrive at a more accurate understanding of the language styles implemented by the Puerto Rican youth.

## 4.17 Research Ethics Procedure

The present study was subject to two different ethical processes: first the research proposal was to be submitted to the Ethics Committee of Trinity College Dublin, second, it was to abide by the rules set forth by the Department of Education in Puerto Rico (DEPR). According to Trinity College Dublin's regulations with regards to observing and recording vulnerable populations, as is the case with minors in Ireland, I was to request for permission from legal parent/caretaker if the student desired to participate in my study. Furthermore, I was to ensure that during the data collection process at no point should the student feel uncomfortable, embarrassed, or at risk of having their personal information or identity disclosed. In any presentation of my study, through spoken form or written medium, I stressed the voluntary aspect of my study and the anonymity and confidentiality that would surround students' participation at all times: during and after the study. Throughout every stage of the investigation the opportunity to withdraw participation was emphasized, as well as the fact that students would not face negative consequence should they refrain from participating. Students were also informed of the direct measures to be taken to ensure their anonymity, such as the adoption of fake names and locations.

They were given a minimum of seven days to reflect on their desire to participate and to consult their parental *guardians*, or those in a more adequate position to judge as to whether their child should or should not participate. However, as is the nature of ethnography and prolonged residence in any community, people are not immediately respondent in their desire to participate in what could potentially demand time and considerable personal investment. Consequently, most gradually came to express their interest following several off-the-record, informal interactions.

The informed-consent was formatted in a simple question-answer style, inviting students to think critically about what participation entailed, leaving no room for doubt or use of academic jargon. Important issues such as *research objective*, *participation, methods, confidentiality/anonymity*, *withdrawal of participation*, *ethical approval* were framed as questions: 'What is this study about?', 'Do I have to participate?', 'What happens if I do participate?', 'Are there any risks?', 'What will happen after the study is completed?', 'Who has approved of this study?' Additionally, each form included contact information as to where both parent/legal guardian and student could contact the researcher with any questions, or the researcher's supervisor. The consent forms were distributed in the Spanish language; however, an English copy was also made available for those who felt more dominant in English. The consent form was also made available to the wider public through the following link: https://katieravenna.wordpress.com/about-my-study/.

The *Trinity Ethics Committee*[45] also required a letter to be written to the primary gate keeper. This document offered a more precise outline on the nature of the study, together with the potential implications and ramifications of student involvement. The first point of contact were school principals, who the researcher sought approval during the first months of residence in Mayagüez, Puerto Rico.

Each school is protected through the use of a different name and minimal details are provided with regards to its specific geographical location. Sensitive information pertaining to participants is treated confidentially. Participants were ensured that no personal information detailing their name or identity would be linked to the thesis or disclosed in any future publication.

## 4.18 Analytical Framework of Bilingual Speech

*Motivations*

This section discusses the proposed variationist framework towards the observation of bilingualism in youth speech. I use Muysken's (2000, 2014) typology of codemixing, a model known for its useful categorization techniques that summarize some of the major frameworks of bilingual speech: (1) Myers-Scotton's *Matrix/Rational*

[45] https://www.tcd.ie/slscs/research/ethics/

*Choice Model* (1998, 2000), (2) Poplack's *Typology of Code-switching* (1980, 2000), and (3) Auer's *Conversation Analysis approach* (1984, 1991). The Muysken model unifies these theories by using the following umbrella terms: *insertion*, *alternation,* and *congruent lexicalization*.

In the following sections I discuss how these concepts apply or do not apply to the speech that was recorded during my time at the schools. It should be noted that while I speak of a type of quantitative analysis, this research does not attempt to make absolute statistical inferences about the way language is used across different groups of people. I stand with Woolard (2004, p. 88) in stating that bilingual speech is not a matter of 'brute statistical correspondences', therefore, it is irresponsible and unjust to make absolute conclusions about the communicative abilities of participants in this study, as some of them may have chosen to abstain from partaking in bilingual practices for different reasons – e.g. context-motivated, ideologically-motivated, and other. Instead, I aim at providing a numerical snapshot of how language was distributed as evidenced in the interactions recorded. By providing this pattern-based information on bilingual speech through the incorporation of a code-mixing typology, I aim to provide information on the sociolinguistic *potential* of English in adolescent interactions, that is, a snapshot of 'what could be', but is not absolute.[46] Indeed, an idea of the distribution of codes and features in a particular community is imperative, as it provides information as to the linguistic worlds where these interactions take place. Quantitative information enables accurate interpretations of speaking styles , as 'the characteristic of a particular style cannot be explained independently of others' (Irvine, 2001, p. 21), and one instance of language use is insufficient evidence for the interpretation of social meaning in language. Furthermore, distributional information of speaking styles is important because it aids the process of

[46] It must be stressed that whether or not a certain individual chooses to partake bilingual talk, it should not be taken as a direct reflection of his or her own English-speaking abilities or second language attainment. Indeed, it is as Toribio (2002) states "bilingualism can be said to be reflective of complex cultural and linguistic reality, it need not be manifested in the acceptance of overt practice of codeswitching" (pg. 109). In this way, bilingual talk, while enlightening in terms of providing a glimpse of some of the repertoire features available to both communities, should not be assumed to be entirely reflective of individuals' communicative competences or respective repertoires.

asserting which speaking styles are conventionalized or *enregistered* (Agha, 2005) in the minds of the speakers, such that they are cognitively interpreted as emblems or icons of meanings and personas, and readily available as stylistic resources to be used in interaction. In her study of elites in San Juan, Perez Casas (2008) argued that accumulative use of two languages across contexts served as an indicator of speaker communicative style, or of *habitual* bilingualism (p. 75), further, that many associated bilingual styles with professional identities or 'private school' backgrounds.

In this research, I adopt some structural descriptions from Muysken's (2000) codemixing typology to analyse PR bilingual speech, as these may lead to an understanding of bilingual styles across social contexts and the contextualized uses of bilingual speech. Language *practice* is an important component of Silverstein's *total linguistic fact* – it allows us to gain insight into widespread and non-widespread community practices, norms, and ideologies. Indeed, frequency is believed to play a role in the process of enregisterment and indexicality (see Johnstone et al. 2006 for a thorough discussion of different approaches of indexicality). Without this knowledge of how language is used across people, it becomes difficult to interpret speech styles; without the necessary sociolinguistic backdrop (or context) one runs the risk of describing idiosyncracies rather than socially significant speech.

## 4.19 Issues in Adopting a Quantitative Approach

One of the primary issues in adopting a quantitative approach to bilingual talk is asserting the dominant language, or the language norm, at a given point in time. That is, determining what practice is 'out-of-the-ordinary' or deviating from the linguistic standard in an individual's speech and/or speech community. Indeed, this remains one of the main issues in major theories of bilingual talk, many which stem from a monolingual bias, which assume that for every community there is one language and one linguistic norm. This explains why in recent attempts Muysken (2000) preferred to talk about *codemixing* to refer to bilingual speech rather than *code-switching*: as a code-switch refers to a clear linguistic boundary between codes, and furthermore perpetuates the idea of a deviation or shift from something that *was* to something *new*. More recent theories have developed frameworks that make way for globalization and fluidity in language use, such as post-structuralists theories of *translanguaging*, *codemeshing*, *translingual practice*,

and other. The complication behind these new approaches is that they risk with doing away, or glossing over, the historical circumstances which gave rise to multilingualism in the first place – many of which involved social atrocities, violence, and histories of social inequalities, as well as other types of hegemonic impositions at times imposed by colonial powers to the local communities.

It is important to take into account some history, or some information with regards to the dominant or most prestigious variety, if any, but at the same time to acknowledge that this is not a fixed relationship. Thus, it is not the case that there is a single, absolute variety of Spanish being maintained, over a homogeneous variety of English. What I propose is not to do away completely with what Myers-Scotton refers to as *base language* or the *matrix language* (Myers-Scotton, 2006)[47], as these labelling strategies and ideas of markedness may be problematic to linguists (and perhaps not adequate to all linguistic situations), but may serve as useful sources of language contrast and ideological distinction in others. That is, they provide insight to the dominant language ideologies to which speakers orient to on a day-to-day basis. While a monolithic language entity may be in itself a problematic concept that is not linguistically accurate, it is nonetheless a "reality" to many, if not most, language communities. Thus, when a language, variety, or way of speaking is enregistered in the mind of a speaker as being distinct, it becomes available as a stylistic tool towards the construction of meaning in interaction and social identity. In Ana Zentella's (1997) account of Puerto Ricans in New York we see language contrast being relevant to the construction and maintenance of Hispanic ethnic identity. In this same way, as we will later see in Chapter 7, some of the informants that took part of this study expressed having negative perceptions of people who routinely incorporated English into their conversations. Some even went as far as to label bilingual practices as indicative of "snobby" behavior or betraying one's local culture.

## 4.20 MUYSKEN'S TYPOLOGY OF BILINGUAL SPEECH

The Muysken typology demonstrates a gradual continuum of different patterns of switching which range from separation of languages to total complete integration, in this way, one may suggest that it lends itself to being adopted to situations were language

[47] Although later models of Myers-Scotton's work (1993) attempt to take into account unmarked matrix norms.

contrast is not as obvious.[48] While this is not necessarily the case for all speakers involved in this study, hybrid ways of speaking are visible among some of my participants in both educational environments, akin to the last category of mixing *congruent lexicalization* which refers to bilingualism as a hybrid style. An illustration of the Muysken continuum can be seen below.




*Figure 12.* Visualization of Muysken's (2000) Code-switching typology.

Muysken (2000) sought to come up with a more economic and universal typology of bilingual speech – one that would be practical and easily adaptable to situations in which it is difficult to draw a line between complex bilingual constructions (or bilingual styles) in interaction, as well as one that would make room for different types of bilingualism – from fully balanced language situations to situations of unequal bilingualism. Because of the flexibility of his typology, it was deemed to be most appropriate to describe the bilingual situation in Puerto Rico, which involves variable bilingual competences and language affordances. In his model he reconciles two major models of bilingual talk: Myers-Scotton's *rational choice/matrix language model* and Poplack's *nonce borrowing hypothesis*, and, so, this compatability with other existing theories served as second motivation to incorporate this model into present analysis.

*Insertion* as a linguistic category reconciles the different ways of modelling the problematic 'single-word switch' or *nonce-borrowing* under Shana Poplack's variationist framework (Poplack, 1981, 1988)[49]. As Poplack (2001) rightfully declares, this division

[48] There are unsolved theoretical issues to do with languages that are close or similar to each other in morpho-syntactic composition and, some in the phonological system. In this case, it is difficult to learn where to draw the line in terms of defining where the "switch" or mix into a different variety or language occurs, when it is difficult to assert language distinction.

[49] There has been a long-standing debate as to how to refer to single words that may/may not count as a "switch" (from language system B) into a different language system (Language System A). It is a particularly difficult distinction to make when two language systems have been in contact for a prolonged period of time and have consequently influenced each other in a number of ways, e.g. through loanwords, borrowings, hybrid forms, and other type of neologisms.

is "at the heart of a fundamental disagreement among CS researchers" or researchers of bilingual speech, in detecting what is unique and linguistically creative language use, to what is something that resembles loanword items, is well-documented and widespread, thus not representative of switching bilingual modes (p. 2063). Muysken tackles Poplack's nonce-borrowing by treating it as "a category *smaller than a full determiner phrase,* such as a NP" and labels it *insertion*. The act of insertion consists of inserting materials, lexical items, and constituents from one ideological grammatical 'structure' to another grammatical structure (Muysken, 2000, p. 133). Rather than demonstrating how words have been accepted and added into the a language system through a statistical model, Muysken is concerned with modelling the nature of language contact, which he sees as inevitably *mixed* (to some degree) rather than static, or involving seperateness in codes.[50]

*Alternation* refers to the act of alternating between grammatical structures or 'languages', within a single turn or across turns. In this sense, Muysken's alternation is similar to Poplack's (1980) category of 'inter-sentential switch', as it refers to switches that occur between sentences, rather than within a single utterance. He also argues that out of all ways of engaging in bilingual talk, alternational styles are those that are more akin to the idea of 'switching' modes or varieties – "switching is only an appropriate term for the alternational type of mixing" (Musyken, 2000, p. 140).

The third part of Muysken's typology includes the category of *congruent lexicalization*. This last category is used to refer to those cases in which the varieties involved are relatively similar to one another in their grammatical structure, thus they often borrow or alternate between each other, sometimes in unpredictable ways[51] (p. 7-8). This last category fits the description of a true mixed style, or bilingual speaking style, akin to Labovian speaker style. This last category corresponds with Auer's (1984)

---

[50] This model is much in line with current approaches to bilingualism that argue for the inclusion of history (of language contact), rich repertoire affordances, and fluidity in use of bilingual resources (see Li & García, 2014).

[51] Catherine Chen (2008: 43) goes as far as to describe congruent lexicalization as involving words from both languages that "are inserted more or less *randomly*." I abstain from using the word "random" to describe bilingual practice, as I consider it a problematic claim to make, despite languages sharing grammatical overlap. Indeed, there is no absolute way in which a linguist can truly arrive at an understanding of why a particular way of speaking is being implemented. We can only arrive at conclusions based on the environmental circumstances, demographic and personal information of a participant and/or community, and interactional information.

statement of bilingual speech as not always semantically meaningful, or signals a noteworthy shift from Variety A to Variety B; rather, the overall mixed style is what is socially meaningful or reflective of a speaker's diverse communicative upbringing (p. 105).

Below is a schema of the three basic elements that compose Muysken's model, and how they address the different features of bilingual talk made visible in major models. Muysken's typology of bilingual speech and how it fits in with existing models.

| **Poplack (1980)** | **Myers-Scotton (1993)** | **Muysken (2000)** |
|---|---|---|
| Nonce Borrowing<br>Constituent Insertion | ML + EL constituents<br>EL – islands | *Insertion* |
| Flagged Switching<br>Code-switching under Equivalence | ML – Shift<br>ML - Turnover | *Alternation* |
| Style-shifting | (style-shifting) | *Congruent lexicalization* |

*Note:* ML = Matrix language, EL = embedded language, ML – shift = matrix language shift, ML – turnover = matrix language turn over

In a later article, Muysken, Deuchar and Wang (2007) contend that alternational bilingualism is common among "stable bilingual communities with a tradition of *language separation*" in their communicative strategies, insertional bilingualism is frequent in "colonial settings and recent migrant communities, where there is a considerable asymmetry in speakers' proficiency in the two languages" (much like P.R.), and congruent lexicalization may be the outcome of insertional bilingualism and results when there are similar grammars, in a more balanced-bilingual situation, and often occurs "in second generation migrant groups, dialect/standard and post-creole continua, and bilingual speakers of closely related languages with roughly equal prestige" (Lipski, 2014, p. 27). In Puerto Rico it appears to be the case that a large majority practice insertional bilingualism, although, in contexts of 'elite institutions' there may be a situation similar to congruent lexicalization, as we will see later on in Chapter 6.

## 4.21 Transcription Analysis and Coding Bilingual Talk through NVivo Transcription Software

The present study coded audio recordings through *Word* for Microsoft Office (2013) and used acoustic software *PRAAT* to aid in the impressionistic transcription of non-native varieties of English, as well as glocal varieties of English. Once recordings were fully transcribed, these were then uploaded to NVivo, a software the facilitates the systematic analysis of qualitative data, such as images, speech, and other documentation. Recurring language styles and discourse themes were coded for through the use of NVivo 'nodes', and each participant and interview transcript was uploaded as an individual 'case'.

NVivo facilitates the observation of revelant items by offering a visualization feature of 'frequency' of node on the right hand side of the document, each node is assigned a particular color. Other useful features that allow for a more accurate interpretation of data involve different graphical representations of saliency. For instance, Figure 13 below showcases a recurring 'node' in the transcript of a subject I have call Pilar, a private school student with marked bilingual styles. By looking at the visualization below, I can deduce that Pilar speaks in English-dominant conversational turns (orange), often uses discourse markers such as 'like' (orange), and to a lesser extent uses local vernacular, Spanish, in her conversational turns (gray). The codes were designed by the principal investigator according to research intentions (i.e. observing the distribution of Englishes).

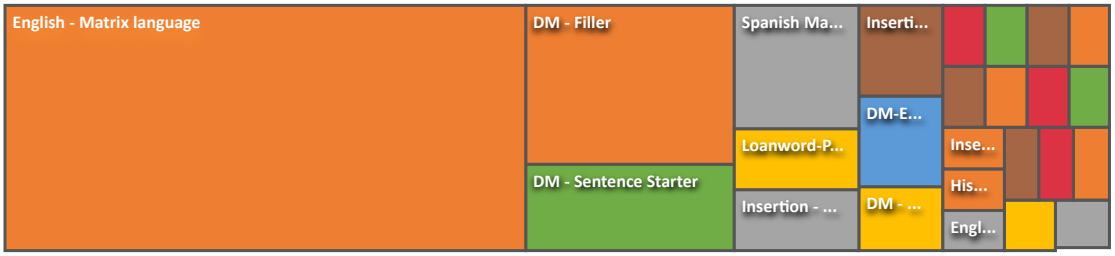



*Figure 13*. Using NVivo to understand bilingual style.

# CHAPTER 5

## OBSERVATIONAL FINDINGS

### 5.1 OVERVIEW

The following chapter will discuss some of the observational findings of my 6-month residence in two school communities of Mayaguez, Puerto Rico.

My first school of choice was a private school located in the suburbs of Mayaguez, which was one of the four current private bilingual schools in the Mayaguez region. I have given this school the name of Mission High to capture the school's religious inclinations, which are also a part of their mission statement and business model: "to provide bilingual education in a safe and spiritual environment", as shown in a street banner located in front of the school.

The second school that I will discuss is a public school, also located in the Mayaguez region, specifically in the inner-city region, and a five-minute walk from the city centre. This school was in close proximity to several house projects, a fire station, and a police emergency station. The name I have chosen for this school is O'Reilly High, to capture the popular naming practice in many public schools of naming their institutions after important historical figures to Puerto Rican culture[52]. O'Reilly High was named after Alejandro O'Reilly, an Irish-born military and official in the Spanish Infantry sent to inspect the defenses of the island in 1765; he is often referred to by historians as the 'father of the Puerto Rican militia'.[53]

In what follows I offer a discussion of the language, culture, and social structure found in both school environments. I first begin by providing a necessary description of each school community, in terms of the school's overall identity, student body, course offerings, resources and facilities. I then provide more specific information with regards to academic performance and test results for O'Reilly High[54], and school activities for

[52] For instance, some schools have been named after iconic literary and political figures, such as Lola Rodriguez de Tío, the first woman poet in Puerto Rico to reach literary fame; she was a fervent advocate for Puerto Rican independence and the abolition of slavery on the island.

[53] He is also known for restoring one of the island's most iconic sites, Castillo San Felipe del Morro (1765).

[54] No annual tests were administered to measure the institution's academic performance for Mission High. Contrastively, this was a standard procedure for public schools on the island, which were expected to calculate an annual summary of the school's academic performance through the administration of

both O'Reilly and Mission High. I then proceed to discuss some of the linguistic practices that were observable in each school community, particularly in signage practices or the *linguistic landscape*.

## 5.2 MISSION HIGH

*Academic Identity*

Mission High was a religious institution. Its spiritual inclinations were essential to the institution's overall identity, particularly when compared against other private school institutions in the region. At the time of the study, Mayagüez had a total of 6 religiously affiliated private schools that offered secondary education. From these, 3 of them offered *bilingual education*; their educational practices ranged from half a day in English and half a day of Spanish, to complete immersion of English through English-only schooling. Education in most bilingual contexts on the island include a level of *translanguaging,* that is, the stylistic use of two languages (e.g. Spanish, English) in the classroom to facilitate the teaching of a second language (see Carroll & Mazak, 2017).

In approaching private schools to conduct my study, I chose Mission High because of its religious inclination. A number of *private* schools on the island are often affiliated to larger religious organisations. In this way, Mission is representative of the status quo for private school education in Puerto Rico. My second most important motivator was Mission's objective to provide *bilingual* education. Altogether, these two features formed their 'selling point' to the local community, how they presented themselves on the radio, the streets, newspapers, and through word of mouth. Parents who enrolled their children in Mission did so with the promise of a safe environment, spiritual wellness, and attainment of a prestigious language.

Figure 14 demonstrates the school's mission statement, found near the door of every classroom in Mission High.

---

standardized test Las Pruebas Puertorriqueñas, which measured the academic attainment of Spanish, Math, English in students from fourth (age 9), eight (13), and eleventh grade (16).




*Figure 14*. Spanish mission statement of Mission Academy of Christ.

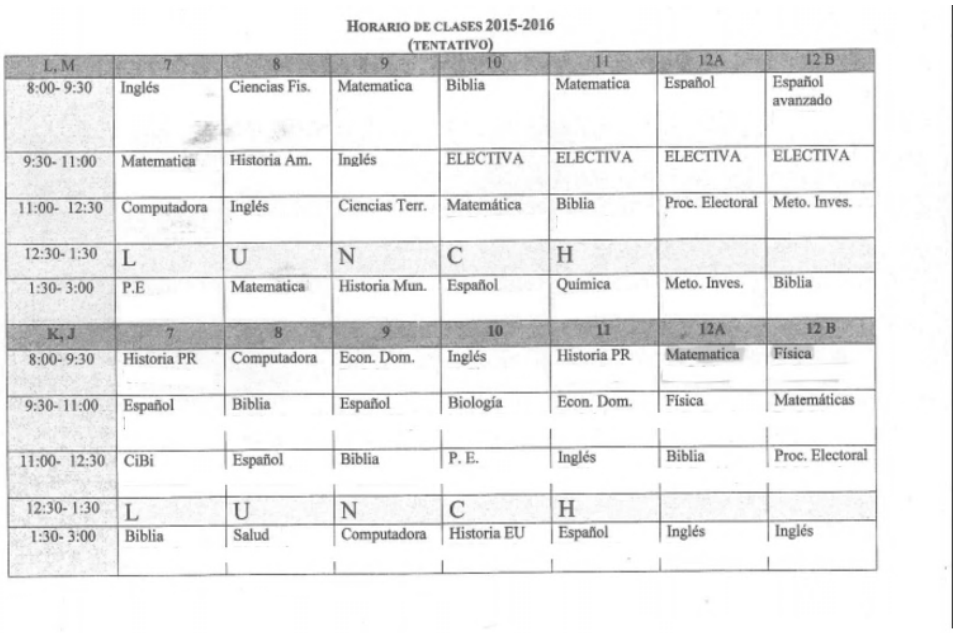
*Restaurar en los alumnus la imagen de Dios,*
*promoviendo el desarrollo físico, mental,*
*social y spiritual para el gozo de servir en este mundo*
*y un gozo superior en el mundo verdadero.*

"Our Mission
To restore in the students the image of God, promoting
their physical, mental, social, and spiritual growth, so that they possess
joy in serving in this world and a superior joy in the *true* world."

In my first meeting with the school principal, I was told that the school's language policy enforced half a day in Spanish and the other half in English. Furthermore, I was notified of a recent shift in language of instruction, prior to this language policy there were two programmes offered in the school: one which allowed for Spanish-only instruction and the other English-only instruction. Before 2014, parents and students were given the choice to enroll in Spanish or English language programmes at Mission High. However, because of the dire socioeconomic circumstances of the island, high government debt and increase in unemployment, many islanders were faced with the decision to emigrate to the United States (see Mora, Dávila, and Rodríguez, 2017). The Puerto Rican exodus is reflected in a decrease in public and private school enrollment, consequently, forcing several schools around the island to 'merge' or shut down entirely. Mission High opted for the merging of its two language programmes.

A schedule of the annual course offerings is provided in Figure 15. This list includes the core subjects – *Spanish*, *English*, *Math*, *Science*, and *History* – but also provides students with the opportunity of learning computing, physical education, house economics, astronomy, choir, sociology and the electoral process. Note how despite bilingual instructional policy the course schedule leaflet is in Spanish, with the exception of the 12:30 – 1:30 row, where the word 'LUNCH' is printed in capital letters (Figured 14). This leaflet was given to students and parents, but also available in front of the principal's office, in a bulletin board. The language practice in this particular instance perhaps reflective of a dominant-Spanish speaking public, outside of Mission High.

Inside the classrooms, languaging practices were more fluid. For Grade 12, Math, Spanish, and Research Methods were taught in Puerto Rican Spanish, whilst English and Computing were taught in English; Sociology and Bible incorporated mixed language practices through Spanish-English translanguaging. These translanguaging tendencies became apparent throughout my 6 month of fieldnotes at the school, as will be discussed in later sections.



HORARIO DE CLASES 2015-2016
(TENTATIVO)

| L, M | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12A | 12 B |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 8:00- 9:30 | Inglés | Ciencias Fis. | Matematica | Biblia | Matematica | Español | Español avanzado |
| 9:30- 11:00 | Matematica | Historia Am. | Inglés | ELECTIVA | ELECTIVA | ELECTIVA | ELECTIVA |
| 11:00- 12:30 | Computadora | Inglés | Ciencias Terr. | Matemática | Biblia | Proc. Electoral | Meto. Inves. |
| 12:30- 1:30 | L | U | N | C | H | | |
| 1:30- 3:00 | P.E | Matematica | Historia Mun. | Español | Química | Meto. Inves. | Biblia |
| K, J | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12A | 12 B |
| 8:00- 9:30 | Historia PR | Computadora | Econ. Dom. | Inglés | Historia PR | Matematica | Física |
| 9:30- 11:00 | Español | Biblia | Español | Biología | Econ. Dom. | Física | Matemáticas |
| 11:00- 12:30 | CiBi | Español | Biblia | P. E. | Inglés | Biblia | Proc. Electoral |
| 12:30- 1:30 | L | U | N | C | H | | |
| 1:30- 3:00 | Biblia | Salud | Computadora | Historia EU | Español | Inglés | Inglés |

*Figure 15*. School schedule for grades 7 - 12th, features core course offerings.

### 5.2.1 Mission High School Demographics

Mission had an overall population of 393 students with roughly half of these enrolled in secondary school education (Grades 7th – 12th). Despite offering both primary and secondary school education, Mission High school layout fostered socialization only with children of similar age demographics. High school students were, for the most part, physically barred from entering primary school premises, and the same regulations were upheld alternatively.

The target demographic for the present study were high school students. High school students made up 71% of the secondary school population with a total of 136 students out of 191. Grade 12 held the highest number of students per class. This study focuses on the bilingual practices of 12th and 11th grade students. Figure 16 demonstrates the student distribution in Mission High. As the graph suggests, the largest classroom size in Mission was 12th grade class[55], composed of students from ages 17 – 18. The smallest group as was Pre-Kindergarten (Pre-K), which represents students' ages >5.

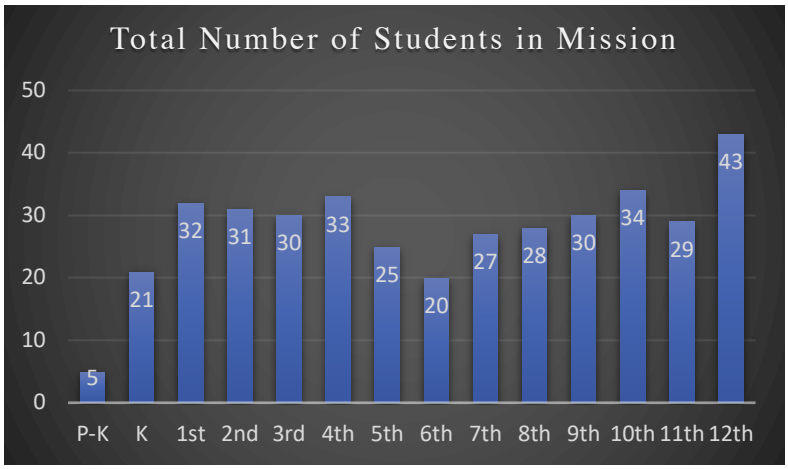



*Figure 16*. Total number of students in Mission High, Mayaguez.

[55] Twelfth grade, popularly referred to as 'senior year', represents the final year of secondary school in North American education.

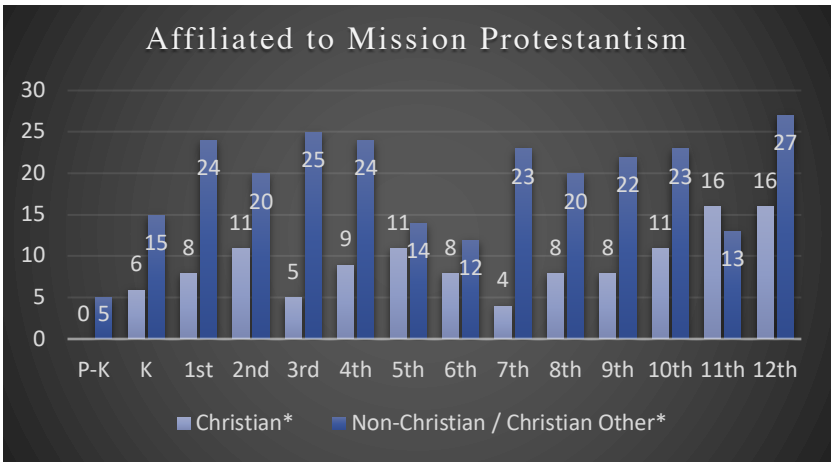



*Figure 17*. Student affiliation to school's spiritual demonination.

A second motivator for enrollment was the religious dimension of the institution. Figure 17 displays the number of students that affiliate with the school's religious denomination (Protestantism). In each group, the percentage of students that practice the school's denomination of Protestantism makes up a minority of the classrooms, with an exception of the 11th Grade class (ages 15 - 16) which only slightly contains a slightly greater number of Mission-affiliated students. In the secondary school alone 71 of the students affiliate with the Mission religion, while 128 of the students affiliate with other belief systems, this represents approximately 37% of the secondary school population[56]. This suggests that perhaps the specific type of Protestantism that is advertised in this school community is not necessarily a driving motive, but perhaps parents are satisfied with their children receiving any type of spiritual education[57] in a bilingual environment.

### 5.2.2 Facilities in Mission High

The school was made up of two campuses, these were divided by a physical gated barrier, a metal gate. In this way, administrators limited the number of social encounters students had with one another, thus encouraging socialization on the level of similar age demographics. The physical barrier between schools could lead to different behavioral and linguistic practices, as students from similar ages were physically contained within specific spaces during classroom hours as well as free hours. There were shared facilities on campus, such as the school gym and cafeteria, however the times at which students

[56] The other religious groups that make up student body are unclear, as the school only keeps a tally of students of their own denomination (see Appendices).
[57] Given that the majority of the student population itself does not classify being a part of the Mission religion.

could access these facilities varied. For instance, students from elementary school were expected to eat lunch at earlier times than those from secondary schools. Middle school students ($7^{th}$ – $9^{th}$) and high school students ($10^{th}$ – $12^{th}$) were the last to eat at the school cafeteria (12:30 – 1:30PM). However, despite overlap in lunch hours, students from middle school and high school rarely sat together or interacted with one another. During lunch hours, most, if not all, students sat with others of similar age demographics. This could be due to other factors, non-related to the layout of the school, such as commonalities in classes or teachers (7 – $9^{th}$ graders took modules with the same teachers, and 10 – $12^{th}$ took modules with a different set of teachers). Figure 18 demonstrates an aerial Google maps screen shot of the school which clearly depicts the two different campuses that made up the overall school campus.




Figure 18. Aerial shot of Mission School Grounds, Mayagüez, Puerto Rico. Image retrived from Google Maps (2016).

Other facilities within the vicinity of Mission include a Supermarket, Radio Station, and offices that all belong to the larger Mission Group organization. The offices located in this land oversee the entirety of other Mission schools as well as other aspects or concerns related to the overall Mission religious institution. The group also owned one of the few organic food supermarkets in the region of Mayagüez. Organic food markets are known to provide good quality food products, from local farmers, companies, and less processed features, at a much higher price than mainstream supermarkets. The fact that the school

premises included an organic supermarket suggests the type of socioeconomic demographic that frequented Mission facilities – one that was able to afford such luxuries.

All of these facilities were located in a suburban area of Mayagüez, a few minutes away from the main Mayagüez highway. In this way, while Mission was located in the city of Mayaguez, rather than the rural parts, its location also guaranteed safety as it was away from the city centre yet conveniently located and surrounded by safe middle-class neighborhoods. It also had additional facilities, as suggested earlier, that catered to this demographic. This is not to say that the school was not gated from surroundings, as it is common practice in Puerto Rico to incorporate gates in any school campus – public or private – to ensure security and also to have an easier oversight and control of the school's student population. In this sense, Mission complied with the gated community norm in the school context. It contained part-brick, part-fenced barriers across the entire campus, even within the school campus barrier subsections were created. For instance, elementary and secondary schools were divided by a fence, and both of these were separated from other school facilities – the supermarket, association, radio station – by a larger fence that was supervised by a security guard during school hours. The latter fence was one of the two major school entrances, the other one was located in front of the Mission High campus; a smaller parking lot was located in this entrance.




*Figure 19.* Aerial shot of Mission High and surrounding facilities. Image retrived from Google Maps (2016).

### 5.2.3 POLICING IN MISSION HIGH

There were two security guards who safeguarded school premises during its functioning hours. One of them was located to the high school grounds, whilst the other looked after primary school grounds. I had regular contact with one of the security guards, from the high school campus, however, both were informed of my residence and research intentions. This made it possible for me to gain entry and exit as I pleased. My ability to move through campus was not a privilege granted to ordinary visitors, nor students at the school. Students were expected to remain on campus for the duration of the 8-hour class days and were further prohibited from visiting neighboring facilities. Most students were expected to eat at the cafeteria, located in the Elementary school campus[58], however the administration was more lenient towards seniors (12th graders), some of whom had access to vehicles and were able to drive to nearby establishments, supermarkets or fast food restaurants.

Substantial 'policing' took place throughout different parts of the school as members of faculty guarded school hallways. During my time at Mission I witnessed several instances in which the principal patrolled around school hallways during lunch time and class hours to ensure student discipline and safety. On multiple instances, she could be seen chastising children for not complying with the school dress code. One of my informants, whom I call Dave, was continuously reprimanded for wearing a beanie and for having long hair. He was regularly sent to the principal's office for breaking school dress code. Other violations included the use of colorful jumpers or sweaters (rather than the school color, navy blue), jewellery, and colourful shoes (rather than the designated black dress shoes). For girls the following rules were to be followed: (a) a white polo shirt with the school logo printed on the sleeves, (b) knee-length plaid skirts with school colors of blue, black, and white, (c) long white socks, (d) closed black shoes, (e) absence of jewelry, (f) no excessive make-up. These rules added to the school's image of discipline and student safety, all the while keeping a uniform image which made it less possible to detect shared behavioral practices on the basis of school wear.

Most students in Mission complied with uniform rules. If broken, students could face potential suspension. Rebellious students like Dave sought to define identities of their own, regardless of school norms. Dave thrived in being alternative and opposing to

the school norm. Because of clothing restrictions, Dave's oppositional *acts of identity* (cf. Tajfel & Turner, 1979) were short-lived. In this way clothing played a small but significant role for some, like Dave, in their construction of identities through fashion.

Most apparel-based acts of identities were observable in backpack choice and/or stationary. For instance, girls affiliated to the Pop Culture Enthusiasts group, formerly labelled as the 'Disney CofP', could be seen wearing Disney merchandise, such as a Nightmare Before Christmas themed backpack, or a *Frozen* themed lunchbox. In the Gamer CofP, Roberto wandered around school hallways sporting a Marvel Superheroes backpack and reciting the previous night's episode of *Arrow* to his friend Marty. These small symbolic affiliations, within heavily policed contexts, provided insights to the personalities and interests of members of different CofPs. Furthermore, examining preferences with regards to backpack wear provided a small but significant insight to the influence of North American culture and globalized material culture among the Puerto Rican youth.

A third form of policing took place with regards to technology. Students were not allowed to use their smartphones during school hours, this was done in an attempt to control over inappropriate content being shared in school premises and administrative accountability. This action was in compliance with the school's objective of providing education in a 'safe' and 'spiritual' environment. In order to ensure this spirituality teachers were expected to micro-manage student use of smartphone technology. During lunch time, teachers would patrol around school hallways and seize students mobile devices should they feel it necessary, although during out-of-class times most teachers were flexible and did not adhere at all times to school smartphone policy. Thus, it was not unusual to run into a group of students listening to music through their mobile devices.

Due to technological interventions, it was difficult to observe the precise role of smartphone technology within school functioning hours. In fact, at the beginning of the second semester of Mission High, I was informed by a school faculty member that an executive decision was made to close off the second level of the main campus building because students had been caught observing obscene content in their smartphone technology. Nonethelees, outside of school functioning hours students could be seen on their phones, using social media applications such as *SnapChat* and *Instagram* and listening to music.

### 5.2.4 Events & Activities

*Spiritual Events: Semana de Oración / Week of Prayer*

During my time at Mission there were a host of activities taking place: some limited to faculty members and students, others open to the general public. Each of these activities had their rituals and behavioural practices–some demanded student participation, while others were organized by faculty and administration. For instance, in my first weeks of participant-observation an annual activity known as *Semana de Oración* 'Prayer Week' took place. This was a week-long event where students and academic faculty from all campuses gathered at the school gym. A series of talks were delivered by an invited speaker on a particular biblical theme, and the speaker was typically a member of the Mission Church. Worship songs were sung in Spanish and English and prayers were held at the beginning and end of the activity. Most of these talks would take place in the Spanish language, although instances of single-word English insertions were not uncommon. *Semana de Oración* mimicked a church service, furthermore, the fact that it was held in school premises during school hours (approximately one hour duration) meant that students would not be able to opt out.

When these events took place, a considerable amount of policing also took place. Each homeroom teacher was instructed to look after their pupils and ensure their attention, by restricting the use of mobile devices and chatting. All students from Grades K- 12 were obliged to attend. *Semana de Oración* provided one of the few opportunities in which all students were seen under one roof, specifically the gym facility (visible in Figure 18 and 19 respectively). The event presented students with the opportunity to ~~of~~ interact, or share the same space~~,~~ as members from a different school campus. However, given the intensely supervised nature of such event, little interactions occurred even within members of the same age group. Furthermore, students were expected to sit next to others of their same homeroom.[59]

[59] Homeroom in North American contexts refers to "a classroom where pupils report especially at the beginning of each school day" (Merriam-Webster.com, 2017).

*Fund Raising Activities for Graduating Classes*

Graduating classrooms were expected to conduct fundraisers and school activities that would help raise funds for their class fieldtrips. This gave everyone the opportunity, including those from lower income families to gain equal *access* to graduating class trips and events, to socialize and to celebrate their last year with other classmates. This latter point of *inclusion* regardless of income was important, despite the elite nature of the school, there was still variation in socioeconomic composition, as some students were wealthier than others (and thus more likely to attain certain benefits that came difficult to others).

The act of organizing events provided an opportunity for members from different groups to meet and work for a shared cause. During these meetings, students discussed fundraising activities, upcoming field trips, class t-shirts, and upcoming holiday events. Often tensions emerged when students disagreed on how to organize a particular event, these proved to be excellent opportunities to observe allegiances in scholastic matters, that were not necessarily the same as those in peer group or friendship allegiances. For instance, while a Pop Culture Enthusiast such as Cristina might have allegiance to her peer group for friendship matters, when it came to the organization of school events, she demonstrated loyalties to members of the Jock CofP, as most were involved in the organization of class trips as members of *el comité*. In this way, attending classroom meetings allowed for a better understanding of group dynamics and shared practices as well as fleeting, temporary allegiances that were context-dependent. Furthermore, I was able to detect the most academically successful students and whether those academically successful were also simultaneously invested in extracurriculars that would further aid their educational prospects. Understanding educational investment was also key to understanding language practices in certain students, whether they were more likely to engage in bilingual or monolingual talk.

In the organization of school events all 12th grade students interacted, irrespective of their social standing or authority within the classroom community. There were several events that required the participation of all students, these were the following:

- Puerto Rican Night (November 2015);
- Christmas Lightening ~~Up~~ Celebration (December 2015);
- Valentine's Day (February 2016);
- The Annual Cycling Marathon (March 2016);
- Senior Class Talent Show (April 2016);
- Graduating Class Field Trip (Mid-April 2016).

In addition to these events, smaller events and fundraisers also took place on a more regular basis.

- Pizza sales (2 USD per slide; 1.50 per drink);
- Frappe/Smoothie sales (3 USD per drink);
- Cinema days (2 USD per student);
- Casual days (1 USD per student);
- 'Jean' days (1 USD per student).

All members of the graduating class were expected to partake in these fundraising activities, primarily through sales. Executive members of the graduating class, such as the class president and vice president, were tasked with the responsibility of organizing fund-raising events, establishing budgets, liasing with sponsors and parents, and negotiating a time and place to conduct events and fieldtrips alongside school principal and staff.

Events reached the general audience and the school community through promotional flyers, many of which exhibited translanguaging practices. In sections to follow, I discuss some of these language practices in the environmental landscape of Mission High Private School.

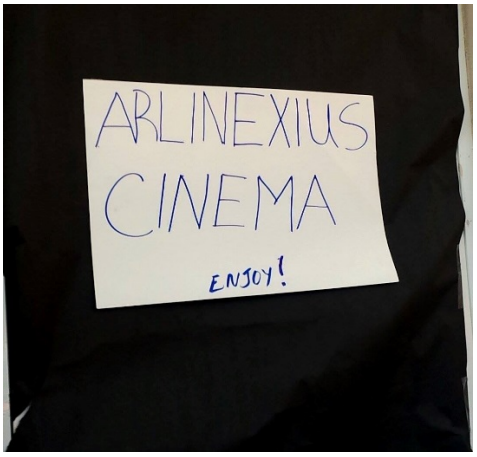



*Figure 20.* Promotional Flyer for movie event.
Picture by Katherine Morales (December 2015).

Occasionally, 12th grade students would host film events or *cinema days*, as demonstrated in Figure 20 above. In order to attend these events, other members of the school community were expected to pay a small fee of two dollars to any member of the graduating class. In this way, 12th graders profited from smaller regular activities open to the student body. The event catered to the bilingual school community, as demonstrated

by the sign above where there is bilingual speech in the event advertisement. Figure 19 demonstrates English single-word verb phrase *Enjoy!* displayed under the name of the event. A second creative act of languaging is the name of the graduating class itself, *Arlinexius*, thought to mean 'Obtaining the Grace of God'[60], however, no conventional dictionary source links this word to this or any particular meaning. The definition can only be found on a Spanish website that suggests names for graduating classes called 'Tu Clase Graduanda' (2013). The ending *-nexius* in *Arlinexius*, bares similarities to Latin suffix *-nexus*, defined by *Oxford English Dictionary* as 'a central or focal point' or 'a connection or series of connections linking two or more things' ('nexus', 2016). Meanwhile, 'Arli-' has no direct link to any biblical source, though online naming website *BabyNamesPedia* describes variants 'Arlo' and 'Arley' as Hebrew for 'promise' ('Arley', 2016)[61]. This item is most likely an online innovation, or *neologism,* which has been constructed and distributed through the online community. The chosen name spiritual inclinations that students were socialised in, as well as the set of norms students were to follow, such as that of incorporating a biblical theme to their graduating class name.

The movie screened in English and featured Spanish subtitles, once again confirming the diverse languaging practices that took place within the institution of Mission, where distribution of English materials was common (textbooks, assignments) in a somewhat Spanish-dominant classroom, in this case English was the language of choice for the movie while Spanish became the language of literacy. In the day of this particular cinema day, the graduating class was hosting a screening of the Disney Pixar film *Inside Out* (Docter & Del Carmen, 2015). Since the event was open to the wider school audience (Grades K -12), the film had to be approved by the school principal and be rated [G] (i.e. general audience).

[60] Tu Clase Graduanda. (2013). Nombres Para Clases Graduandas. [online] Available at: http://tuclasegraduanda.com/2013/08/08/nombres-para-clases-graduandas / [Accessed 8 Aug. 2017].

[61] Potential variants such as 'Arlo' and 'Arley' have been suggested as baby names, some sources link it to Hebrew origin meaning 'promise', others suggest Old English meanings 'bowman' and 'hunter' (Source: http://www.thenamemeaning.com/arley/).

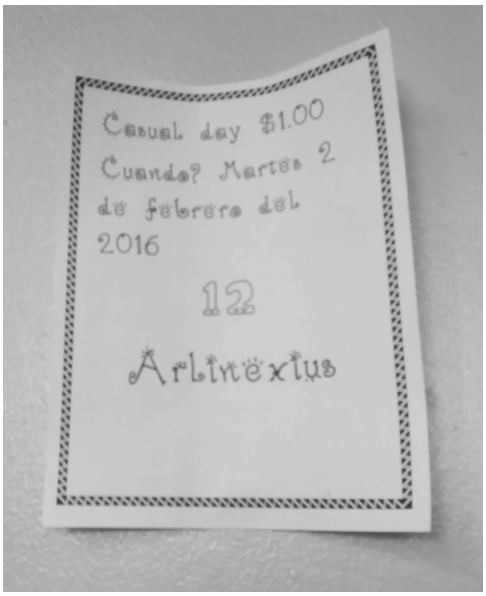



*Figure 21.* Casual Day event flyer.
Picture by Katherine morales (February 2016).

Seniors were also allowed to host 'Casual Days', in which the proceeds of the event went to 6th, 9th, and 12th grade graduating classes (each representing elementary, middle school, and high school respectively). A sample promotional flyer is provided in Figure 21.

During these days students were allowed to come to school in casual attire[62] all for the price of 1 dollar.[63] Certain restrictions were imposed as to what sort of attire was permitted, for instance, girls were prohibited from wearing short skirts or pants. Most female students opted for jeans and a t-shirts during these days. Casual days were rarely held, unfortunate as these would be perfect opportunities to envision the role of clothing in the construction of peer group and personal identities. Therefore, clothing as a symbolic act of identity was limited to backpacks, notebooks and other forms of stationary. Because of its conceptual origin, 'Casual Day' as a lexical item cannot be interpreted as particularly noteworthy or marked instance of code-switching or style-shifting, particularly within the context of Puerto Rico, as it represents a foreign concept that was been widely adopted on the island and has retained its original orthographic form.

An alternative variant to this event, better known as 'Jean Day' (featured in Figure 22), could perhaps be a more socioculturally relevant event as it is not as widely used across institutions on the island. Furthermore, within this environment, the very existence

[62] http://www.dictionary.com/browse/dress-down-friday
[63] The sign in it of itself makes reference to the Western culture norm of 'Casual Fridays', believed to have originated in Hawaii (see Moran, Pohlmann, & Reilly, 2014).

of ‘Jean Day’ hints at the level of policing that took place in terms of clothing that was permitted. Jean Day was often sought as the alternative to Casual Day on campus, as it only involved one casual item (a pair of jeans), to be worn along with school approved ‘Class t-shirts’ (see Figure 21) or the school uniform polo. Figure 22 illustrates a “marketing strategy” of jean day, however, the incorporation of the event in pen handwriting suggests a last-minute inclusion followed by the Spanish word *mañana* (meaning “tomorrow”). The other two events on the sign displayed below referred to Valentine’s Day activities: the annual Valentine’s Day labyrinth and the ‘Jail’. The former was a fabrication of graduation class students who devised a maze in which their former classmates were to find their way out. The second constituted of a jail-like devise in which students paid to be locked inside with other classmates for one minute for the price of 0.25 cents.

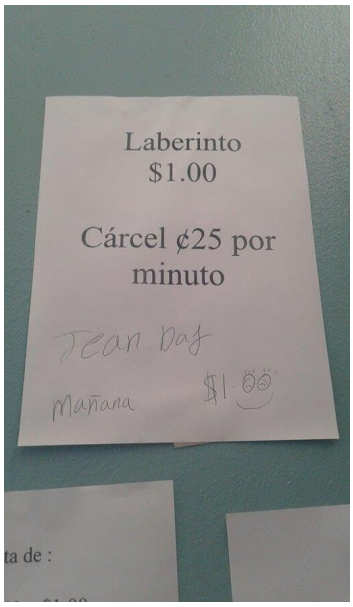



*Figure 22*. Valentine's day activity promotional flyer 'Jean Day' (Friday, 12 February 2016)

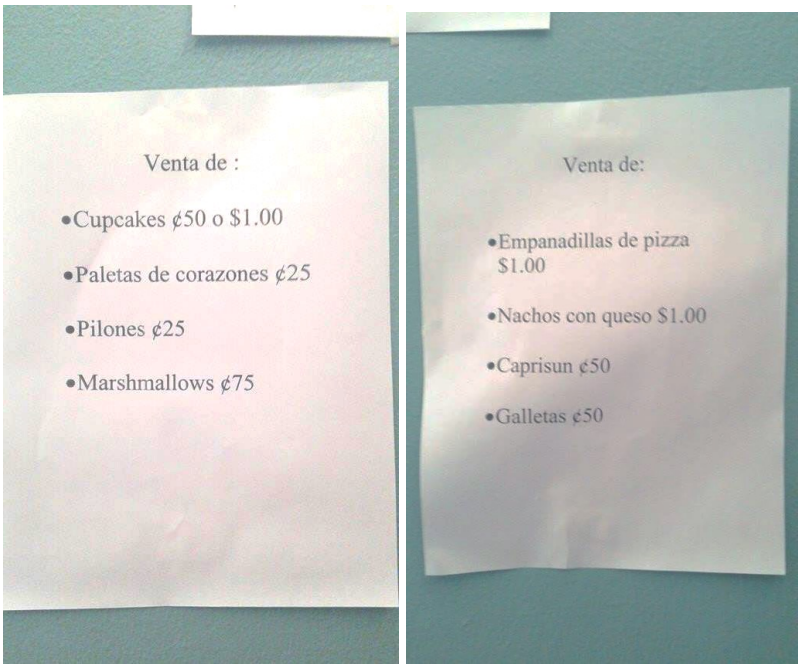



*Figure 23*. Valentine's Day Advertisements.

Bake sales also took place during commercial holidays, such as Valentine's Day. Figure 23 display some of the flyers which advertised the sale, these were found across school hallways on the day of the event, thereby explaining the lack additional information regarding place and time of the event. 12th grade students visited different classrooms, announced their sale and took deliveries. Their salestand was allocated in front of the principal's office.

During sales events it was common to see Puerto Rican Spanish contact features, such as lexical anglicisms or *food borrowings*, as demonstrated by Cortés, Ramírez, Rivera, and Viada (2005) in their study of fast food restaurants on the island. Figure 23 shows some examples of these practices in a bake sale, words like *mashmallows* and *cupcakes* are appropriated in the leftside flyer, while the rightside image displays most items in Spanish. Most items in the Bake sale list are in Spanish, rather than English, thus suggesting that while the educational norm in Mission is bilingual, its sales practices address the wider Spanish-dominant audience, rather than the bilingual elite student body.




*Figure 24*. Flyer advertising annual cycling marathon.

At the end of my residence, the school hosted an Annual Cycling Marathon. The proceeds from this event were to be donated to a heart disease organization, the event was open to the general public, rather than Mission High. As such, street banners could be found around Mayagüez inviting islanders to join in on such occasion. The flyers accordingly addressed a Spanish speaking public, rather than English speaking, once again assuming that Spanish language advertisements could reach wider audiences.

*Club Activities*

Other forms of school activities included those led by certain societies or school clubs. For instance, the Math club had their annual Math Competitions generally hosted in the month of March/April (Figure 25). The English club held its annual Spelling Bee competitions in February time (Figure 26). Other more frequent club-specific events included Choir field trips around the island, usually at sister schools, churches, and other neighboring island towns or *pueblos*. Choir trips added to the school's evangelical agenda of 'spreading the message of God' and evangelizing, as all songs that formed a part of the school choir's repertoire were religious with biblical themes. In this way, the school completed their mission of academic and spiritual participation outside of classroom-related contexts.

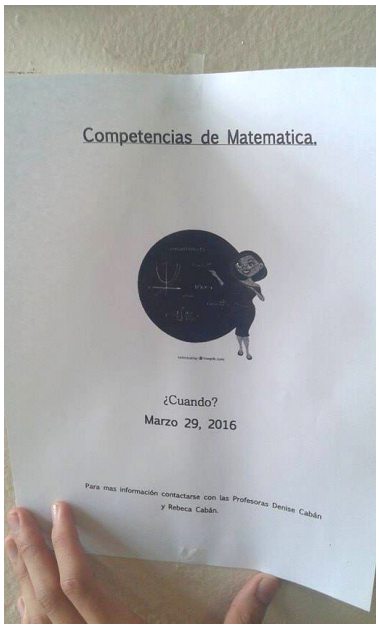



*Figure 25*. Annual Math Competition Flyer.




*Figure 26*. Annual English Spelling Bee Competition Flyer.

In terms of linguistic practices visible in these academically-oriented flyers, the Math club chose Standard Spanish to communicate to its audience, meanwhile, those in charge of organising the Annual Spelling Bee chose a mixture of Spanish and English practices and read as following: '*Competencia de Spelling Bee* / Spelling Bee / Para mas informacion contacte a Prof. Lugo.'

This suggests that despite inclinations towards bilingual education, and assurance of superior English language attainment, the school did not equate this attainment with immersion-style surroundings. Rather, language norms were contested and challenged in

the visual sphere, and Spanish practices were incorporated to flyer-making practices. Spanish held the upper hand as the main language of event advertising strategies, as well as the main language in the promotion of school activities.

### 5.2.5 Establishing Rapport with Staff in Mission High

I approached the school principal on September 2015 with a personal letter of intent, a letter on behalf of the Ethics Committee from the Department of Linguistic, Speech, and Communication Sciences at Trinity College Dublin, one from my supervisor attesting of my professionalism and credentials, and sample consent forms and instruments to be used in my study. My *Letter of Intent* addressed my research intentions, the type of support I sought (e.g. the voluntary nature of observations; the non-compulsory nature of interview participation; target number of participants), the assurance of anonymity, a brief overview of the themes of my study (e.g. bilingualism on the island, English language use, and youth speech) and its scholarly significance for the sociolinguistics of bilingualism and for research in Puerto Rico on language education.

The letters of consent for teachers echoed similar type of information as my letter to the gate keeper of the community, the school principal. The letters to faculty members stressed the long-term residence aspect of my research, explicitly describing the ethnographic intentions (i.e. 5-6 months participant observations), the instruments to be used (and a list of potential interview questions), and the ability to accept/reject collaboration. All letters to school administration, faculty, and students were written in Spanish.

In less than a week, I received a response from Mission High's principal and primary gatekeeper. Within three working days of submitting my application to conduct research, we sat down to discuss the logistics of my study. Issues to be considered included potential renegotiation of data collection methods, as well as student safety and assurance to privacy. These issues were to be expected considering the higher stake nature of a private school institution, where financial and monetary expectations from parents and caregivers are involved. A key objective of island private schools is to assure parent of a safe environment whereby children could be exposed to high-quality training and facilities. Private schools are seen as a financial investment as well as a type of reassurance that students will gain access to a restricted and prestigious code (English) and acquire a superior learning experience.

The idea of an outsider coming into a heavily policed environment could lead to discomfort and suspicion from faculty members and children. As such, the first meeting with the gatekeeper was key to avoiding potential misunderstandings. Overall, the school principal was supportive of my research intentions, and additionally suggested that I attend the school's religious retreat, to be hosted in November in Puerto Rico's mountain campsite *el Monte del Estado* in Maricao. The only thing required of me at that time was clearance from the Police Department in order to work with children and other vulnerable groups.

During our meeting, the principal gave the impression that she was under investigation, as she conducted herself in slow and cautious speech, enunciating consonantal sounds typically omitted in island informal talk. She opted for inclusion of syllable final= /-s/, for instance. She voiced her support of my linguistic study in stating *Pienso que es importante que nuestros estudiantes sepan hablar español correcto* / "I think it's important that our students know how to speak Spanish correctly". This indeed further corroborated the idea that she had envisioned me as a type of speech therapist or speech prescriptivist, whose role was to promote the adoption of standard-like language. I reiterated my primary objective: *yo estoy interesada en observar como ellos hablan entre si* "I am interested is in observing how they talk among each other". In communicating this, I made little efforts to alter my speech into formal-like speech, producing elements that are natural to my idiolect and native variety of Spanish. With these small stylistic moves, I hoped to communicate my linguistic intentions as well as my language ideologies. It must be noted that this study once again represents one of the few school ethnographies on the island, and the first youth ethnography in our region. In her last words to me, the principal once again communicated ideologies of prestige, but this time directed to my research intentions and personal institutional affiliation: *Gracias por elegir nuestra escuela para hacer tu estudio y poner Puerto Rico en alto* "Thank you for choosing our school to conduct your study and to make the name of Puerto Rico known around the world". This positive evaluation would shape the nature of the administrative support thereafter.

During my first week of observation in September 2015, an overwhelming majority of the staff members accepted my invitation to collaborate. The faculty at Mission High proved to be a very encouraging community: they invited me to classroom activities (e.g. pot lucks and parties), after-school activities (e.g. the Annual Cycling Meet or *La Bicicletada*), for lunch at the school cafeteria, and spoke with me during break times

about non-academic matters. I had two teachers, in particular, who I established positive relationships with: the Religion teacher and the Advanced English teacher. Both of these teachers had strong inclinations towards academia. The World Religions teacher was currently completing a Master's degree with an online university, meanwhile the Advanced English teacher had voiced an interest in pursuing graduate studies in the United Kingdom claiming to have family and friends abiding there. Both of them asked me extensively of my experiences, and how I got to where I was at the time.

### 5.2.6 Establishing Rapport with Student Body in Mission High

Despite overwhelming institutional support – most staff agreed to facilitate in-class observations, audio recordings – it was difficult to establish rapport with *all* students and peer groups during intial stages. At the outset of my study, students were curious as to my academic background, what I did at Trinity College and where I had studied previously. Many seemed willing to partake in my study and appeared flattered at the fact that they would be the 'centres of attention' and seemed to be willing to take up that role. For instance, within the 12th grade class of Mission High there was a student called Jorge who bragged about being 'researched' and how my thesis was 'about him' during Math class. He did this from the very first week of observations (Observation, 22 September 2015). Upon starting the week's lecture, as the teacher tried to summarise the topics discussed in the previous week, Jorge interrupted with a *Misi, ella está escribiendo su tesis de mi* which translated to 'Mrs. She is writing her thesis about me'. Beyond that occasion, he would often sit near me during class hours, in front of me, and look behind at what I was writing. Despite showing initial interest, in the end Jorge did not participate in my study, as he failed to receive parental consent.

Once the novelty of my residence wore off and students grew accustomed to my presence, I began my participant recruitment efforts by approaching several students individually, and then through a friend-of-friend basis. While staff support had come almost immediately, the same could not be said about student support, as some were wary about my presence and opted to minimise their interactions with me. Some were suspicious of my intentions as a researcher, this made it particularly difficult to reach some members of a particular community of practice, which I will call the *Jock* community of practice in this study.

### 5.2.7 School Curriculum and Language Policy

From a policy perspective Puerto Rico is a bilingual nation (Mazak & Carroll, 2017): it has two official languages, Spanish and English. Spanish currently occupies the position of 'first national language' above English (EFE, 2015), but previous to its current position it held equal status alongside English in a language law of 1993. However, as discussed in Chapter 3, Spanish and English language policies have varied greatly over the past century. The question of assigning a sole national language has been one that Puerto Ricans have grappled with for decades. Institutional settings, particularly private school settings, grant elite families the exclusive opportunity of greater exposure to English language education, otherwise inaccessible to the Puerto Rican majority. Thus, in a way, private schools play an influential role in cementing of class differences. Simultaneously, they provide a platform by which the elite contest the local norm in favor of the inclusion of a prestigious cosmopolitan code.

Mission High promoted the following practice: *educación bilingue en un ambiente Cristiano* 'bilingual education in a Christian environment'. Beyond mention of bilingual education in radio announcements and promotional banners, school brochures offered little mention of the language practices implemented in the classroom. Additionally, a look into the school website would yield little information as to the specific linguistic practices implemented on a day to day basis. Instead they provide information on their spiritual intentions (Figure 27) in Standard Spanish: "Our mission as an educational institution is the following: to restore in students the image of God, promoting the physical, mental, social, and spiritual development necessary in order to serve this world and to attain superior joy in the world to come. / Our vision is very clear: To create a system of Adventists institutions, following God's word, based on the harmonious development of the physical, mental, and spiritual faculties of a human being." (AAO, 2016). Therefore, there is little indication whatsoever of a bilingual school agenda in many of their promotional texts.




*Figure 27.* Mission High school website. The figure illustrates the school website, which overtly states their institutional objective.

While in some documentation and promotional material, Mission was marketed as a bilingual institution, I also made the effort to ask the highest school representative, the school principal, about their linguistic practices.

> *Aquí enseñamos la mitad del día en Español, y la otra mitad en Inglés.*
> "Here we teach the first half of the day in Spanish, and the other half in English."
>
> (Field Notes, September 16, 2015)

I complimented this knowledge of documented policies with notes taken during my ethnographic residence, and was able to arrive at a more specific understanding of the bilingual practices implemented on an individual basis by school teachers. Table 9 summarizes some of these findings.

For the three groups I observed – 11, 12a, 12b – most if not all classrooms (with the exception of Spanish) assumed some literacy in English. This was made known by the choice in class material (course textbooks, handouts, Power Point slides, YouTube videos, etc.) which were all in English. Maths, Sciences, History, and Religion (all core classes across grades in Mission) – the language for class materials (textbooks, handouts, tests) was overwhelmingly English. In terms of the three groups I conducted observations at (11, 12a, 12b). In the following table I summarize some of my findings as to literacy

practices (including slides, handouts, textbook practices) in the classroom in Grades 11 and 12.

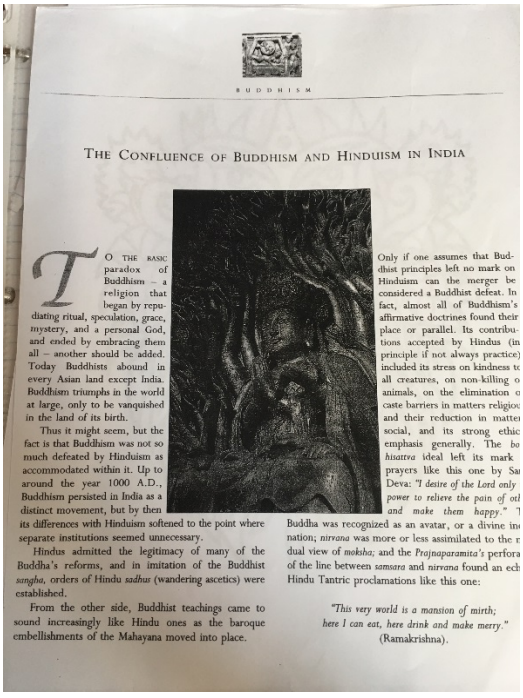
*Table 8*. Summary of languaging practices in classroom settings of Mission High.

| | 11 | 12A | 12B |
|---|---|---|---|
| **MATH** | *Precalculus I*<br><br>**English:** some terminology, educational posters.<br><br>**Spanish:** (dominant) language of instruction, terminology, handouts, slides, tests. | *Statistics/College Algebra*<br><br>**English:** some terminology, educational posters.<br><br>**Spanish:** (dominant) language of instruction, terminology, handouts, slides, tests. | *Precalc II*<br><br>**English:** some terminology, educational posters.<br><br>**Spanish:** (dominant) language of instruction, terminology, handouts, slides, tests. |
| **SCIENCE** | *Chemistry*<br><br>**English:** terminology/equations, classroom posters, tests, assignment instructions, textbook.<br><br>**Spanish:** (dominant) language of instruction. | *Physics*<br><br>**English:** some terminology/equations, classroom posters, tests, assignment instructions, textbook.<br><br>**Spanish:** (dominant) language of instruction. | *Physics (Advanced)*<br><br>**English:** some terminology/equations, classroom posters, tests, assignment instructions, textbook.<br><br>**Spanish:** (dominant) language of instruction. |
| **HISTORY** | *Puerto Rican History (Ms. Pilar)*<br><br>**English:** few classroom posters.<br><br>**Spanish:** (dominant) language of instruction, (most) classroom posters, tests, assignment instructions, textbooks. | *Sociology (Mr. Lopez)*<br><br>**English:** (dominant) language of instruction, terminology, classroom posters, tests.<br><br>**Spanish:** (sometimes) language of instruction, most classroom posters. | *Sociology (Mr. Lopez)*<br><br>**English:** (dominant) language of instruction, terminology, classroom posters, tests.<br><br>**Spanish:** (sometimes) language of instruction, most classroom posters. |
| **RELIGION** | *Bible (New Testament)*<br><br>**English:** (sometimes) language of instruction, (written) assignments instructions, some slides, educational video content, tests, textbook & handouts.<br><br>**Spanish:** (sometimes) language of instruction, some slides; some assignment instructions. | *World Religions*<br><br>**English:** (sometimes) language of instruction, (written) assignment instructions, some slides, educational video content, tests, textbook & handouts.<br><br>**Spanish:** (sometimes) language of instruction; some slides; some assignment instructions. | *World Religions*<br><br>**English:** (sometimes) language of instruction, (written) assignment instructions, some slides, educational video content, tests, textbook & handouts.<br><br>**Spanish:** (sometimes) language of instruction; some slides; some assignment instructions. |
| **COMPUTING** | *Graphic Design*<br><br>**Spanish:** some assignment instructions.<br><br>**English:** (dominant) language of instruction, handouts, language of computer software. | *Graphic Design*<br><br>**Spanish:** some assignment instructions.<br><br>**English:** (dominant) language of instruction, handouts, language of computer software. | *Graphic Design*<br><br>**Spanish:** some assignment instructions.<br><br>**English: (dominant)** language of instruction, handouts, language of computer software. |

*Note: Most teachers were assigned to teach the same subject across groups, with the exception of the History teachers (Mr. Lopez for 12th graders and Ms. Pilar for 11th graders), Spanish teachers, and English teachers. "Language of instruction" refers to the dominant language choice in the classroom.*

As demonstrated in previous examples, a lot of Mission's marketing strategies to the general public were about the school's religious inclinations, and, in most occasions, the language of branding was Standard Spanish. Given the consistent use of Spanish alongside religious content, one could suggest that perhaps the choice was a calculated move in order to reach wider audiences through the local norm. Also, it is not unusual in multilingual and bilingual contexts for the local norm to be preferred over the second language or foreign code in matters of religion and spirituality, such as those involving evangelical purposes and prayer (Ferguson, 1959), as bilingual speakers are more likely to feel intimate ties to their mother tongue or local language (cf. Moyer, 1992, p. 223).

Given the administration's choice of using Spanish for communicative means with the outside world, I expected to find the same practices hold up in the World Religion class, but was surprised to find a different practice altogether – one that fostered fluidity and bilingual practices in the transmission of spiritual knowledge. Take, for instance, one of the handouts that was distributed on the Wednesday, 15th of November 2015 when discussing Hinduism and Buddhism in India (shown in Figure 28 below). Other examples include the following handout exhibited in Figure 29 on a lesson on *Spiritual Gifts*, given to 11th graders during the week of 7 – 11 of December 2015.



BUDDHISM

THE CONFLUENCE OF BUDDHISM AND HINDUISM IN INDIA

TO THE BASIC paradox of Buddhism – a religion that began by repudiating ritual, speculation, grace, mystery, and a personal God, and ended by embracing them all – another should be added. Today Buddhists abound in every Asian land except India. Buddhism triumphs in the world at large, only to be vanquished in the land of its birth.

Thus it might seem, but the fact is that Buddhism was not so much defeated by Hinduism as accommodated within it. Up to around the year 1000 A.D., Buddhism persisted in India as a distinct movement, but by then its differences with Hinduism softened to the point where separate institutions seemed unnecessary.

Hindus admitted the legitimacy of many of the Buddha's reforms, and in imitation of the Buddhist *sangha*, orders of Hindu *sadhus* (wandering ascetics) were established.

From the other side, Buddhist teachings came to sound increasingly like Hindu ones as the baroque embellishments of the Mahayana moved into place.

Only if one assumes that Buddhist principles left no mark on Hinduism can the merger be considered a Buddhist defeat. In fact, almost all of Buddhism's affirmative doctrines found their place or parallel. Its contributions accepted by Hindus (in principle if not always practice) included its stress on kindness to all creatures, on non-killing of animals, on the elimination of caste barriers in matters religious and their reduction in matters social, and its strong ethic emphasis generally. The *bodhisattva* ideal left its mark prayers like this one by Sa Deva: *"I desire of the Lord only power to relieve the pain of oth and make them happy."*

Buddha was recognized as an avatar, or a divine in nation; *nirvana* was more or less assimilated to the dual view of *moksha;* and the *Prajnaparamita's* perfora of the line between *samsara* and *nirvana* found an ech Hindu Tantric proclamations like this one:

*"This very world is a mansion of mirth; here I can eat, here drink and make merry."*
(Ramakrishna).

*Figure 28.* Handout provided by Religion teacher at Mission High.

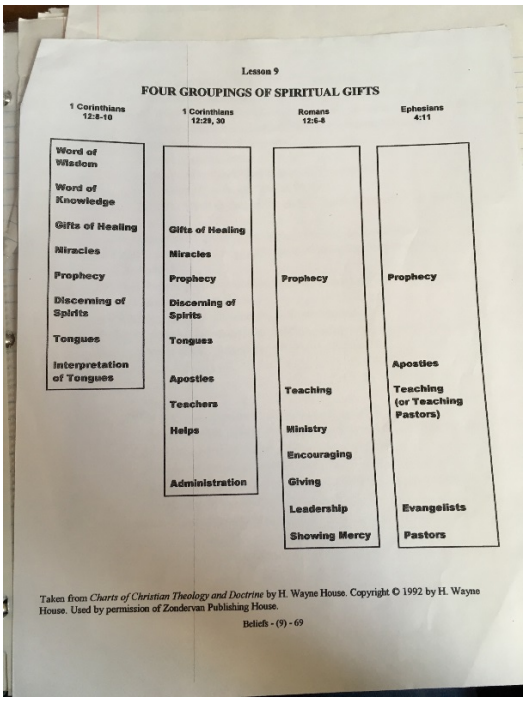



*Figure 29.* Handout provided by the religion teacher to 11th grade students.

As is suggested by the figures above Figures 28 and 29, some level of English literacy is assumed by the teacher, such that he is able to distribute this leaflets and instruct part of his class using the English language. Additionally, students were expected to consult a Bible in English for this course, in particular, the English King James Version of the Bible which was sold by the campus book store located just outside Mission Elementary grounds. This expectation to consult an English biblical source for the classroom is demonstrated in Figure 29, underneath the print *Four Groupings of Spiritual Gifts*, where several Bible sources are cited: *1 Corinthians 12: 8-10*, *1 Corinthians 12: 29, 30*; *Romans 12: 6-8*; *Ephesians 4:11*.

### 5.2.8 In-Class Languaging Practices (from Field Notes)

In terms of capturing in-class languaging practices, my primary tool of choice was field notes. I took notes rather than audio recorded classroom conversations or took videos as I felt it less invasive. If I implemented recording strategies in the classroom that would add to the already well-policed environment of the classroom. I took a total of 100 pages of notes for each school (2 spiral-bound 8.5x11 notebooks).

During the begining of my fieldwork, I found excessive notetaking to be detrimental to my establishing of rapport. I was often called a ‘spy’ jokingly, including on one occasion in a World Religion’s lecture with Mr. Romero (fieldnotes, November

2015). He later grew accustomed to my presence, and offered to help in the data collection process. In some occasions, my presence in the classroom made teachers anxious. Mrs. Soltero, the Intermediate English teacher, once made an off-hand comment as to how performance and ability to exercise 'group control' was being examined. On one occasion the English teacher, Mrs. Soltero, was having a particularly difficult day with a group of rowdy students who were misbehaving and talking loudly during class. She would threaten their grades based on a 'points system', which some students regarded as a 'child' system. This system involved substracting points from a student's overall subject grade. My presence in this particular classroom caused discomfort to the teacher, particularly because of the many instances of student misbehavior. She would often pass by my desk to observe what I was writing. In these cases, I opted to take fewer notes and wait until the event had ended to fill in the contextual gaps and note-take from memory. As time passed, I found myself taking fewer notes as I had become familiarized with the practices and customs of my surroundings.

The picture below demonstrates how I took into account my surroundings in the first day of ethnography at Mission High. One of the first things I noticed was the unique signing practices inside the classroom, many of which were held in Spanish but had English textual surroundings as suggested in Table 9. As can be seen in Figure 30 the classroom included signs such as those that had *Think positive, Think for yourself* in the back of the classroom, official signage such as that signalling a *Fire Extinguisher*, equations on the board that included terminology such as *maximum-line* (Field notes, September 2015). Meanwhile, students can be heard trying to figure out the problem by engaging in bilingual practices. A student who oriented positively to the classroom and to the teacher, Jorge, can be heard saying 'la física es más interesante que la química', meanwhile others positioned in the back can be heard gossiping to one another 'you what?' Tiffany, a girl featured in many of my notes who did not partake in the interview process can be heard saying to Miguel *nene, calm down!* 'boy, calm down!'

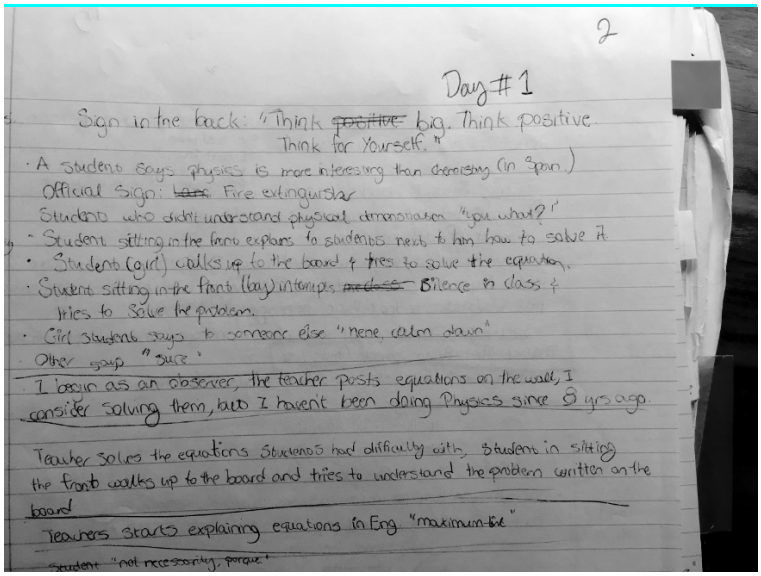



*Figure 30.* Live-Note-taking in Day #1 of Mission High.

*Out-of-Class Language Practices (from Field Notes)*

This section details some of the interesting language behaviors exhibited outside of the classroom that I was able to observe during my residence at Mission. For instance, during my first week at Mission I sat on a school courtyard bench, stared down at my notes, and observed my surroundings. As a private school alumnus, I was in a different position from the rest, I had the knowledge of being a student within similar settings, and I also had knowledge as a university graduate. Furthermore, instead of being subject to the same pressures of a regular student, my responsibilities were focused on the success of my note-taking excercises and the ability to establish rapport. I was to critically and carefully observe my surroundings, and take notes of socially significant language practices. Many of the language practices I was writing down involved seemingly nuanced acts that would have otherwise taken for granted, some of which I would have participated ~~in~~ during my time as a high school student. Investing in American popular culture in private school classes was one of them.

Upon entering private school premises, the influence of English and American culture was an undeniable one. Students from different communities of practice could be seen partaking in singing activities of music that was popular abroad or in the mainstream that was conducted in a non-local language. One of my first observations of the school yard was of a group of students singing and playing in the second level of Mission High buildings, singing at the top of their lungs to Bon Jovi's (1986) *Livin' on a Prayer*. At the

same time, a group of students passed by where I was sitting speaking of Disney's animated film *Hercules* (Clements & Musker, 1997). This and several other instances of reference to English popular culture and shared knowledge of these led me to think that instances of English use played an integral role in the stylistic practices of students, as well as in their social differentiation practices and identity moves. Some of these practices that I observed served an influential role as to how I found common ground with students, approached them, or asked them about their interests. The study took place I was 26 years old, consequently, there was some generational similarities, such the central role of at I was able to maintain conversation of some subjects which we shared mutual interests.

In addition to note taking out of classroom practices in my first weeks in Mission, I also took into account some graffiting practices I found in high school walls, floors, or bathrooms, these were particularly interesting to note as they were reflective of more uninhibited speech, given its anonymous nature, as most writings were not signed by the author(s). Consequently, while one may argue that there is some conscious behavior taking place when we think about what we write, one may simultaneously contend that the medium of writing – such as a bathroom stall – as well as the option to include one's name, or perhaps incorporate a pseudonym, counteracts these viewpoints behind writing as a more formal style of communication.

What was interesting about graffiting in Mission is that despite what I found in the realm of promotional advertisements and notices about school events, students seem to incorporate English-dominant messages in their non-standard writing practices. Take for instance the image displayed in Figure 31, when a student signed off as *A* writes *Bye, school*, *Gonna Miss you All, xoxo – A* ('Bathroom Stalls at Mission High'; Photo by Katherine Morales, 2015). What is interesting behind this image is that whoever wrote this message was directing it to the whole school population, as evidence by the use of the mass noun *school*, rather than a specific group of friends or Grade. Therefore, there is an understanding, at least from the author that the intended audience will be able to interpret this message. The dominant language of this message does not necessarily conform with the dominant style of the wider school population which reflects more fluid translanguaging practices.




*Figure 31.* Bathroom stalls at Mission High: "Bye school, gonna miss you all xoxo – A." Photo by Katherine Morales, 2015.

Writings could also be seen on the bathroom mirror, where students implemented the social media practice of the *hashtag* in their graffiting practices. In the image below, Figure 32 seniors of the graduating class in Mission High used blue markers (also symbolic of the school uniform colors and overall colors of the physical building) to leave their legacy or name on the Girl's bathroom mirror where everyone else can see. Instead of utilising perhaps the local equivalent "clase graduanda", which demonstrates the role that the English language plays in these communities even at the self-naming identity level.



*Figure 32*. Writings on the bathroom mirrors of Mission High. Photo by Katherine Morales (2015).

I found that despite apparent policing of phones, behavior, noise, uniforms, jewelry, and other, the bathroom stalls proved to be an interesting place to observe some acts of rebellion and linguistic play among some of the student body in Mission. For instance, in the Figure 33 we see a playful challenge of one student to another with the statement *way*

*hotter than you*, where *hotter* refers to the colloquial way of describing someone else as attractive.



*Figure 33*. Bathroom stalls at Mission High. Photo by Katherine Morales, 2015.

Meanwhile in a different region of the stall, in a more faded tone, were writings that contained expletive messages – for instance, that found in Figure 34. Less visible is the message on the top right of the corner that says 'Rec –D- Tu Bebe', and underneath this message someone has written the following 'Biatch, esto esta cabrón'. The first message is rather unproblematic, as it displays a typical linguistic practices of high school graduating classes which include the practices of writing on each other's notebooks, class t-shirts, and yearbooks the following phrase *Rec –D–* which stands for 'recuerdo de' or a 'memory of' (Figure 34). This practice has been taking place for as long as I have been living on the island and have memory of graduating schools, or leaving a place, and students leave messages to each other. This image suggests what was seen in a previous example of English use in Figure 31 with *Bye school / Gonna miss you all*, and in this example a student is leaving part of themselves or a memory of themselves to someone else. Thus, perhaps the bathroom as a locale displays a tentative place to write down feelings of nostalgia or goodbyes to other classmates, a place where true emotions or genuine thoughts and ideas may be written without the fear of being reprimanded or penalised.

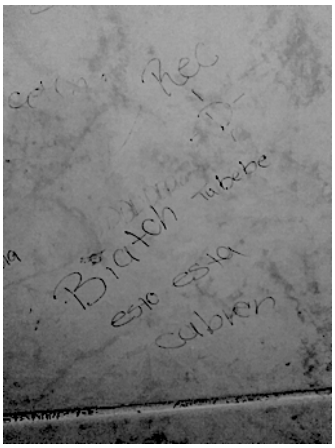



*Figure 34*. Picture of bathroom Stall 2, interior region of the stall. Photo by Katherine Morales, 2015.

## 5.2.9 The Social Organization of Adolescent Peer Groups in Mission High

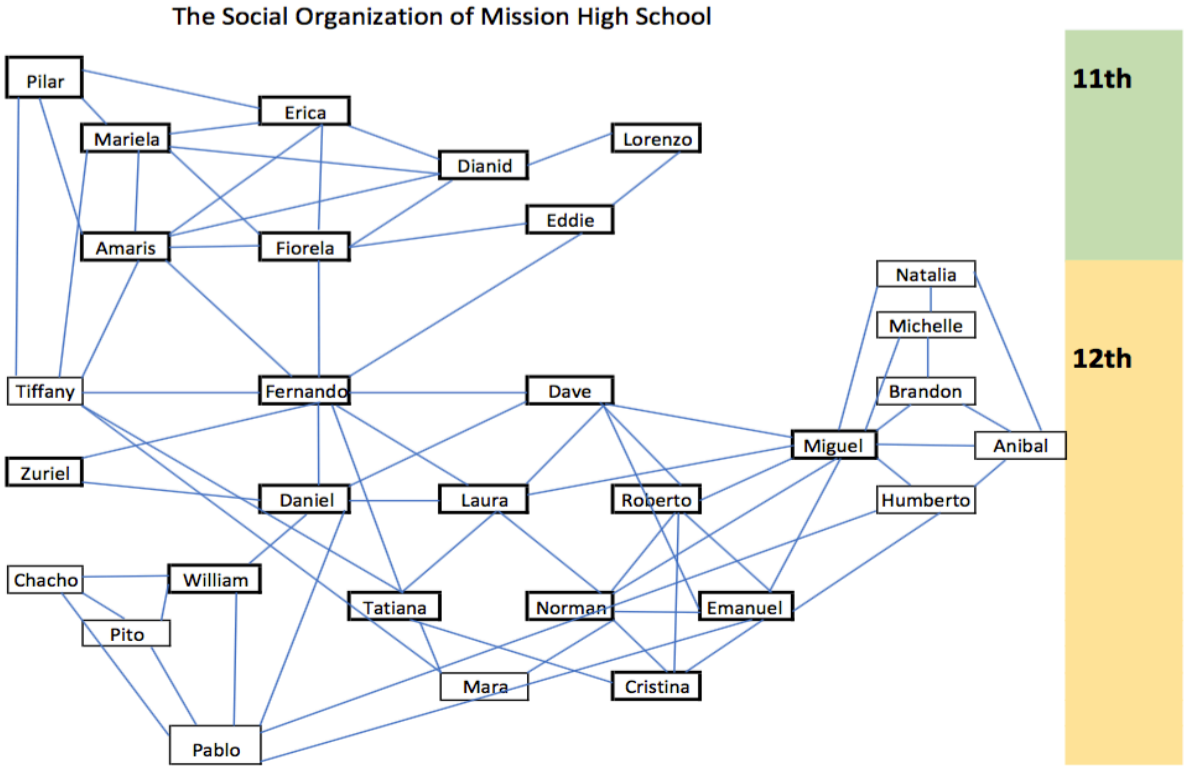



*Figure 35.* Social organization of Mission High.

Figure 35 illustrates a visual representation of the adolescent *communities of practice* detected during my time at Mission High. The visual representation mimics one of a type of social network analysis, however, in difference to this type of analysis, the present uses CofP as a measuring unit, rather than connections or 'social ties' as metrics to language

change. Chapter 2 detailed what the CofP method consists on, as defined by Lave and Wegner (1991) and reappropriated to linguistics by Eckert & McConnell-Ginnet (1992), a community unit smaller than a *speech community* defined by joint 'ways of doing things, beliefs, values, power relations' (Eckert & McConnell-Ginnet, 1992, p. 464). My method to garner the interest of CofPs in many ways mimicked that of a social network analysis. I approached singular students, then opted to extend my participant search through a *friend-of-friend* approach, also known as *snowball sampling*, a popular method used in social network studies (see Milroy, 1980; Milroy & Gordon, 2003).

The graph above demonstrates several key participants who served as gatekeepers to each community, in this case: Fernando and Dave played an instrumental role in facilitating my recruitment efforts, particularly during initial stages of my research. Fernando put me into contact with two groups whom I will refer to as *Choir Girls* and *Pop Culture Enthusiasts*, whereas Dave paved the way for interactions with members of the *Gamers*, and Miguel with certain members of the *Jock* community of practice.

My intentions to shadow Year 12 (17 to 18 year olds) changed throughout my time conducting participant-observations. A group of 11th grade girls demonstrated interested in participating in my study, these were friends of Fernando and Tiffany. I refer to them as the *Choir Girls* CofP because of their collective musical inclinations and joint membership in the schools Choir.

The participants I discuss here do not represent the entirety of the peer groups found in Mission High, rather they represent a select subset of students from Grade 12. The 'Choir Girls' were added at later stages in the fieldwork, in the second semester of observations, due to their peculiar linguistic practices. They were chosen in order to highlight the spectrum of linguistic practices one may find in Mission, also to challenge the norm established by their elder cohorts, the 12th graders.

Due to ethical restrictions, I was unable to collect demographic information of the participants who I did not interview, consequently I will only present information of those who received parental consent to participate in this study.

## A) POP CULTURE ENTHUSIASTS

*Pop Culture Enthusiasts* were mostly a female-based community of practice. The group was composed of five girls and one boy, ages 17 to 18. They are named after their investments in American popular culture, global cultures, and verbal opposition against local youth culture, primarly those who followed Spanish hip hop genre *Reggeaton*. Their linguistic and behavioral practices corroborated this fascination with outside world entertainment and commodities. They often met at lunch time, sat in a corner of a hallway, and listened to music from their iPods – pop acts from North America and the U.K., such as Bruno Mars and One Direction. Members from this community of practice followed EDM culture (Electronic Dance Music) and attended concerts and festivals hosted on the island featuring international artists.

**Laura.** Laura was one of the main group members, who self-identified as a D.J. and model. After winning a talent contest on young artists of EDM on the island, Laura advertised her gigs and music through YouTube, Instagram, and Facebook. She described herself online as *a D.J. from the West Side of Puerto Rico*. She owned high-end sound equipment which she used to compose music, record demos, and play at a number of local gigs[64]. Some of these gigs were held at venues with age restrictions, such as bars and clubs. This meant that often she was surrounded by others older than her, in this way she engaged in adult-oriented practices and on occasion invited friends to watch her play. Going to these events added an element of 'coolness' and rebellion by bending the rules and drinking.

Laura and another community member, **Tatiana**, were enrolled in a modelling academy and were regularly photographed for fashion shoots. They also participated in after-school theatre classes offered by *La Escuela Libre de Música* ('The Free School of Music'), colloquially known as 'La Libre'. This government funded institution offered programmes in music and the theatre arts[65]. **Cristina,** another community member, practiced dance at a local dance academy, in addition to participating in local dance recitals, she was also a part of the annual Puerto Rican parade in New York City. Cristina held dual social ties as simultaneous member of the Jocks CofP, and can often be seen interacting with them in lunch hours in the school courtyard. Unlike her peers, she is not

[65] A number of students from Mission as well as O'Reilly High attended this institution after school.

enrolled in all of the Advanced Classes, but part of her class schedule is divided among others

***Fernando.*** A fourth member of this CofP was Fernando, enrolled in the school choir, which often tours around the island playing at religious events and churches. He enjoyed singing in his free time, learning songs on the piano, and recording himself singing popular songs from artists like Ed Sheeran and Demi Lovato. He followed American music competitions like the *X-Factor* and *The Voice*. In the exchange below, Fernando speaks of his time with friends outside of school. He lives near Laura and visits her often. Fernando confirms his continuous fascination for music in his after school activities at Laura's place listening to music in 'escuchamos música' (we listen to music). Fernando's speaking style is notably Spanish-dominant with several insertional items in dialogue, these practices are highlighted in bold.

EXAMPLE #1 FERNANDO DESCRIBING COFP PRACTICES

(Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = English; Underline = Discourse marker)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 01 | Laura | Especificamente cuando tu bieneØ a casa, ¿qué tu haceØ? |
| 02 | Fernando | Okei. Si quiere ehpecificamente **I knock the door**= |
| 03 | | ((*Laura starts laughing out loud*)). |
| 04 | Katherine | No pero *literal* como que ¿qué tu hace? ¿Te pone a vel película:Ø? |
| 05 | Fernando | **We:ll** (.) **actually:** (.) mira, [ehcuchamo música= |
| 06 | Valeria | [Uhtede ehtudian. Aja. |
| 07 | Fernando | Ehte, ehcuchamo música, **yeah** (.) ehte: pue-pue chavo al helmano de |
| 08 | | ehta, boy pa su cualto lo chavo, (.) ehte Jasmine me ataca:. |

*Translation:*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 01 | Laura | Specifically when you come home, what do you do? |
| 02 | Fernando | Okay. Well, if you want specifics, **I know the door**= |
| 03 | | ((*Laura starts laughing out loud*)). |
| 04 | Katherine | No, but literally, like, what do you do? Do you watch movies? |
| 05 | Fernando | **Well, actually,** look, we listen to music. |
| 06 | Valeria | [You study. Yeah. |
| 07 | Fernando | Um, we listen to music**, yeah** (.) umm, well-well I bother her* brother, |
| 08 | | and I go to his room, umm Jasmine ((*Laura's sister*)) attacks me. |

Insertional strategies:

- Verb Phrase: I knock the door.
- Filler (Stalling techniques + clarification): Well, actually…
- Adverb (Sentence ender / emphasis): Yeah.

The Pop Enthusiasts had an overall inclination towards the arts and adult-oriented practices. They also unashamedly took part of other practices that would not seem as 'cool' or edgy. They were fervent followers of the Disney Channel and Disney movies. Their affinity was visible in some of their attire: for example, two of the community

members owned Disney-themed backpacks of the movies *Frozen* and *A Nightmare Before Christmas*. At times, I noted them discussing the latest Disney films during lunchtime and occasionally citing them. Additionally, at the end of my fieldwork they created a 'Goodbye Card' that further cemented their shared love for Disney as part of their overall group identity. Figure 36 illustrates the protagonist of the Disney Pixar film *Big Hero 6* (2014) 'Baymax', surrounded by 'wugs'[66] (Gleason, 1978). Inside of the card are the printed words 'Are you satisfied with your care?' (Reed & Conli, 2014) a joint intertextual reference to the movie. Their fascination with Disney adds an element of playfulness to their overall identity. Despite their status in the school hierarchy as 'seniors' and 'most experienced', and their partial participation in adult-oriented activities, the Pop Culture Enthusiasts also perfomed youthful identities through their Disney referencing. This playful demeanor was also visible in their decision of labelling themselves as the 'the Potatos' (in English), in reference to a popular meme in social media culture. Miguel from the Jock CofP referred to them as 'the Chill Girls' (Interview, December 2015), hinting at their relaxed approach to social situations.

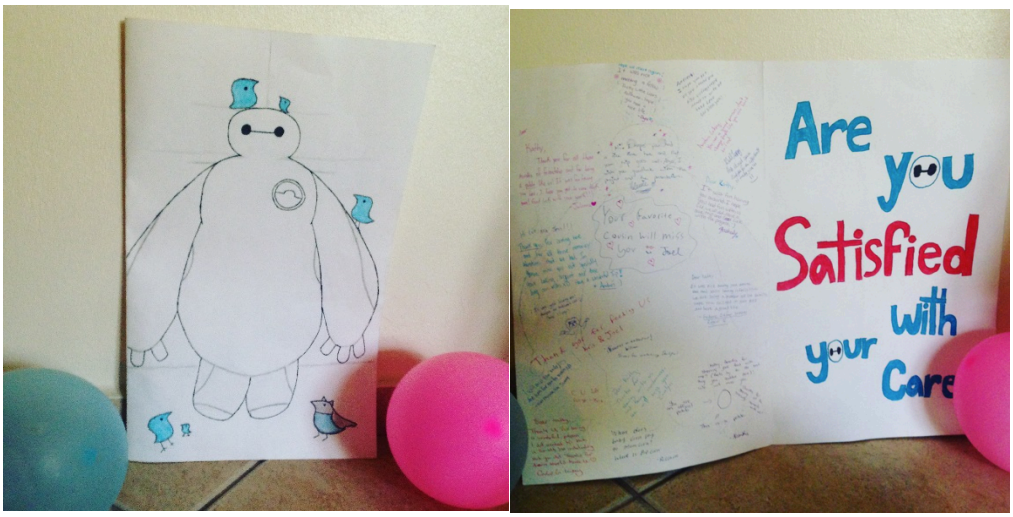



*Figure 36.* Illustrates a "Goodbye Card" by the Pop Enthusiasts for the Researcher.

This community generally succeeded in school academic matters, tests, projects, and relationships with teachers and faculty. They especially got along with the English

[66] In one of my interactions with members from the Pop Girls community of practice, I spoke to them a bit about what I studied and linguistics in general. The subject of the "wug" experiment came up as they saw one day that I had a picture of one in my binder. I explained to them what it was and left an impression on them, such that they drew it on my goodbye card.

teacher, who they saw outside of classroom hours and, at times, sat outside her classroom to talk. All members of this community of practice were enrolled in Advanced classes: Spanish, English, Sciences and Mathematics. Despite their apparent academic success, not all of them felt positively about school. In the exchange below, Fernando voices his dislike for school and belief that it does not prepare a person to succeed in life or to acquire necessary life skills like 'going to the bank' or 'running errands'. Fernando's stance on school was unexpected, as his parents were both involved in academia, his mother was a school science teacher and his dad was a university Mathematics professor. The dominant language in this exchange is English.

**EXAMPLE #2 FERNANDO'S ACADEMIC ORIENTATION**

Fernando No, pero que si no también (.) **school is pointless, <u>like,</u> they don't teach you how to go to the bank, they don't teach you** hacel tu gehtione. **<u>Like,</u> they [ʃuld], <u>like,</u> [ti:ʃ] you [ðæt] instead of Precalculus [ðæt] you will never see in your life.**

***Translation***

No, but if not as well **(.) school is pointless, <u>like</u> they don't teach you how to go to the bank, they don't teach you** how to run errands**. <u>Like,</u> they should, <u>like</u>, teach you that instead of Pre-Calculus that you will never see in your life.**

It should be noted that Fernando and his friends received private after-school tutoring for both Physics and Pre-Calculus classes. Most of the members of this community of practice were placed in the annual student honour roll.[67]

*Table 9*. Pop Enthusiasts Demographic Information.

| | Gender | City of Birth | Job Score | Class rank |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Laura | female | Mayagüez | 11 | middle class |
| Tatiana | female | Mayagüez | 13 | upper middle class |
| Cristina | female | Añasco | 8 | middle class |
| Fernando | male | Mayagüez | 13 | upper middle class |

In terms of class, all members came from middle class families. Tatiana and Fernando's parents specialized in white collar occupations, as university professors and accountants. Cristina father held a grey collar job as a barber and her mother was a medical

technologist, valued in *Glassdoor* as a profession that yields $41, 452 annually in Puerto Rico, below the national average). Laura's father owned his own sound equipment party company: whenever there were events that required a sound technician and sound systems, he would travel to different art and music events to provide this service. He also had his own band and regularly played at events around the West region. His vocation added to Laura's identity as a musician, coming from a musically inclined family. When compared against students from a public school, such as *O'Reilly High*, being able to afford D.J. equipment, fly to New York to dance, or participate in modelling photoshoots were prestigious opportunities unavailable to everyone across the socioeconomic scale, and most likely the outcome of a priviledged upbringing.

### B) THE OUTSIDERS: "BLACK SOULS"

The Outsiders community of practice were a group of friends who shared the same values of being antagonistic to the status quo, that is, their entire persona and identity was formed on the basis of their nonconformity with existing group trends and ideologies. This group was composed of a total of 4 members, 3 males and 1 female. 2 of the community members in this group also were involved in other communities of practice and could be seen on different days with their other peer groups: Fernando (also a member of the Pop Enthusiasts group) and Daniel (member of the Gamer group) on this table. I was unable to garner parental consent from the female member of this community of practice, although I refer to her persona in an indirect sense as she had an intimate relationship with Zuriel (featured in this study). I have given her the pseudonym of Eva. Following ethical guidelines, I did not collect any personal information about Eva, nor did I record her speech. In this community, both Zuriel and Eva were perhaps the embodiment of an anti-school ideology. The way I am using 'anti-school' here is not to suggest that they were not academically oriented or excelled in their class subjects, rather to suggest that they did not affiliate with the larger student body and often communicated complete disdain for the administration, classes, how the school was run, and the larger student body. For instance, on one occasion when I asked Zuriel during his interview if he planned to attend Puerto Rican Night, a big event hosted by the graduating class, Zuriel replies no, that while he held a role in the executive committee of the graduating class as class treasurer, he did not plan on attending an event that could potentially demand of his assistance.

EXAMPLE #3 BLACK SOULS COFP ACADEMIC ORIENTATION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 01 | Katherine | ¿Tú va a ir a ehta actividad mañana? |
| 02 | Zuriel | Noh. |
| 03 | Katherine | ¿Por qué no vah? |
| 04 | Zuriel | **Because**… e: (.) no sé, em… mañana no se va a hacel na:da:. Yo soy |
| 05 | | tesorero de la clase graduanda, pero, no sé, no:-- realmente no quiero venil. |
| 06 | | El amo:l:-mi nombre y el amol como que no, no cae en la mihma balanza. He |
| 07 | | ehtado solte(r)o. Pienso: mañana pue salil co:n: (.) il a |
| 08 | | **Applebee's** o algo con Eva. O: (.) o: con quien vayamoØ a vel **<[ded]>** |
| 09 | | **<[pu:l]> (Deadpool).** |

**Translation:**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 01 | Katherine: | Will you go to the activity tomorrow? |
| 02 | Zuriel: | No. |
| 03 | Katherine: | Why will you not go? |
| 04 | Zuriel: | **Because…** umm (.) I don't know, em… tomorrow nothing will get done. I'm |
| 05 | | the treasurer of the graduating class, but, I don't know, no – really I don't want |
| 06 | | to go. Love – my name and love like does not, it does not fall into the same |
| 07 | | scale. I have been single. Tomorrow I plan on going out with (.) to go to |
| 08 | | **Applebee's** or something with Eva. O:r (.) o:r who we end up going to see **Dead** |
| 09 | | **Pool.** |

Zuriel touches on two different topics. When prompted about his attendance at a school event, Zuriel demonstrates initial hesitation and avoidance by uttering 'I don't know' (Line 5). Immediately after this he communicates a negative evaluation of the wider school community: 'tomorrow nothing will get done' (Line 4). He then positions himself as a figure of authority by disclosing his position as the class treasurer (Line 5), which both puts him in a position of insider knowledge in that he is to make critical observations of his classmates' performance based on personal experience, and also confirms his rebellious attitude against his own classmates and school activities. He then switches the topic in Lines 6 – 8, to which he appears to hint at his relationship status, an obvious source of discontent for Zuriel, which may or may not tie into his wider pessimistic outlook on school and his classmates. He then reveals to me his alternative plans which consist of a night out to Applebee's with his best friend Eva and watching the latest Marvel Comics film entitled *Deadpool* (Miller, 2016). It's no surprise that he would show interest in watching a movie about a superhero, unlike other superheroes, but characterized as a villain. This interest ties into Zuriel's wider persona, fascination for the color black, and his Instagram account multiple shots can be seen of building facades as well as modelling portraits of himself wearing a white shirt and a leather jacket. His best friend, Eva, also shares similar fashion interests, often sporting dark colors in her outfits, e.g. hoodies, make-up, and backpacks. When asked about his theatric ambitions, Zuriel expressed wanting to play the villain of a movie.

*Table 10*. Sociodemographic Information on Outsider CofP.

| | Gender | City of Birth | Job Score | Class Rank |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Fernando* | male | Mayagüez | 13 | upper middle class |
| Daniel* | male | Mayagüez | 7 | lower middle class |
| Zuriel | male | Mayagüez | 14 | upper middle class |

In the interviews, he constructs a rebellious persona of difference, calling himself a 'Black Soul' and bestowing upon others negative evaluative labels: *bichas* ('bitches'), *homos*, *nerds*, *gamers*, and *los Cristianos* ('the religious ones'). 'Bichas'here is a reappropriation of English expletive 'bitches', a common term of offense in PR slang. Zuriel uses this term to refer to the group of girls I have called *Pop Enthusiasts*, he uses the label 'homos' and later *aquel grupo* ' that group' (Lines 35 - 36) and *loh kule* 'the cool ones' (Line 32) to refer to a group of people I have referred to as *Jocks*. 'Nerds' and 'gamers' refer to a single group which I have labelled as *Gamers*. *Loh Crihtiano* 'the Christians' referred to some members of the 11th Grade classroom, not featured in this study. In this same way, Zuriel also exhibits similar behavior to that of his classmates, Norman and Dave (from the Jock CofP). He uses English insertional practices on the lexical basis (nouns, noun phrases), to refer to others as well as himself, and how he sees himself in relation to others as a 'Black Soul'. This name calling technique and inhabiting of his own identity with usage of bilingual terms suggests that to him, as well as others in his own language ecology, English is a part of who they are, such that their social identities are defined through it. Two other groups are defined through Spanish labels: 'Loh Crihtiano' and 'lah bichah' (Lines 13 - 14).

EXAMPLE #4 SELF-IDENTIFICATION BY MEMBER OF BLACK SOUL COFP

| ***Original*** | | | ***Translation*** | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 01 | Katherine | Descríbeme loh diferenteØ | 01 | Katherine | Describe to me the different |
| 02 | | tipoØ de amihtadeØ en | 02 | | types of friendships groups in |
| 03 | | ehta ehcuela. | 03 | | this school. |
| 04 | Zuriel | No, eh que aquí hay | 04 | Zuriel | No, it's just that here there are |
| 05 | | varioØ tipo de cosah. | 05 | | various types of things. |
| 06 | | Ehtan loh **black souls,** que | 06 | | There are the **black souls**, that |
| 07 | | creo que soy yo, nosotroØ | 07 | | I think it's me, us |
| 08 | | doh ((*signals to his best* | 08 | | two ((*signals to his best friend* |
| 09 | | *friend Eva*)). Pol lo menoØ | 09 | | *Eva*)). At least in |
| 10 | | en nuehtro grupo (.), ehtan | 10 | | our group, there are |
| 11 | | loh homoØ, ehtan loh | 11 | | the homos, there are the |
| 12 | | **nerds,** ehtan loh **gamerz,** | 12 | | **nerds,** the **gamerz,** |
| 13 | | ehtan lah ***bitchah…*** | 13 | | there are the ***bitches***… |
| 14 | | Peldon, ehte:… ehtan loh | 14 | | Sorry, umm… there are the |
| 15 | | crihtianoØ, super **high**= | 15 | | Christians, super **high**= |
| 16 | Katherine | ¿Quién eØ **nerd?** | 16 | Katherine | Who are the **nerds?** |
| 17 | Zuriel | Loh **nerds** ehtan por aquí. | 17 | Zuriel | The nerds are somewhere over here. |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 18 | Eva | Ehtan allá ((*points to the* | 18 | Eva | They are over there ((*points to the* |
| 19 | | *green hill situated in front* | 19 | | *green hill situated in front* |
| 20 | | *of the outdoor basketball* | 20 | | *of the outdoor basketball* |
| 21 | | *court*)). | 21 | | *court*)). |
| 22 | Zuriel | Pero ehtan en ehta area! | 22 | Zuriel | But they are in this area! |
| 23 | | Loh **nerds**, ¿no? PueØ, | 23 | | The **nerds,** no? Okay, |
| 24 | | okay, se ehtinguieron, | 24 | | well, they got extinguished, |
| 25 | | ehtan allá. Aquella persona | 25 | | they are over there. That person over |
| 26 | | de por ahí yo la odio (.) | 26 | | there I hate that person (.) |
| 27 | | rosa:, la del bulto multi- | 27 | | pink, of the backpack multi- |
| 28 | | color. Eh que (.) eh que su | 28 | | colored. It's just (.) it's just their |
| 29 | | caracter. No sé si me | 29 | | character. I don't know if you |
| 30 | | entiendeh. Tiene el | 30 | | understand me. It has |
| 31 | | Significado. Sí. Emm, | 31 | | meaning. Yes. Umm, |
| 32 | | ehtan loh <*[ku:le]*>, lo: (.) | 32 | | there are the cool ones, the |
| 33 | | no sé si decil la | 33 | | I don't know whether the |
| 34 | | palabra que sue:ne: (.) | 34 | | word sounds (.) |
| 35 | | sutil. Vamoh con '*aquel* | 35 | | subtle. Let's go with '*that* |
| 36 | | grupo' ((*points to the* | 36 | | group' ((*points to the* |
| 37 | | *benches where jocks are* | 37 | | *benches where jocks are* |
| 38 | | *sitting down*)). | 38 | | *sitting down*)). |
| 39 | Eva | Zuriel. | 39 | Eva | Zuriel. |

Zuriel's ownership to a 'black soul identity' derives from a series of difficulties he faced following his mother's death by cancer. During the interviews he consistently refers to his villanous side, his 'dark side', and disappointment in others. This social restriction ultimately has its consequences in terms of how he performs linguistically: in comparison to his peers, his style is unique and Spanish-dominant. His insertions are restricted to lexical insertions, rather than larger, more complex constituent constructions. This will be observed in later chapters, primarily Chapter 6.

## C) GAMERS

The Gamer CofP was male-based. At the beginning of my fieldwork at Mission, I noted that members of this community would come together during lunch time and sit on a small hill located in school grounds in front of a basketball court and play games on their iPads and smartphones, often car games such such as *Crossy Road* (Hipster Whale, 2014) and *Crashy Road* (Seven K Games, 2015). Sometimes they would bring their portable Nintendo gaming devices to school and play *Super Smash Bros*, despite the ban on electronics on school grounds. The community was composed of 8 members, 3 of which consented to individual interviews (Dave, Norman, and Daniel), and 2 who took part of a focus group interview (Roberto and Fausto). In total, I recorded 5 out of the 8 community members.

***Dave.*** One of the main community members of this community of practice was Dave, an active player of the Super Smash community online. He was known in the group for holding the highest record among his friends and being unbeatable. He spent long nights at his house playing video games and often reported not having slept the previous night and being an insomniac. He did not go out very often with his friends and would often reject an offer to go out in favour of playing video games or watching Netflix TV series. Consequently, a large number of Dave's linguistic practices were carried out online through the Internet, many of these exhibited a high degree of bilingual creativity, including the use of Netspeak and words like *lel* and *lit* in spoken discourse.[68]

He self-identified as an independent spirit, not belonging to one group or another. He rejected others labelling of him as a 'hipster' or 'rocker' and the idea of a label for himself altogether. Mutual friends, such as Norman who was also from the Gamer CofP labelled him as a *rockero*, *rockerito* or the 'rocker type' in lines 27 and 31, he then also positioned himself positively to Dave's outward persona as a *rockero* as well. While Dave was hesitant in adopting this label, he was quick to label others as gamers, cacos, nerds, and geeks. In defining his immediate group of friends, he is quick to call them *geeks* using English adjective alongside specific names – Norman, Tiffany and himself (Line 56 to 57). When I ask him to expand on his labelling practices, he reconstructs his identity from *alternative* to a person who gets along with everyone 'except the *cacos*' (Line 62). He goes as far as to negatively align through English verb phrase 'I hate them' (Line 63-4). Throughout his own labelling strategies, and Othering, word-level insertional styles are incorporated, such that his vision or description of the school is seen through an English-insertional lens, the non-local way of communicating. This conversation is demonstrated below.

[68] In one informal conversation, Dave mentioned to the interviewer having listened to a YouTube podcast called "The Sleepy Cabin" in which one of the main voices came from Ireland. Dave was particularly good at imitating the Irish English accent because of this.

## EXAMPLE #5 ARRIVING AT A LABEL FOR THE GAMER COFP AT MISSION HIGH

(Regular font = PR Spanish; **bold** = English; underline = discourse marker)

| | ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** |
|---|---|---|---|
| 01 Dave | ¿Cómo **groups?** Diferente | 01 Dave | Like **groups**? Different |
| 02 | **groups** (.) y toda0 son la | 02 | **groups** (.) and everyone is |
| 03 | mihma – el mihmo tipo de | 03 | the same – the same type of |
| 04 | persona = | 04 | person= |
| 05 Katherine | Aja, y que se vihten, o sea tu | 05 Katherine | Yes, and they dress, I mean, |
| 06 | lo puede dihtingil, o sea, se | 06 | you can distinguish them, like, |
| 07 | vihten como que super | 07 | they dress like super |
| 08 | ehterotipo, como que, son- | 08 | stereotypical, like, they're – |
| 09 | aja= | 09 | yeah= |
| 10 Dave | ((*to Miguel*)) ¿Aquí hay | 10 Dave | ((*to Miguel*)) are there |
| 11 | ehtereotipo? | 11 | stereotypes? |
| 12 | ((*Miguel shrugs*)) | 12 | ((*Miguel shrugs*)) |
| 13 Dave | Sí. Hay **stereotypes.** E::: lo | 13 Dave | Yeah. There are **stereotypes**. The |
| 15 | cacoh. | 15 | cacos. |
| 16 Katherine | ¿Quiéneh son elloh? | 16 Katherine | Who are they? |
| 17 Dave | Lorenzo! Lorenzo, Fabian! | 17 Dave | Lorenzo! Lorenzo, Fabian! |
| 18 | ((*Laughs*)) Pueh, ehtan loh | 18 | ((*Laughs*)). Well, there's the |
| 19 | cacoh, ehtan loh **game:rz** que | 19 | cacos, there's the **game:rz,** the |
| 20 | lo que hablan eh de juegooo. | 20 | ones that talk about games. |
| 21 Katherine | ¿Y qué tu ereh? | 21 Katherine | And what are you? |
| 22 Dave | Nada. | 22 Dave | Nothing. |
| 23 Katherine | ¿Tu ereh nada? Qué tu ereØ? | 23 Katherine | You are nothing? What are you? |
| 24 | ((*looks at Norman, also* | 24 | ((*Looks at witness friend in the* |
| 25 | *witnessing the interview*)). | 25 | *interview*))). |
| 26 Norman | ¿Él? Yo diría que el eØ un | 26 Norman | Him? I would say he's a |
| 27 | rockero**.** | 27 | rocker. |
| 28 Katherine | Pero, ¿dónde ehtan loh | 28 Katherine | But where are the rockers? |
| 29 | rockero? Él eØ el único? | 29 | Is he the only one. |
| 30 Dave | No… | 30 Dave | No… |
| 31 Norman | Bueno, no. Tu ereh rockerito. | 31 Norman | Well, no. You are a rocker-ish. |
| 32 | Yo soy rockerito. Yo no soy | 32 | I am rocker-ish. I am not in style of |
| 33 | ehtilo de ropa rockerito, pero | 33 | clothes rocker-ish, but I am |
| 34 | soy rockerito. | 34 | rocker-ish. |
| 35 Dave | Loh **stereotypes,** ellah ehta | 35 Dave | The **stereotypes**, she is |
| 36 | preguntando por **stereotypes.** | 36 | asking for **stereotypes.** |
| 37 | Como que grupo de | 37 | Like groups of |
| 38 | amihtadeØ= | 38 | friends= |
| 39 Norman | Ehtan *loh cacoh*, ehtan *loh* | 39 Norman | There are *the cacos,* there are the |
| 40 | *rockeroØ*, ehtan *loh* ***geeks*** | 40 | rockers, there are the **geeks** |
| 41 | (…) *Loh* ***geeks*** son loØ que, | 41 | (…) the **geeks** are the ones that, |
| 42 | pueh loØ que le guhtan cosaØ | 42 | well, the ones that like stuff |
| 43 | de::= | 43 | from= |
| 44 Dave | Joaquín. | 44 Dave | Joaquin. |
| 45 Norman | ¿Qué? | 45 Norman | What? |
| 46 Dave | Joaquín. | 46 Dave | Joaquin. |
| 47 Norman | No, eso eØ un **nerd** ya. Un | 47 Norman | No, that's a **nerd** already. A |
| 48 | **geek** eØ máh, como que , que | 48 | **geek** is more, like, he |
| 49 | le guhta lah cosaØ de **<[Hari** | 49 | likes things of **Harry** |
| 50 | **Pote:l]>,** de magia: y esah | 50 | **Potter**, of magic, and |
| 51 | cosaØ. | 51 | stuff like that. |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 52 Katherine | Pero yo no e' vihto, <u>o sea</u> en el | 52 Katherine | But I have not seen, <u>I mean</u>, in |
| 53 | grado doce, mi pregunta= | 53 | twelfth grade, my question= |
| 54 Dave | Loh cacoh, loh cacoh, ehtan | 54 Dave | The cacos, the cacos, there are |
| 55 | lo- loh **geeks.** | 55 | the **geeks**. |
| 56 Katherine | Y, ¿Quiénes son los **geeks?** | 56 Katherine | Who are the **geeks**? |
| 57 Dave | <u>Pue::.</u> **I guess** Tiffany= | 57 Dave | <u>Well,</u> **I guess** Tiffany= |
| 58 Norman | Tiffany, tu, Lola, yo y otrah | 58 Norman | Tiffany, you, Lola, me and other |
| 59 | persona. | 59 | people. |
| 60 Katherine | <u>O sea</u>, ¿tu te defineh como | 60 Katherine | <u>So,</u> you would define yourself as a |
| 61 | **geek**? | 61 | **geek?** |
| 62 Dave | No, yo me defino como yoh, | 62 Dave | No, I define myself as myself, |
| 63 | poØque yo hablo con to' el | 63 | because I speak with every- |
| 64 | mundo. MenoØ loh cacoh, **I** | 64 | one. Except the cacos, **I** |
| 65 | **hate them.** Puedo, **<u>like</u>** decil- | 65 | **hate them.** I can**, <u>like,</u>** say to |
| 66 | le como doh o treh oracioneØ, | 66 | them like two or three sentences, |
| 67 | pero... | 67 | but… |

***Daniel.*** Other members of this community of practice, such as Daniel, utilise gaming features perhaps less, though he did partake in the competitions of *Crashy Road*. When asked what he did during his free time, he informed the researcher that he enjoyed practicing the cello and listening to classical music. He was also enrolled the regional Free Music School (*Escuela Libre de Música*). He was a simultaneously member of the Outsider CofP. He shared previous schooling experiences with members of this CofP – Zuriel, Fernando, and Eva – in a different private school institution in Mayagüez. Thus, when he was not seen engaging with other members of the Gamer CofP in Mission High, he could be seen sitting on the school hallways alongside friends from the Outside CofP, who regularly sat in front of the Advanced English classroom.

In his own CofP Daniel fell under middle class descriptions because of his prestigious schooling experiences as well as the financial stability of his mother and fathers occupation combined, both having received higher education.

*Table 11*. Gamer CofP sociodemographic information.

| | Gender | City of Birth | Job Score | Class Rank |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dave* | Male | Bronx, N.Y. | 9.5 | middle class* |
| Roberto | Male | Aguadilla | 7 | working class* |
| Norman | Male | Mayagüez | 12 | middle class |
| Daniel* | Male | Mayagüez | 12 | middle class |
| Fausto | Male | Aguadilla | 14 | upper middle class |

***Roberto.*** In terms of their socioeconomic standing, they were all comfortably middle class, although some of the members from this community of practice, such as Roberto, fell under a lower socioeconomic level than his peers, as the son of a single mother who was a salesperson at a boutique. Roberto shared a house with his cousin, Fiorela, also in this study, and a member of the 11th Grade *Choir Girl* community of practice. He was a member of the Mission Church organization, which consequently granted him a scholarship to attend the school. Because of his connections with members from higher socioeconomic standings, such as his cousin, he was upwardly mobile and able to invest in activities of members of middle class standing. He was up-to-date, for instance, with superhero films and TV series, such as *Jessica Jones* (Rosenberg, 2015), *Arrow* (Guggenheim et al., 2012), and *The Flash* (Berlanti, et al., 2014), which he routinely spoke about with other members of his group, such as Norman. He also watched some of these shows on Netflix, a movie and television streaming service accessible through monetary subscription (cf. Netfix Media Center, 2017). I also attempted to approach him about these topics, as I noted that he wore a Marvel themed backpack, the model seen below in Figure 37**.** The members of this group also often partook in conversations about cars, although this was not a defining characteristic for all of them. Daniel, for instance, knew very little about cars and at times was unable to partake in the same discussions that his friends would. Daniel could also be seen interacting with members of a different community of practice altogether, whom I call *The Outcasts* or *Black Souls* (discussed later in this section).




*Figure 37*. Roberto's (Gamer CofP) Marvel themed backpack.

## D) THE IN-BETWEEN JOCKS

*Table 12*. Socioeconomic composition of the In-Between Jock CofP

| | Gender | City of Birth | Job Score | Class Rank |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Emanuel | male | Rincón | 10 | middle class |
| Miguel | male | Orlando, Florida | 11 | middle class |
| Cristina | female | Añasco | 8 | lower middle class |

The Jock CofP was among the most challenging to reach. Despite my efforts at interacting with them during lunch time and before and after school, many of them were uncomfortable with the idea of being examined or recorded by a researcher. This community was primarily composed of individuals who were not as academically oriented as their other classmates. Many were enrolled in Intermediate level classes, such as Intermediate Spanish, Intermediate English, College Algebra, and lower-level Physics. Being transparent about who I was as a researcher, and my associations to academia, did not appeal to everyone in this group. Many were under the impression that I was invading their spaces and judging their linguistic and behavioral performances. It was therefore difficult to garner their interest, even following extensive informal interactions, participant observations, and volunteer work.

I managed to conduct interviews with three members of this group, two of which held dual membership in other communities of practice: Cristina (a simultaneous member of Pop Culture Enthusiasts) and Miguel (a passive member of the Gamer community of practice and casual bystander of the Pop culture enthusiasts group). When asked directly about how he saw himself in relation to his Grade, Miguel said 'Like, you know me, Dave, and Tiffany we're able to be with, like, a lot of groups of people in the school? Yeah, we could be wherever and we would still be chill with everyone.' In this instance, Miguel was taking ownership of his status as an *in-betweener* (cf. Eckert, 2000; Moore, 2010), or person who can be seen dividing his time across different groups of people.

It important to acknowledge that just like the concept of 'language', labelling practices involving categories such as *in-betweeners* can be conceptually problematic. As a term, *in-betweener* is ambiguous and unable to capture the practices – behavioral and other – of its members. As Emma Moore (2010) puts it: it could either refer to someone who affiliates more as a *geek* or a *popular,* thus being somewhere in a continuum of affiliation (p. 361). In the case of Miguel, adopting a mixt identity demonstrated agency in his construction of social identity, and a simultaneous refusal to always being around

the same group of people every day. Consequently, Miguel could be seen participating in numerous linguistic practices, ranging from Spanish-dominant (when seen around *Jocks*) to English-dominant (when seen around the *Gamers* or the *Pop Culture Enthusiasts*). Those others to which he referred to as also sharing in-betweener status maintained affiliations with other groups: Tiffany (not featured in this study) was an active member of the Pop Culture Enthusiast CofP and Choir Girl CofP, while Dave (featured in this study) was an active member of the Gamer CofP and occasionally the Pop Culture Enthusiasts CofP. Cristina, not mentioned in the interview with Miguel, was also linked to several groups including the Jock community of practice and the Pop Culture Enthusiasts, her style of speaking also shifted according to topic and addressee.

A setback of incorporating in-betweener as a CofP label is that it is, to some extent, an ambiguous form of identification. As Moore (2010) puts it: 'the term in-betweener mat be used as a generic label by those who realise that they do not fully fit the stereotype of the group with whom they share the majority of the social practices' (p. 361). Nonetheless, there were some shared characteristics and behaviors in all of these individuals that would merit the creation of a subgroup CofP to the larger Jock CofP. Recall that part of Wegner's (1998) definition of what a CofP is: a group of people 'informally bound by what they do together – from engaging in lunchtime discussions to solving difficult problems' (Defining CofPs, para. 2). A CofP is not necessarily a geographic entity, or a spatially segregated community; it is not a community of interest, although members may share interests on account of mutually engaging in a practice. Rather, the three measurements used to determine what a CofP is is the notion of engaging in (1) a shared enterprise or practice, (2) having mutual engagement with each other, (3) sharing a repertoire (e.g. routines, sensibilities, artifacts, vocabulary, styles, etc.) (IBID). The *In-Betweener* CofP possessed a shared enterprise, they all met during lunchtime in the school Courtyard (featured in the following page) with the same group of friends to tell jokes, discuss their disapproval of other classmates, worries about upcoming tests, how much they disliked the English teacher, when their next drinking social activity would be, when they would visit a friend's poolhouse, or when they would go to a sports game together (or when their sports match would be). Members of this CofP were enrolled in Physical Education (P.E.) as an elective. They all spoke to each other, and were active members of the *Jock* CofP, peripheral members of other CofPs, and they shared similar routines to *Jock-Jock* members (class schedules, sports schedule, lunch hours, lunch spots, and clothing tastes). For guys, clothing attire involved the use of

jerseys or sport uniforms, and the use of surfing brands as backpack wear, and Nike shoes as their go to shoe item. Girls, typically members of the volleyball team, could also be seeing wearing sports team attire, surfing brand accessories (keychains, backpacks), long white socks, and skirts above the knee (not following rule of above the knee/below the knee length).

### E) CHOIR GIRLS

One of the most welcoming communities of practice were the Choir Girls. After the first two months of ethnography, I kept getting invited to attend events hosted by 11th graders, I was often asked by school staff to look after them. Additionally, some of the class representatives and members of the executive committee for Grade 11 approached me and asked me for help in an activity they were hosting for Puerto Rican night. I was able to establish positive rapport with them in a faster more organic way than with 12th graders. While 12th graders were very much divided in terms of their peer groups and were segregated, members of 11th grade were united and often interacted with each other, despite belonging to different friendship circles. Because I did not wish to depart from the chief age demographic, Grade 12, I have included one community of practice from Grade 11. The reason for accepting to interview this particular group stems from my interest in their linguistic practices, which were deviant from the dominant social norm in Mission High, which was dominant Puerto Rican Spanish use with occasional insertion (and, at times alternational) linguistic strategies. For the 11th Grade girls, adopting English as a matrix language (Myers-Scotton, 1998).

*Table 13*. Sociodemographic summary of Choir Girls CofP.

| | Gender | City of Birth | Job Score | Class Rank |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Fiorela | female | Aguadilla | 12 | middle class |
| Pilar | female | Mayagüez | 12 | upper middle class |
| Amaris | female | Mayagüez | 12.5 | upper middle class |
| Dianid | female | Mayagüez | 11.5 | lower middle class |
| Mariela | female | Mayagüez | 6.5 | lower middle class |
| Erica | female | Mayagüez | 9 | upper working class |

Through informal and formal consultation with students in Mission High, I show how I came to arrive at such labels that will serve as social units of observation in the linguistic analysis that is to follow in Chapter 6. Below I provide a summary of alternative labels,

and how these led me to decide or construct the decisive label for different communities of practice.

Table 14. Labelling strategies for peer groups in private school.

| *Choir Group* | *Pop Enthusiasts* | *Gamers* | *Jocks* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Loh crihtiano | La bicha<br>The potato girls<br>The 'Chill' girls | Gamers<br>Nerds<br>Geeks<br>Emo<br>Rockers | Loh caco<br>Aquel grupo<br>Jocks<br>Loh populare |

## 5.2.10 Educational Experiences in Students from Mission High

*Class & Education*

Alicia Pousada's (2000) study of the *competent bilingual* in Puerto Rico suggests that English language practices, and by that same logic English competence, is most likely found among island upper-class elite. However, her observations are informed by Census statistics (see Pousada, 2008, 2010), which use categorization techniques that are reductionist by nature, prescribed by powerful institutions (i.e. US Census Bureau), and not necessarily reflective of real practice. Furthermore, survey data rely on the assumption that self-report is accurate or valid. Nonetheless, whether this is a justifiable assumption to make or not, studies on *elite* islanders have yielded interesting results, particularly in suggesting the type of opportunities that may have cultivated a superior attainment of English as a second language. For instance, *private bilingual education* has often been suggested as top social factor in the promotion of English as a second language (see Carroll, 2009, p. 207[69]). Second to this, other factors, such as those to do with *parental occupation* and *travel opportunities* (both good indicators of class) have been listed as

[69] In his study of language policy in Aruba and Puerto Rico, Carroll finds socioeconomic status to be a recurring theme in the "language acquisition planning": "…children whose parents are able to afford to send them to a private school have an almost immediate advantage toward those whose parents do not have the same resources." Yet he also goes on to argue later that though they have a clear advantage, "it is not clear why private school students are so much more successful in learning English than their public-school peers in Puerto Rico." (p. 247).

follow up reasons (Pousada, 2000, p. 111).[70] For linguistic research, it makes sense to view children as the product of their parents' occupation and income as the majority "have no income or occupation of their own, and all of whom are still completing their education" (Fought, 1997: 56). Furthermore, coupled together – education type, parental occupation, and – to some extent – travel opportunities can be seen as feeding into the overarching concept of class rank (see Urciuoli, 1996). Perez Casas (2009) goes as far to say that "ultimate attainment" in English as a second language is achieved through "power relations" or opportunities accessible only to those in higher economic standing[71] (pg. 96).

While *education* does play an essential role alongside class, multiple studies in the area of Puerto Rican sociolinguistics have often treated the both as synonymous to each other, or often reflective of each other. That is, that those belonging to middle or upper middle classes are found in elite schools, and those who have lower-middle or working class upbringing can be found in public school institutions (cf. Hermina, 2014; Perez Casas, 2008; Pousada, 2000). In this way, several linguists have argued that schooling plays an instrumental role in cementing differences in linguistic behavior among individuals from different social classes. An assumption that is largely problematic, given its ignorance of the phenomenon of upward mobility (Fought, 1997: 65) as well as speaker agency based on the *community of practice* approach (see Eckert, 2000). For instance, in a study conducted by Janette Hermina (2014) Puerto Rico was described as a country possessing two speech communities, namely, the upper-middle classes versus the lower middle and working classes, each who were assumed to be exposed to different educational systems. Hermina goes as far as to suggest that schools are the "driving vehicle" that cement class stratification differences, as can be inferred from the citation below:

> "It seems that the public schools and private schools are the vehicles that form this class stratification and division (Kerkhof, 2001; Torruellas, 1990). The children who attend these two different kinds of schools are part of the two speech

[70] Others have cited sociocultural factors, such as those to do with ideologies of language, such as an awareness of the symbolic capital tied to the English language, or a resistance to English coupled with conservative views regarding Spanish maintenance (cf. Clachar, 1997).

[71] "Among the variables at play in communication among this group of bilinguals are: access to and quality of education; personal and parental motivation; family and peer environment, and one element that perhaps lies further from their control, societal power relationships and the symbolic means through which these relationships are enacted." (Perez Casas, 2008:96)

> communities previously proposed. Middle class families in Puerto Rico include a wide range of professionals who would register their children in public schools or private schools depending on their income. Thus, the middle class has children acquiring English in both speech communities." (Hermina, 2014: 7).

Such essentialist claims with regards to class and education have characterized a large amount of studies in Puerto Rican linguistics. On a practical level, these traditional scales of measuring class are hard to apply, particularly since they do not take into account alternative circumstances by which a child could had received private bilingual education. For instance, within my own sample there were cases in which the only reasons why certain students could afford private schooling were because of their religious affiliation and subsequent scholarship to attend Christian Mission Schools, or because there was a third-party involved (such as a grandparent) to help pay for their school tuition. In my very first week observing private schools, I sat in the Advanced English class with twelfth graders and was shocked to hear a student's confession of his household economic reality:

> "Some days we go without dinner because my mom can't afford it" - Leroy, male, 17 years old (October 2015).

The student's confession in the classroom was not made at random. The teacher had chosen to discuss Esmerald's Santiago's (1993) autobiographical memoir *When I was a Puerto Rican,* a story that details one family's motivation to move abroad to New York City in search of a better life. Up for discussion was whether students in the classroom would consider moving abroad, leaving what they know behind, in search of professional and economic improvement, following the example of the author's journey. During this exchange, Leroy confessed his financial situation, his family being unable to pay bills and pay for basic necessities due to the unemployment situation on the island. In this sense, he looked to the U.S. with a sense of hope and optimism, and as a way of escaping his current reality and achieving upward mobility. This was a similar motivation found in many of my observations and interviews in both school environments. Having Leroy step up in a room of presumably 'privileged' classmates served as a reminder as to how education and class relations are not always predictable concepts.

Other exceptional cases kept emerging during my residences. For instance, Dave, a prominent figure in my sample set in the private school, revealed to me in one of his interviews that if it had not been for his grandmother, he would have not been able to attend Mission High. Dave also lived with his grandmother and mother in a prestigious

gated community, known for its European-style architecture and French-inspired street names, an accommodation entirely paid by his wealthy grandmother. Parental occupation in this scenario would have not sufficed in assessing an individual's access to educational opportunities and prestigious upbringing,[72] rather grandparental income was to be considered. Without ethnographic insight into Dave's living situation, it would have been problematic to define his social standing based solely on his parents' occupation.

[72] Dave often struggled to attend school, as his mother (working a clerical position) had irregular working hours and could not always bring him on time.

To see an education type break-down of each participant, refer to the Table below.

*Table 15*. Education Background for Students in Mission High Private School.

| CofP | Pseudonym | English | Education | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Elementary | Secondary |
| **Outsiders** | Zuriel | Intermediate | Private - Bilingual | Private - Bilingual |
| | Daniel* | Intermediate | Private - Bilingual | Private - Bilingual |
| | Fernando* | Advanced | Private - Bilingual | Private - Bilingual |
| **Pop Culture Enthusiasts** | Laura | Advanced | Private - Bilingual | Private - Bilingual |
| | Cristina* | Advanced | Private - Bilingual | Private - Bilingual |
| | Tatiana | Advanced | Private - Bilingual | Private - Bilingual |
| | Fernando* | Advanced | Private - Bilingual | Private - Bilingual |
| **Gamer** | Daniel* | Intermediate | Private - Bilingual | Private - Bilingual |
| | Dave | Intermediate | Private - Bilingual | Private - Bilingual |
| | Fausto | Intermediate | Private - Bilingual | Private - Bilingual |
| | Norman | Advanced | Private - Bilingual | Private - Bilingual |
| | Roberto | Advanced | Public - Monolingual | Private - Bilingual |
| | Emanuel* | Advanced | Private - Bilingual | Private - Bilingual |
| | Pablo | Advanced | Private - Bilingual | Private - Bilingual |
| **Jocks** | Cristina* | Advanced | Private - Bilingual | Private - Bilingual |
| | Emanuel* | Advanced | Private - Bilingual | Private - Bilingual |
| | Miguel* | Advanced | Public - U.S.A. | Private - Bilingual |
| **Choir** | Fiorela | Advanced | Private - Bilingual | Private - Bilingual |
| | Pilar | Advanced | Private - Bilingual | Private - Bilingual |
| | Dianid | Advanced | Private - Bilingual | Private - Bilingual |
| | Mariela | Advanced | Private - Bilingual | Private - Bilingual |
| | Erica | Advanced | Private - Bilingual | Private - Bilingual |

*Note: Asterisks are used next to names that hold dual memberships, i.e. they engage in more than one CofP.*

A glance at the different educational opportunities offered to students at Mission High (Table 17) allow us to arrive at an understanding of their privileged backgrounds when it comes to English language education on the island. Indeed, it is the knowledge of this language that opens up opportunities for employment on the island and beyond, and is also helpful in contexts of higher education (cf. Carroll & Mazak, 2017). These students have the advantage of linguistic exposure, the linguistic affordance, and the *option* to align or disalign with bilingual practices, according to their linguistic desire. With the

exception of two, the rest of the population sample involved students who had been socialized in private bilingual settings. This type of exposure puts these students at an advantage in comparison to others who have not received the same level of exposure or English language education.

### 5.2.11 Applying Fought's (1997) Class Typology to Mission High

Mission High's social demographics (Table 16) suggest that the private-school-elite correlation is not as clear-cut as previous models of social class on the island have suggested. The majority of the students appear to fall under middle class and upper middle class labels, though some but few fall under 'working class' labels, with parents who conduct vocational or blue collar professions, such as barbers, salespeople, chefs, and technicians. Additionally, partners of some of these couples are unemployed. This then leads one to arrive at the following explanation as to how students come about acquiring private school education: through external relatives (e.g. such as a wealthy grandparents, and/or uncle), or special scholarships provided by a religious organization, such as Mission Churches.

Table 16 suggests that shared socioeconomic background *is not* a distinctive feature or contributer to the formation of social identities within this school, as most belong to similar socioeconomic and educational upbringings.

Table 16. Occupation and socioeconomic index of parents in Mission High.

| CofP | Pseud. | Adv. | Parent A | Parent B | Job Score | Class Group |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Outsiders | Zuriel | N | Deceased | Manager at a Bank | 14 | UMC |
| | Daniel* | N | Nurse | Unemployed | 12 | MC |
| | Fernando* | N | Primary school teacher | Professor | 14 | UMC |
| Pop Culture Enthusiasts | Laura | N | Stay-at-home parent | Company Owner/ Musician | 13 | UMC |
| | Cristina* | Y | Medical technician | Barber | 7 | MC |
| | Tatiana | N | Stay-at-home parent | Accountant | 15 | UMC |
| | Fernando* | N | Primary school teacher | Professor | 14 | UMC |
| Gamers | Daniel* | N | Nurse | Unemployed | 12 | MC |
| | Dave | N | Manager's Assistant at 'Aqueductos' | Salesperson | 9.5 | LMC |
| | Fausto | Y | Stay-at-Home Parent | Doctor | 15 | UMC |
| | Norman | Y | Operations manager | Medical Insurance representative | 12 | MC |
| | Roberto | Y | Salesperson at Boutique | N/A | 7 | WC |
| | Emanuel* | Y | Social worker | Chef | 10 | LMC |
| | Pablo | N | Waitress | Lawyer | 14 | UMC |
| In-Between Jocks | Cristina* | Y | Medical technologist | Barber | 8 | MC |
| | Emanuel* | Y | Social worker | Chef | 10 | LMC |
| | Miguel* | N | Primary school teacher | N/A | 11 | MC |
| Choir | Fiorela | Y | Primary school teacher | N/A | 11 | MC |
| | Pilar | N | Secretary | Owner of Company | 13 | UMC |
| | Dianid | Y | Nurse | Associate Nurse | 12 | MC |
| | Mariela | Y | Stay-at-home parent | Refrigeration Technician | 7 | WC |
| | Erica | Y | Administrative Secretary | Lifeguard | 9 | LMC |

*Note: Asterisks are used next to names that hold dual memberships, i.e. they engage in more than one CofP. CofP = Community of Practice; N/Y = No/Yes; Adv. = Adventist; UMC = upper middle class; MC = middle class; LMC = lower middle class; WC =working class.*

## 5.3 O'REILLY HIGH SCHOOL

### 5.3.1 ACADEMIC IDENTITY

O'Reilly High is a publically run institution that depended on federal funds from the government. It answered to the highest authority of public school education, *El Departamento de Educación de Puerto Rico* (DEPR). It was exclusively a high school and did not offer primary (K – 6) or intermediate level (7 - 9) education. It offered courses according to the national curriculum, conducted annual examinations so as to measure the academic progress of the institution, and regularly sent out circular letters and forms updating schools on the latest policy changes.[73] Online it markets itself in the Spanish language, as one of the major public institutions in the region of Mayagüez offering high school education, it also emphasizes its central and accessible location as positioned in the city centre. In contrast to Mission High, O'Reilly High also offers vocational education, and has specialized programs besides its General program (which teachers the core courses), to do with Marketing and Commerce. Their wide range of specialties is advertised on the school site and brochures located outside of the principal's office:

> El desarrollo de la Escuela ideal y la conservacion del ambiente. En el aspecto académico, esta escuela, además de ofrecer las clases básicas, ofrece también cursos vocacionales en el área de Administración de Empresas y Mercadeo.
>
> "The development of the ideal School and the conservation of the environment. In the academic aspect, this school, besides offering basic courses, also offers vocational courses in areas of Business Administration and Marketing."

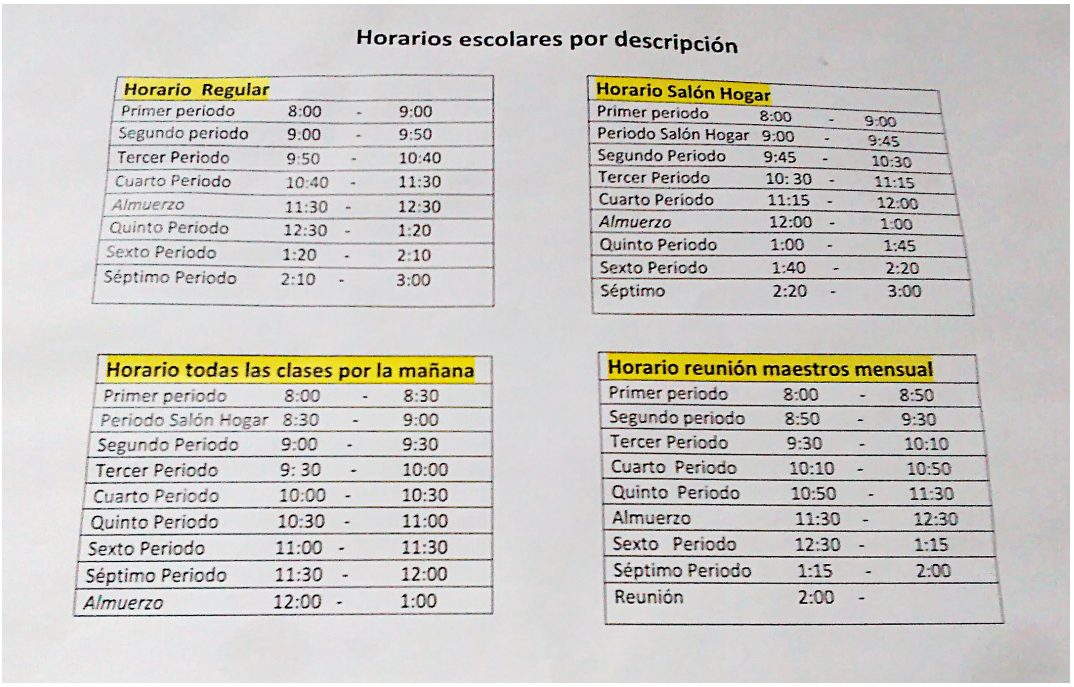
I chose O'Reilly High as a school of interest given its position as one of the major public school institutions in the Mayaguez region. O'Reilly High school was composed of 858 pupils by the time this study took place. Approximately 451 of the student body in O'Reilly lived under the poverty line, which is roughly over half of the student population, a 53% (DEPR, 2015). Consequently, O'Reilly High had a fairly heterogeneous student body composition, which made it an ideal location for the study of sociolinguistic variation to take place. Additionally, O'Reilly High was located in an urbanized region of the town of Mayagüez, as opposed to the suburban surroundings of

[73] For instance, during my time at O'Reilly High, one of the first circular letters of the year was to do with the uniform policy. The school had adopted a flexible policy by which students were free to dress according to their gender identity.

Mission High, which was also the case for many public schools on the island which are strategically placed in geographical positions where they may be of more use to islanders, as opposed to lesser populated public schools in mountainous, remote regions of the island. In its identity, O'Reilly marketed itself as an "urban school" and urban as a label was part of its original full name (not mentioned here, following ethical guidelines). O'Reilly High was one of the three public institutions offering high school education in the region of Mayagüez.

A second motivation to observing this particular community layed in its course offering, beyond offering the core courses found in regular public serving academic institutions, O'Reilly High served a dual role as a vocational institution. It offered students the opportunity of enrolling in three different programs: Commerce, Marketing, and General. In order to be a part of either of the three participants had to comply with specific requirements, such as maintain a particular grade point average or take specific courses. In this sense, O'Reilly provided me with the best of both worlds, it offered a look into how a typical public school institution would run (based on core courses), but it simultaneously offered a look at how a vocational-serving school was run.

In contrast to Mission High, O'Reilly High made no promises of schooling students in a 'safe' or spiritual environment. And provided a more flexible class schedule to students, one that mimicked university settings and involved a 'free hour' for students, in addition to lunch hour. Consequently, when walking through school halls it was not surprising to see a number of students outside of their classrooms and strolling around campus grounds. Students had more freedom in terms of what they chose to do with their free hours, and they could also be seen walking outside of school grounds in surrounding areas, such as neighboring food locales. Figure 38 demonstrates the academic calendar, positioned outside of the school principal's office. Given the size of the school and course offerings, this class schedule is less specific than the one offered by Mission High, as it would be impractical to print out numerous class schedules when students had the liberty of taking courses in Data Entry, Accounting, Information Technology, Home Economics, Parenting, Music, Geography, among others.



**Horarios escolares por descripción**

| Horario Regular | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Primer periodo | 8:00 | - | 9:00 |
| Segundo periodo | 9:00 | - | 9:50 |
| Tercer Periodo | 9:50 | - | 10:40 |
| Cuarto Periodo | 10:40 | - | 11:30 |
| Almuerzo | 11:30 | - | 12:30 |
| Quinto Periodo | 12:30 | - | 1:20 |
| Sexto Periodo | 1:20 | - | 2:10 |
| Séptimo Periodo | 2:10 | - | 3:00 |

| Horario Salón Hogar | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Primer periodo | 8:00 | - | 9:00 |
| Periodo Salón Hogar | 9:00 | - | 9:45 |
| Segundo Periodo | 9:45 | - | 10:30 |
| Tercer Periodo | 10: 30 | - | 11:15 |
| Cuarto Periodo | 11:15 | - | 12:00 |
| Almuerzo | 12:00 | - | 1:00 |
| Quinto Periodo | 1:00 | - | 1:45 |
| Sexto Periodo | 1:40 | - | 2:20 |
| Séptimo | 2:20 | - | 3:00 |

| Horario todas las clases por la mañana | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Primer periodo | 8:00 | - | 8:30 |
| Periodo Salón Hogar | 8:30 | - | 9:00 |
| Segundo Periodo | 9:00 | - | 9:30 |
| Tercer Periodo | 9: 30 | - | 10:00 |
| Cuarto Periodo | 10:00 | - | 10:30 |
| Quinto Periodo | 10:30 | - | 11:00 |
| Sexto Periodo | 11:00 | - | 11:30 |
| Séptimo Periodo | 11:30 | - | 12:00 |
| Almuerzo | 12:00 | - | 1:00 |

| Horario reunión maestros mensual | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Primer periodo | 8:00 | - | 8:50 |
| Segundo periodo | 8:50 | - | 9:30 |
| Tercer Periodo | 9:30 | - | 10:10 |
| Cuarto Periodo | 10:10 | - | 10:50 |
| Quinto Periodo | 10:50 | - | 11:30 |
| Almuerzo | 11:30 | - | 12:30 |
| Sexto Periodo | 12:30 | - | 1:15 |
| Séptimo Periodo | 1:15 | - | 2:00 |
| Reunión | 2:00 | - | |

*Figure 38*. A copy of the class schedule for every student at O'Reilly High.

## 5.3.2. DEMOGRAPHICS

O'Reilly High was composed of 858 pupils, 53% of these classified as living below the poverty level on the island (DEPR, 2015). In comparison to other schools within the region of Mayagüez, O'Reilly High exhibited the highest percentage of students living below the level of poverty, which was of no surprise as it was also the largest institution serving the highest number of students. Unlike Mission High, O'Reilly High school did little to dictate socialization practices between grades. This meant that within some of the communities of practice I will discuss in this section, there were also members of 10th (15– 16 year olds) and 11th (16 - 17 year olds) grade[74]. However, as in Mission, my account will specifically focus on describing students from Grade 12 (17 – 18 year olds) and the communities of practice in which they engaged in and their shared behaviors and repertoires.

12th grade students made up 34% of the population at O'Reilly High at the time of the study, with a total of 291 pupils. 96% of these students were of Puerto Rican

[74] This also means that communities are not comparable against each other because of the differences in student body population.

descent[75]. The 12th grade class had a slightly larger number of female students, with 55.7% of students' female and 44.3% males. In terms of socioeconomic make-up 75% (219) of the class fell below the level of poverty, whereas 32% (71) classified above the level of poverty (DEPR, 2015), a particularly high percentage of students lived below the level of poverty in 12th grade alone, considering the overall statistic for the entire student body (all grades) was 53%.

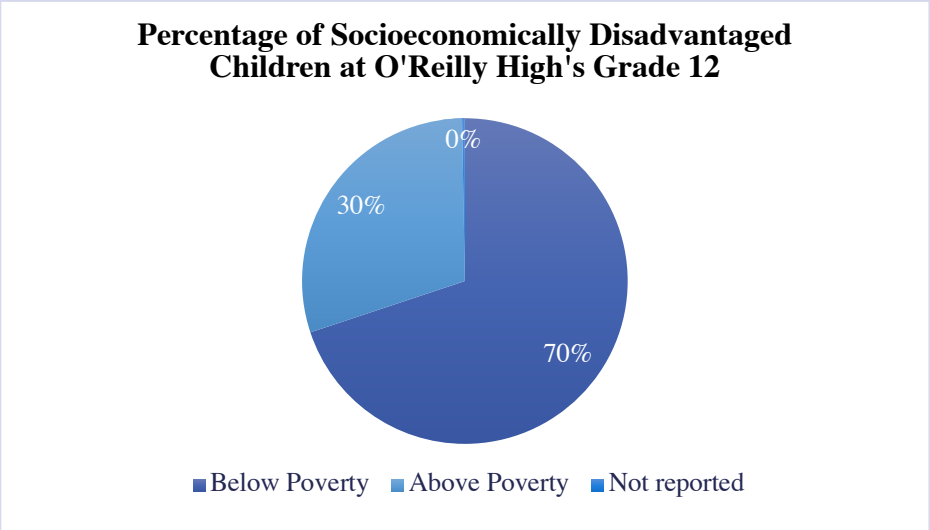



*Figure 39*. Visual Representation of the Socioeconomic Make-Up of the 12th Grade Student Body.

It is worth noting that O'Reilly High produced information of their student population that Mission High Private School did not. In their parent-caretaker surveys, they gathered information on ethnicity, percentage of socioeconomically disadvantaged families (measured by 'poverty line' index), sex, and number of students per class. Meanwhile, Mission supplied figures on the students' religious inclinations, the number of students per class, and gender orientation (traditionally defined in binary 'male' and 'female'), but concealed information related to socioeconomic and ethnic make-up.

As a public school institution, O'Reilly High was to measure students' performance through standardized tests previously known as *Las Pruebas Puertorriqueñas* 'the Puerto Rican Tests', now called *META-PR* which stands for *Medición Educativa para la Transformación Académica de Puerto Rico* or 'Educational Metric of the Academic Transformation of Puerto Rico' (Lenín López, 2015). These tests measure the academic performance of students in Math, Science, English, and Spanish.

[75] According to data from the regional office of the Department of Education in Puerto Rico in Mayagüez, approximately 99% of students from Grade 12 at O'Reilly High were of Puerto Rican descent: 282 out of 298 students (DEPR, 2015).

The results for these tests also form part of the student's overall Grade. Results for the English language test in year 2014 can be found in Figure 40. As is demonstrated by the graph, English competence in O'Reilly High is mixed, with approximately half of the 12th grade students performing at 'Pre-Basic' and 'Basic' levels and the other half at 'Proficient' and 'Advanced' levels.

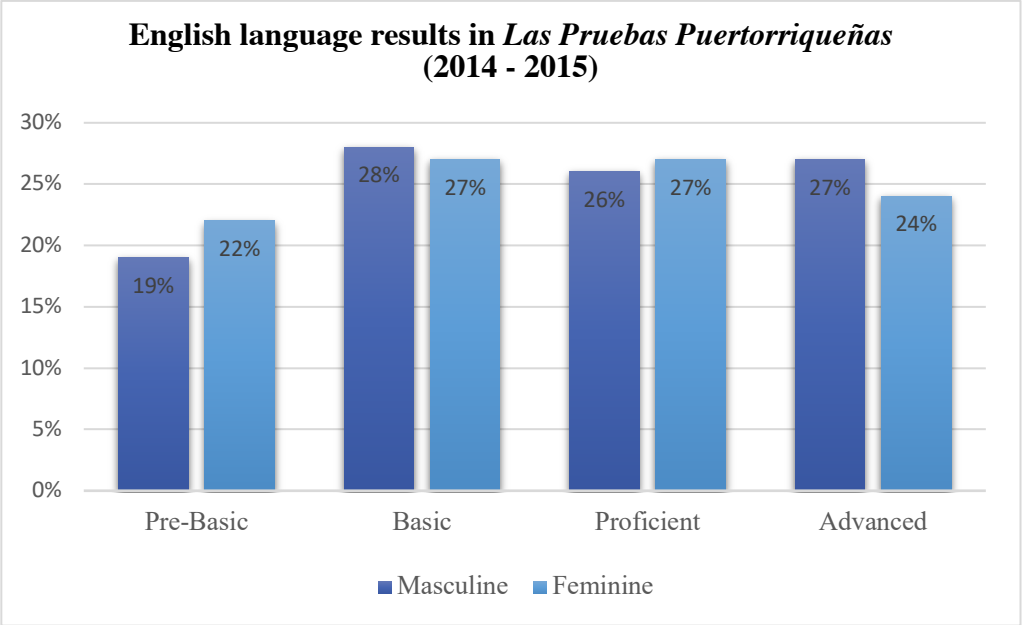



*Figure 40*. English Language Results in Las Pruebas Puertorriqueñas for O'Reilly High School (Academic Year 2014 – 2015).

### 5.3.3 Location and Facilities

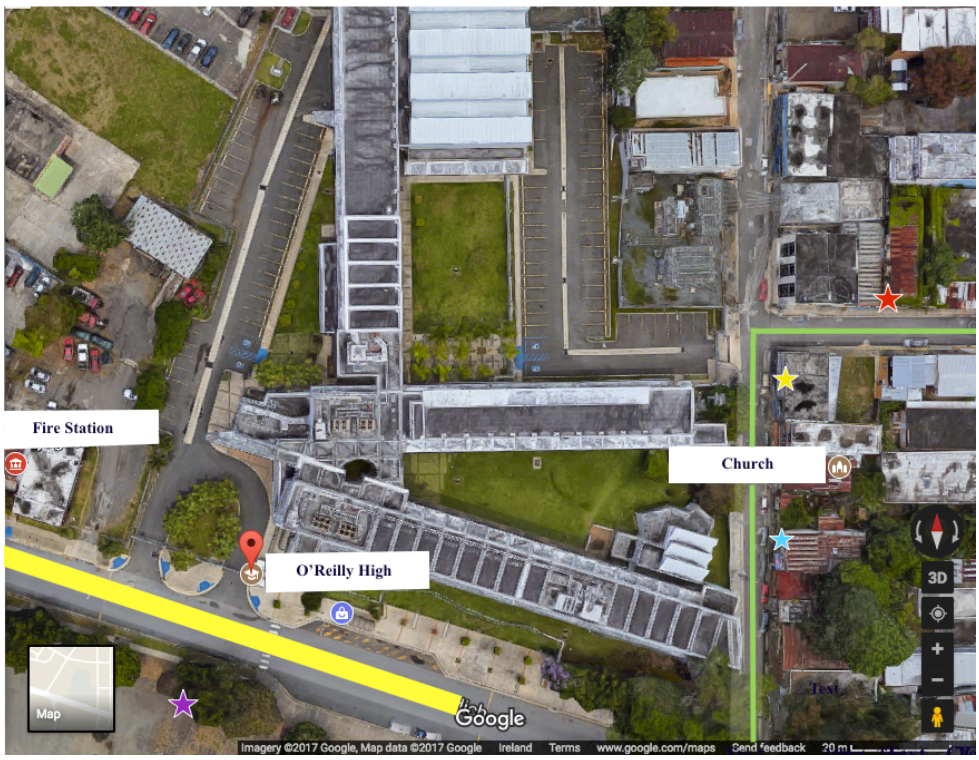



*Figure 41*. Aerial shot of O'Reilly High.

O'Reilly High School is located in a central, well-transited urban region of Mayagüez city. It is surrounded by government agencies, such as the local fire station and police headquarters (transit and emergency services), legal consultants or solicitors offices, a small supermarket, and neighboring two large blocks of council houses. The school was also a ten-minute walk from the city centre, and a five-minute walk from Puerto Rico Highway #2, the longest highway on the island (230 km long) which connected to city of Mayaguez to other big towns like Ponce and San Juan (the capital). For students, a number of small food kiosks were also available in the external surroundings, such as a food truck that served coffee and empanadas for the price of $1 USD each, or a nearby frappe shop in which some students helped run as part-time jobs. On the back of campus, there were two sandwich shops which catered to the student population in O'Reilly High and served food and snacks also for the price of one dollar. On my first week at O'Reilly, after having attended the Advanced English class for the first time, I bonded with one of the students over a $1 USD chicken *pincho* ' kebab'. The shop also served warm ham and cheese sandwiches, locally made soft-drinks like *Malta India* (a carbonated malt beverage, locally made in Mayagüez) and *Piña Buena* (Puerto

Rican pineapple soda*), Old Colony* (Puerto Rican soft drink in Pineapple and Grape flavors), together with recognizable American brands of *Coca-Cola* and *Sprite*.

During my first months at O'Reilly High it became apparent that 'where you ate for lunch' served as an identifier of peer group identity, as well as socioeconomic standing. Students that were given daily allowances (typically one dollar to two dollars a day), could be seen going to neighboring sandwich shops to buy their warm sandwiches, pinchos, and/or soft drinks. One of the sandwich shops *La Cuevita* 'The Little Cave', decorated with colorful graffiti, was frequented by members of the Jock CofP. *Cambus,* a take on the English word 'Campus', was attended by members of the Rocker, Gamer, and Bookworm CofPs. Its decore was simple, white walls and café-style benches and tables. Most students went to the cafeteria, where food was supplied by the Department of Education and was free.



*Figure 42.* Buildings a and B in O'Reilly High.

The campus was composed of three wings and three levels: Buildings A, B, and C respectively. At the beginning of my ethnography, I was often told that Building C was the latest addition to O'Reilly High campus and that many classrooms remained unused.

Some of the classrooms, particularly in the older wings of campus, were in need of refurbishing and upkeep. For instance, students were prohibited from using the wooden stage in the school auditorium as it was to have drywood termites. Meanwhile, Mission High had a state-of-the-art indoor gymnasium powered by electricity and air-conditioning, with wooden bleachers.

Other campus facilities included a small shack located near the Marketing classroom, which students called *La Cooperativa* 'the School Co-Op', previously run by Marketing students but shut down as of 2013. In previous years, students from Marketing and Commerce programs would earn 'community hours' or *horas comunitarias* by participating in this shop. It previously sold candies, snacks, and drinks to the wider school community at a reasonable rate.

The school had a sports facility located just off *Edificio C* (Building C), used by members of the Jock CofP to play basketball. The gymnasium was outdoors, covered by zinc roofing panels. Few classrooms had access to air conditioning – often deemed a luxury in Puerto Rico – though most computer labs in the 3rd level had air-conditioning units. The cafeteria was located near the school lobby and open during 11:30am – 1:00pm, hours which changed according to half or full days. Like the school gym, it provided another space in which students could socialize with others from different classrooms, though most students opted for friends from the same age group and community of practice. There was freedom to roam during lunchtime, and students were free to come and go as they pleased. During lunchtime most students sat around courtyards in the school. There were two courtyards: (1) one located in front of *Edificio* C, where students from 10th and 11th grade would interact, (2) the other located in between *Edificio* A and B, where 12th grade students frequented.

### 5.3.4 Policing in O'Reilly High

There was one security guard patrolling the school hallways. Her role was to ensure that students' safety and to instill an environment of quiet and discipline. She often put a halt to fights, examined students' uniforms and ensured they were to dress code standards, and ensured that the third and second level of the school was unoccupied during lunch hours. Because of the large size of the campus, the security guard was not easily spotted. Students' orientation to her as an authority figure was particularly enlightening for the

detection of communities of practice. There were school communities that were defiant of her mandate, and would engage in forbidden activities, such as bringing explosives to campus grounds. On one occasion, around winter time and end of term, I walked through the school hallways and heard a loud bang coming from a bin near the lobby area – some students from the Jock CofP were mischievously setting off fireworks (cherry bombs) inside school bins. Immediately, I spotted the school security guard running towards them and conducting a backpack search in that region (Observations, December 2015).

Other misconducts found in O'Reilly High involved the failure to comply with school uniform regulations. For instance, several members of the Japanese subculture community could be seen wearing beanies, some wearing band shirts or Pokemon attire during lunch time. Meanwhile, members from the jock community of practice often got away with wearing alternative clothing to the school uniform, such as sleeveless shirts or baseball caps, as they could use the excuse of 'getting out of practice' and having indecent and dirty attire. One of my participants, Dánica in my sample, was often brought to the principal's office for misbehaving in classrooms, cutting class, and wearing non-designated polos as her school uniform that were not appropriately fitted and at times showed a tattoo she had on her lower back. Consequently, many members from different communities of practice referred to her as *la nena del tatuaje* ('tattoo girl'). During one of my conversations with Dánica, the school principal intervened and offered her opinion on Dánica and her behaviour, assuring me that she was a "good girl", and that her only problem was that she needed to abide by the school uniform rules and not show skin (Dánica's interview, transcripts, pg. 18). During the small interruption, the principal also positioned herself as a caring, mother-like figure, who wanted what was best for Dánica. She went as far as to help Dánica adjust her school uniform during this conversation, all the while saying *vamos a taparle la barriga* "let's cover her stomach". She then said to me *tu no puedes creer tanto que peleo con ella porque ella es una menor* "you cannot believe how much I fight with her because she is a minor" (Dánica's interview, transcripts, pg. 18). Therefore, emphasizing her position as a figure of authority, discipline, and wanting what was best for students, all the while inhabiting an almost mother-like stance by insinuating that they get into frequent arguments over this matter.

*Phone Policing*

In terms of phone usage, students were free to roam around the school with their phones, as long as it took place outside of the classroom. There was no policing on what they did with their smartphones or what content they viewed on them. Figure 43 suggest some content-specific policing that made reference to the usage of social media in the classroom. However, instead of prohibiting the usage of such applications, it appeared to be a message targeted at bullying through smartphone applications (e.g. *Instagram*, *iMessage*, *Google +*, *Facebook*, *Mail*, *Twitter*, and Voice Call), in the phrase "before you…. THINK! Is it true, helpful, inspiring, necessary, kind." In its flexible approach to phone use in the classroom, O'Reilly High stood in stark contrast to Mission High. During my observations of December 2015, for instance, when a student was giving an oral report, I noticed that one of their classmates held their phone up discreetly and was recording a close-up video of their friend presenting and uploading it to Snapchat (field notes, December 2015).




*Figure 43*. Locally-created poster by Advanced English teacher. Features referencing to social networking sites such as iMessage, Instagram, Facebook, Gmail, and others .

### 5.3.5 Events and Activities

O'Reilly High offered a wide range of school activities, some similar to those found in Mission High and took place around the same time (eg. Puerto Rican Night). Because of the different course offerings and vocational programs in O'Reilly High, they also offered a host of activities unique to this particular institution, such as Semana del Mercadeo (*Marketing Week*) or Semana de Comercio (*Commerce Week*). In addition to this, they often hosted talks to help the advancement and professional development of their students, such as College Day, International Day Against Bullying, Initiation Seminar of Student Living, among others. There were also specific days dedicated to staff members within the school community, such as the Week of the Social Worker, Librarian Week, and Week of the Teacher (*Semana del Maestro*). Other school holidays included Heritage Week (Semana de la Raza), Week for the Conservation of Natural Resources, and Puerto Rican Week (*Semana de la Puertorriqueñidad*).

*Professional Development Activities*

Some of the activities offered by O'Reilly High fostered professional and educational development beyond high school. This was a distinctive characteristic of the public school community, unseen in private school contexts. While the private school system did encourage students to excel academically, specifically in the annual standardized college entrance exams, or College Boards, held island wide, they did not have specific days in which students could hear from in individuals from different schools, although a guest speaker from the Mission Universities was always welcomed. During college day students would hear from representatives from different universities around the island which would encourage public school students to think about applying to their institutions. Also a part of this academic display were the options of navy and army, as can be suggested by the black sticker in the bulletin board that displays the website *goarmy.com* (Figure 44). The fact that students in this particular learning environment were advertised the opportunity to enlist suggests some of the distinct social circumstances that make-up each community. In other words, while those that attend Mission are being told that they may continue on to higher education institutions, such as Mission's very own private university, the youth in public school institutions are given the fuller picture – local universities, training institutions, or the army. The idea of enlisting is seen as a practical option for many who do not feel like they can afford to go

on to university, the benefits are clear: a steady source of income, health insurance, financial aid for education, and other.




*Figure 44*. Designated "College Day" at O'Reilly High Public School. The picture demonstrates promotional bulletin board.

*Fundraising Activities*

In O'Reilly High's fundraising activities, more instances of creativity in language use were evident, some which even made reference to other global subcultures such as the Japanese anime fandom subculture. Like Mission High, 12th grade students in O'Reilly were in charge of the creating event promotional pamphlets and flyers, in the collection and raising of funds, and in the managing of those funds. One of the interesting labelling practice evident in O'Reilly High but not in Mission High, was the adoption of an English class name: *the Falcons*. When I asked some students of this community why they had chosen to call themselves that name, they suggested that it had little to do with popular opinion, and ultimately designated by the members of the graduating class committee.

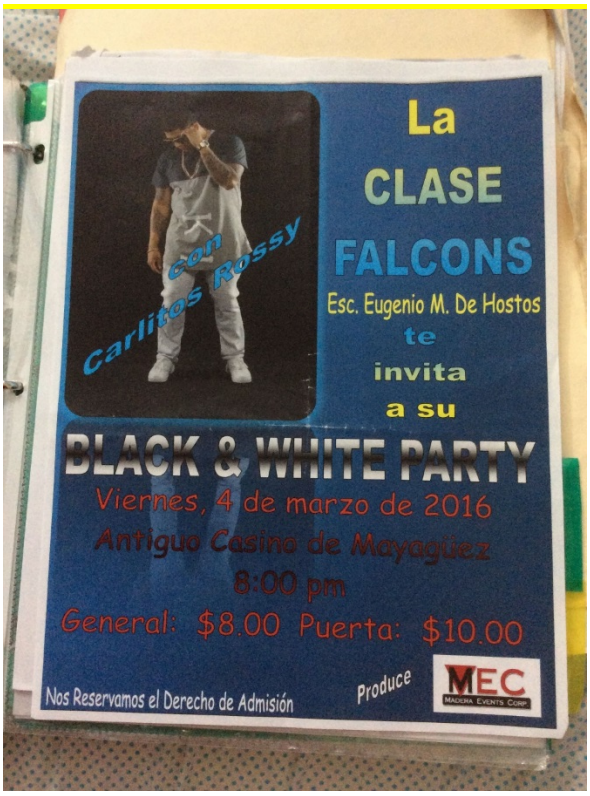



*Figure 45*. Advertisement for the school dance "Black and White Party."

Another fundraising activity that took place during my residence was the beauty pageant 'Mr. and Mrs. O'Reilly.' Below I have included a flyer for this activity (Figure 46). It utilizes both Spanish abbreviations for *miss* (here uses 'Srta.') and English abbreviations for *mister* (here uses 'Mr.'). The use of English *Mr*. in predominantly Standard Spanish text demonstrates how accepted several English abbreviations have become in Puerto Rican Spanish, to the extent that they are also found in formal educational contexts (meant to instruct in the ideological standard).




*Figure 46*. Advertisement for O'Reilly High's Beauty pageant.

*Club Activities*

O'Reilly High had several active student societies that further encouraged the academic socialization and participation of students. Some of these organizations were locally constructed and managed, such as the *Consejo de Estudiantes* ('Student Council), or the *Seminario de Vida Estudiantil* ('Student Life Seminar'); others, were part of larger U.S. high school organizations, such as marketing and entrepreneurial society *D.E.C.A.* ('Deta Epsilon Chi and Distributive Education Clubs of America'), or business and career development organization *F.B.L.A.* ('Future Business Leaders of America-Phi Beta Lambda'). Through word of mouth these clubs were referred to following Standard Spanish syntax, for instance *Club D.E.C.A* rather than 'D.E.C.A. club'. A list of other active organizations on campus can be seen below. Note that many of these are academic-specific, such as the Biomedical and Energy-Driven Systems society, and the Materials Science and Engineering Organization. The singing club on campus marketed themselves as 'O'Reilly High Singers', which represented a group of students who were enrolled in the music elective with Mr. Delgado and participated in concert activities across the island. The musical repertoire for these songs were primarily in Spanish, despite the English label they used to market themselves to the wider school community.

- *Club de Biblioteca, L.E.O.* ('Library Society L.E.O.')
- *Asuntos Oficina de la Juventud* (A.O.J., 'Youth Affairs Office, A.O.J.')
- *C.I.M. (Ciencias e Ingeniería de Materiales)* (Materials Science and Engineering)
- *C.R.E.S.T. Física,* (Center for Biomedical and Energy-Driven Systems and Applications (CREST) Society)
- Sociedad de Honor Estudiantil (National Honor Society)
- O'Reilly High's Singers.

Each one of these organizations had their own designated meeting dates and times. Usually clubs would meet during lunch hours, rather than after school. Business and Marketing societies were amongst the groups that met most frequently. Figure 47 and 48 demonstrate promotional strategies for the annual marketing fair. Figure 47 was created by students enrolled in the Marketing program. Figure 48 was created by the Marketing program director, was printed on glossy paper, and multiple copies were available to distribute to members of the school community and the parent community. In the promotional flyers created by students (Figure 47) targeted to other students from the school community, reference is paid to the lyircs of the song *Milkshake* by Kelis (2003) and is written in the English language. The smaller information leaflet created by the teacher was written in Spanish.

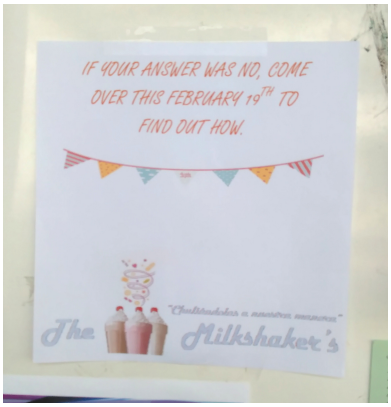



*Figure 47*. Advertisement for Marketing Fair, held on February 19th 2016 at O'Reilly High.




*Figure 48*. Official promotional flyer for Marketting fair in Standard Spanish.

*School Curriculum and Language Policy*

In contrast to the school curriculum provided in Mission High, a large part of the way O'Reilly High was run was through the implementation of a vocational program. This vocational program aimed at preparing students beyond academic subjects – such as Maths, Sciences, History, Spanish, and English – but also providing practical material to do with vocations related to *Secretarial* (data entry), *Information Technology* (Computers), *Marketing*, *Commerce*, and *Accountancy*. Because of their vast array of course offerings, O'Reilly High's language practices and academic repertoires were different from those in religiously-inclined and bilingual Mission High. While Mission outwardly promoted an image of 'bilingual education in a spiritual environment', O'Reilly High was officially a Spanish-speaking institution, following local government policy. Nonetheless, few instances of bilingual speech occurred on the local level, some related to U.S. government programs, such as F.B.L.A. or 'Future Business Leaders of America' and D.E.C.A. or 'Career and Technical Student Organization'. Promotional material for these societies assumed English literacy. See for instance the following Figures (49, 50, 51, and 52) which indicate English textual use in the running of these programs. Figure 48 demonstrates a locally-constructed flyer, which becomes evident in the use of bilingual speech 'Felicidades Mercadeo en su mes, Be Epic' or "Congratulations Marketing in your month, be epic", a style that suggests a bilingual audience. Meanwhile, Figure 50 shows the decorative practices of the accounting and economy classroom, the classroom subject is introduced in Spanish as *Economía* and

reference to classroom material, *Peach Tree Acounting* (a business management software) is found in English outside of the classroom. Additional examples of English signage practices may be observed in Figure 51, where a graphical representation of 'the Accounting Cycle' is demonstrated in English, once again hinting at a receptive bilingual audience or English literate audience.




*Figure 49*. *Be Epic* Marketing Month Flyer (January, 2016).




*Figure 50*. The front of the Data Entry classroom, sign door frame reads "Peachtree Accounting" (February 2016).

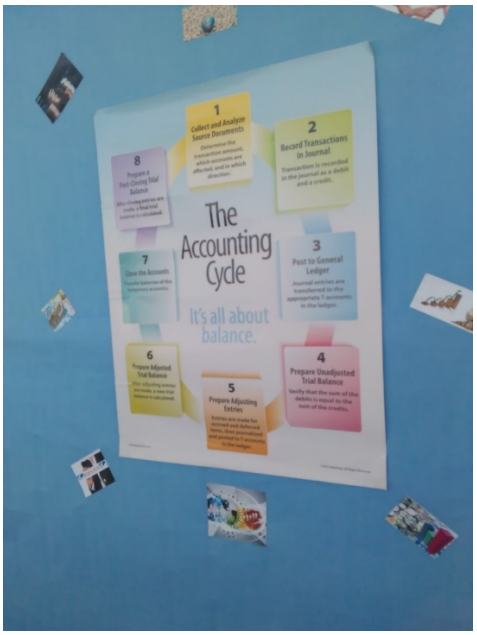



*Figure 51*. "The Accounting Cycle" Educational Poster located outside of Accounting Classroom (February 2016).




*Figure 52*. Signs in school promoting Annual 'Marketing Month' (January 2016).

Figures 49 and 52 displays a sign that promotes Marketing Month, an annual event in which the marketing programme is recognised at O'Reilly High and a host of different activities take place, such as talks by invited guest speakers, competitions at neighboring schools or other regions of the island, and the Annual Marketing Fair. The theme for the year I conducted observations was 'Be Epic', as is suggested by the promotional flyer above which was hung outside the Marketing classroom for the entire month of February. Of particular interest is the use of country landmarks, such as the Eiffel Tower, the Coloseum, St. Basil's Cathedral in Moscow, the Big Ben in London, and others, so as to promote the idea that the Marketing Program DECA opens up opportunities for students that allows them to expand their horizons, to a global scale, or scale of 'epic proportions'.

### 5.3.6 Language Practices in Intermediate English Classrooms

At the time of the study, and through most of my residence at O'Reilly High, two teachers took on the role of teaching Intermediate English to 12th Grade students. One of the 12th grade classrooms, however, was left unattended as an English teacher had dropped out at the beginning of the academic year. By the start of my ethnography, in Mid-October, 12-9 had no English teacher.[76] Consequently, I conducted most of my observations in two classrooms: English class with Ms. Aponte (Intermediate English; Advanced English) and Mrs. Cruz (Intermediate English). Both teachers had distinct teaching styles which affected the outcome of linguistic practices in each academic environment respectively.

For instance, Ms. Aponte's outward persona was that of a strong and independent early-30s single mother, who experienced several hardships in life and was able to pull through motherhood and accomplish a successful career as an English teacher at a well-respected public school, with a Masters degree. She often joked around with her students whenever big events, such as dances came, asking them to 'remember to wear protection.' The same way she used her life story to promote responsibility and logical thinking to her students, she also exhibited a 'no excuses' strict policy in her classroom (fieldnotes, November 2015). This was made visible whenever students came up to her desk to ask for extensions or inform her that they were unable to finish a particular assignment, to which she often replied by using a loud voice and repeating what the student had just said to the rest of the classroom. If the student was disruptive or did not follow through with a particular task, she would often react in a similar manner, by exposing students and their misbehaviors to others in the classroom. In this way, the teacher instilled in some fear, others took her demands and strict behavior in a light-hearted matter, as a joke, and played along.[77] Nevertheless, because her straight-forward and disciplined approach to teaching, some students found her intimidating.For the most part students remained silent unless spoken to by the teacher. When asked about her students' behaviors, Ms. Aponte would

[76] I sought to help out with the 12-9 English classroom at the beginning of my fieldwork, however, they quickly came to find a replacement teacher shortly after my arrival. I then had to resort to finding other ways of "paying back" to the community.

[77] At the beginning of my observations at O'Reilly High, in a visit to the principal's office I met a student in the waiting room who was asking to be changed to a different English class with another teacher. When I asked him why he was unhappy in his current classroom – Advanced English – he said to me "the teacher has favorite students" and that she made him feel uncomfortable.

refer to several students as *monos* 'monkeys' to suggest 'savage' or undisciplined behavioral practices (Field Notes, November 2015).

As part of her Intermediate English class, Ms. Aponte assigned short stories and journal entries as weekly material to be completed in-class by the students. She also introduced a list of vocabulary words at the beginning of the week so that students would write these down, seek for their definition, and compose sentences in their journal using these words. Part of Ms. Aponte's class included movie days, in which films were screened in the English language (with Spanish subtitles) and students were expected to answer a set of questions on these movies. During my time conducting observations, Ms. Aponte's screened the American teen movie *Drumline* (Stone III, 2002) rated PG-13, to several Intermediate classes (in contrast to Mission High's more family friendly screening of Pixar Film *Inside Out*). For Advanced English, Ms. Aponte incorporated more dynamic classroom activities that encouraged student-to-student dialogue and active participation, for instance, in the shape of writing horror stories and acting them out (December 2015) or taking part of a debate of what 'the perfect world' would look like (February 2016). Her classroom assignments invited higher-level reasoning in English as a second language, and encouraged critical thinking through longer essay writing assignments centered on classroom readings, as well as the incorporation of public-speaking activities (e.g. plays, debates, and talent shows). The decorations inside her classroom also suggested a more contemporary approach to language teaching, beyond traditional language posters that enforced particular elements of English grammar, writing and conversational styles. Classroom signs made reference to popular American and British culture, comics, and social media. I have included one of these flyers in the image below, Figure 53, where there is an comic-style illustration of the lyrics of John Lennon's (1971) *Imagine*.




*Figure 53*. "Imagine" (John Lennon, 1971) Comic strip poster in Advanced English classroom.

In contrast, Mrs. Cruz, the other English teacher at O'Reilly High, had a more traditional approach to the teaching of Intermediate English. Her class was structured in the following way: (1) introduction of daily reflection (an inspirational citation or quote by a famous figure), (2) question regarding the citation (what it means and how it can be applied to everyday life), (3) the task of the day (e.g. story, grammar excercises, writing assignments) negotiated through bilingual talk (or translanguaging practices), (4) opportunity for follow-up questions regarding classroom material and ability of working in pairs. Most of the classroom activities in Mrs. Cruz's class involved handouts or print-outs that the teacher had acquired from online educational sources. She would often provide me with a copy of these. The handouts would range from assignments that were about assigned readings, to grammatical exercises, to reflexive exercises. Unlike Ms. Aponte, Mrs. Cruz did not incorporate English movies into her weekly classroom schedule. Handouts were regularly distributed and students were encouraged to a larger

extent to develop writing abilities. The language teaching style was also quite different to that incorporated by Ms. Aponte, while Ms. Aponte often chastised students in the Spanish language but instructed in English, Mrs. Cruz often used bilingual styles, for instance, when giving instructions of in-class assignments or providing definitions or further explanations to what was being discussed in class. These teaching practices can be observed in my notes from a classroom that took place on October 30th 2015 at 8:30AM, see Table 17 below for a sample.

Table 16. *Structure of Events in English Classroom at O'Reilly High.*

School: O'Reilly High.
Subject: Intermediate English.
Teacher: Mrs. Cruz.
Group: 12-3.
Date: 30th of October 2015.
Time: 8:30AM.
Description of the classroom: air-conditioned, located on the third level of Building A.

**STRUCTURE OF EVENTS**

Mrs. Cruz: Students hurry up, we only have half an hour!
*As students settle down, some are still coming in, shuffling around backpacks and still talking to each other.*

Mrs. Cruz: "Okay class, por favor vamos a sentarnos al frente it's very cold in the class."

*(1) Classroom instructions:*
*Teacher instructs everyone, including me, to sit in the front of the class once again, as it is cold in the back. Students move forward and notice that I am the only one who has stayed in the back. I shiver. I then make eye contact with the teacher and move forward.*
*(2) Introduction of classroom topic: "Walking into the Future".*
*(3) Classroom housekeeping and notices: teacher informs students of her absence the following Monday and a doctor's appointment.*
*(4) Teacher provides a brief discussion on what will happen after her absence.*

Mrs. Cruz: "For Tuesday, I am going to give you an outline, les voy a dar un bosquejo."

*(5) Instructions for first assignment of the day are given. Students are to copy a quote that is written on the board in their notebooks, which are then graded at the end of the semester.*

Reflection: "If you want something you've never had you must be willing to do something you've never done." – Thomas Jefferson.

*(6) The teacher follows up the citation with an anecdote.*

Mrs. Cruz: "It's like when I went to Panamá, en Panamá habían locos... Y yo guíe hasta Costa Rica and I had never drived* there."

*(7) The teacher then asks for a student volunteer to read the quote on the board and explain in their own words what it means to them. The girl sitting in the corner left of the classroom volunteers to read.*
*(8) After briefly discussing the daily quotation on the board, students take out their handouts for that day, a project they had been working on during that particular week. The handout was entitled "Dream On", in it students were expected to fill out information about their hopes and dreams. The teacher provides me with a copy of this sheet of paper.*
*(9) As students fill out classroom handout, some begin asking questions specific to the assignment.*

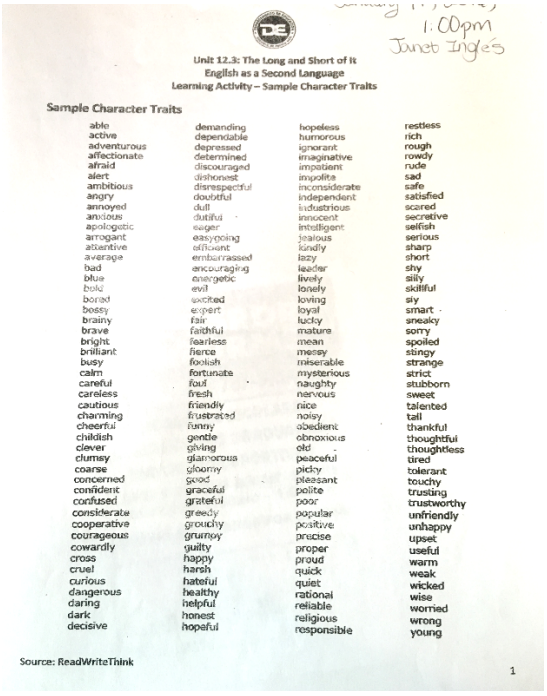
Male student: "Misi como se escribe batería?"
Mrs. Cruz: "Battery" ((*she responds as she completes some paperwork while sitting at her desk*)).
Male student (*sitting behind me*): "Drums."

*(10) The teacher then goes through a sheet of paper that includes the list of vocabulary words for that week. She then proceeds to ask the class what each word is.*

Mrs. Cruz: "What is a performer?"
Female student: "Un artista."
Mrs. Cruz: "Alguien que canta, que actua."
Male student (behind me): "Movie."

As can be suggested by the structure of events in Table 17, Mrs. Cruz's class took a dialogic shape in the negotiation of meaning and instruction of English. Outside of the Puerto Rican context, this approach to English language teaching would, under different circumstances, be interpreted as a defective and deviating approach to second language instruction, as it encouraged the use of two languages in academic settings that would interpreted as non-standard in other contexts (particularly mainland U.S. settings which encourage an English-only standard).

As can be suggested by the back-and-forth negotiation of meaning visible in my notes above, Ms. Aponte's teaching style encouraged the participation of the students. Furthermore, students were free to stop the teacher at any point if they did not understand an assignment, a particular word, or question. They were free to use Spanish at any point to ask questions related to classroom material. However, in the completion of classroom assignments and in public speaking activities the norm to be adopted was English-only. Some examples of these assignments can be found in Figures 54 and 55.



1:00pm
Janet Ingles

Unit 12.3: The Long and Short of It
English as a Second Language
Learning Activity – Sample Character Traits

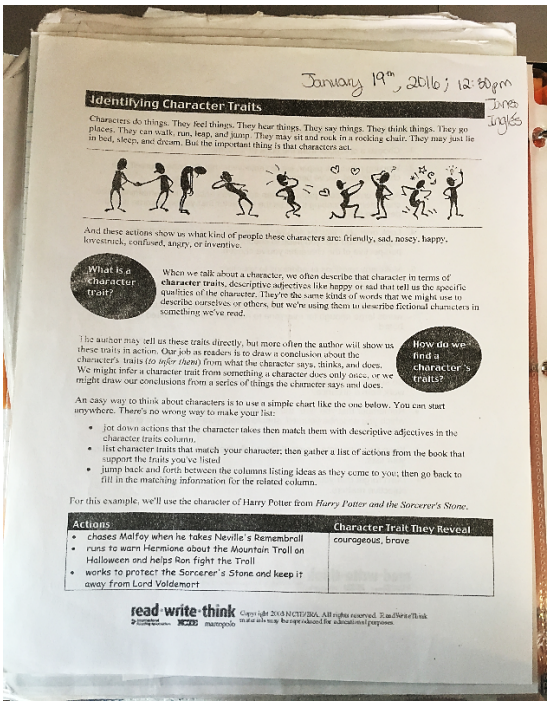
**Sample Character Traits**

able, active, adventurous, affectionate, afraid, alert, ambitious, angry, annoyed, anxious, apologetic, arrogant, attentive, average, bad, blue, bold, bored, bossy, brainy, brave, bright, brilliant, busy, calm, careful, careless, cautious, charming, cheerful, childish, clever, clumsy, coarse, concerned, confident, confused, considerate, cooperative, courageous, cowardly, cross, cruel, curious, dangerous, daring, dark, decisive, demanding, dependable, depressed, determined, discouraged, dishonest, disrespectful, doubtful, dull, dutiful, eager, easygoing, efficient, embarrassed, encouraging, energetic, evil, excited, expert, fair, faithful, fearless, fierce, foolish, fortunate, foul, fresh, friendly, frustrated, funny, gentle, giving, glamorous, gloomy, good, graceful, grateful, greedy, grouchy, grumpy, guilty, happy, harsh, hateful, healthy, helpful, honest, hopeful, hopeless, humorous, ignorant, imaginative, impatient, impolite, inconsiderate, independent, industrious, innocent, intelligent, jealous, kindly, lazy, leader, lively, lonely, loving, loyal, lucky, mature, mean, messy, miserable, mysterious, naughty, nervous, nice, noisy, obedient, obnoxious, old, peaceful, picky, pleasant, polite, poor, popular, positive, precise, proper, proud, quick, quiet, rational, reliable, religious, responsible, restless, rich, rough, rowdy, rude, sad, safe, satisfied, scared, secretive, selfish, serious, sharp, short, shy, silly, skillful, sly, smart, sneaky, sorry, spoiled, stingy, strange, strict, stubborn, sweet, talented, tall, thankful, thoughtful, thoughtless, tired, tolerant, touchy, trusting, trustworthy, unfriendly, unhappy, upset, useful, warm, weak, wicked, wise, worried, wrong, young

Source: ReadWriteThink

1

*Figure 54*. Intermediate English vocabulary list for assignment. O'Reilly High Public School, January 19th th 2016.



January 19th, 2016; 12:30pm
Jane Ingles

**Identifying Character Traits**

Characters do things. They feel things. They hear things. They say things. They think things. They go places. They can walk, run, leap, and jump. They may sit and rock in a rocking chair. They may just lie in bed, sleep, and dream. But the important thing is that characters act.

And these actions show us what kind of people these characters are: friendly, sad, nosey, happy, lovestruck, confused, angry, or inventive.

**What is a character trait?**

When we talk about a character, we often describe that character in terms of **character traits**, descriptive adjectives like happy or sad that tell us the specific qualities of the character. They're the same kinds of words that we might use to describe ourselves or others, but we're using them to describe fictional characters in something we've read.

**How do we find a character's traits?**

The author may tell us these traits directly, but more often the author will show us these traits in action. Our job as readers is to draw a conclusion about the character's traits (*to infer them*) from what the character says, thinks, and does. We might infer a character trait from something a character does only once, or we might draw our conclusions from a series of things the character says and does.

An easy way to think about characters is to use a simple chart like the one below. You can start anywhere. There's no wrong way to make your list:

- jot down actions that the character takes then match them with descriptive adjectives in the character traits column.
- list character traits that match your character; then gather a list of actions from the book that support the traits you've listed
- jump back and forth between the columns listing ideas as they come to you; then go back to fill in the matching information for the related column.

For this example, we'll use the character of Harry Potter from *Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone*.

| Actions | Character Trait They Reveal |
|---|---|
| • chases Malfoy when he takes Neville's Remembrall<br>• runs to warn Hermione about the Mountain Troll on Halloween and helps Ron fight the Troll<br>• works to protect the Sorcerer's Stone and keep it away from Lord Voldemort | courageous, brave |

read·write·think Copyright 2004 NCTE/IRA. All rights reserved. ReadWriteThink material may be reproduced for educational purposes.

*Figure 55*. 'Character traits' activity information sheet. Intermediate English, O'Reilly High Public School, January 19th 2016.

### 5.3.7 Establishing Rapport at O'Reilly High Public School

As a government institution, I sought counsel from local Department of Education offices to conduct my study. In addition to submitting a proposal to the University of Dublin to conduct my research, I was to resubmit a proposal in the Spanish language to local representatives of the Department of Education, and provide additional documentation not included in the original proposal to Trinity College. As part of the additional documentation, teacher consent forms were added to allow for an additional layer of observation inside the classrooms. Therefore, granting teachers with the choice to accept or reject my presence in their classrooms on an individual classroom basis. The original project proposal addressed the school's primary gatekeeper, the principal. A second ammendment was made to include an approximation of the population sample 'affected' or under study.[78]

[78] This latter requirement was particularly challenging to envision, as my original intentions were to approach participants individually based on my observations and extended conversations with community members. I had not proposed a set number of participants to be interviewed, as my original intentions were to base my participant numbers on the communities of practice I found once there. I eventually decided on 10% of the Grade 12 student population at O'Reilly High, in this way I could conduct a comparative analysis of two Grade 12s in different public serving institutions, private and public respectively.

The process of gaining permission to observe the classrooms at O'Reilly High was significantly slower than the process of gaining entry into Mission. My ability to observe was fully dependent on the individual consent of teachers and the school principal was less involved in interfering with teacher decision, furthermore, she positioned herself as the main point of communication or main facilitator to approaching teachers. While in Mission High my approach was much more hands on and I had the ability of contacting teachers personally, at O'Reilly High the school principal hand-picked which teachers I could approach and which classrooms I could observe. In my attempt at approaching a teacher locally during the month of November, I was immediately questioned for my research motives and ethics by the teacher, it appeared as if she had not been informed by the school about my presence in the school community.

Meanwhile, at Mission the school principal had emailed all staff members and parents about my residence at the school. Consequently, during the beginning of my time at O'Reilly High my first point of entry was the principal's office, inquiring about teacher consent and which classrooms I had been granted access to observe. I spent approximately 3 to 4 weeks negotiating which classrooms I could attend and which were off limits. After two months of fieldwork and observations conducted in Paternity, House Economics, Music, History, Physics, and English classes, I eventually settled for observations in English classes. My decision to focus on these two classes was based on the size of Grade 12 and wanting to have immediate access to different groups of this particular Grade. Another motivation to narrow my observations to a single subject came from being able to establish a stronger rapport or working relationship with these teachers. Indeed, through the first couple of months these teachers were more likely to understand the implications of my study, its importance, and were even instrumental in facilitating recording spots for the interviews. Furthermore, I was able to help them in a more direct way, by assisting them in some of their English classes. For instance, I was often asked for help on how to complete a problem in the Intermediate English classes. In the Advanced Level classes I offered to look through some of the students' writing assignments, and at one point offered the English teacher an English literature course book from my time at a private high school when she informed me that they had little resources for teaching English literature. In this way, I 'paid back' to the community by

assisting from time to time in the English classes. Simultaneously, I established positive rapport locally within classroom settings as an approachable guide or helper. Other ways I 'paid back' in O'Reilly High was by assisting students and offering rides home or to school. Additionally, I provided snacks and cakes for each interview I conducted. I was known to many as 'the Baker' or 'cake girl', as I usually carried sweets with me everywhere I went. On some occassions, students would playfully request a specific type of cake or sweet. For instance, Dánica would often say 'Misi, a mi me da uno de vanilla' (Mrs., you give me a vanilla one) every time she saw me in the hallways.

Half-way through my residence, I established a desirable position in the school as more and more students volunteered to take part of my study. Some saw the act of being interviewed as their chance to shine, or become the centre of attention, to have their life histories recorded under a different name. There was excitement to this anonymity and to the act of baring it all. Because of this youthful response, I was to take extra caution in my documenting and transcription stages, omitting any type of sensitive information and assuring students' right to privacy. Below I have included an exchange that demonstrates students' response to being interviewed, and my role as the 'story-teller':

**EXAMPLE #6 FLAUNTING THE 'INTERVIEWEE' STATUS**

(Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold =** Puerto Rican English)

| | |
|---|---|
| **Location** | **O'Reilly High; Cooperativa region.** |
| **CofP Members** | **Gamer CofP (Saul); Rocker CofP (Pepe).** |
| Pepe | ((*Interrupts interview with Saul*)) We didn't finish our interview. |
| Saul | Cállate. |
| Pepe | **Are you shitting on me?** |
| Katherine | ¿Qué? |
| Pepe | Are you cheating [ʃɪtɪng] on me? With him! we didn't finish our interview! |
| Saul | Vete de aquí! La entrevihta no eh pa ti:! Lalgate, Pepe! ((*Pepe leaves*)). Pues, sí:, ¿dónde era que ehta(ba)mo? Pues sí, mi helmano mayol, pue en velda lo veo como un… |

***Translation:***

| | |
|---|---|
| Pepe | ((*Interrupts interview with Saul*)) We didn't finish our interview. |
| Saul | Shut up. |
| Pepe | Are you shitting on me? |
| Katherine | What? |
| Pepe | Are you [ʃɪtɪŋ] (cheating) on me? With him! We didn't finish our interview! |
| Saul | Go away! The interview is not for you! Beat it, Pepe! ((*Pepe leaves*)). Well, yes, where was it that we left off? Well yes, my older brother, well really I see him as a… |

*Observed Linguistic Practices*

Observational data was useful in the detection of bilingual styles during initial stages of fieldwork. They offered a deeper understanding of the linguistic practices available to teens who would form the base of this study. In O'Reilly High Public School, given the more flexible outlook on policing and relative openness to the outside world and urban surroundings, it was not unusual to see a number of graffiti on school hallways, doors, floors, and the exterior walls of campus. The anonymous nature of this type of communicative practice allowed for an unfiltered look at language, as the very act of graffiting is tied to vandalization, thus this form of communication is often seen as an act of rebellion. It is no surprise then that a lot of the graffiti found in O'Reilly High contained expletives, references to illegal substances, anonymous declarations of love, threats, etc. A lot of these practices occurred in the second language, which suggests that the intended audience has at least a passive, literate understanding of English as a second language. Most of these graffitis found near stair cases, on floors, and *near the Cooperativa region*, where some of the people identified as 'Rockers' sat. None were found or photographed near the entrance region (lobby area) of the school. Figure 56 which showcases the expletive idiom 'fuck you' was found and photographed near the Cooperativa region. Figure 57 makes reference to use of illegal substance, weed, and the cannabis culture holiday *4/20* which promotes the recreational use of cannabis on April 20th at 4:20 p.m. The reference to *weed* is coupled with the use of youth culture idiom *yolo*, which originated in the Internet as an acronym to 'you only live once' ('yolo', OED, 2016). A description of the event is also present in Spanish, thus suggested the incorporation of translingual strategies 'abril 20 a las 4:20 prendemos un leño' (*translation:* April 20th at 4:20 we light up a log).

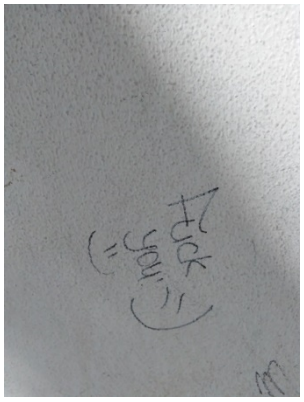


*Figure 56*. Graffiti on school walls features use of English expletive 'fuck you'.

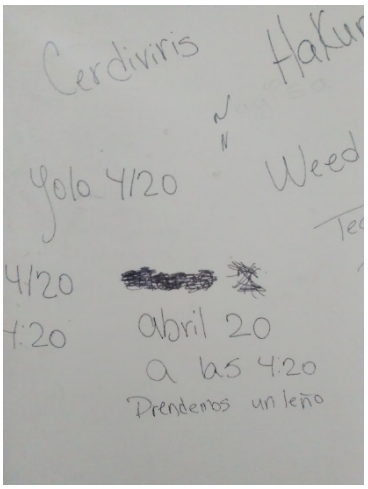



*Figure 57*. References to cannabis culture holiday "4/20" and internet slang "yolo" in O'Reilly High walls.

In addition to Spanish, English, and Netspeak, there was evidence of non-standard Puerto Rican Spanish in the linguistic landscape. For example, Figure 58 demonstrates a narrative of two speeding cards on the road, in this narrative the author incorporates PR Spanish phonology in his/her written representation:

- omission of word-final lateral, /laboral/ → [laborah] (working).
- Elision of /s/ before a consonant, /justamente/ → [ju0tamente] (just).
- Elision of /s/ in word-final position, /vamos/, /irnos/ → [vamo] (let's), [irno] (go, 1st plu.).
- Weakening of /r/ in syllable-boundary position/ before a consonant, /irnos/ → [ino] (go, 1st plu.)

The narrative in English translates as the following:

> 'It's a working day, and the person just told me 'let's go', but let's go the way I want to go. And then they are vigilant, it's something eccentric. Oh, who knows they just go up and down and they wanted to pass by at 60 to 80 km/h and they flew, and I flew.'

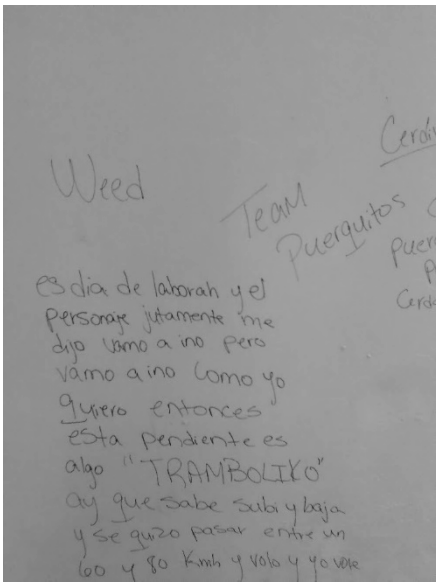



*Figure 58*. References to weed; usage of non-standard Puerto Rican Spanish in written discourse.

Netspeak also had a prominent presence in the speech of many of the participants who took part of this study. This was also evident during my initial observations of the high school, as I got to know the students, and took note of my surroundings. Take for instance Figure 58, previously discussed as showcasing non-standard Puerto Rican Spanish features, also has the contemporary use of the word *team* in the right corner, which has gained a new semantic connotation through the internet as a tool to communicate affiliation or agreement to a specific issue, person, and/or thing. In the figure above someone writes 'Team Puertoquitos' (translated: *Team Little Pigs*). Figure 59 alludes to social media, in the statement 'I love Pusheen', coupled with two doe-eyes and a squiggly mouth. Bilingual writing in this case alludes to internet popular culture, as Pusheen is a cartoon cat popularized by Facebook chat and created by Claire Belton and Andrew Duff in 2010 as a 'sticker', or emoticon, that internet users may stylistically draw upon in their multimodal interactions online (Figure 60). In this sense, we see evidence of what Li Wei (2017) refers to as 'translanguaging', a recent way of conceptualizing bilingual speech that goes beyond a two-language model, and makes room for different types of communicative practices or multiple 'meaning-making systems', such as those involving symbols or in this case emoji reactions (p. 24).




*Figure 59*. Writings on walls of O'Reilly High. Features referencing to Internet emoticon Pusheen, reads 'I love Pusheen'.

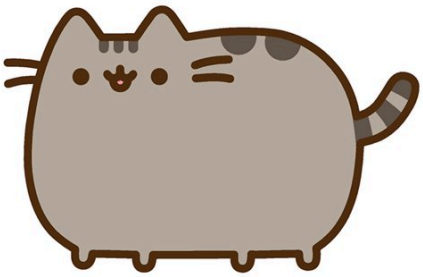


*Figure 60*. Facebook's Pusheen (Belton & Duff, 2010).

Figure 61 illustrates the use of netspeak lexical item *bae* in the visual scape, also known as a contemporary way of referring to *babe* or 'a person's boyfriend or girlfriend' in internet dialogue. It is also believed to originally stand for *before anyone else* (Interview, February 2016), although this definition has been dispensed as a backcronym or *initialism* by the lexicographers at *Oxford Dictionaries* ('Why you're probably wrong about acronyms', 2016). A quick online search yields its origins to be in R&B and Hip-Hop music, the lyrical database of *Rap Genius* traces it to 2005; it has since appeared in the lyrics of popular American artists, such as Miley Cyrus and Pharrell's 'Come Get it, Bae' (2014).

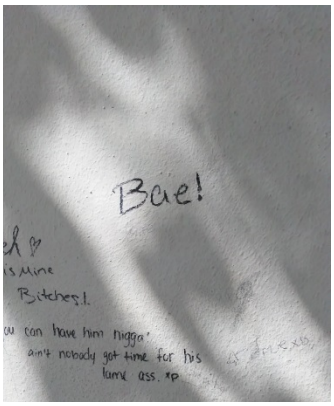



*Figure 61*. "Bae!" at school walls in O'Reilly High Public School.

Other examples of translingual or bilingual strategies incorporated dialect-specific knowledge of African American vernacular. This variety has undergone commodification through the globalization of American hip hop to other parts of the world, as well as the media portrayal of these ethnic communities. In Figure 62, graffiting practice suggest knowledge or linguistic awarenesss of this ethnolect, in the allusion of the following AAVE construction 'ain't nobody got time for…(that)' (in this case: *ain't nobody got time for his lame ass*). This idiom presented the non-standard use of indefinite pronoun in inverted position, together with a negative verb particle – a construction that is typically used to communicate emphasis. The idiom is also coupled with use of ethnic slur *ni***, which, according to context and audience, could be interpreted as offensive[79]. This comment is made in reaction to an original statement, also containing an expletive, that says *Miguel is mine, bitches!* Elsewhere, not shown in this picture, someone responds to the two comments, by drawing an arrow to the 'ain't nobody got time…' with teen slang *true*. In this way, Rockers from the Cooperativa participate in a type of ethnic *crossing*[80] or stylization practices (Rampton, 1995). They are also literate in other varieties of English, such as those tied to global teen talk, *bae*, *true* and *yolo* – features atypical to Puerto Rican English.

[79] E.g. a Caucasian person calling a person of African American descent this word would be interpreted as an irredeemable offense; a black African American to another black African American could use this term to express solidarity and kinship.

[80] Ben Rampton (1995: 485) defines crossing as the following "involves code alternation by people who are not accepted members of the group associated with the second language that they are using (code switching into varieties that are not generally thought to belong to them)."

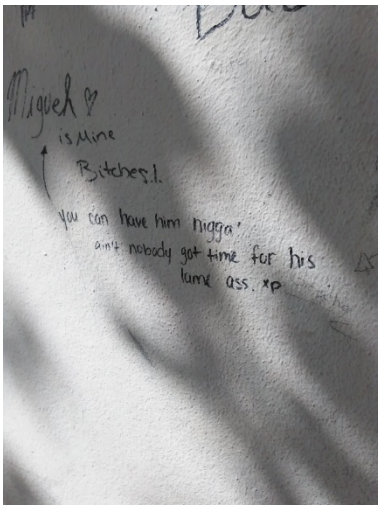



*Figure 62*. Taboo language on school walls.

### 5.3.8 The Social Organization of Adolescents in O'Reilly High

*The Role of Subject Affordances*

The social organization in O'Reilly High was the outcome of the institutional affordances, facilities and policies that enabled or constrained students to engage in particular aspects. Recall that Mission High's spiritual teachings, unique language affordances (Spanish-English translanguaging), facilities, and school activities encouraged the acquisition and simultaneous solicialization in bilingual education in a spiritual environment. Students, in turn, appropriated or rejected school teachings in their day to day linguistic and behavioral practices. In O'Reilly High subject affordances and teacher language practices also assumed an important role in the sociolinguistic outcome of language practices.

Significant factors, as suggested in earlier sections, were found in the language practices found in the classrooms, in the school linguistic landscape, and in the level of policing, which awarded students with the freedom to move, leave the school, and even engage with neighboring shops and neighborhoods. Factors that contributed to the forging of social identities were largely related to subject affordances: General, Marketing, and Commerce programs. In tying students to a similar classroom schedule, students bonded over shared experiences, classes, community hours, and assignments. Two communities of practice discussed in this section are the outcome of shared classroom schedules.

*Sampling and Spatial Orientations*

I was able to reach a more representative sample in the private school than the public school. This is because of the differences in population, the private school offered access to a smaller, contained student body; meanwhile, the public school represented a world of different practices, backgrounds, and people. The larger population size also meant that there was more room for variation in practice, as well as more opportunities to garner interest in the student body, should a particular group not wish to participate. Because of the greater size of the school, the public school environment also offered a more anonymous environment, in comparison to the carefully vigilated, small, and private Mission High. The speakers presented here can be allocated to different parts of the bilingualism scale - from least bilingual to most bilingual – mimicking the outcome of the META-PR results discussed earlier.

Sampling was made easy as students adopted predictable spatial orientations when socializing with peers. In other words, students would regularly attend the same spot every day. In this way, the school was spatially segregated. If I asked to meet people that frequented the lobby region in a different area – e.g. near the Cooperativa – they would respond negatively or hesitate in doing so. On one occasion I asked members of the Jock CofP to meet in the Cooperativa region, frequented by the Rocker/Bookworm CofP, to which they disparangly stated 'Ew, that's where *the Rockers* are' (Field notes, February 2016).

On one occasion, during the beginning of my observations, I was drawn a picture which explained the unspoken spatial designations of each peer group, demonstrated in Figure 63. María, a self-proclaimed member of the Rocker CofP made the following characterisations in terms of peer group composition in O'Reilly High: *3rd floor gamers*, *jocks*, *rockers in disguise*, *gamers*, *Hallelujahs* (in bottom left corner, not shown in image), *geeks*, *lesbos*, and *rockers*.

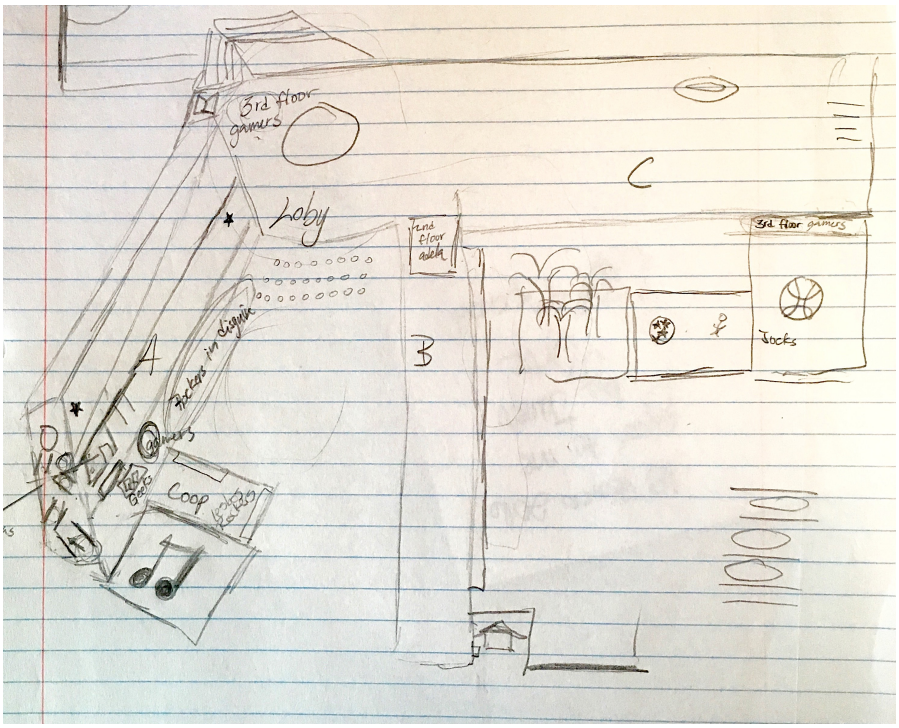



*Figure 63*. Spatial segregation at O'Reilly High. Drawing by María, Rocker CofP, O'Reilly High (2015).

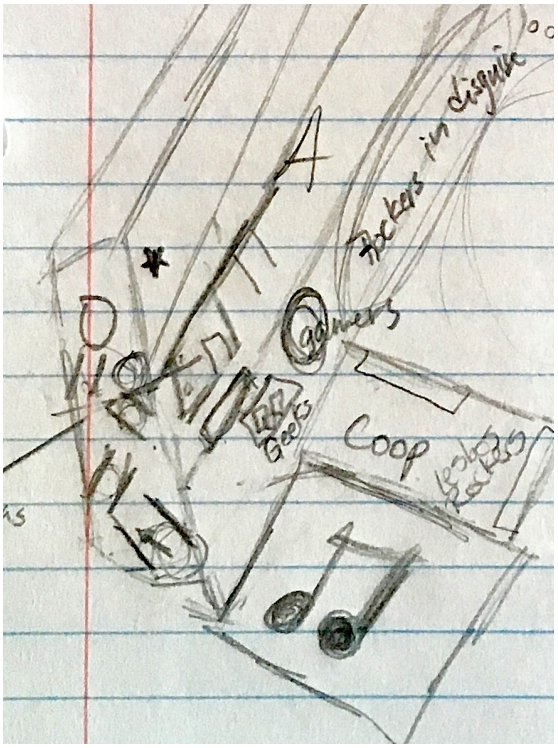



*Figure 64*. María's description of her immediate spatial surroundings at O'Reilly High.

Her description of her immediate CofP was somehow more detailed than the rest. While other spatial locations were described with blanket statement descriptions – e.g. 3rd floor gamers for the 3rd floor, and jocks for the students at the gym, the closest you got to her own immediate spatial orientation, the more detailed the map became. Importantly, there is a big music symbol in the bottom right corner of Figure 64, this represents the music room, behind the Cooperativa, known by others as the 'Rocker' region. The Cooperativa, described as 'Coop' then has *lesbos* and *rockers* in front, Japanese *geeks* nearby, boardgame *gamers* nearby, and Advanced English '*rockers* in disguise' group. Her visual contributions as to the social organization of the high school served me well in weeks to come, as I approached other students of the 12th grade class asking them about the social organization of the school, and how they fit into the overall picture.

I chose 12th grade students in O'Reilly High to accomplish the desired 'like with like' status of being able to observe how 12th grade students' behavior in public and private school environments. In O'Reilly High there were 10 different 12th grade groups, labelled numerically as 12-1, 12-2, 12-3, and so on. The last group, known as 12-10, was the 'Advanced' group: this meant that students who placed in this group had the option of taking advanced subjects in the Math, Science, and language classes.

Below in an interview with a 12-10 girl called Bianca, I ask her about the school organization, to which she adds an additional distinctive layer to the social organization of 12th graders: she talks about the exitence of the 'the smart ones' and misbehaved versus the 'not-so-smart ones'. She self-identifies as part of this 'smart group' that simultaneously misbehaved by talking classtime and 'being bad' (Line 04), in her presentation of *bad* she also engages in a momentary act of bilingual speech.

**EXAMPLE #7 CONSTRUCTING IDENTITIES AND 'THE STAR GROUP' IN O'REILLY HIGH**

(Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = General American English)

01 Katherine: ¿Por qué eh que dicen que uhtede son el 'grupo ehtrella'?
02 Bianca: Sí, sí, polque siempre ehtamo como que loh máh avanzado en lah
03 clase ahí, o sea, loh máh inteligente, pero hablamo mucho,
04 interrumpiamo la clase:, **we were bad.**

Translation
01 Katherine: Why is it that they say that you are the 'star group'?
02 Bianca: Yeah, yeah because we are always, like, the most advanced in
03 classes there, I mean, the most intelligent, but we talk a lot, we
04 interrupt the class, **we were bad**.

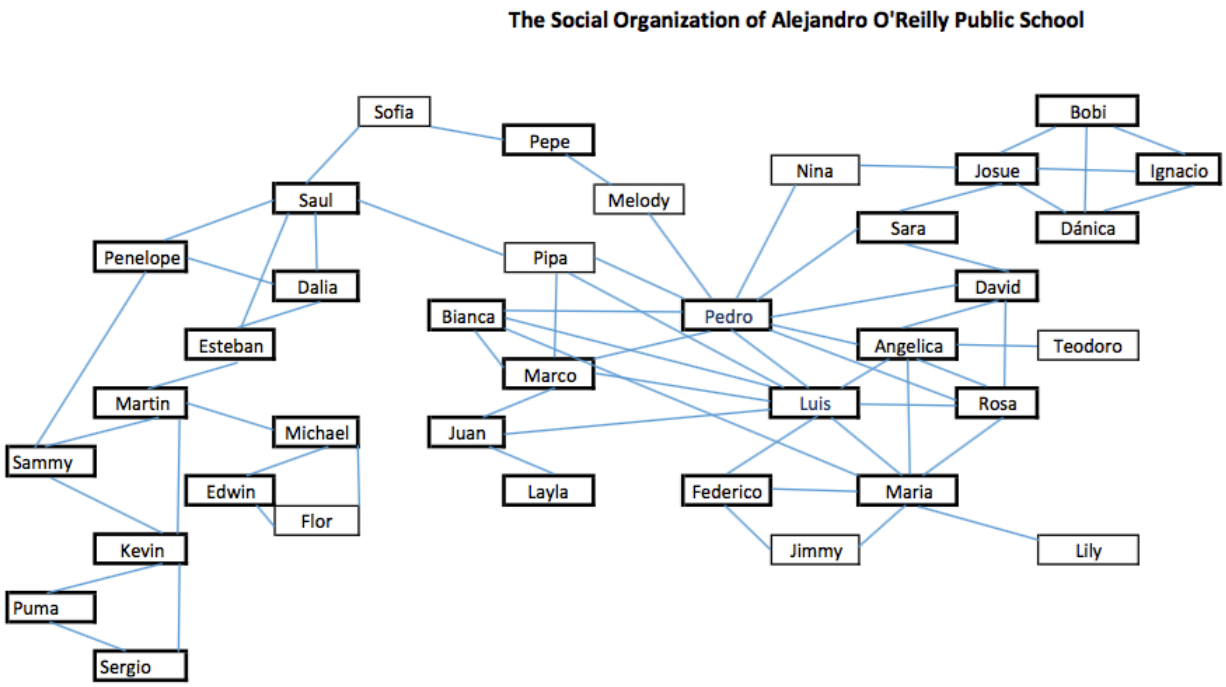



*Figure 65*. Visual representation of O'Reilly High friendship network.

## A) The Cacos

I begin my discussion of peer groups or communities of practice (CofPs) in O'Reilly High with a discussion of the *Caco* CofP. This group was one of the last to be interviewed during my time at O'Reilly High. Their recognisable position in the school hierarchy and consistent identification across groups as *the Cacos* led me to see them an essential part of the social landscape to which others oriented to or against.

Before describing Cacos, I begin by providing a definition to term used to describe this group. The label 'caco' comes from the word *cacofonía* or 'cacophony' which is etymologically of Greek origin. The *Real Academia Española* defines this word as the dissonance that results from the unhamornic combination of acoustic elements of a word ('cacofonía', translation, RAE, 2019). Similarly the Oxford English Dictionary describes it as 'the quality of having an ill sound; the use of harsh-sounding words or phrases' ('cacophony', OED). This label is widely used on the island to refer to people who belong to, or self-identify with, the reggaeton subculture on the island. Reggeaton is a local underground movement, which much like other Hip-Hop practices in North America, has its origins in working-class, urban communities.

It is a musical movement founded in the underground music scene of San Juan, as a way to speak to youth and marginalized communities.[81] In its origin stories, reggaeton is said to have been conceived in *marquesinas* or car garages of housing projects (Irizarry, Marshall, Pacini Hernández, 2009). Values and subjectivities found in these lyrics include those to do with politics, women, sex, drugs, violence, and poverty. By the older generation, members of the elite, and some political figures, this subculture is often denounced as uncultured, vulgar, mysoginistic, and disrespectful (cf. Dimou, 2013; Gamez Torres, 2012). Reggaeton culture, however, serves as a significant testament to the influence of English-American culture on the island, as it provides an insight into bilingual practices that members from lower classes have access to. It also provides a written record of linguistic innovations in Spanish-English popular culture, and contains a number of English borrowings and appropriations[82]. Ideas of consumerism and money are also distinguishing themes in this genre, perhaps reflective of a desire to be upwardly mobile in a capitalistic and unequal culture, where class and social disparities prevail. Some of its most prominent leaders, such as the famous Puerto Rican rapper *Daddy Yankee,* are known to wear over-the-top outfits involving golden chains and silver earrings, baseball caps, baggy pants, and basketball jerseys.

In O'Reilly High, some of the recognizable aspects of reggaeton culture the Caco Jock CofP included the incorporation of: basketball jerseys, baseball caps, big sunglasses, and earrings. Male members of the Caco Jocks CofP were typically members of sports teams in school, such as the basketball teams and soccer teams. Meanwhile, girl members of this group were not athletically involved. For instance, Dánica, who I interviewed for this study, did not practice a particular sport, but was part of a dance team not affiliated to the school. Her friend Nanette also claimed to not participate in any sport. Shared practices that characterized both female and male members of this group included shared interests in adult-oriented activities, such as parties and under-aged drinking.

They professed to 'get together' at each others houses to drink and play beer pong in what they called *gets* (i.e. for 'get together'). Part of their lexical repertoire included English appropriations that had undergone Spanish phonological and morphological localization: e.g. /*parties*/ → [pa. ris], /*hang out*/ → [xãŋ.ˈge.o], /*get togethers*/ → [ge. tu

[81] In its origin stories, reggaeton is said to have been conceived in marquesinas or car garages of housing projects (Irizarry, Marshall, Pacini Hernández, 2009).
[82] Primarily on the lexical-level, rather than full-blown code-switching, which is often seen as a betrayal to the local culture.

ge. del], [get], [gets]. This was particularly the case in reggaetón subculture, where the party and clubbing practices are prominent and ways of performing Hip Hop identity involve English-lexical appropriations (see Wood, 2009).

**EXAMPLE #8 MEMBERS OF THE CACO-JOCK COFP IN O'REILLY DISCUSS PRACTICES**

(Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = Standardized General American English)

| | |
|---|---|
| 01 Josue | Cuando salimo junto, volviendo al tema, pue puede sel: la playa:, ehte, casi |
| 02 | siempre eh tolneo de: |
| 03 Bobi | **Paris.** |
| 04 Josue | ***Pari*:,** ehte:, cine, ***janguea:ndo***: (1.56) |
| 05 Bobi | No se, a ***pari*** de la ehcuela:, o: |
| 06 Josue | Puede sel ***gets,*** tambiên. ¿Sabe lo que eh ***gets*?** |

***Translation***

| | |
|---|---|
| 01 Josue | When we go out together, going back to the main topic, well it can be the beach, umm, |
| 02 | usually we go to tournaments of= |
| 03 Bobi | **Parties.** |
| 04 Josue | **Parties**, umm, movies, hanging out (to bars) |
| 05 Bobi | I don't know, parties from the school, or= |
| 06 Josue | They can be **gets,** also. Do you know what **gets** are? |

Some of the members of this group were often seen cutting class, and disengaged in English classroom activities. They also had a shared interest in Spanish music (e.g. reggaeton, bachata, and "baladas" or balads) and going to local bars in the city centre, such as *Madridz* and *Tijolos*. These pubs were referenced on several occasions with CofP members Dánica and Ignacio, note that the naming strategy behind one of them is a take on the Spanish capital, *Madrid*, demonstrating a common practice of naming restaurants on the island after literary figures in Spain (e.g. Don Quijote, Sancho Panza) and place names (e.g. Madrid), as well as key figures for the independence movement of Puerto Rico.

Some of the members of this CofP also attended after school tutoring targeted to members of disadvantaged communities, an organization known as the *Boys and Girls Club*.

**EXAMPLE #9 'BOYS AND GIRLS CLUB' AND THE CACO JOCK COFP**

(Regular = PR Spanish; **Bold** = General American English; <[brackets]> = impressionistic transcription)

| | |
|---|---|
| 40 Bobi | Yo llevoh a mi helmano a unah tutoríah que se llaman **<[bois]> and Girls** |
| 41 | **Club**. Allí en Ruhvel. |
| 42 Katherine | Ah. |
| 43 Bobi | E: y, 'tonceØ, yo ahí practico baloncehto, y pueh como mi mamá sale del |
| 44 | trabajo pueh noh buhca y noh bamoØ,. |

***Translation***

| | |
|---|---|
| 40 Bobi | No, I take my brother to some tutoring calle the **Boys and Girls** |
| 41 | **Club.** Over there in the Roosevelt (elementary school). |
| 42 Katherine | Oh. |
| 43 Bobi | Uh and then I practice basketball there, and then since my mom gets off |
| 44 | from work, well she picks us up and we leave. |

Other practices that made this community identifiable involved their disregard for school uniform policy. Many of whom would wear school uniforms with minor alterations. For instance, Dánica did not wear the official uniform t-shirt, but wore another cream-colored polo instead that was short and smaller. Meanwhile, Bobi and Josue would often wear baseball caps to school, Bobi had ear piercings, and sometimes they would wear casual t-shirts after playing basketball during lunch hours. Dánica's friend, Nanette[83], was known for her bleached blonde hair in contrast to a majority dark-colored community. Contrastively, Ignacio stood out from his group by abiding by the uniform rules, but he also wore earrings. Other boys from this community of practice wore their socks above their trousers as a way of marking they belonged to this community. Buzz cuts were also a popular hairstyle among the males, and featured across many members of this community.

In linguistic practices, the majority of the members of the Jock CofP engaged in dominant PR Spanish styles, and were known to engage in numerous features of non-standard PR Spanish, such as vowel nasalizations, fricativizatons of /rr/ (in words like 'correr'), shorternings of bisyllabic words, and use of Hispanicized English (i.e. English exhibiting clear transfer featuress). They were also known to use words like *mami* or *papi* (to refer to females and males respectively), and other lexical items generally tied to the subculture of reggaeton and visible in its lyrical composition. Their linguistic style will be described in further detail in sections to come (Chapter 6).

[83] Not featured in this study.

The Jock CofP oriented negatively to people affiliated with the Rocker subculture in the school. The Rocker CofP, to them, represented all the values they disagreed with, they: 'only spoke English', wore black, and listened to diabolical music. 'Misi, son Satánico' ('Mrs., they are Satanic'), Josue said to me in one of our interactions before their interview took place (Field notes, March 2016). Furthermore, in an interview Bobi evaluated them as 'not being normal' and 'causing a scene' (Transcripts, pg. 38).

*Table 17*. Members of the Caco Jocks CofP O'Reilly High Public School.

| | **Gender** | **City of Birth** | **Job Score** | **Class Rank** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bobi | male | Mayagüez | 14 | upper middle class |
| Josue | male | Mayagüez | 8 | lower middle class |
| Ignacio | male | Mayagüez | 7 | lower middle class |
| Dánica | female | Mayagüez | 2 | lower working class |

In socioeconomic composition, three of Jock CofPs fell under middle class descriptions, and from these two were lower middle class. The other two represented two ends of the socioeconomic spectrum: one sat comfortably on the upper middle class side (Bobi), while the other fell under lower working class status (Dánica).

Subjects affiliating to the reggaeton subculture are stereotypically thought of as belonging to impoverished neighborhoods or financially unstable families. Although I have presented a small community that identifies with this movement, 3 out of 4 come from families that under government regulations would classify as 'disadvantaged', or 'below the poverty line' to some extent as members of lower middle and lower classes.

*Dánica*

Dánica led in anti-school and rebellious orientation in her community. She often cut class and sat in the school hallways near the front entrance lobby, widely recognized as 'the Caco region' (fieldnotes, October 2015). She was inseperable from her best friend, Nanette, who was also enrolled in the same *Intermediate English* class with Ms. Aponte. Often times, she would miss assignment deadlines in English class and run into trouble with Ms. Aponte, this was particularly the case given her difficult demeanor in the classroom as someone who was always talking and rarely paying attention.

Dánica was frequently called into the principal's office for breaking school dress code. Rather than wearing the designated school uniform, she wore a shorter casual t-shirt, which would often exhibit a tattoo she had on her back. She was known by others as *la nena del tatuaje* or 'tattoo girl' and, in an interview with a member of the Bookworm

CofP. In an interview with a member of an oppositional CofP, she was disregarded as a *yal*, a Puerto Rican Spanish derogatory term used to define women typically of lower income backgrounds, that affiliate with urban movement, and the reggaetón culture. Despite the negative labels attached to her due to her rebellious persona, Dánica excelled in other subjects, such as Mathematics and Physics. When I asked her what she desired to accomplish ten years from now, she informed me she wished to be a anesthesiologist nurse. She was close friends with Caco Jock go-getters Bobi and Josue, who excelled in most classes and had plans to attend the exclusive local institution University of Puerto Rico – Mayaguez, known for having a lower acceptance rate than other local universities. Out of her other peers, she stood at most socioeconomic disadvantage, from a lower working class family. Nonetheless, she demonstrated amibiton and a desire for moving forward beyond her current societal circumstances.

**Ignacio**

Ignacio was one of the first members of this CofP to be open to the possibility of an interview. After several participant-observations in Ms. Aponte's Intermediate English and exchanges with Ignacio as he completed assignments, he willingly accepted to participate as long as I helped him in an English class assignment. Ignacio was primarily the product of the monolingual public school system, but at some point during his primary years had received private school education, yet the language of instruction in this was Spanish, rather than English. He reported often getting in trouble in the private school, and ultimately being expelled for an incident. In O'Reilly High, however, he did not uphold to this troublemaker persona and while he did spend time in the lobby region where some of his friends pulled pranks, Ignacio was relatively unfazed and collected. He claimed interest in basketball, although he did not practice it at the time of the study.

## B) THE GAMER ROCKERS

The *Gamer* CofP in O'Reilly High was characterised by their shared interest in gaming during lunchtime and after school. They met regularly near the Cooperativa region, and were often set apart by their use of black hoods and beanies. During holidays or short school days, some could be seen lingering around school hallways, sitting on the floor, playing *Nintendo D.S.* against each other. Beyond being associated with the color black by outsiders, they were also known to wear graphic t-shirts with metal band names, or reference to Japanese anime characters. Most days, they would also play board games

like *Magic the Gathering*, the famous 1990s trading card game to due with wizards, which also involved an element of fantasy role playing. When not playing this game, some would play Japanese board game *Yu-gi-Oh!* (Konami), another Japanese trading game based off the original manga series which also involved an element of magic. Because of their engagement in these practices, I once originally called them 'the Yu-gi-oh Group' in my notes, later 'Japanese-Anime group', and finally settled with María's first suggestion of *Gamers*, as it matched participants self-awareness of their role in the school social landscape and their own self-identity. Furthermore, it was clear that what united this group was their affinity for a type of gaming or role playing of some sort, that would involve card games, video games, and even *cosplays* through the attendance of events which required specific attire or forms of dress that paid homage to characters from comics and graphic novels and the gaming subculture (see Hutabarat-Nelson, 2017).

Fantastical elements and gaming were an intergral part of their identity or 'coming together' during school and after. In particular, many members of this group would frequent a nearby gaming center called 'Lion's Den' two blocks away from the school. This place was free to use by anyone, and hosted gaming events and competitions, sold refreshments, comic books, and collectible items (such as figurines, props, and statues). This shared interest in a 'geek' culture, marked them as different to those in their immediate sphere, the *Bookworm-Rockers*, who also hung around the Cooperativa region and engaged in bilingual practices.

In terms of socioeconomic composition, most members of this CofP fell under *working class* labels, in that their parents occupied positions that required technical training, rather than jobs that required more specialised academic training.

*Table 18*. Socioeconomic composition of the Gamer Rockers CofP at O'Reilly High.

| | **Gender** | **City of Birth** | **Job Score** | **Class Rank** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Kevin | male | Mayagüez | 6 | upper working class |
| Puma | male | Mayagüez | 2 | lower working class |
| Sergio | male | Mayagüez | 5 | working class |
| Sammy | male | Mayagüez | 2 | lower working class |

***Kevin***

Kevin came from an upper working class family. His mother was a stay-at-home parent and his father was a secretarial assistant for the Mayagüez Municipality Office. He lived near the school and so would often arrive to school early and sit around the Cooperativa region to wait for his friends. He had a girlfriend, who was known for wearing a *Pikachu* yellow hoodie, and they both spent their lunch hours together near the Cooperativa playing card games. Kevin was enrolled in Intermediate English with Mrs. Cruz and had spent all of his life enrolled in public Spanish monolingual schools.

During the interview event, Kevin reported visiting *La Liga* the local name for 'Lion's Den' after school, but assured me that he did not spend much of his after school hours there. When I asked him to define himself and his immediate community of friends, he used the lexical appropriation of 'gamer' or [gei. mel], as intergrated to the local vernacular phonological system. However, whilst he referred to this label several times during the interview, he also simultaneously distanced himself from the rest of his peers and constructed a 'different' identity to the rest of his peers, assuring me he did not engage in gaming to an extraordinary extent. He admitted to orienting positively to Japanese popular culture, like many of his friends.

**EXAMPLE #10 KEVIN'S DESCRIPTION OF COFP PRACTICES**

(regular font = Spanish; **bold** = English; underlined = discourse marker; <[]> = impressionistic phonetic transcription)
Note: This is a translated transcription, its original dominant language is PR Spanish.

| | |
|---|---|
| 08 Katherine | Okay, when you go out to have fun with your friends, where |
| 09 | do you go? |
| 10 Kevin | U:mm, almost always, well, we go to what they call *La Liga ('the League'),* |
| 11 | where we play *Yu-gi:* ((*short for 'Yu-Gi-Oh!')*) and all that. |
| 12 Katherine | Ah! They call it *La Liga*? |
| 13 Kevin | Yes. They call it *La Liga*. It's called **<[lajo:n] [lajo:n]** |
| 14 | **[stor]>** ((*Lion Store*)). The owner is the one who is always there. |
| 15 Katherine | But at what time does that place close? |
| 16 Kevin | It's closing time - I don't know it. I know that the Monday opening hour is |
| 17 | after three. |
| 18 Katherine | And up to what hour do you stay there? |
| 19 Kevin | The most I have stayed is like two hours. |
| 20 Katherine | I went one time, that María brought me. |
| 21 Kevin | Yeah? It's when I saw María playing **<[maˈʤi]>** for the first time I was |
| 22 | like 'does she seriously play **<[maˈʤi]>?** ((*laughs*)) |
| 23 Katherine | She plays Magic? |
| 24 Kevin | Yes, at least the times that Federico was teaching her, umm, yes, and |
| 25 | I know a girl who plays **<[maˈʤik]>** |
| 26 | like yesterday I met a |
| 27 | girl that is a **[**geiˈmel**]** that likes **<[kɔl] [əv] [du:ti:]>.** |
| 28 Katherine | Is she here at O'Reilly? |

| | |
|---|---|
| 29 Kevin | Yes, she is here at O'Reilly. And I'm <u>like</u> wow. <u>Like,</u> I identify more |
| 30 | with that person<u>, like,</u> they impact you more than those people that |
| 31 | you see like don't play or anything, they (the others) impact more. |
| 32 Katherine | Your girlfriend plays? |
| 33 Kevin | My girlfriend is one of these **<[fan]>** of Nintendo, true **<[fan]>**, that plays |
| 34 | from **<[supel] [smæʃ] [bros]>** and plays everything, well, <u>something like that.</u> |

In later sections, I ask him to what extent he engages in gaming practices. He reports collecting Pokemon trading cards, and admits to being a fan of the franchise, often wearing his girlfriend's Pikachu hoodie, purchased from *Hot Topic*, a North American retail store targeted at gaming, rock, and alternative aficionados. Members from both Bookworm-Rocker and Gamer CofPs purchase items from this store, which perhaps explains the branding of others from Marketing CofP and Caco CofP of a collective 'them' or 'Rocker' group, united by similar attire and mutual engagements in divergent practices, non-local and atypical of the stereotype island Puerto Rican.

As suggested by the excerpt, Kevin displays minor engagements with Englishes, particularly at the loanword (lexical) level. Both card playing and video gaming practices necessitate a level of English literacy, in order to keep up with the rules of the game, game-specific terminology, and fixed expressions or idioms.

### c) THE BOOKWORM ROCKERS

The Bookworms were identified by members of the Caco Jock CofP as belonging to the greater 'Rockers' alternative identity, rather than their own group. In general, the Caco Rocker CofP identified anything deviating from the local *status quo* as belonging to the Cooperativa region, to do with 'emo' rebellious practices, and reflective of a positive stance to the United States and its identity market.

Members of the Bookworm CofP differentiated themselves from the Gamer CofP in terms of their behavioural practices as well as their linguistic practices. Gaming CofP was concerned with trading cards, video games, and Japanese culture, whilst Bookworm CofP concerned themselves with North American popular culture, literature and music. The Gamer CofP frequented Lion's Den after school, meanwhile, many of the Bookworm CofPs were enrolled in the local *Escuela Libre de Música* 'Free Music Academy' that others from Mission High also attended. In some ways the Bookworm CofP in O'Reilly High were like-minded to the Pop Enthusiast CofP at Mission High. Their investments and communicative practices often concerned artistic practices, like music and reading.

Importantly, all members of this CofP were enrolled in the Advanced English classroom with Ms. Aponte.

In my informal interactions with members from the Gamer CofP, many of them identified the Bookworms as the 'Rocker-Rockers', whilst some would label them as *nerds* and others as *los que leen libros* 'the ones that read books' (January 2016, fieldnotes). This latter label is perhaps best explained by their regular assignments in Advanced English which concerned reading Young Adult (YA) novels from North American authors. The Bookworm Rockers constructed their identities as strongly in opposition to the local urban movement, certain characteristics of Puerto Rican culture, and the people 'from the lobby' -- the Caco Jocks.

An important descriptive feature of the Bookworm CofP was that, besides their out-of-the-ordinary linguistic practices, their socioeconomic composition was different from the Gamer CofP. All members of the Bookworm Rocker CofP came from middle class families. Their parents and caretakers received higher education and held white-collared jobs as administrators, teachers, bankers and accountants. This shared experience in upbringing, or access to a particular type of lifestyle (e.g. that grants access to cable/satellite television, travel opportunities, WI-FI and other technological devices) contributed to some of their shared interests, such as binge-watching subscription based Netflix series or owning the latest smartphone technology. It also contributed to a lesser known fact, discussed in Chapter 6 to more detail, how all of the members of this CofP had at some point in their educational upbringing received *private bilingual* education. Thus, not only did the members of this CofP have an economically priviledged upbringings, but they also had the educational advantage of having experienced a different type of language education that promotes deeper exposure to nonlocal ways of speaking through immersion techniques.

It is also important to note that through the adoption of the CofP model, the focus is placed on *the individual* and *the social group*, rather than societal one does not have control over. While this is not to say that class does not play a role in their language learning experiences, this picture suggests that for O'Reilly High Bookworms class may contribute to some extent to their coming together and mutual engagements – yet, note that middle class members of the Caco Jock CofP invest in more local practices despite similar financial circumstance.

*Table 19*. The Socioeconomic Composition of the Bookworm Rockers CofP at O'Reilly High

| | Gender | City of Birth | Job Score | Class Rank |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Pedro | male | Mayagüez | 14 | upper middle class |
| Luis | male | Mayagüez | 10.5 | middle class |
| Angélica | female | Mayagüez | 8.5 | lower middle class |
| Sara | female | Mayagüez | 13 | upper middle class |
| David | male | Mayagüez | 13 | upper middle class |
| Bianca | female | Mayagüez | 10 | middle class |

### IN-BETWEEN ROCKERS (SUBGROUP)

The In-Between Rockers were two individuals that spent most of their school time with each other and a third party not included in this study, Tim. They also engaged in gaming practices in Lion's Den with members of the *Gamer CofP*, and at times socialized with members of the *Bookworm CofP*, primarily in Ms. Aponte's classroom during lunch hours and near Cooperativa region.

Both María and Federico were enrolled in *Advanced English* with Ms. Aponte and the rest of the Bookworm CofP. Only one Advanced English course was offered in the entire school, spaces were limited and competitive and reserved for the best *subject grade* averages in English, or the top performers in English class. Their enrolment in such classs, alongside most members of the Bookworm Rocker CofP, is further indicative of students' academic potentialities in English.

Unlike the rest of the Bookworm CofP, both María and Federico were from *working class* families. Nonetheless, they had received private bilingual schooling at earlier stages, during *elementary school* (ages 5 to 11), where personal financial circumstances were favourable and conducive to private bilingual schooling. At the time of the observations, Federico's dad had lost his previous job due to company shutdowns and the economic crisis in Puerto Rico, he made his earnings by renting off an AirBnB in a local beach town. María's mom was divorced from an army verteran, and left to fend for herself and her children whilst exercising an administrative secretarial position. Thus, while their job scores may appear low, their previous fortunes and experiences with English language education placed them in a position of priviledge in comparison to other students in the public school.

*Table 20*. The Socioeconomic Composition of the In-Between Rocker CofP

| | Gender | City of Birth | Job Score | Class Rank |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| María | female | New Jersey, U.S | 6 | working class |
| Federico | male | Mayagüez | 5 | working class |

### D) MARKETING COFP

The Marketing CofP, or *Mercadeo*, were known by others for their investment in academic activities related to the school's Marketing Program. They sat near the Marketing classroom, which was located near the school's food Co-Op, referred to here as *La Cooperativa*. The Food Co-Op used to be a shared project by Marketing and Commerce programs which enabled students to practice their business and negotiating skills in school grounds. However, due to budget cuts in the program, the school Co-Op was no longer functioning and students from the Marketing Program completed their traineeship in local businesses, e.g. restaurants, shops, kiosks, and offices nearby. Nonetheless, members from this CofP remained around this region, and at times interacted with other students who sat nearby, such as members of the *Gamer CofP*. Others knew them as 'los de Mercadeo' ('the ones from Marketing'), considering a substantial amount of their school time was spent running events, participating in competitions, and other activities that enforced their joint socialization. Because the Gamer CofP sat in front of their classroom, Marketing members were also branded as *Geeks* (by María from Bookworm CofP) or *weeaboos* (by Federico of the Bookworm CofP), due to their partial investment in Japanese culture by affiliation to the Gamer CofP. When it came to defining themselves, however, Marketing members abstained from self-labelling their group and practices. Furthermore, their partial Gamer investments were interrupted by their responsibilities to lead in program affiliated activities or community hours enforced by the program. Yet, as suggested in previous sections discussing the linguistic landscape of the school, the Marketing CofP were literate in Japanese popular culture (e.g. words like *Kawaii*) and English popular culture (e.g. lyrics to popular Hip Hop song *Milkshake*), as suggested by promotional flyers of the *Annual Marketing Fair*. Male members of this CofP, Saul and Esteban, sometimes took part of trading card practices, playing games like *Magic the Gathering* and *Yu-gi-Oh!*. Others passively partook in gaming practices, such as Penelope who admitted to playing *Play Station* during her free time and watching YouTube videos related to gaming. Dalia, Penelope's best friend, admitted to watching anime series dubbed in Spanish. All of their practices –

gaming, anime, and card games – were in accordance to the practices that characterised the Gamer CofP near *La Cooperativa*.

Most days after eating at the cafeteria or purchasing food at nearby sandwich shop called *La Cuevita*, the members of this CofP sat near the Cooperativa to chat about the latest school gossip. Dalia and Penelope oriented positively to the Puerto Rican History teacher and, when not near the Cooperativa, would spend their lunch time in his classroom alongside other students. All members of Marketing CofP were enrolled in Intermediate English with Mrs. Cruz. All members of this CofP had spent most of their upbringing and language socialization in Spanish monolingual schools, including Saul, who had received private school education briefly in his primary school years (for two years at a local religious Spanish-monolingual school).

*Table 21*. Socioeconomic composition of the Marketing CofP.

| | **Gender** | **City of Birth** | **Job Score** | **Class Rank** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Penelope | female | Mayagüez | 2 | lower working class |
| Dalia | female | Mayaguez | 5 | lower working class |
| Saul | male | Mayaguez | 9 | middle class |
| Esteban | male | Mayaguez | 13 | upper middle class |

The Marketing CofP had a mixed socioeconomic composition. Penelope was at the most socioeconomically disadvantaged position in her CofP, living with her single mother who was unemployed. Penelope was unable to supply information related to her father's occupation, not having him in her life. Dalia's mom was stay-at-home, while her dad worked as a security guard, as such I classify her was *working class*. Saul's mom worked for the local public university as an administrative official, his dad worked as a salesperson; having two parents employed, and one by a government institution could give Saul the benefit of *middle class* status. Esteban's mother was a nurse, while his father was a university professor, both stable jobs receive middle-income pay on the island, thus Esteban would fall under *upper middle class* descriptions. A complete tabulation of class make-up is provided later in Chapter 6.

Below Penelope discusses some of the shared engagements of her CofP. They held local ties and mutual activities outside of school included going to the movies to see superhero films or hanging out the city centre, just a couple of minutes walking distance from O'Reilly High and highly accessible to those that lived in residential communities.

Other activities included going to the beach. Note that English appropriations highlighted in bold, such as *Play Station* and *Avengers* occur in the local phonological vernacular.

**EXAMPLE #11 MARKETING COFP JOINT PRACTICES**

| ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 72 Penelope | E: casi nunca puedo salil | 72 Penelope | Umm I can almost never go |
| 73 | con mih amigaØ polque | 73 | out with my friends because |
| 74 | nunca se ponen de | 74 | they never come to an |
| 75 | acueldo, pero, cuando logramoØ | 75 | agreement, but, when we do |
| 76 | salil vamoØ paØ la Plaza de | 76 | we go to Plaza de |
| 77 | Colon. | 77 | Colon. |
| 78 Dalia | Con Leroy. | 78 Dalia | With Leroy. |
| 79 Penelope | Ah! Con Leroy iba a | 79 Penelope | Ah! With Leroy I went to |
| 80 | mucho sitio. Y na:da:, saliamoØ a | 80 | many places. And nothing, |
| 81 | mucho sitioØ. Ehte, jugabamoØ | 81 | we went out a lot. Umm, we |
| 82 | billal, ibamo a vel | 82 | played pool, we watched |
| 83 | pelicula. Ibamo a vel | 83 | movies. We went to the |
| 84 | pelicula, y que sé yo, | 84 | movies, and I don't know, |
| 85 | jugabamo **[plei] [teichon]** en su | 85 | we played **Play Station** in |
| 86 | casa, el venia a la mia. | 86 | his house, he came to mine. |
| 87 | Ibamo a la playa bahtante | 87 | We went to the beach plenty |
| 88 | vece. FuimoØ a Buye:, | 88 | of times. We went to Buye, |
| 89 | fuimoØ al Combate, fuimoØ a: | 89 | went to Combate, went to: |
| 90 | Playa Sucia… | 90 | Playa Sucia… |
| 91Katherine | Y película? | 91 Katherine | And movies? |
| 92 | E: la última veh que | 92 | Umm, the last time I saw one |
| 93 | fui: vi: **[əˈvɛndʒər]** | 93 | I went to see the **Avengers** |
| 94 | doh, no he vihto mah | 94 | Two, I have not seen any |
| 95 | ninguna. | 95 | since. |

### 5.3.9 Educational Experiences in Students from O'Reilly High

In O'Reilly High Public School, Dalia (from a lower income household), claimed to have been offered the opportunity to enroll in private school by a family member, but she had turned it down as she preferred the freedom and independence that came with being in a public school (interview, November 2015). In a similar narrative, Natasha, a focus group participant from middle-class background proudly stated:

> *En veldaØ: lah ehcuelaØ privada son una polquería… Mis hijo van a ehtudial en la O'Reilly!*
> "Truly, private schools are rubbish… My children will study in O'Reilly!"
> (Transcripts, pg. 95).

She then informed me that it had always been her dream to study in O'Reilly High School after finishing private middle-school education, and that it was her choice to enroll

in that particular institution. Ultimately, how a person comes to acquire bilingual school education is not a straight-forward journey. However, inferences can be made with regards to private schools as they require a type of financial investment that not every family is able to provide.

A second issue of concern when using *education* as a metric for English language competence is the fact that not every student has received the same type of education throughout their lives. For instance, in O'Reilly High Public School some students had at one point or another attended a private school. This was particularly the case for students that were enrolled in the Advanced English course. This, perhaps, was no coincidence – the fact that those that placed within Advanced language classes had received some exposure to private schooling. However, in order to thoroughly assess this situation and apparent correlation, perhaps further research is needed in terms of type of exposure to English language education, as well as the duration of this education. The present study did not take into account length of exposure to English-bilingual education, but it does take into account mixed educational opportunities.

*Table 22*. Educational profiles of students from O'Reilly High.

| CofP | Pseudonym | English | Education | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Elementary | Secondary |
| Bookworm-Rocker | Federico | Advanced | Private - Bilingual | Public – Spanish |
| | Maria | Advanced | Private-Bilingual | Public-Spanish |
| | Luis | Advanced | Private-Bilingual | Public-Spanish |
| | Sara | Advanced | Private-Bilingual | Public-Spanish |
| | Nadia | Advanced | Private - Bilingual | Public – Spanish |
| | Angélica | Advanced | Private – Bilingual / Public | Public – Spanish |
| | David | Advanced | Public-Spanish | Public-Spanish |
| | Pedro | Advanced | Private-Spanish | Public-Spanish |
| | Rosa | Advanced | Private - Bilingual | Public- Spanish |
| | Pepe | Basic | Public-Spanish | Public-Spanish |
| | Marco | Advanced | Public - Spanish | Public – Spanish |
| Cacos | Ignacio | Basic | Private-Bilingual | Private-Bilingual, Public-Spanish |
| | Dánica | Basic | Public - Monolingual | Public - Monolingual |
| | Josue | Basic | Private-Bilingual | Public – Spanish |
| | Bobi | Basic | Public - Spanish | Public – Spanish |
| Gamers | Michael | Basic | Public-Spanish | Public-Spanish |
| | Edwin | Basic | Public-Spanish | Public-Spanish |
| | Leo | Basic | Public-Spanish | Public-Spanish |
| | Puma | Basic | Public-Spanish | Public-Spanish |
| | Sergio | Basic | Public - Spanish | Public – Spanish |
| Cooperativa - Mercadeo | Penelope | Basic | Public-Spanish | Public – Spanish |
| | Saul | Basic | Public-Spanish, Private Spanish | Public-Spanish |
| | Dalia | Basic | Public-Spanish | Public-Spanish |
| | Esteban | Basic | Public-Spanish | Public-Spanish |

In contrast to Table 15 which exhibits the educational backgrounds of private school students, Table 23 problematizes using 'education' as a sociolinguistic descriptor. The findings at O'Reilly High suggest that many of its students, particularly those enrolled in Advanced English, have received private bilingual education at some stage during primary years (Ages 5 – 11). This inconsistency in schooling raises the following question: How do you account for students with mixed educational experiences? Do you

exclude them from your analysis? In many ways, mixed experiences in educational upbringing may affect the quantity and quality of linguistic affordances. For the island, differences in education could contribute to the type of bilingualism attained: whether a participant remains in their '*receptive' bilingual* stage as defined by Pousada (2000) as the stage most island Puerto Ricans remain with basic literate competencies, or whether they move on to be a functional or *proficient bilingual*, capable of producing novel sentences in two languages. A shift in schooling could mimick the results of a shift in living environment, reflective of a type of mobility and exposure to different cultural and linguistic practices within the same region – Mayagüez, Puerto Rico. This is often the case for post-colonial contexts, where class differences may lead to different language experiences.

In my sample from O'Reilly High, approximately half of the participants had mixed educational experiences. This was not uncommon. Parents are generally aware of the prestige and opportunities that English language education may be bring, along with desired financial stability. If economically stable, most middle-class families enroll their children in private school education, further contributing to the link between bilingualism and elitism on the island (cf. Pousada, 2007). Table 18 suggests that perhaps at some stage, Advanced English students were in a position to receive this type of education. Further, it also suggests that similar linguistic socialization experiences through bilingual education may contribute to the 'coming together' or shaping of a community of practice in O'Reilly High. Many members of the *Rocker-Bookworm* CofP have at some point received private education, which may also provide insight as to why many of them have shared interests that belong to target language culture, rather than local language culture.

When it comes to schooling it may seem reductionist to paint an individual's experience in binary – e.g. 'private' or 'public'and 'English' or 'Spanish' – rather, perhaps it is time for island literature to incorporate a more realistic approach to the socializations of Late modern youth, and make room for mixed educational experiences as well as other sources that contribute to variation in bilingualism.

### 5.3.10 Applying Fought's Typology of Class to O'Reilly High

The sample size at O'Reilly High suggests a larger number of students from working class backgrounds. In the present sample, 8 of the participants interviewed fell under middle class descriptions, such that their parents practiced a vocation that required some type of specialized knowledge only achievable through higher education, some had stable government jobs. Those whose family socioeconomic stability fell under 'working class' were most likely to have parents or guardians that were unemployed, stay-at-home parents, single or widowed parents, etc. with careers that are not compensated well on the island, such as teaching, or require some type of vocational education, such as secretarial positions.

*Table 23*. Socioeconomic Make-Up of Students in O'Reilly High Public School.

| CofP | Pseud. | Council Estate (Y/N) | Parent A Occupation | Parent B Occupation | Job Score | Class Group |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bookworm-Rocker | Federico | N | Stay-at-Home Parent | Unemployed | 2 | WC |
| | Maria | N | Medical Record Secretary | Veteran | 8 | LMC |
| | Luis | N | Nurse | Medical Equipment Technician | 12 | MC |
| | Sara | N | Medical Biller | Health Insurance Sales Representative | 10 | LMC |
| | Nadia | N | High School teacher | N/A | 9 | LMC |
| | Angelica | N | Secretary | Automotive Technician | 8 | WC |
| | David | N | Medical Biller | Accountant | 13 | UMC |
| | Pedro | N | Teacher | General Manager at Company | 13 | MC |
| | Rosa | N | Nurse | N/A | 13 | MC |
| | Pepe | Y | unemployed | N/A | 2 | LWC |
| | Marco | N | Secretary | Technician | 9 | UWC |
| Cacos | Ignacio | N | Secretary | Service person at Cafeteria | 8 | UWC |
| | Danica | N | Stay-at-Home Parent | N/A | 2 | LWC |
| | Josue | N | Teacher | N/A | 7 | WC |
| | Bobi | N | Accountant | N/A | 14 | UMC |
| Gamers | Michael | Y | Sales Manager | Events Coordinator | 7 | WC |
| | Edwin | Y | Stay-at-Home parent | Unemployed | 2 | LWC |
| | Leo | N | Secretary at Department of Transportation | Merchandise Stock Associate (Sears) | 7 | WC |
| | Oliver | Y | Stay-at-Home parent | Unemployed | 2 | LWC |
| | Sergio | N | Stay-at-Home parent | unemployed | 2 | LWC |
| Marketing | Penelope | Y | Unemployed | Unemployed | 2 | LWC |
| | Saul | N | Administrative Official | Salesman | 7 | UWC |
| | Dalia | N | Stay-at-Home Parent | Security Guard | 5 | WC |
| | Carlos | N | Nurse | Professor | 13 | UMC |

### 5.3.11 HOUSING

The factor of housing was found relevant to understanding a participant's particular background and opportunities. Neighborhoods in Puerto Rico are divided into three types

of living circumstances: *urbanización* (private developments), *barrio*, and *residencial público* (public housing) (Hinojosa, 2017). Barrios are living 'quarters' or districts of a municipality, they may be divided further into *urbanizaciones* and *sectors* ('barrio', Oxford Living Dictionaries, 2017), some barrios in the U.S. are typically inhabited by lower class families. *Urbanizaciones* are a set of houses that correspond to a unitary plane or region, located in the outskirts of an urban city centre, comparable to suburban developments ('Urbanización', Oxford Living Dictionaries, 2017). Public housing or *residential projects*, are affordable houses or residences funded by the government and made affordable to those from lower income families. The *Public Housing Administration in Puerto Rico* has a significant presence as the "second largest social housing agency in the United States, following New York City Housing Authority" (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 2017). This fact in and of itself allows us to grasp the level of disadvantage that many islanders face with regards to home and financial stability, as the housing administration awards these to eligible "lower income" or "very low income" families (HUD, 2017).

If a student reported to living in a residential home, 2 points were subtracted from the total *Job Score* awarded per case. Within Mission Private School, none of the participants offered any indication of residing in government projects. In fact, many of them resided in privately managed *urbanizaciones* or gated communities. In contrast, some of the participants from O'Reilly High School claimed to live in public housing or *residenciales*. Approximately 24% of the participants in O'Reilly High brought up their experiences of living in residenciales during their interviews (8 out of 34); at least 1 participant from each community of practice had experience growing up in residential areas. These participants are displayed in the following table:

*Table 24*. O'Reilly High participants from residential neighbourhoods.

| Pseudonym | Gender | Class | Community of Practice |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ignacio | M | WC | Caco |
| Michael | M | WC | Gamer |
| Flor | F | LWC | Marketing |
| Penelope | F | LWC | Marketing |
| Mauricio | M | LWC | Marketing |
| Pepe | M | LWC | Bookworm-Rocker |

*Note: Flor and Mauricio were interviewed for the present study, however, their interviews will not be discussed in this thesis.*

In the small sample demonstrated by the table above, some communities are represented more than others, in this case, those students enrolled in the vocational programme offered by the school – i.e. *Marketing* – have a slight presence in my sample. However, considering that I only collected this information from my recorded sample (N = 34) and not from the wider school community, it is not enough to arrive at a conclusion on the wider relationship between *socioeconomic upbringing* and *enrolment in vocational programme,* but it is certaintly interesting to note nonetheless for the present sample.

### 5.3.12 Mobility & Transnationalism

Most accounts of island Puerto Rican bilinguals examine islanders that have spent their entire lives on island settings. This focus on *the stable Puerto Rican*, to some extent, simplifies the complicated history of two seemingly opposing cultures that have historically interacted for decades. The linguistic reality of the island is one that is characterised by a back-and-forth of the island Puerto Rican, leaving what they know in search of a better life in times of unemployment, postwar, and following natural disasters (Morales, 2019). Population movement is still integral to describing the composition of Puerto Rico today, with 5.1 million people of Puerto Rican descent living on the mainland, "a significantly larger number than those of Puerto Rican descent on the island" (Morales, 2019), although 1.5 million of these are island born. Puerto Rico currently has a population of 3.2 million; statistical projections suggest an increase in emigration in the next 30 years due to a rise in unemployment and current financial crisis (Pew Research Center, 2017). The reverse scenario, return migration, is one we know very little about and is not generally covered in linguistic research on the island regarding bilingualism. I explore this to some extent in an upcoming paper to be published by *Trabalhos em linguística aplicada* (Morales, 2019). In the present thesis I discuss the findings of Pepe (public school) and Miguel (private school), both transnationals in my participant pools of the schools, and, in a way, linguistic innovators by introducing concepts of ways of speaking that do not map into immediate linguistic practices on the island – this becomes evident later on, particularly in Chapter 6.

Mobility in terms of short-term travel was found in subjects from both school environments, it was not tied to members of a particular socioeconomic group, but rather appeared to be a shared characteristic of participants with family members abroad. For instance, Mauricio, a public-school student from O'Reilly High whose mother was a stay-

at-home mom and dad worked in construction, expressed that he had previously visited the United States to visit family in New York and New Jersey. In fact, he went as far to say that he had spent an entire summer in northeastern United States, and had gone to several places of interest, including New York City, Brooklyn, and Elizabeth (New Jersey).

'Travel opportuntities' are often cited as contributors or advantages of the elite over the non-elite in securing external (non-institutional) linguistic experiences that ultimately contribute to superior acquisition of bilingualism. This is a simple conclusion to make, considering there has been no thorough systematic account of bilingual or linguistic capabilities on a widescale of islanders, one that includes information with regards to socioeconomic class and opportunities like 'travel'. Mauricio, cited above, despite having spent summers in the United States, self-reported Spanish-dominant communicative styles and cited linguistic anxiety when it came to English competence.

What remained relevant in terms of linguistic findings, as we will see later on, is someone's long-term status or residency *on the mainland* and current return status in Spanish-dominant Puerto Rico, resulting in a unique transnational style.

Mobility was observed qualitatively through interview questions like 'have you always lived in X town?' and 'do you have any family members abroad?' My sample suggests that population movement is not exclusive to the Puerto Rican elite, or those attending private institutions.

## 5.4 CHAPTER SUMMARY

*Comparing Like with Like*

In this chapter, I discussed the qualitative observational findings of my time in two school communities in Mayagüez, Puerto Rico. Their academic identities were defined in terms of private-public affiliations, language of instruction, subject offerings, facilities, location, and student body descriptions. This Chapter also discussed practices found in the school linguistic landscape, particularly with regards to official documentation and student-constructed flyers. The third part of this Chapter discussed the adolescent communities that shape the content of this thesis – the *communities of practice*. In this way Chapter 5 serves as a roadmap to what is to come in following chapters – the discussion of bilingual distribution OR overall language styles (Chapter 6)

and the qualitative discussion of *acts of identity* or socially meaningful language use (Chapter 7).

Findings in this Chapter adhere to *linguistic ethnographic* methods (as described by Copland and Creese, 2015), rather than more anthropological methods. Below I present a short summary of each school profile in Table 26.

*Table 25*. Summary of school profiles.

| **Mission High** | **O'Reilly High** |
|---|---|
| Private (abides by *7th Day Adventist* regulations) | Public (abides by *Department of Education Puerto Rico* standards) |
| High school student population: *136 (total): 43 (12th graders)*. | High school student population: *451 (total): 291 (12th graders)*. |
| Socioeconomic composition: *undisclosed*. | Socioeconomic composition: *53% living 'under the poverty level' (DEPR, 2015)*. |
| Ethnic backgrounds: *Puerto Rican*. | Ethnic backgrounds: *96% of Puerto Rican descent*. |
| Facilities: *radio station, gym, supermarket, in-door auditorium/school gym (air-conditioned), two school campuses, one cafeteria, all air-conditioned classrooms, smartboard technology, two parking lots, gated*. | Facilities: *outdoor court, food Co-Op (shutdown), cafeteria, three wings (one campus), 3rd level classrooms air-conditioned, some rooms equipped with television, trolley buses for commuting students, gated but open*. |
| Location: *Suburban*. | Location: *Urban*. |
| Language of instruction: Spanish and English as language of instruction. | Language of instruction: Spanish as main language of instruction. |
| Special programmes: *Choir Music Elective; Astronomy society; English club; Pastoral programme*. | Special programmes: *Distributed Education Clubs of America* (D. E. C. A.) -marketing, finance, hospitality, and management; *Future Business Leaders of America* (FBLA). |

I identified some of the linguistic practices found inside the classroom that at times digressed from the stated language policy (i.e. found in school websites, promotional materials, and Department of Education reports). I provided an account of some of the linguistic practices that took place in the creation and distribution of texts and flyers: teacher to student directed texts (e.g. handouts, tests, power point slides, etc.), student to wider school community (e.g. event flyers, fundraiser notices), student to student texts (e.g. graffiti, notes, English commodified items).

In terms of observational findings, the following conclusions can be drawn: the linguistic norm in Mission practices variations of bilingual instruction, most dependent on the classroom local level: at times incorporating English through the distribution of

handbooks, tests, assignment instructions, and other types of assessment (e.g. Physics, World Religion, Sociology, etc.), other times incorporating English phrases or terminology into the classroom discussion (eg. Physics classroom or World Religion). The level of bilingualism and English texts incorporated in each classroom was dependent on the linguistic preferences of the teacher. Student responses to teacher talk, in contrast, were varied. Some students preferred to communicate solely in Puerto Rican Spanish, such as Jorge in my field notes of Mission (the one who insisted that I was conducting a study about him), others used both Spanish and English with more frequency in their day to day talk, such as Miguel, who had previously lived both in Florida and in Virginia.

Notes constructed through observation in the private school suggest a preference for bilingual practices when it comes to discussing terminology, yet the language for explanations is largely mixed. The written preference for English texts is in part due to the ideology of English as the language of education and science (cf. Ammon, 2001; Spolsky, 2004). It is also related to Puerto Rico's unique relationship to the United States; as Carroll and Mazak (2017) suggest "as a current colony of the United States […] Puerto Rico is a prime example of a context that has been influenced by international trends where English is the priveledged language of science, technology, engineering, and mathematics" (p. 4). Because of this unique relationship, mainland publishing companies have profited tremendously from their influence over island educational institutions (e.g. McGraw-Hill, Pearson, Scholastic, Houghton Miffin Harcourt, and others).

In O'Reilly High a similar pattern was found, with perhaps a stronger tendency towards Puerto Rican Spanish monolingualism, particularly in student-directed classroom talk from teachers. On the local, out-of-class level, however, the classroom norms were challenged as students appropriated different linguistic strategies towards the construction of their social identities and establishment of social boundaries. Flyer construction from students suggested competence and knowledge of U.S. popular culture, such as in the example of the Marketing Strategies and the lyrics to "Milkshake" (as performed and popularized by Kelis, 2003). Furthermore, English language teachers, particularly those with higher percentage of Spanish-dominant students, incorporated translanguaging strategies in order to facilitate students' overall learning experiences. Meanwhile, Advanced English classes could be said to mimic those found in private school settings, however, only a minority of twelfth grade students were enrolled in these classes. Of those that were, as we shall see later in Chapter 6, a significant majority had

previously been enrolled in private schools prior to their current public school student status.

*Table 26*. Summary of Linguistic Landscape Practices

| **Mission High** | *Spanish* | ***E**nglish* | ***M**ixed* | **O'Reilly High** | *Spanish* | ***E**nglish* | ***M**ixed* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Official – School | | | x | Official – School | x | | |
| Classroom - Signs | | | x | Classroom - Signs | | | x |
| Classroom - Material | | | x | Classroom - Material | x | | |
| Events | | | x | Events | | | x |
| Miscellaneous - graffiti | | x | | Miscellaneous - graffiti | | | x |

Figures 63 and 64 suggested that students were not only segregated in terms of the communities that they engaged in, or their set of behaviors and linguistic practices, but that they were also spatially segregated, despite the open space and facilities provided in O'Reilly High that did not force students to socialize with other peers of the same age demographics or backgrounds. These spatial segregations, indeed, also had their say in linguistic practices as we shall observe in Chapter 6. Furthermore, while the influence of the English language in test materials, official documentation, and textbook distribution remained undetected or absent from classrooms outside of the English classroom (i.e. Math and Sciences had their own Spanish textbooks), some English was still detected in educational flyers for classes related to Business and Marketing branches. Furthermore, Figures 59 to 61 suggest that teenagers led in the incorporation of bilingual styles or English use in the public sphere through acts of vandalization and graffiting.

As was suggested throughout this Chapter, various methods were adopted at arriving at labelling for social practices and divisions. These were informed by several sources, including but not limited to: (1) self-labelling practices, (2) other labelling practices, (3) ethnographic observation and spatial segregation, (5) engagement in behavioral practices (or communities of practice), and (6) academic orientation (e.g. Advanced English /Intermediate English, Choir, Marketing, etc.). The table below summarises findings.

*Table 27*. Summary of Communities of Practice and local/non-local orientations

| **Mission High** | | **O'Reilly High** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **In-Between Jocks**<br>-Advanced English<br>-Involved in school athletics<br>-Party-culture<br>-Local urban culture<br>-Bilingual<br>-Mixed academic orientation | Miguel<br>Cristina<br>Emmanuel | **Caco Jocks**<br>-Basic English<br>-Some involved in school athletics<br>-Party culture<br>-Spanish dominant<br>-Mixed academic orientation | Josue<br>Bobi<br>Dánica<br>Ignacio |
| **Pop Enthusiasts**<br>-Advanced English<br>-Party culture<br>-Artistically inclined<br>-American pop culture<br>-Bilingual<br>-Mixed academic orientation | Laura<br>Tatiana<br>Cristina<br>Fernando | **Rocker Bookworms**<br>-Advanced English<br>-American and British literature and pop culture<br>-Bilingual<br>-Positive academic orientations | Luis<br>Pedro<br>David<br>Angélica<br>Bianca<br>Sara |
| **Gamers**<br>-Intermediate English & Advanced English<br>-Gaming (technological) and cars<br>-Japanese culture/ Internet culture<br>-Bilingual<br>-Positive academic orientation | Dave<br>Norman<br>Pablo<br>Daniel<br>Roberto | **Rocker Gamers**<br>-Basic English<br>-Gaming (card and gaming console)<br>-Japanese culture<br>-Bilingual (some)<br>-Mixed academic orientation | Kevin<br>Puma<br>Sergio<br>Sammy |
| **Choir Girls**<br>-Advanced English<br>-School music<br>-Affiliated to school religion and church<br>-American pop culture<br>-Bilingual/English-dominant<br>-Positive academic orientation | Pilar<br>Fiorela<br>Amaris<br>Dianid<br>Mariela<br>Erica | **Marketing**<br>-Basic English<br>-Marketing program<br>-Japanese subculture<br>-Gaming (some)<br>-Spanish-dominant<br>-Mixed academic orientation | Penelope<br>Dalia<br>Saul<br>Esteban |
| **Outcasts**<br>-Intermediate English<br>-Literature and fashion<br>-Spanish-dominant<br>-Mixed academic orientation | Zuriel<br>Daniel*<br>Fernando* | **In Between Rockers**<br>-Advanced English<br>-Music and television<br>-Bilingual<br>-Positive academic orientation | María<br>Federico |

# CHAPTER 6

## ENGLISH LANGUAGE USE IN TWO SCHOOLS

## 6.1 OVERVIEW

> *Ways of talking produce and reproduce ways of thinking, and ways of thinking can be manipulated via choices about grammar, style, wording, and every other aspect of discourse.*
> - Barbara Johnstone (2008, p. 54).

This chapter offers birdseye perspective of the distribution of ideological 'Englishes' in interactions. It builds provides contextual information as to how language is manifested across several social contexts, topics, groups, individual subjects, etc., and how these in turn relate to what we know of language in Puerto Rico. These findings set the stage for the micro-analytic discussion of ideological entailments or the local construction of meaning offered in Chapter 7.

While it may seem reductionist to refer to bilingual speech in numerical ways, it is nonetheless helpful in arriving at a general idea of the distribution of language in a particular community, especially in understanding the sort of linguistic practices that characterize peer groups, or the language that makes up people's socialization experiences. Furthermore, a quantitative insight into a speech community's language practices allows the researcher to arrive at a better understanding of the social meaning tied to particular ways of speaking[84], it also facilitates the detection of new trends in language use. Ultimately, the overarching aim of this chapter is to provide a basis for the latter qualitative discussion of social meaning in language. By providing a birds eye view of the existing practices found in each community, I provide the necessary quantitative backdrop to the locally emergent roles, functions, and social meanings of Spanish and English.

[84] Such as providing an idea of the language that is prevalent in particular contexts – situations or topics – or among particular speakers.

The organisation of this chapter is a follows:

1) A general look into language varieties is provided, paying homage to variation within the local vernacular;
2) A look into English language distribution is provided across gender, class, and communities of practice. Private school is first discussed then the public school is discussed.
3) Summary is provided in terms of important findings – similarities and differences – that emerge when comparing private and public school students.

## 6.2 Language Varieties Spoken Among Bilingual Adolescents

### 6.2.1 Overview

At the outset of this project, I proposed providing an in-depth look into the linguistic practices that characterized each adolescent community. I had planned to look beyond visibly-flagged code-switching definitions that predominated in linguistic descriptions of the island.

The work that I discuss here is inspired by current trends in linguistic ethnography (LE) in European contexts. In particular, the work from sociolinguistics such as Jan Blommaert (2008) and Ben Rampton (2011), who repeatedly emphasize the need to include descriptions of the different varieties being employed in interaction, in order to take into account the fluid and non-static nature of multilingual encounters, where more than just the switching of languages is taking place – in their work they suggest the use of terms such as "superdiversity"[85] and "translanguaging". Their frameworks are heavily shaped by the shifts in demographics in European cities, such as Birmingham or London.

In this same way, the results that I present here suggest some fluidity in the varieties being implemented among Puerto Rican adolescents, who live in a dissimilar situation to European adolescents, as neither are they in proximity to other languages or cultures (other than American) to the same amount as Europeans, nor are they socioeconomically stable to arrive at a comparable multicultural contact by means of travel opportunities. In addition, unlike youth descriptions in U.S. and European contexts,

[85] A term coined by Steven Vervotec (2007) in his article "Super-diversity and its implications."

Puerto Rican adolescents receive little to no direct contact with people from different countries, cultures, and/or ethnicities. Indeed, as Census statistics indicated in Chapter 3, most of the people who live on the island are of Puerto Rican descent. There is some degree of linguistic and cultural containment, and this is of little surprise given the geographical circumstances of Puerto Rico, a U.S. territory away from direct cultural and ideological influences prevalent in U.S. settings, such as English-only ideologies (cf. Lippi-Green, 2012). Developments of Late modernity, such as technological advancements like the Internet, the widespread distribution of computers and smartphone technology, and the increasingly present role of the social media, have altered the structure of our day to day routines, interactions, and behaviors. It is not merely a matter of being able to stay connected with someone at all times, but having immediate access to information at the very palm of our hands. In this way, adolescents in Puerto Rico are coming to terms with English under different circumstances than their parents, grandparents, and older generations which were subjects of previous work done on Puerto Rican English in the 1990s and 2000s. Furthermore, the type of language contact that characterizes this community is primarily institutional (in education, government offices, hospitals), secondly consumption-based (e.g. in the consumption of food, products, music, entertainment, and other items that have a substantial presence on the island), and most recently virtual (e.g. through technological platforms and social media). Geographical and cultural linguistic boundaries are, thus, becoming porous through the introduction of newer forms of communication. This was suggested in initial observations, some detailed in Chapter 5, in which creative stylisation practices took place on the writings on the walls and creation of event flyers.

In this section I present a numerical breakdown of what these strategies looked like across peer groups and their respective demographic information. But, first, I provide a qualitative description of the language styles found in the recorded data.

### 6.2.2 YOUTH SPEECH AND ISLAND BILINGUAL STYLES

In a 2000 article on the *competent bilingual*, Alicia Pousada identifies variation in bilingualism on the island, thus complicating definitions of English language competence and the second language learner in Puerto Rico. She suggests that, on the island, English competence is not easily identifiable, rather can be envisioned as a continuum that ranges from the most passive type of bilingualism (incipient bilingualism) to full command of two languages (ambilingualism). Below I have included a discussion of her labelling strategies and the knowledge that each category represents (Table 6.2).

*Table 28.* Classification of Bilingual Competence in Puerto Rico (Pousada, 2000: 105).

| ***Bilingualism Type*** | ***Description*** |
|---|---|
| *Incipient* (Diebold, 1961) | The initial stage at which a language learner's brain is "sorting out" L2 input (or second language stimuli), and formulating a mental schema that is equipped with the knowledge of "comprehension and use of a new language system" (p. 106). At this stage a learner is heavily reliant on their first language to bring them through different L2 learning tasks, as they try to navigate and acquire a string of utterances and words previously unknown to them and part of a new language system. |
| *Receptive* (Hocket, 1958) | At this stage a language learner is able to identify certain words or phrases at a textual level, and is somewhat literate in said language. That is, they possess some level of reading comprehension in their L2, but still find it challenging to write or speak in it. Defined as a "transitional stage" in language learning before spoken fluency, and also the stage by which many Puerto Ricans can be found. Pousada claims that those who have received "passive" language learning experiences, involving listening and reading, are likely to be situated in this category. |
| *Functional* (Nagel et al., 2015) | Stage at which a learner has specific knowledge of a language, such as working or studying knowledge of a language, or acquires a second language for special purposes (Nagel et al., 2015) |
| *Equilingual (Edwards, 2006)* | State at which a speaker can be classified as a near-native of a second language, and has mastery of both languages at their disposal. I.e. it is hard to trace any influence from L1 in L2 and vice-versa (Edwards, 2006). Attainable to some sequential bilinguals. |
| *Ambilingual (Halliday, McIntosh, & Strevens, 2007)* | State at which speaker is native speaker of both languages, and possesses native comprehension of reading, writing, and speaking abilities. A "true" ambilingual or competent speaker of two languages is hard to find (Halliday, McIntosh, & Strevens, 2007). A rarity in Puerto Rico, but perhaps found among those exposed to fully bilingual education or received both languages from birth. |

According to the typology provided by Pousada (2000) most Puerto Ricans, or the average Puerto Rican, will not progress past the stage of *receptive bilingualism*. A receptive bilingual is an individual who most likely has received a passive second language learning experience, through listening and reading strategies, such that the learner never truly becomes confident enough in speaking, writing, or engaging in any

other way in the second language. In other words, at this stage learners are very likely to possess some type of Reading comprehension, but are not competent enough to engage in spoken conversation. I will refer to this spectrum in later sections when individuals outwardly rank their own speaking competences. The important take away point is that though these labelling strategies may seem reductionist and unable to capture the linguistic complexities of contemporary Puerto Rico, I propose that this continuum may be ammended and often referred to so as long as we recognize that individuals have the agency to employ features outside of these categories, according to their individual life experiences and repertoires. This way of viewing bilingualism follows much of the recent work in European linguistics involving translanguaging (García & Wei, 2014), heteroglossia (Creese & Blackledge, 2014), and superdiversity (Blommaert & Rampton, 2012). Such an approach would make way for current technological developments that have altered present day social interactions, such as smartphone technology and the increasing use of social media platforms for day to day conversations, and how these have altered the very structure of some of our interactions and has also introduced a myriad of lexical items into our daily lives. English plays a central role in many of these interactions, and could indeed alter the very fabric of the comfortable descriptions of bilingualism on the island that have been theorized thus far.

Now that we have established what kind of bilingualism is reportedly found on the island from receptive bilingualism to equilingual or ambilingual speakers, and now that a repertoire-driven approach has been identified as the current method for this study, I will proceed to discuss the specific features that previous literature has found in what is Puerto Rican English (PRE), or English spoken in Puerto Rico, as well as what is meant when we talk about Puerto Rican Spanish (PRS).

### 6.2.3 Island Puerto Rican English (IPRE)

Before attempting to come up with a typology of *Island Puerto Rican English* (IPRE), as a non-native variety of English, it is important to discuss what Island Puerto Rican English is not. Importantly, IPRE does not refer to English-origin lexical items (and/or idioms) found in Puerto Rican Spanish matrices – words that could potentially be defined as loan words and borrows into Spanish. IPRE is not spoken by everyone on the island, although most islanders have receptive (or literate) abilities in the English language. IPRE should not be confused with Chicano English, Miami English, Southern 'Hispanic' Englishes, or mainland Puerto Rican English, although there may be some similarities

due to Spanish-English contact and its unique linguistic outcomes. For instance, descriptions of mainland Puerto Rican English (mPRE) have demonstrated that Puerto Rican contact with other ethnic minorities, such as the African American community, has influenced the outcome and adopted features of this particular variety of English (cf. Labov, 1988). In Southern states, such as North Carolina, regional features have been adopted by Hispanic speakers of English, such as the unglided regional /ay/ in words like "say" and "way" (cf. Wolfram, Carter, & Moriello, 2004). Island Puerto Rican English is not directly suceptible to regional mainland features as it occurs in geographically isolated settings. Furthermore, it is not necessarily acquired from birth, as are most descriptions of Latino/Hispanic Englishes in mainland settings; rather, in most cases, island Puerto Rican English is acquired through formal instruction, in schools, from age 5 onwards.

Now that I have discussed what Puerto Rican English and code-switching is **not**, I will review some of the existing descriptions of what Puerto Rican English is, and how my data fits into these descriptions. I will also attempt to add some parameters based on my own findings. To begin, there are few existing accounts of *island* Puerto Rican English[86]. Existing accounts have been limited to lexical depictions, or descriptions of how English word use in P.R. deviates from the standard mainland norm. Some of these descriptions have referred to Puerto Ricans' regular use of false cognates and false friends, visible even in the speech of English language educators (see Nash, 1970, 1971, 1979, 1983 for discussions on lexical items).

At the University of Puerto Rico, Elizabeth Dayton and Eileen Blau (1997, 1999) conducted several experiments by which they observed the acceptability rate of certain naturally occurring contact-induced items[87], some of these were morpho-syntactic, others lexical. They found that, out of the non-standard phenomena accounted for in their elicitation methods, a major source of linguistic innovation was the lexicon – or, as they put it, fluent bilinguals of English on the island were "most successful at changing inflectional (grammatical) differences [88] and least successful at changing lexical differences" in their acceptability rate judgement tasks. In their methods, they also included native speakers of English who had lived on the island and found similar results.

[86] This should not be confused with mainland Puerto Rican English, which has been accounted for by some (cf. Labov, 1988) as an ethnic variety that deviates from the Standard English norm, but also borrows features from neighboring ethnic communities (African Americans).
[87] All were the result of Spanish-English contact, and deviated from General American English.
[88] Such as the addition of past tense inflectional morpheme /-ed/ to regular verbs.

The judgement examples were based off of naturally occurring speech, as well as language found in written forms (e.g. newspapers, bulletin boards, road signage). Out of the different non-standard lexical uses, they found that these words had a tendency to go unmarked or treated as 'OK' usages included the following: *interpreted* (instead of 'sang'), *domination* (instead of 'command), *maintaining* (instead of 'keeping'), *approved* (instead of 'completed'), *suffered* (instead of 'had'), *stay with* (instead of 'keep'), *elaborated* (instead of 'prepared'), *celebrated* (instead of 'held'), and so on. These words, Dayton and Blau suggest, demonstrate at least three types of cross-linguistic phenomena prevalent in the speech of the most fluent bilinguals: (1) words that are polysemous (have a range of different meanings) but ranges in meaning are not congruent in Spanish and English, (2) lexical items may have different semantic ranges, and (3) Spanish and English words may have different collocational (frequent combinatorial possibilities) ranges.

*Dayton & Blau (1999):*

**(a) Polysemous and non-congruent meanings:**

| *Spanish* | *English* |
|---|---|
| **Interpreter** | **Interpret** |
| comprehend | comprehend |
| translate | translate |
| sing | |

**(b) Different semantic ranges:**

| *Spanish* | *English* |
|---|---|
| **Aprobar** | **Approve** |
| consent | consent |
| regard favourably | regard favourably |
| pass a test or course, complete credits. | _____. |

**(c) Different collocational ranges:**

| *Spanish* | *English* |
|---|---|
| **Perder** | **lose** |
| be unable to find | be unable to find |
| mislay | mislay |
| not win | not win |
| waste (time, money) | waste (time, money) |
| miss (flights, trains) | miss (flights, trains) |

In my data, there were occurrences of false cognates and false friends in both members of the elite and non-elite groups. There were also examples of syntactic transfer, or influence of Spanish on English when producing English statements or words. At times there was enough overlap between languages in terms of syntactic order for it to not affect

the grammaticality of a statement, but in other occurrences of Spanish transfer it affect the standard production of a statement.

Other instances of transfer may result in the misuse of gramatical constructions. For instance, Luis, one of the leaders of English-only strategies within the microcosm of O'Reilly High, often produced Spanish-influenced gramatical constructions. One of the examples is exhibited below when he tries to incoporate a verb conjugation similar to that which occurs in Spanish verb *entendí* 'understand', whose ending /-í/ serves the morphological function of indicating present perfect tense ('pretérito perfecto'). *Understood* in the statement below is only *one part* of the present perfect construction in the English language. Luis did not include '*have*' + VERB (Past) in order to make this a present perfect statement, which would have looked something like: *now that I <u>have understood</u>*. In this case, he demonstrates word-for-word syntactic transfer: *now* 'ahora' + *that* 'que' + *I* 'yo' + *understood* 'entendí'. His word-for-word transfer has resulted in his simplification of the present perfect construction.

EXAMPLE #1 ILLUSTRATING GRAMMATICAL TRANSFER IN O'REILLY HIGH CORPUS

***O'Reilly High***

1) Luis: I like it, I didn't like it when I was a kid, 'cause my dad listened to it all the time. It was really annoying, but **<u>NOW that I understood*.</u>**
'*ahora que entendí*'
*Standard form*: Now that I have understood.

In a different instance, Luis produces instances of transfer -- or first language influence -- when using prepositions 'in' and 'on', both of which are realised in Spanish as 'en'. Because of the mismatch in meaning and lexical non-congruency (cf. Dayton & Blau, 1999), many bilingual speakers of Spanish have a problem detecting which is the correct preposition in English and under what circumstances. Take for instance the excerpt below where Luis is describing the action of drawing *on* an object, in this case, a 'billboard thingy' for the computer teacher, an action that he frequently describes as 'drawing and painting in it', occurring twice in the excerpt below.

2) Luis We- we cut class because we were helping our technology teacher make, like,a billboard thingy and we were like painting and drawing in* it, and she left the classroom and told us to like to out, look out for the classroom […] 'Cuz she was going to a *reunion*. And we were like painting and drawing in* it, a:nd she left the classroom and she told us to look out for the classroom.

Following Dayton & Blau's (1999) characterising of Puerto Rican English, another lexical item that is perhaps also unique to Luis' style is the use of the word *reunion* to to

refer to a 'teacher meeting'. *Reunion* in Standard English possesses the following definitions: (a) 'an instance of two or more people coming together after a period of separation', and (b) 'the action of being brought together again as a unified whole' (OED). In Spanish however, *reunión* may refer to these as well as other actions, such as the general act of meeting or reuniting with someone, or the act of various people coming together be it for informal purposes (e.g. a birthday) or more formal purposes (e.g. a job meeting). In this case, reunion is an act of transfer with differences in **semantic ranges**.

*Word-for-Word Fixed Expression Transfer*

There was evidence of grammatical-inflectional transfer among the most fluent bilinguals in O'Reilly High, but crosslinguistic influence was not restricted to public school students. In the private school, one of the highest incorporators of standard-like Englishes, employed certain transfer features in her production of English. In the conversation below she is describing her grandparents relationship, her paternal grandmother, or her grandmother 'de parte de mi papá' (*Sp*. preposition + noun + preposition + determiner + noun) to which she reproduces word-for-word in English as *from part of my dad*,* instead of 'from my dad's side of the family'. When discussing family relations, it is customary of Puerto Rican Spanish to use fixed expressions such as 'de parte de mi papá' or 'de parte de mi mamá'. It is possible to interpret this instance of transfer as a mere result of the topic being discussed – home and family life – and the language tied to notions of home and local identity (Spanish).

EXAMPLE #2 ILLUSTRATING L1 IDIOMATIC TRANSFER IN MISSION HIGH CORPUS

3) Pilar No because my: grandfathe:r cheated on my grandmother **<u>from part of my da:d*,</u>** umm, like a lot of ti:mes, and umm, one of those times (.) from the one that we kno:w, she had a daughter. So, she had to pay pension and that kind of stuff.

*Standard form:* dad's grandmother, grandmother from my dad's side (of the family), from my dad's part of the family, etc.

*Pilar says:* "from part of my dad"* = de parte de mi papá.

Another instance of fixed-expression transfer or idiomatic transfer is visible in Luis' speech in the focus group interview. At the beginning of the interview, I offer them vanilla and chocolate cupcakes, to which Luis says to me *I want the white one* in English, Angélica jokingly calls him *racihta* or racist, to which Luis responds with *Don't attack me verbally,* following adverbial structure in Spanish 'no me ataques verbalmente'. In

Standard English such phrase would have the adverb in midposition, so before the main verb such as to indicate the type of attack in 'don't verbally attack me'.

EXAMPLE #3 ILLUSTRATING L1 IDIOMATIC TRANSFER IN O'REILLY HIGH CORPUS

(Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = Standard American English)

| | |
|---|---|
| Luis: | **So we're gonna start eating cupcakes?** |
| Angélica | Yo quiero de chocolate. |
| Katherine | Pero mira, **you have to commit to the=** |
| Luis | **I'm committed.** |
| Angélica | **We're committed. Chocolate.** |
| Federico | Chocolate tambien. |
| Luis | **I want a white one.** |
| Angélica | Que racihta. |
| Luis | **They're already chocolate. Don't attack me verbally.** ((*laughing*)). |
| ***Translation*** | |
| Luis | So we're going to start eating cupcakes? |
| Angélica | I want a chocolate one. |
| Katherine | But look, you have to commit to the (interview)= |
| Angélica | I'm committed. Chocolate. |
| Federico | Chocolate as well. |
| Luis | I want a white one. |
| Angélica | How racist. |
| Luis | They're already chocolate. Don't attack me verbally ((*laughing*)). |

*Puerto Rican English Phonology*

There is *one* existing account of the phonological system of island Puerto Rican English (PRE), although there are many accounts of Latino Englishes in mainland U.S. settings, particularly in northeastern regions (such as New York and Philadelphia), as well as communities on the west coast of the country (such as California). Some of these accounts have compared these Hispanic communities against a benchmark of regional variation, or varieties spoken by White European counterparts (cf. Fought, 1999, 2003; Carter & Lynch, 2015; Poplack, 1978[89])[90]. This account is provided by Maureen Walsh (1994) at the University of Puerto Rico in Rio Piedras, and depicts island Puerto Rican

[89] Shana Poplack's has conducted extensive work on bilingual Puerto Ricans in New York. Her work on bilingual children (cf. Poplack, 1978) examined the following phonological features: the production of [ow] in words like home, [uw] in boot, [aw] in house, [r#] in hard, [ay] in fight, and [aeh] in bad. She found that in the realization of this sounds children were more likely to use variants from counterpart Anglo-American Philadelphian speakers as well as neighbor populations African Americans.

[90] Carmen Fought (2003) examined the English spoken by Latina youth gangs in California, She also found that these girls were adopting features that were typical of regional Anglo-counterparts, such as the hallmark Valley Girl feature "creaky voice", suggesting that this feature was a result of contact transfer between Southern California English and Chicano English.

English as belonging to those "most fluent" on the island, i.e. the professional elite. She samples her data according to linguistic self-report as well as occupational status – a criteria that would allow her to arrive at a 'standard-like' benchmark (which succeeding studies could build on), reflective of prestigious English-only (or bilingual) educational and professional opportunities that would eliminate variable language learning experiences (due to unequal access to English and Spanish-dominant practices). Walsh described PRE, or *Island Puerto Rican English*, as possessing linguistic features that could be traced back to the dominant language, Puerto Rican Spanish, such as de-spirantization of [ð] and [θ] to [d] and [t], de-affrication of [dʒ] to [ʒ] or [j], devoicing of [z], alternational use of [ʃ] ~ [tʃ], and stress shift to the last syllable of compound nouns (Nickels, 2005: 232). And, so, her definitions are very much dependent on the language of contact, Spanish, and how PRE defers to mainland Englishes, rather than on data that aligns this varieties or suggests the similarities between the two phonological systems.

### 6.2.4 PUERTO RICAN SPANISH

In contrast to Puerto Rican English, Puerto Rican Spanish has received much international attention and has been extensively studied. It has often been referred to as a 'radical dialect' of Spanish because of the way single consonants and syllabic constructions are realised, or, rather, not realised at all (such as elision or aspiration of word-final /-s/ and deletion of intervocalic /d/). Furthermore, it is not uncommon to observe a consonantal sound, such as a trill or /r/, be realized as a completely different alveolar consonant, in this case a lateral /l/, when positioned in final-syllable position. Below is an excerpt drawn from interview data that exemplifies some of the features that make Puerto Rican Spanish unique in the landscape of dialects of Spanish:

EXAMPLE #4 ILLUSTRATING PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES OF PR SPANISH (O'REILLY HIGH)

(Key: *italics* = PR Spanish; Regular Font = Puerto Rican Spanish; Ø = no sound value, omission of a sound.)

| | |
|---|---|
| 01 Katherine | *¿Y tu tieneØ algún hermano o hermana?*<br>(Do you have any brothers or sisters?) |
| 02 Dánica<br>03 | *Tengo un he**l**mano de venti-doh y mi he**l**mana de doce. De treceØ añoØ, pe**l**dón.*<br>(I have one brother of twenty-two and my sister of twelve. Of thirteen years, sorry.) |
| 04 Katherine | *Entonceh el de venti-doh ehte es=* |

| | |
|---|---|
| | (So, the person that is twenty-two, umm, is=) |
| 05 Dánica | *Casa(d)o . Sí, eØ casa(d)o.*<br>(Married. Yes, he is married.) |
| 06 Katherine | *¿Y con quién tu te llevaØ mejor?*<br>(And who do you get along with better?) |
| 08 Dánica | *Con el mayol. Con el de ventidoh.*<br>(With the eldest. The twenty-two year old.) |
| 09 Katherine | *¿Pol qué?*<br>(Why?) |
| 10 Dánica<br>11<br>12 | *No sé si eh pol la diferencia de edadeØ que no entendemoØ mejol pero mi hermanita chiquita eØ, como que:, se cree que hay que hacel lo que ella diga y no.*<br>(I don't know if it's because of the difference of ages that we understand each other better, but my little sister is, like, she thinks we have to do what she says and no.) |

In the following excerpts, several dialectal features become noticeable, namely, hallmark /-s/ elision, typical of Caribbean dialects of Spanish, hailing all the way from Canary Island and Andalusian ancestors. This feature is both visible in my speech, as a native *Mayaguezana* (i.e. person from Mayagüez) schooled almost entirely on the island in private settings, and of Dánica, a public-school student also born and raised in Mayaguez, Puerto Rico. This excerpt suggests that final /-s/ is also realized differently when it is not produced as a fricative; that is, it may be aspirated as an [h] (to make up for the fact that it is not produced), or it may be completely deleted [Ø]. These three steps towards complete elision were also noted in Lipski's (2011) article on the speech of the rural community of Castañer. In this article Lipski notes gender differences in the preservation of /-s/ through aspiration and its complete elision, namely, women were found to preserve /s/ more systematically:

> "Although the pattern of differentiation is the same for both genders – more deletion before pause, less before consonants and least before vowels – women discriminate more. They delete more than men before pauses, and restrain deletion, that is preserving /s/ either as a sibilant or aspiration before vowels." (Lipski, 2011, p. 236).

Examples of /-s/ elision make up the entirety of the Puerto Rican youth corpus in this study. It is not surprising to find it in every transcript, following the patterns set forth by Lipski, despite differences in the socioeconomic strata. Yet, what *is* noteworthy are the rare occasions in which /-s/ is realized as a sibilant, that is, in its standard form. In

most cases /s/ is preserved when emphasizing speech, or in careful production of speech by language models or figures of authority. However, even in most careful speech the majority of islanders do not produce /s/ as a sibilant.

Other features particular to Puerto Rican Spanish include the deletion of final syllabic construction in two syllable words, such as *todo* (everything) to 'to' or 'toh', *para* (for) to 'pa', *mamá* or *madre* to 'ma' or 'mai', *papá* or *padre* to 'pa' or 'pai'. Other typical, but perhaps less frequent features of Puerto Rican Spanish include the deletion of voiced alveolar plosive /d/ in intervocalic position, e.g. turning nouns like *pescado* (fish) into 'pescao', and past-tense morphological inflections such as /-ado/ and /-ido/ into /-ao/ and /-io/ in indicative verb forms like *trabajado* or worked ('trabajao') and *corrido* or ran ('corrío'). Some of these features are summarized in the table below.

*Table 29*. English-Origin Appropriations and Loanwords in Puerto Rican Spanish.

| **Feature** | **Orthographic Representation** | **Translation** | **Pronunciation in *Standard* Puerto Rican Spanish[91]** | **Non-standard Mayaguez Pronunciation** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| /-s/ elision or aspiration | amistades | friends | /amistades/ | [amihtadeØ] |
| b weakening | abuela | Grandmother | /abuela/ | [awuela]* |
| Intervocalic d weakening/elision | doblado | Folded | /doblado/ | [doblaØo]* |
| Fricativization of /r/ to [χ] | carro | Car | /carro/ | [ca**x$^{h}$**o]* |
| Lateralization of /r/ | hablar | To talk | /hablar/ | [habla**l**] |
| Final syllable deletion | Para, todo, mamá | For (Conj.), everything (pronoun), mom (noun) | /para/, /todo/, /mamá/ | [pa'], [to'], [ma'] |

[91] When I use the word "standard" here, I refer to the Spanish that is taught to children in schools, the most formal Latin American realization of Spanish, the one that is often heard through reading practices.

*Borrowings & Appropriations*

English-origin appropriations and borrowings, or *anglicisms*, are also a typical feature of PR Spanish (cf. Mazak, 2007, p. 49). As it is the case with other parts of the world[92], Puerto Rico has been subject to cultural influence from the United States, particularly due to its economic relationship. businesses and products, although the influence is also felt in governmental affairs (e.g. when filling out important documentation), education (e.g. subjects such as Maths, Engineering, and Sciences), medicine (e.g. prescription instructions, medicine labels), and other. In her characterization of Puerto Ricans' use of anglicisms, Pousada (2012) singles out medical, law, and engineering professions as those most likely to incorporate regular use of anglicisms as their jobs demand use of this terminology. However, I would like to suggest an amendment to her observation: while, yes, it is true that to some extent many who practice law, medicine, and other professions incorporate *specific* English terminology on a regular basis, it is also important to recognize that the use of anglicisms is not most used by this community, as suggested by a paper by Cortes et al. (2005) which rightfully states that globalization and developments of late modernity, such as those to do with mass communication, have influenced and strengthened the position of English as a global language. Thus, Pousada's assertion is problematic for various reasons, one is that there is simply not enough evidence or research conducted on island bilinguals to make this kind of population claim. With the exception of some work conducted in the 90s (cf. Gutiérrez Gonzalez, 1993), and early 2000s (cf. Morales, 2001; Cortés, Ramirez, Rivera, Viada, & Fayer, 2005) there is still very little known about who is more likely to incorporate anglicisms or English using strategies on the island. A lot of the research conducted in this area has been based on self-report or questionnaire methods, which should not be taken as an accurate representation of speech, rather should be seen as what it truly represents: *a personal evaluation*. There are currently two major online databases of Spanish dialectology or World Spanishes, CORDE and CREA[93], these annotated systems capture some of the hybridity that English-contact has introduced into Spanish, but it is not sufficient. One of the primary setbacks of using CORDE and CREA as tools of measuring distribution of

[92] Onysko (2004) suggests that following the second half of the 20th century there was an increase worldwide in the use of Anglicisms, primarily due to "a rapid development in mass communication" .

[93] Administered by the Real Academia Espanola (RAE).

anglicisms is that many of these projects are being conducted by European organisations, the representation of Puerto Rican Spanish's use of anglicisms is scarce.

*Interference & Borrowings*

As with other contact situations, the local vernacular has borrowed extensively from the prestigious, neighbouring North American culture. This is particularly evident in the appropriation of lexical items that are common in U.S. culture, entertainment, and commodities. Some of these words are so widespread that identifying the Spanish counterpart or existing equivalent may be difficult even for the most Spanish-dominant Puerto Rican. In such cases, anglo-origin words or lexical items are excluded from analyses of code-switching and bilingual speech, as they are not unique or out-of-the-ordinary, rather they have formed an integral role in the local vernacular and have little if no Spanish lexical competition (i.e. rarely occur in variance with a Spanish alternative). Indeed, this is the case for terms such as *freezer* 'refrigerador', *popcorn* 'palomitas de maíz', *mall* 'centro commercial', *lipstick* 'pinta labios', *brown* 'marrón', *weekend* 'fin de semana', *hamburgers* 'hamburguesas', *hot dog* 'perro caliente; salchicha', *laptop* 'computadora portatil; ordenador portatil', (car part) *wiper* 'limpiaparabrisas', *part-time* 'medio tiempo', among others. As is suggested by a quick listing of examples, some of these items are food related, others to do with new technologies, automotive items, ways of describing things, and nouns.

**Type 1: Food and Consumer Culture**

Interview questions did not purposefully touch on the subject of food, however, certain interview topics, particularly those to do with 'What do you do when you go out with your friends?' (under Hobbies & Interests) triggered answers to do with going out to eat to fast food restaurants – which, in turn, led to the use of a lot of the appropriations mentioned in the table above. In terms of creative language use, among some of the most avid bilingual speakers, the use of such items that are considered loanwords[94] in linguistics literature, were realized using American English phonology. An example of this behaviour is found in Dave and Fiorela's speech from Mission High Private school,

[94] In the sense of being appropriated into the local language, both grammatically and into the local phonological system (Puerto Rican Spanish).

as well as in the speech of Angélica from O'Reilly High public school, as demonstrated below.

EXAMPLE 1. DAVE, GAMER COFP (PRIVATE SCHOOL)

(Regular font = Puerto Rican Spanish; **Bold** = Puerto Rican English; *Italics* = commentary on interview event; [] = impressionistic transcription)

"What do you do when you go out with your friends?"

(1) Dave Pueh, **I go eat** […] A veceØ, pue:Ø, salimoØ a lugareØ, como **Friends Café**, **Friends Café** sabe bien bueno. El del Litoral, tu haØ ido al del Litoral? El del Litoral tiene unos **hamburgers** son como así ((*demonstrates size of hamburgers with hands)*), tienen unos **patties** como así de grandes, loh **buns** tienen algo raro, lah papita son de bianda*, tan mem wena.

Translation:

Well, I go eat […] And sometimes, well, we go out to places, like **Friends Café, Friends Café** tastes really nice. The one in the Coast, have you been to the Coast? The one from the Coast has some **[hæmbərgərs]** that are like this ((*demonstrates size of hamburgers with hands*)), they have some [**pæti:s]** like this big, the [**bənz]** have something weird, the chips are from sweet potato, they're very nice.

An avid bilingual, Dave participates in the incorporation of Standard American phonology when using established loanwords. Dave draws on verb phrase *I go eat*, to describe his shared practices with friends, alongside lexical items tied to American cooking or types of American food he eats or finds appealing, such as *hamburgers* and *patties* and *buns*, served at a nearby restaurant called *Friends Café*. In this sense, we see that the use of English lexical items was triggered by the food domain as well as the type of food, what could be in other typologies considered a cultural borrowing, but is not in this case as words like 'buns' and 'patties' are less frequent in the Puerto Rican populace.

Another avid bilingual, Fiorela, uses lexical items *breakfast, brunch* and *dinner* when talking about her hometown and the restaurants near to where she lives. Again, these items fall under appropriations and borrows typology described above. However, whether they justifiably belong there is subject to personal theoretical preference, particularly because Fiorela – much like Dave – does not integrate these words to the colloquial phonological system, perhaps the General American realization of these items is influenced by the fact that they are all listed along each other, and could be interpreted as an insertion of a constituent list, or a noun phrase. Below is the example of how it occurs:

EXAMPLE 2. FIORELA, CHOIR GIRL COFP (PRIVATE SCHOOL)

(Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = PR English; [] = impressionistic transcription; *italics* = researcher commentary on interview event)

Fiorela: **I went to [moʊna]** (Restaurant) ((*As opposed to Standard Spanish [mona], her /Mona/ is diphthongized as if it were spoken in General American English*)). Tu sabeθ cual eh el sitio Mona? Eh de **[brɛkfəst], [brəntʃ], [dɪnər]…**

Translation:
**I went to Moʊna** (the Restaurant). ((*As opposed to Standard Spanish [mona], Her /Mona/ is diphthongized as if it were spoken in General American English*)). Do you know the place Mona? It's of **[brɛkfəst], [brəntʃ], [dɪnər]…**

At the same time, participants who have knowledge of the Standard American English phonology, also at times utilize Puerto Rican Spanish phonology as a *distancing tool,* so while individuals like Dave preserve the original phonology of foreign words, other avid bilinguals such as Luis from O'Reilly High, use Puerto Rican Spanish phonology as a distancing tool when incorporating English-origin nouns into a Spanish matrix.

EXAMPLE 3. LUIS, ROCKER COFP (PUBLIC SCHOOL)

(Regular font = PR Spanish; ***Bold & Italics*** = Puerto Rican English; **Bold** = Standard-like General American English)

| | |
|---|---|
| Luis | En Ehtados Unido pero acuelda ehtan a– tienen atraganta'o un **[*ham.bel.gel*]** no pueden hablal. Ehtan como que llenando de **[*mak donalØ*]** hahta aca bajo y como que "bleh bleh". **[aɪ doʊnt noʊ ðeɪ kænt stɔl ðɛr miəl].** |
| Translation: | In the United States but remember that they are—they are choking on **a [hambelgel]** ((*hamburger*)), they can't talk. It's like they are filling themselves of **[mak donalØ]** ((*McDonald's*)) up till here and like "bleh bleh". **I don't know, they can't, they can't stall their meal.** |

In the exchange above, Luis is taking part of a discussion in which students from O'Reilly High are condemning the behavior of Americans living in Puerto Rico, particularly in a neighboring region to Mayagüez called Rincón. They are listing off traits they find negative in Americans, among them impoliteness, disrespect, selfishness, and greedy behavior. When using the loanword *hamburger* in his turn, Luis employs it in a disparaging way by applying Spanish phonology and describing a negative action. He pursues his critique by offering more than just a loanword item in *I don't know, they can't, they can't stall their meal*. Thus, using food loans in Hispanic phonology as a distancing

act, alongside a negative English evaluative statement. An ideological discussion of this excerpt is available in Chapter 7.

**Type 2: Business**

Other topics that encouraged the use of English in interaction were those to do with business. In O'Reilly High, as previously mentioned, the use of English was seen in the signage practices, textbooks, and classroom-specific terminology to do with business and marketing-programs offered by the school (e.g. *data entry*, *peachtree accounting*, *part-time*, etc.). The idea of the local workforce also encouraged use of loanwords in PR Spanish, such as *part time* (instead of tiempo parcial) and *full time* instead of *tiempo completo*. See for instance an interaction bellow with Bobi from the Jock CofP at O'Reilly High, when discussing the jobs he wants to take up when completing his university degree:

EXAMPLE 1. BOBI, CACO-JOCK COFP (PUBLIC SCHOOL)

(Regular font = PR Spanish; ***Bold & Italics*** = Puerto Rican English; [] = impressionistic transcription)

| | |
|---|---|
| Bobi | Pue:, obviamente ehtudial en el Colegio: de: (.) Mayague:, quiero ehtudial ingeniería mecá:nica, y pue trabajal mientrah ehtudio pol lo meno **[*part*] *[taim].*** |

***Translation***

| | |
|---|---|
| Bobi | Well, obviously I want to study at el Colegio of Mayaguez, I want to study Mechanical Engineering, and, well, work while I study at least **part-time.** |

In Mission High the theme of business came up when discussing personal ambitions. Many students' demonstrated a desire to move abroad and live in mainland United States, where they believed they would be able to achieve their maximum potential. An example of business-related English is seen below, where Pablo (Gamer CofP; Mission High) discusses his ultimate ambition of moving to the U.S. and becoming a famous actor in Hollywood. While discussing his ambitions and Hollywood he uses words such as *high school*, idiomatic AAVE *Imma* (i.e. I am going to), *drop out* (Line 04), *very short line of work* (Line 10), *minimum wage jobs* (Line 12), and *salary* (Line 12). In this sense, it can be suggested that Pablo engaged in higher level (advanced) vocabulary related to the field of industry and film – in comparison to the knowledge and use of English industry terminology by students in O'Reilly High. His use of English in discussing this theme also corroborates the idea that Puerto Ricans use English terms and phrases to discuss

issues related to the professional world, adding indexical prestige or economic power of English over the vernacular.

EXAMPLE 2.PABLO, GAMER COFP (PRIVATE SCHOOL)

(Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = Standard American Englishes; [] = impressionistic transcription)

| | |
|---|---|
| 01 Katherine: | ¿Tu te tiraría esa movida? |
| 02 Pablo: | Todo depende – TODO DEPENDE si:, si soy bueno de verdad. No eh |
| 03 | como una gente que salen de **<*[hai]* [skuːəl]>** y dice "pueh en la **<*[hai]*>** |
| 04 | salí bien en drama, pue **<[ˈam.ma] [drɑp] [aʊt]>**, no voy |
| 05 | pa la universidad." Pue:, yo no quiero hacer ese riehgo polque yo sé que (.) |
| 06 | como a mami- yo se lo he dicho a mami, y mami me dice pue toh – to' tu |
| 07 | ehtudia lo que tu quiera ehtudial, pero eh velda lo que ella me dice, eso e un |
| 08 | trabajo que hay (.89) bien poːcoː (.) a: trabajo, pol decilo así. |
| 09 Katherine: | Sí: |
| 10 Pablo: | Eh un **<[vɛri ʃɔrt laɪn ʌv wɜrk]>,** yː (.23) ehtan (.) laː extrema: |
| 11 | derecha que son loh que hacen chavo en **<*[holi wud]*>,** ehtan lo |
| 12 | que pue! Viven en un **<[mɪnɪmum] [weɪdʒ]>** **<*[hob]*>** loh <[**salari:**]> que—si |
| 13 | ehtudia ingeniería química no va a tenel ese problema. |

***Translation***

| | |
|---|---|
| 01 Katherine: | Would you do that move? |
| 02 Pablo: | It all depends – IT ALL DEPENDS if, If I am truly good enough. It is not |
| 03 | like some people that get out of **<[hai skul]>** and say "well in **<[hai]>** |
| 04 | I was good in drama, so **Imma drop out**I am not going |
| 05 | to university. Well, I don't want to do that risk because I know that (.) since |
| 06 | mom- I have said it to mom, and mom tells me every time – every time you |
| 07 | study what you want, but it's true what she tells me, that's a job where there is |
| 08 | (.89) very little (.) work, to say the least. |
| 09 Katherine: | Yes. |
| 10 Pablo: | It is a **<[vɛri ʃɔrt laɪn ʌv wɜrk]>,** and (.23) there is (.) the extreme |
| 11 | right which are the ones that make a lot of money in **[holi wud] Hollywood**, |
| 12 | there are the ones that well! Like with a **<[mɪnɪmum] [weɪdʒ]>** **<[hob]>** the |
| 13 | <[**salari:**]> that if you study chemical engineering you will not face that |
| 14 | problem. |

Cristina, also from Mission High, uses lexical items such as *C.E.O*. (Line 16), *manager* (Line 13), and phrase *most paid C.E.O*. (Lines 15 - 16) when discussing the success of a transgender businessperson. Cristina's preferred speech style involves the use of PR Spanish as a matrix, coupled with occasional insertional styles – both on an individual lexical level, as well as at a larger constituent level. Her bilingual style and use of business-specific words is demonstrated in the excerpt below.

EXAMPLE 3. CRISTINA, IN-BETWEEN JOCK COFP (PRIVATE SCHOOL)

(Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = Standard American English; ***Bold & Italics*** = Puerto Rican English)

| | ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** |
|---|---|---|---|
| 01 | Cristina | Que hay mucha pelsona así, | Here there are many people like |
| 02 | | y que **[ðeɪ] [ɑr] [æktʃuəli]** | that, and **they are actually** |
| 03 | | ***[rili]*** **[səkˈsɛsfəl].** Hay una | ***really*** **successful**. There is a |
| 04 | | tipa que:, eh como - que sé | woman that, she's like, I don't |
| 05 | | yo, era como que: ella trabaja | know, she was like she works |
| 06 | | para una compañía, y *él* trabajaba | for a company, and *he* worked |
| 07 | | en una compañía, y tenía hahta | for a company, and he had even |
| 08 | | un **[həzbənd],** y era uno de loh | a **husband,** and it was one of the |
| 09 | | **[tɑp] [ɪndəstriz]** - y: ay eh como | **top industries** – and, ay, he is |
| 10 | | que el **[bɑs],** eh como que: (.) | like the **boss,** it's like (.) how |
| 11 | | cómo eh que se llama? | do you call it? |
| 12 | Katherine | El gerente? | The manager? |
| 13 | Cristina | El **[mænədʒər].** | The **manager.** |
| 14 | Katherine | **[si] [iː] [oʊ]?** | **C.E.O.?** |
| 15 | Cristina | El **[siː] [iː] [oʊ],** el **[moʊst]** | The C.E.O., the **most** |
| 16 | | **[peɪd] [siː] [iː] [oʊ].** | **paid C.E.O.** |
| 17 | | Él se cambió a nena. | He changed to a girl. |

A second theme in my exchange above with Cristina involves the discussion of issues related to Sociology and academia. During this part of the interview Cristina is actually discussing the findings for a research assignment she had to complete for her class. In this sense, discussion of classroom-related material may have also provided a potential trigger to her bilingual style – she may have perhaps rehearsed in this exchange information that she read for her assignment in its original language. This was an interesting topic in its own right for Cristina to observe, particularly given the conservative religious inclinations of the private school. Cristina is careful to state her overt opinion, but tells me *you get informed* in a detached declaration equivalent to "one gets informed". In another part of an interview when referring to pop culture figure Caitlyn Jenner (formerly Bruce Jenner) she uses the feminine pronoun *she* (pg. 360, transcripts). In this sample except Cristina also momentarily refers to the transgender businessperson as a "she" (Line 04), as opposed to referring to their previous gender identity. However, she quickly reassesses her form of address and talks about the person in the past tense, in terms of who they used to be (a he), but no longer is. Cristina's usage of "she" demonstrates her cultural awareness of society's ways of addressing transgender people and that she herself

engages in these forms of address, rather than adopting a stance that would show positive alignment to the school's promoted values of conservative Christianity[95].

**Type 3: Internet practices**

*'Live', 'streaming', and other communicative actions*

In O'Reilly High, several students incorporated bilingual styles when discussing technology and the Internet. Below I have included an excerpt in which I am discussing with a member of the Gamer CofP his interests, to which he begins describing some of the websites that he visits when he is not studying and the things he does during his free time. I tell him that some of the websites he mentions I am unable to access from Europe and they are blocked, I initiate the conversation using terminology such as "VPN" and assimilated loanword "bloquean" (verb: to block), to which he assimilates to my style and includes usage of other English loanwords and English insertions. Some of these appropriations are found in lines 04 – 05 (*blocks; tracks*), insertions in lines 16 – 19 (*streaming, video games, twitch, dot com*), and insertions and appropriations in Lines 22 onwards (*YouTube, live, twitter, stream*). Important to note is that some of these words are cultural appropriations (product names) that have no equivalent in local language, such as Youtube or Twitch, but others are words that are increasingly coming into use in the local vernacular and may be labelled as nonce borrowings (live, stream, streaming, dot com). In the excerpt below borrowings like "live" (Lines 22-23) are referred to within dominant Spanish talk, however, the local alternative is also used in the same conversation by the same speaker, "en vivo" (Line 31).

[95] The conservative beliefs behind Mission's teaching of the Bible involve the Protestant doctrine of "Biblical inerrancy", or the belief that the Protestant Bible "is without error or fault in all its teaching." (Giesler & Roach, 2012).

EXAMPLE 1. SAMUEL, GAMER COFP (PUBLIC SCHOOL)

(Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = Standard American English; ***Bold & Italics =*** Puerto Rican English)

| | ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** |
|---|---|---|---|
| 01 | Katherine | Sí, elloØ son bien estricto. Aún | 01 Katherine Yes, they are very strict. Even |
| 02 | | usando un VPN, que: *bloquea* mi | 02 using a VPN, that *blocks* my |
| 03 | | localización, sabes lo que es? | 03 location, you know what that is? |
| 04 | Samuel | Sí, sí, que *bloquea* tu dehto pa | 04 Samuel Yes, yes, that it *blocks* yourthing |
| 05 | | que ello no te *traqueen*. | 05 so that they don't *track you*. |
| 06 | Katherine | Eso no:= | 06 Katherine That doesn't= |
| 07 | Samuel | No funciona? Ello te *bloquean* | 07 Samuel Doesn't work? They *block* all |
| 08 | | todo esoh canale? Y | 08 of those channels? And |
| 09 | | ***[ju ˌtu:b]?*** | 09 **YouTube**? |
| 10 | Katherine | Sí:, lo que pasa eh que ***[ju:]*** | 10 Katherine Yes, the thing is that **You-** |
| 11 | | ***[tu:b]*** tiene ehto **[ˈkɑpiˌraɪts].** | 11 **Tube** has these **copyrights**. |
| 12 | | Ademáh que la mayoría de la | 12 Plus most of the |
| 13 | | gente que hace video son loh que | 13 people that do videos are the |
| 14 | | haceng **[rɪˈvju:wiŋ],** de video | 14 ones that do **reviewing,** of video |
| 15 | | juegos. Tu veh eso? | 15 games. Do you watch that? |
| 16 | Samuel | E:m, tsí. Yo veo: [**stri:ming]** | 16 Samuel Umm, yes. I watch **streaming** |
| 17 | | de: **[vi:djo:ʊ] [geims],** entro a | 17 of **video games,** I use |
| 18 | | **[twi:tʃ]**, también, **[dat] [cam].** | 18 **Twitch,** also, **dot com.** |
| 19 | | ¿Allá se puede entral a **[twitʃ]?** | 19 There can you go to **Twitch?** |
| 20 | Katherine | ¿Qué eh eso? | 20 Katherine What's that? |
| 21 | Samuel | Eso e:Ø un sitio:, eh como | 21 Samuel That's a place, it's like |
| 22 | | **[dʒu:tu],** pero eh **[laiv].** Eh | 22 **YouTube** but it's **live.** It's |
| 23 | | **[laiv].** ElloØ te pone:n, si tu | 23 **live.** They put, if you |
| 24 | | tiene su **[tui:te:r],** o:, si tiene | 24 have their **Twitter,** or, you have |
| 25 | | tu: **[feisbuk]** ello te mandan un | 25 their **Facebook** they send a |
| 26 | | mensa:je: y dicen "ah, | 26 message and say "ah, |
| 27 | | voy a hacel un ***[es-stri:m]*** | 27 I am going to make a ***stream*** |
| 28 | | e:n cinco minuto o en una hora. | 28 in five minutes or in an hour." |
| 29 | | Y pueØ hay variaØ | 29 And well there are various |
| 30 | | persona conecta:da: de diferente: | 30 people connected from different |
| 31 | | paíse:Ø (.) haciendo *en vivo* | 31 countries (.) demonstrating live |
| 32 | | cómo se juega el jue:go:, o de | 32 how to play the game, or doing |
| 33 | | otra cosa:. (Es)'ta bien chevere. | 33 another thing. It's really cool. |

*Identifying communities or 'Squads'*

During an ethnographic interview with Josue and Bobi from the Jock CofP at O'Reilly High they interrogated me about my own background and the person I identified as when I was in high school. As previously mentioned in the methods chapter (Chapter 4), my interviews did not follow the format of a formal interview event, rather, took a more ethnographic-conversational approach to discussing the different components of the speech event. This means that the same way that I asked them questions about themselves, they were free to ask me questions about my own life, as well as free to shift the topic or expand on something they found interesting, such as television show plots or school gossip. Giving them the liberty to dictate from time to time the direction of the interview was quite useful, as it provided me an insight to their own personal interests, as well as

plenty of instances of natural speech, as the interview resembled a more informal conversation. In this section, their ability to ask me whatever questions they wanted to know about, generated an instance of Internet speak as they asked me about my "squad" or my group of friends. The fact that I was also young, and perhaps closer to their age than their traditional older cohorts, such as teachers and parents, allowed for what may be age-specific language phenomena, or age-graded lexical features, such as the use of netspeak, which perhaps is most prevalent in youth-to-youth speech than youth-to-adult interactions.[96]

EXAMPLE 2. JOSUE AND BOBI, CACO JOCK COFP (PUBLIC SCHOOL)

| | |
|---|---|
| 01 Josue | Y, ¿El círculo de amigo: ehte: su-tuyo* era: igual? Como que así, ¿Cómo tu |
| 02 | te vehtía? El cílculo de amigo – o tenía de toda clase de pelsona? |
| 03 Katherine | De todo. |
| 04 Josue | Sí, polque: mayolmente aquí, se tiene, pueh aquí hay un grupo, allá |
| 05 | hay o:tro:= |
| 06 Bobi | ((*laughs*)) Su **[eh-skwɑd],** su **[eh-skwɑd],** todos son así? |

***Translation***

| | |
|---|---|
| 01 Josue | And in your circle of Friends, umm, yours were they the same? Like, this, how |
| 02 | would you dress? The circle of Friends – or did you have all types of people? |
| 03 Katherine | Every type. |
| 04 Josue | Yes, because primarily here, there are, well here is a group, over there there is |
| 05 | another= |
| 06 Bobi | ((*laughs*)) Your **squad**, your **squad,** all of them are like that? |

*'I cry' and 'Damn, Daniel!' and other pop culture fixed expressions*

Discussing the theme of interests also triggered bilingual styles from In-Between Jock member, and simultaneous Pop Enthusiast member, Cristina. In the conversation below she uses colloquialisms "ohmigod", produced here as <[oʊ ma gɑd]>, to emphasize her excitement upon discovering the amount of detail in the adult coloring book. Note that in her production of "my" Cristina simiplifies the diphthong /ai/ into /a/, a variant that is prevalent in both southern and African American varieties of English (cf. Fridland, 2003[97]). In this instance, her simplification of a diphthong may be the result of her engaging in Internet styles which stereotypically abbreviate orthographic conventions, or

[96] Tagliamonte (2016) and others (cf. Stæhr, 2015) have demonstrated in their studies of youth speech that netspeak or Internet speak is prevalent in the interactions of young adolescents.

[97] Fridland, V. 'Tie, tied, and tight': The expansion of /ai/ monophthongization in African-American and European-American speech in Memphis, Tennessee. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 7 (3). Pp. 279 – 298.

alter spellings, often at expense of its standard phonemic representation (*Know Your Meme*, 2016).

In Line 05 she draws on a non-standard speech style made popular by Internet meme *Spoderman*, "a poorly drawn version of Spiderman" and known for his use of "poor grammar and spelling" and for using phrases such as *i crai* ('I cry') and *y u do dis* ('why you do this?') (Know Your Meme, 2016), alongside expletive idioms. Cristina draws on her knowledge of meme speech in Line 4 when she says *I cry* to communicate excitement over discovering that she was able to color in some pages that were folded inside the coloring book. In her production of *I* and *cry,* she employs a more fronted and tense version of the /aɪ/ diphthong, one that mimics the voice of the Spoderman videos on YouTube, where his voice represents a speech synthesis software (Clory, 2014) rather than a natural human voice. At a later point of this interview topic, Cristina draws on a secondary source for Internet pop culture (or *viral* culture in this case), by referencing a catch phrase from a YouTube video that has garnered over 6.7 million views as of September 2017. I first bring it up in Lines 06 - 09, asking her to explain the actions of her best friend Veronica (not in this study), who walks past in front of us shouting *da:mn, Daniel!* during the interview. I say the catch phrase following standard phonology, but Cristina then repeats the catch phrase back to me following its original pronunciation found in the YouTube videos: these involve elongated use of [æ] in /damn/ and an expedited production of /daniel/ as >[dænjəl]< (cf. *Hi Humor*, 2016[98]).

[98] Hi Humor. (2016, February 17). *Damn Daniel*. [Video file]. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Pnl-byHtMN0.

EXAMPLE 3. CRISTINA, IN-BETWEEN JOCK COFP (PRIVATE SCHOOL)

| | ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** |
|---|---|---|---|
| 01 Cristina | ((*Changes page of coloring* | 01 Cristina | ((*Changes page of coloring* |
| 02 | *book*)). **<[oʊ ma gɑd]>,** ehto | 02 | *book*)). **ohmigod,** ehto |
| 03 | también se pinta? | 03 | tambien se pinta? |
| 04 Katherine | Sí. | 04 Katherine | Yes. |
| 05 Cristina | **[ai] [crai]!** | 05 Cristina | **I cry!** |
| 06 Katherine | Yo no entiendo cuál eh el chihte | 06 Katherine | I don't understand what is the |
| 07 | de aquel, chihte de | 07 | joke to do, that joke of |
| 09 | **[dæm] [dænjəl]** | 09 | "**Damn Daniel"** |
| 10 Cristina | **[dæ::m], >[dænjəl]<!** | 10 Cristina | **Da::mn, >Daniel<!** |
| 11 Katherine | Tu vihte ese video? | 11 Katherine | Did you see that video? |
| 12 Cristina | Él lo llevaron pal ***[elen] [ʃou].*** | 12 Cristina | They took him to **Ellen Show.** |
| 13 Katherine | Yo lo ví. | 13 Katherine | I saw it. |
| 14 Cristina | Y le dieron un **[laɪf] [taɪm]** | 14 Cristina | And they gave him a **life time** |
| 15 | de [**væns**]. | 15 | of **Vans.** |
| 16 Katherine | Eso eh demasiao**, <u>like,</u> who** | 16 Katherine | That's too much, **<u>like,</u> who** |
| 17 | **really needs that many**? Yo | 17 | **really needs that many**? I |
| 18 | creo que si hubiese sido el, yo | 18 | think that if I had been him, I |
| 19 | se lo hubiese regalado. | 19 | would have given them away. |
| 20 Cristina | Aja, yo se lo regalaría al | 20 Cristina | Yeah, I would give it to the |
| 21 | amigo que lo hizo famoso, | 21 | friend that made him famous, |
| 22 | polque fue él el de | 22 | because he was the one of |
| 23 | **[dæm] [dænjəl].** | 23 | **Damn Daniel.** |
| 24 Katherine | Sí, el sólo (.) era el nene | 24 Katherine | Yes, he was only (.) the pretty |
| 25 | bonito y un nene chiquito pa | 25 | boy and a young one to |
| 26 | completal. | 26 | top things off. |
| 27 Cristina | Yo creo que era | 27 Cristina | I think that he was a |
| 28 | **<u>[frɛʃmən]</u>** y el amigo eh | 28 | **freshman** and his friend a |
| 29 | **sophomore.** | 29 | **sophomore.** |
| 30 Katherine | Yo pienso que el de decimo | 30 Katherine | I think that the tenth grader |
| 31 | salio mejol**. I would rather** | 31 | was better. **I would rather** |
| 32 | **have un surfboard** que un | 32 | **have un surfboard** that a |
| 33 | **lifetime supply** de loh mihmo | 33 | **lifetime supply** of the same |
| 34 | **shoes** polque se veían todo | 34 | **shoes** because they all looked |
| 35 | blanco. | 35 | white. |
| 36 Cristina | No ello dijeron que no eran casi | 36 Cristina | No they said they were not |
| 37 | todo blanco. Que cuando se loh | 37 | all white. That when they |
| 38 | dierong se loh dieron todo | 38 | gave ir to them they gave all |
| 39 | blanco, pero era <u>como que</u> un | 39 | white, but it was like a |
| 40 | **joke.** | 40 | **joke.** |
| 41 Katherine | Ah. | 41 Katherine | Ah. |

*Note*. Regular font = PR Spanish; Bold = Standard-like General American English; <u>Underline</u> = discourse marker.

Erica, another member of the student body in the private school, also employed instances of meme speech and other bilingual styles when discussing one of her favorite musicians, British singer/songwriter Adele. Here we see another reference paid to Spoderman and his catchphrase *I cri* in Line 02 when Erica describes her emotions as "I am like (.) cri". I ask her what she means by *I cry,* and instead of providing a description of the meme, she expands on her initial assessment of Adele, describing her live singing

voice to be similar to her 'recording studio' voice. Erica then engaged in English matrix practices in Line 10 when she uses two verb phrases to provide positive assessments of the star: *I love Adele. So talented.*

EXAMPLE 4. ERICA, CHOIR COFP (PRIVATE SCHOOL)

| ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 01Katherine | Eh **beautiful!** | 01 Katherine | She is **beautiful!** |
| 02 Erica | Aja! Yo como que (.) **[krai]** | 02 Erica | Yes! I am like (.) **cri!** ((*from "I* |
| 03 | ((from "I cry" meme)). | 03 | *cry" meme*)). |
| 04 Katherine | **[Ju:] [krai]?** | 04 Katherine | **You cry?** |
| 05 Erica | Aja polque se ha puehto ta:ng (.) | 05 Erica | Yeah, because she has become so |
| 06 | como si fuera en el **[rəˈkɔrdɪŋ]** | 06 | (.)like if she was at the**recording** |
| 07 | **[stu:djioʊ]** polque (.) ella canta | 07 | **studio** because (.) she sings so |
| 08 | tan bello. | 08 | beautifully. |
| 09 Katherine | ¿Asi que te guhta Ade:le? | 09 Katherine | So you like Adele? |
| 10 Erica | **I love Adele. So talented.** | 10 Erica | **I love Adele. So talented.** |

Erica's mutual friend, Amaris, from the Choir CofP also demonstrated enthusiasm and positive alignment of life activities and certain events through the incorporation of Internet speech onto spoken discourse. In this sense we see how a register typically tied to a particular medium (written form) is crossing boundaries and communication worlds onto the spoken form. In this case, Amaris' incorporation of Netspeak is perhaps less unusual as she is utilizing a non-standard lexical item that came to be recognized as part of colloquial English by Oxford Dictionaries in 2011 (cf. Lee, 2011).

EXAMPLE 5. AMARIS, CHOIR GIRL COFP (PRIVATE SCHOOL)

(Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = Standard American English)

*Context: Christmas decorations in the Mathematics classroom, also 11th graders "home room"*

| | |
|---|---|
| 01 Amaris: | **Wait!** ((*Gasps*)) Mira mi media! Tengo mi media. |
| 02 Katherine | ¿Cuál e tu media? |
| 03 Amaris | La de: (.) la peluita. ((*claps*)) La que ehta allí, la segunda. |
| 04 Katherine | Aw! ¿Ahí el **Secret Santa** le va dejal el regalo? |
| 05 Amaris | Se supone, ¿velda? Allá hay como cuatro muchacho0 que tienen |
| 06 | la mihma media. **Lol.** |

***Translation***

| | |
|---|---|
| 01 Amaris | **Wait!** ((*Gasps*)) Look at my sock! I have my sock. |
| 02 Katherine | Which one is your sock? |
| 03 Amaris | The one with (.) the furry one ((*claps*)). The one that is there, the second (one). |
| 04 Katherine | Aw! There the **Secret Santa** is going to leave her presents? |
| 05 Amaris | Supposedly, right? Over there there are like four guys that have |
| 06 | the same sock. **Lol.** |

Zuriel, from the Outsiders CofP at Mission also engaged in Internet meme style. When discussing the theme of films and American popular culture, he demonstrated his excitement over the latest Marvel film about a "villain superhereo" by exclaiming *Yass!* in Line 04. His positive assessment of the main theme behind this movie is in agreement with his own personal identity, described at another stage of the interview as that of a "villain" who is "misunderstood" with a "dark side", all of these self-labelling strategies took place in the English language (pg. 323, transcripts). *Yass* here represents his positive alignment, or evaluative disposition, to American popular culture – in particular, the superhero comic subculture. [ʤas] plays the role of a contextualization cue, communicating excitement and high approval to the topic of discussion ('Yaaaas', *Dictionary.com,* 2016).

EXAMPLE 6. ZURIEL, OUTSIDER COFP (PRIVATE SCHOOL)

(Regular font = PR Spanish; Bold = Standard-like General American English)

| | |
|---|---|
| 01 Zuriel | I think tomorrow I will go out with (.) to go to **Applebees** or something with |
| 02 | Eva. O:r (.) o:r with whoever we go with to watch **Dead Pool.** |
| 03 Katherine | Oh yeah? That would be cool. I saw the **trailer** and it looked really cool. |
| 04 **Zuriel** | **Yaaas.** |

*Note: The matrix language for this excerpt is Puerto Rican Spanish, with occasional insertional strategies.*

Students at the public school were not to be left behind in employing Internet speech or meme speech into their translingual practices. As mentioned in a previous example, Josue and Bobi from O'Reilly High used terms such as *squad* to refer to friend relations. Below, during a different group interview, we see Luis, Federico, and Angélica discussing relational evalations through the use of Netspeak. In the example below, Luis is admiring Federico's independent spirit and relaxed outlook in social interactions. He provides his positive evaluation of Federico in English, thus communicating through their shared repertoire: bilingual (translingual) communication. Angélica jumps in by adding an additional layer of linguistic creativity through netspeak, *él eh bae* ("He is bae") to Federico (Line 02). When I ask her to provide an explanation as to what she means, she then provides a somewhat unique interpretation of the word, previously known by members of her mutual CofP. She sees *bae* as an acronym that stands *for before anyone else* (Line 09), to this description her friends Federico and Luis demonstrate surprise and offer their own interpretation of what this particular lexical item means (Lines 10 and 12

– 13, respectively). Thus, while there is a general enregisterment and understanding of netspeak, and its norms and general appropriacy, at an individual level students appear to have different understandings or definitions to global language trends.

EXAMPLE 7. BOOKWORM-ROCKER COFP (PUBLIC SCHOOL)

EXAMPLE 7. BOOKWORM-ROCKER COFP (PUBLIC SCHOOL)

(Regular = PR Spanish; **Bold =** Standard-like General American English)

| | ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** |
|---|---|---|---|
| 01 Luis | You can do whatever you want. I admire you ((*to Federico*)). | 01 Luis | You can do whatever you want. I admire you ((*to Federico*)). |
| 02 Angélica | El eØ **bae.** | 02 Angélica | He is **bae.** |
| 03 Katherine | ¿Cómo que **bae**? | 03 Katherine | What do you mean **bae**? |
| 04 Angélica | **Before anyone else.** | 04 Angélica | **Before anyone else.** |
| 05 Katherine | ¿En serio? | 05 Katherine | Seriously? |
| 06 Federico | ¿Eso eØ lo que significa? Contra! | 06 Federico | Is that what is means? Crap! |
| 07 | Qué control! | 07 | What the fuck. |
| 08 Angélica | Cuando yo digo **bae** no eØ como que "**they're babe**", no, eØ que | 08 Angélica | When I say **bae** it's not like **"they're babe",** no, it's that |
| 09 | they're **before anyone else.** | 09 | they're **before anyone else.** |
| 10 Federico | Yo pensaba que bae era **short** de **"babe".** | 10 Federico | I thought that bae was **short** for **"babe".** |
| 11 Angélica | No. Eh **bae**, **before anyone else**. | 11 Angélica | No. It's **bae, before anyone else.** |
| 12 Luis | **The thing [ɪz] when [θɪngz] begin they just are,** | 12 Luis | **The thing is when things begin they just are,** |
| 13 | **and then someone gives it a meaning.** | 13 | **and then someone gives it a meaning.** |

## 6.3 ENGLISH DISTRIBUTION ACROSS YOUTH GROUPS

This section provides a general overview of the self-reported use of English across participants. Although self-reported language use is not necessarily reflective of actual language practices, it does provide an insight into ideological *language selves* which participants may orient in conversation. The following Participant Language Profiles are modelled off Carmen Fought's (2003) efforts at describing the Latino Spanish speaker in U.S. mainland settings. This profiling of Spanish competence was important for Fought's analysis, as not everyone possessed a competent or native-like knowledge of their heritage language. In the case of this study, the exact opposite is true: there are varying levels of bilingualism, and not everyone feels comfortable expressing themselves in writing or speaking in English, for instance.

Furthermore, not everyone is equipped with the same language education experience. And, as highlighted by Pousada (2000), there are varying levels of English competence on the island. Thus, this table by no means depicts a linguistic reality of student's linguistic capabilities, rather, demonstrates to a small extent a student's self-perception of linguistic competence. In order to not provide students with exhaustive self-categorization techniques of rating their own performances in English, they were simply asked to what degree they would categorize their overall knowledge of English as a second language: basic, intermediate, or advanced. The English classroom they were

currently enrolled in was also taken into account – with two main English language teachers who taught Basic and Advanced English classes. Further questions asked in the sociodemographic forms included information on language use spoken to family, friends (in person), and online. Additional language use information took into account the degree to which the student interacted with the language outside of school, such as through literacy practices (Q: How often do you read in English in your spare time? What kind of English books do you read?) or through online or television practices (Q: How many hours do you spend online? How many hours a day do you watch television in English? How many hours a day do you play video games?). Furthermore, within the ethnographic interview sessions questions on "Beliefs of English and Spanish competence"[99] and "Orientation to Target Culture" were also asked in order to directly assess linguistic affiliations of students.[100]

[99] In previous attempts at describing the situation of English language use on the island, I have opted for more rigorous ways of observing linguistic self-evaluation (cf. Morales, 2012) by adopting the Likert scale technique exhibited in Dornyei (1990, 2013) studies of L2 motivation and projections of the L2 self. However, these self-evaluations while useful in terms of making generalizations across populations of language learners, do not necessarily capture the hybridity and linguistic creativity that adolescents are known to incorporate in their interactions.

[100] Responses to "beliefs of English and Spanish competence" and "orientation" to both target and local culture will be discussed in detail in the following chapter.

*Table 30*. Language profiles of Participants in Mission High.

| ***PN*** | ***Self-Evaluation*** | ***Class-room*** | ***Acq*** | ***Language(s) Spoken to Family*** | ***Language(s) Spoken to Friends*** | ***Language (s) Spoken Online*** | ***Textbooks in ENG.*** | **TV in ENG.** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Zuriel | INT. | INT. | 3 | SP, ENG | SP | SP | Sometimes | A lot |
| Fernando | ADV. | AP | 4 | SP, ENG | SP, ENG | ENG | Sometimes | A lot |
| Laura | ADV. | AP | 3 | SP, ENG | SP, ENG | SP, ENG | A lot | Always |
| Tatiana | ADV. | AP | 4 | SP | SP, ENG | SP, ENG | Always | Always |
| Cristina | ADV. | AP | 5 | SP | SP, ENG | SP, ENG | A lot | Always |
| Emanuel | ADV. | AP | 4 | SP | SP, ENG | SP, ENG | Always | Always |
| Miguel | ADV. | AP | 0 | SP, ENG | SP (Some), ENG | SP, ENG | Sometimes | Always |
| Pablo | ADV. | AP | 4 | SP, ENG | SP, ENG | SP | A lot | A lot |
| Norman | ADV. | AP | 4 | SP | SP, ENG | SP, ENG | Always | Always |
| Roberto | ADV. | AP | 5 | SP, ENG | SP | SP | A lot | A lot |
| Daniel | INT. | INT. | 3 | SP, ENG | SP, ENG (some) | SP, ENG | A lot | Always |
| Fiorela | ADV. | AP | 5 | SP | SP, ENG | SP, ENG | Always | Always |
| Pilar | ADV. | AP | 3 | SP | SP, ENG | SP, ENG | Always | Always |
| Amaris | ADV. | AP | 6 | SP | SP, ENG | SP, ENG | Always | Always |
| Dianid | ADV. | AP | 5 | SP | SP, ENG | SP, ENG | A lot | A lot |
| Mariela | ADV. | AP | 4 | SP, ENG | SP, ENG | SP, ENG | A lot | A lot |
| Erica | ADV. | AP | 3 | SP, ENG | SP, ENG | SP, ENG | Always | Always |
| Lorenzo | ADV. | AP | 5 | SP | SP, ENG | SP, ENG | A lot | Always |
| Edi | ADV. | AP | 4 | SP | SP, ENG | SP | A lot | A lot |

In Mission High Private School, there was a greater amount of students that took advanced level courses in English, and this is because of the very nature of Mission High as an educational institution: one of its primary objectives is to encourage fluent attainment of English as a second language, and to do this a bilingual program must be incorporated. Those that belonged to Intermediate English, 4 students in total, were part of a Spanish-monolingual option that was phasing out.[101] Somewhat expected was a similar number of students who rated their competences as being "intermediate" – a total of 3 – all of which were also enrolled in Intermediate English in Mission High. In terms of English language acquisition, some attributed their household upbringing (ages 3 - 4) to their attainment of English, a total of 12. Others, marked ages 5-6 as instrumental stages in their acquisition of English, a total of 8; this is simultaneously the stage at which

[101] Advanced English in Mission High targeted "higher level learning" in that it demanded from students the completion of complex tasks, such as writing specific types of essays (e.g. argumentative essays), engaging communicatively through oral reports and group presentations, as well as the completing mandatory assigned readings of English language novels. The norm of the class was English-only.

children enter school and the national language policy in schools comes into effect[102]. This latter figure suggests that a majority of the students credit schooling as a pivotal time in their language acquisition journeys. For the language preference component of the survey, 10 out of 21 students, roughly half of this sample, reported speaking both Spanish and English to their families. Almost all of them, with the exception of two, reported speaking in both Spanish and English to their friends. 15 reported using both languages online, over half of the sample; one reported speaking only English online, and, 5 reported Spanish only. 4 participants reported to read in English "sometimes" or occasionally, 8 "always", 9 "a lot"; no participant evaluated themselves as rarely engaging in English literacy practices or never. These findings defer to those found in O'Reilly High who had a mixed orientation to English text, whereas here the tendency to read in English was positive. 12 out of 21 students reported watching over 10 hours of English-speaking television per week (here glossed as 'always'); 7 out of 21 students self-reported engaging in 7 to 9 hours of English television (here glossed as a 'a lot').

[102] The national language policy for all schools is to teach at least one language module, or course, in English from ages K – 12.

*Table 31*. Language Profiles of Participants in O'Reilly High Public School.

| *PN* | *Self-Evaluation* | *Class-room* | *Acq.* | *Lang (s) Spoken to Family* | *Lang (s) Spoken to Friends* | *Lang (s) Spoken Online* | *Textbooks in ENG.* | TV in ENG. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Federico | ADV. | AP | 3 | SP, ENG | SP, ENG | SP, ENG | Always | Always |
| Juan | BAS. | AP | 6 | SP, ENG | SP | SP, ENG | Sometimes | A lot |
| Pedro | ADV. | AP | 12 | SP, ENG | SP, ENG | SP, ENG | A lot | A lot |
| Luis | ADV. | AP | 5 | SP | SP, ENG | SP, ENG | A lot | A lot |
| David | INT. | AP | 6 | SP | SP, ENG | SP, ENG | Always | Always |
| Maria | ADV. | AP | 3 | SP | SP, ENG | SP, ENG | A lot | A lot |
| Layla | INT. | BAS. | 2 | SP | SP, ENG | SP, ENG | Sometimes | A lot |
| Sara | ADV. | AP | 6 | SP | SP, ENG | SP, ENG | A lot | Rarely |
| Rosa | ADV. | AP | 6 | SP | SP, ENG | SP, ENG | A lot | A lot |
| Angelica | ADV. | AP | Birth | SP, ENG | SP, ENG | SP, ENG | Always | A lot |
| Marco | ADV. | AP | 6 | SP | SP | SP, ENG | Sometimes | Rarely |
| Ignacio | INT. | BAS. | 6 | SP | SP | SP | Rarely | A lot |
| Dánica | N/A | BAS. | Never | SP | SP | SP | Never | Sometimes |
| Josue | INT. | BAS. | 5 | SP | SP | SP, ENG | Sometimes | A lot |
| Bobi | INT. | BAS. | 5 | SP | SP | SP, ENG* | A lot | A lot |
| Michael | ADV. | BAS. | 3 | SP | SP, ENG | SP, ENG | A lot | Sometimes |
| Saul | INT. | BAS. | 6 | SP | SP, ENG | SP, ENG | A lot | A lot |
| Flor | BAS. | BAS. | 5 | SP | SP | SP, ENG | Rarely | A lot |
| Edwin | BAS. | BAS. | 12 | SP | SP | SP | Sometimes | Rarely |
| Lily | INT. | BAS. | 4 | SP | SP, ENG | SP, ENG | A lot | Never |
| Dalia | N/A | BAS. | Never | SP | SP | SP | Rarely | Rarely |
| Carlos | INT. | BAS. | 5 | SP | SP | SP, ENG | Sometimes | Never |
| Sofia | N/A | BAS. | Never | SP | SP | SP | Rarely | Rarely |
| Penelope | N/A | BAS. | Never | SP | SP | SP | Rarely | Never |
| Kevin | ADV. | BAS. | 15 | SP | SP, ENG | SP | Sometimes | Sometimes |
| Samuel | ADV. | BAS. | 8 | SP | SP, ENG | SP | A lot | Always |
| Saul | INT. | BAS. | 5 | SP | SP | SP, ENG | Rarely | Sometimes |
| Roberto | INT. | BAS. | 6 | SP, ENG | SP, ENG | SP, ENG | Always | Sometimes |
| Sergio | INT. | BAS. | 6 | SP | SP | SP, ENG | Sometimes | A lot |
| Mauricio | BAS. | BAS. | 6 | SP | SP | SP,ENG | Rarely | A lot |
| Nadia | ADV. | AP | 5 | SP | SP, ENG | SP, ENG | Always | Always |
| Michelle Aponte | ADV. | Teach-er | Birth | SP, ENG | SP, ENG | SP, ENG | Always | Always |

In O'Reilly High, 13 of the participants interviewed for the present study declared having "advanced" competencies in English as a second language. 12 of these placed within AP English in O'Reilly High; a spot only accessible through merit (i.e. a "high" grade). Most claimed to have acquired English, or begun the process of learning English, the moment they entered primary school (ages 5 - 6). Some declared to have been exposed to English "since birth", a total of 2 (one of them the English teacher). 4 of them claimed to have never learned it at all, these participants were all female and had been schooled in public school settings their entire academic lives. 3 of them claimed to have learnt it in their

teens, only after personal investment and social relations – self-report that also hints at the role of social identity in adolescence.

In terms of language preferences, a significant number of students self-reported speaking primarily in Spanish in the household, to their parents and family members. In fact, out of the 32 participants interviewed for this study, 100% (32 out of 32) of them reported to use Spanish at home, and out of these, only 6 reported to use Spanish alongside English, this represents 19% of the present population sample. 17 of the 32 participants reported to use both Spanish and English to talk to their friends, that is, roughly half of the sample size gathered from this ethnographic study (53% approximately). 24 out of the 32 reported to use both Spanish and English online, the second highest consistent percentage of language preference with 75%. Online self-reported language is in line with recent literature that suggests plurality of Englishes online (see Saraceni, 2009). In literary engagement, 6 participants suggested to engage with written works in English 'always', 10 for 'a lot', 8 for 'sometimes', 7 for 'rarely', 1 for 'never'. For television and media engagement, 5 out of 32 declared to spend approximately more than 10 hours per week watching television in English (here glossed as 'always'), 14 claimed to have watched between 7 – 9 hours (here glossed as 'a lot'), 10 claimed to watch from 4 – 6 hours a week (here glossed as 'sometimes'), 5 claimed to watch English TV less than 3 hours a week (here glossed as 'rarely'), while 3 claimed to have never engaged with English TV media. This self-report hints at the widespread influence of English television media in the Puerto Rican community, such that even those most 'disadvantaged' contexts, or contexts of mixed socioeconomic income, report having contact with English through film and television (24 out of 32 reported watching English television a considerable amount).

While these numbers represent a sample size, and are therefore not necessarily generalizable to the entire student body (only 10% of the 12th grade student body of O'Reilly High), the findings are nonetheless informative and merit attention.

## 6.4 Incorporating Muysken's Topology

Before I begin to describe how I fit the label of alternation onto my corpus of bilingual speech, I will first describe what I did not count as an alternation in my coding process. Instances by which a participant spoke in a different language or code in which he/she was not addressed did not count as an instance of alternation. That is, if I asked

them a question in Spanish and they replied to me in English, I did not count that as an instance of language alternation, but, rather, a telling instance of creative language use for different reasons, such as a failure to accommodate to my speech (and simultaneous maintenance their own unique language strategies and communicative preferences). This was often the case in participants who had English-dominant speaking style with their own communities of practice, and often partook in other creative displays of talk.

Take for instance Luis, from Alejandro O'Reilly Public School. Luis oriented positively to the English language, and had expressed to me in informal conversation that he was considering applying to the University of Puerto Rico to study English literature. He could also often be seen during his free hours and lunch time around his English teacher's class, and was also enrolled in Advanced English. During many occasions in my interviews with Luis, Luis would use dominant-English strategies in his own turns. In these cases, I utilized Myers-Scotton's distinction of matrices (Myers-Scotton, 1993) to indicate that his matrix language or language of preference had changed. An example of one of his responses is provided below.

His communicative style challenges some of the assumptions found in the literature that automatically assume English as the "switched" language, in predominantly Spanish speech (i.e. usually assumed as the matrix language). In this sense, Luis oriented positively to the English language, and American culture. In the example below, I ask him about his religious inclinations, as we had previously had a conversation the day before about God and why he considered himself agnostic. It should be noted that Luis' conversational style could be interpreted in this situation as 'marked'[103] (Myers-Scotton, 1993) or deviating from the societal norm, which on one hand favours the use of Puerto Rican Spanish, and on the other – to some extent – accepts the use of insertional code-mixing (so as long as these are integrated loanwords). Here Luis is persistently incorporating a style markedly different from that incorporated by the researcher and his peers at O'Reilly High Public School. It is also a style that has been condemned by members of different communities of practice in both schools, staff members and teachers, as well as elsewhere in island literature[104]. Instead of adapting to the local norm,

[103] a set of marked and unmarked rights and obligations; where marked values are those that are unexpected in interaction (i.e. not following the norm), and unmarked values are the 'norm' and expected medium in a specific context (Myers-Scotton 1993, p. 89 - 90).

[104] For instance, in Perez Casas' (2008) study on Puerto Rican bilingual elite communities, she found that some participants overtly stated to avoid code-switching practices, despite considering himself a fluent speaker of English, as he claimed that "mixing English and Spanish did not reflect who he was […] His

which the researcher was following, Luis failed to accommodate and stuck with his predominant English-speaking style. This further cements Luis' close affiliation to the English language and English language culture, that he defiantly goes against the school norm by adopting his very own speech style.

**EXAMPLE 1. ENGLISH AS MATRIX LANGUAGE (Not Alternational)**

(Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = Standard American English;
Underline = Discourse marker)

(1) Katherine: A qué iglesia tu vas? **(What church do you go to?)**

(2) Luis: **Like my dad and my mom (.) they don't - they're not the kind**
(3) **of people who analyse religion, they just go like "oh you pray**
(4) **to God and that's it". My mother likes praying to – to people**
(5) **that have left, people that have died, people that she loved**
(6) **she prays to them. I rarely heard* her pray to God I think**
(7) **because she believes that it's more easy to communicate with,**
(8) **umm, the people that have left, that we have a connection**
(9) **with than the almighty, omnipotent, the omniscient guy in**
(10) **Spanish.**

Note: This particular sample also showcases the use of quotative "like" (in this case "go like"), a language strategy that has often been associated with teen talk (cf. Tagliamonte, 2016).

This and other interviews were difficult to code using Muysken's codeswitching typology, or any existing code-mixing or code-switching typology, as the matrix language or dominant language in many cases was unidentifiable – rather, hybrid practices were predominant. Take for instance the following exchange between Bianca, a public-school student, her friend Sara, and I. In it we discuss where her parents met – one of the first interview questions under the subject line of *autobiographical* in my sociolinguistic interview model. Even in the first minutes of the interview, Bianca's speaking style is quite varied and difficult to label. She starts her response in the Spanish language, quickly shifting to English. In her following turn, she returns to Spanish, with one instance of insertional codemixing through use of noun 'net' (Line 10), adverb insertion 'yeah!' (Line 13) and adjectives 'corny' and 'cheesy' (Line 13).

decision to not codeswitch was symptomatic of a linguistic and cultural ambivalence that he did not espouse or tolerate" (Perez Casas, 2008, p. 182).

## HYBRID PRACTICES

For purposes of this research, the use of the label "hybrid" denotes when an utterance or turn possessed almost equal amounts of constituents or lexical items from Variety A and Variety B, such that it is difficult to determine which language is predominantly used. This category does not manifest itself in the speech of many of the participants in both studies, but only in a few. Interestingly, those who partake in these hybrid practices often have overall very fluid and creative ways of speaking that incorporate multiple, complex bilingual strategies.

### EXAMPLE 2. HYBRID PRACTICES IN O'REILLY HIGH

(Regular font = PR Spanish**; Bold** = Standard American English; Underline = discourse marker)

*Note***:** First-half English dominant with a metaphorical switch in latter half.

| | |
|---|---|
| (1) Katherine | ¿Cómo se conocieron tus papas? |
| (2) **Bianca** | Umm, ma: me dijo que: (.) **she met dad at work, like, they** |
| (3) | **always worked at a Fast Food restaurant, so they met a:t** |
| (4) | **Burger King, because she was in training a:nd (.) dad was** |
| (5) | **already, like, a:n old employee, so he was helping her out.** |
| (6) | **A:nd, then they just went out, I guess.** |
| (7) Katherine | Eso esta bien nice, así mismo fue mi papá y mi mamá en el trabajo. |
| (8) **Bianca** | *Chequeate* ehto:, mami lo que me dijo fue que: (.) ella ehtaba |
| (9) | haciendo lah papa fritah, y: elloh a la mihma ve como que |
| (10) | tocaron el **net** de lah papá, hicieron como que "wooo!" |
| (11) | ((*Laughs*)). |
| (12) Sara | ((*laughs*)) Súper película! |
| (13) **Bianca** | **Yeah!** Exacto, bien **corny** y **cheesy.** |

***Translation***

| | |
|---|---|
| (1) Katherine | How did your parents meet? |
| (2) Bianca | Umm, mom told me that (.) **she met dad at work, like, they** |
| (3) | **always worked at a Fast Food restaurant, so they met a:t** |
| (4) | **Burger King, because she was in training a:nd (.) dad was** |
| (5) | **already, like, a:n old employee, so he was helping her out.** |
| (6) | **A:nd, then they just went out, I guess.** |
| (7) Katherine | That is very nice, that's how my mom and dad met at work. |
| (8)Bianca | Check this out, mom told me that (.) she was |
| (9) | making french fries, and they at the same time *like* |
| (10) | touched the **net** of the fries, and went like "wooo!" |
| (11) | ((*Laughs*)). |
| (12) Sara | ((*laughs*)) Super movie-like! |
| (13) Bianca | **Yeah!** Exactly, very **corny** and **cheesy.** |

In the excerpt above, Bianca's linguistic strategies seem relatively unproblematic and perhaps one may be tempted to draw an interpretation to do with the metaphorical

function of the language strategies she is using. For instance, it could be that her adopted interview style involves English-dominant strategies, and that she switched to Spanish when she wanted to expand on the details of a story she had originally introduced in English – this switch occurs when she utters the following phrase in Puerto Rican Spanish *chequeate ehto* ('check this out'), followed by a more detail description of the structure of events of how exactly her parents met in Lines 8 – 10 when she says 'mom told me that (.) she was making French fries, and they at the same time like touched the *net* of fries, and went like 'woo!'. Line 13 also represents English use in the adverbial lexical item *yeah* and adjectives *corny* and *cheesy*.

In a later part of the interview, Bianca switches her speaking style to predominantly English when speaking about her aunts and uncles, peppered with few instances of Spanish insertion through the use of discourse maker *como que* functioning a quotative (equivalent to English filler 'like'). In Line 7 she momentarily engages in an alternational move of PR Spanish, coupled with insertions of English nouns *mom* and adjective *humble*. Note that previous to her current Spanish-monolingual public school education, Bianca was previously enrolled in a religiously-affiliated bilingual school. This may provide her with additional resources to her repertoire that her peers may not have.

**EXAMPLE 3. ENGLISH-DOMINANT PRACTICES IN O'REILLY HIGH**

(Regular font = Spanish; **Bold** = Standard American English; underline = Spanish/English discourse markers)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (1) | Bianca | **Entonce loh de papi: son como que bie:n** (.) just plain boring, like, |
| (2) | | they don't even talk to you, they just ask you **como que "oh, como** |
| (3) | | **ehta?** That's great. Bye." **Pero:,** mom's side **eØ como que** "oh, what |
| (4) | | have you done? What are you planning for your future?" **Como que:** |
| (5) | | "what are you doing in the summer?" "Do you wanna join us?" |
| (6) | Katherine | En serio? |
| (7) | Bianca | **Y, ehte:, loh de** mom **son como que bien ehte** humble. **Y loh de** dad |
| (8) | | **so:n** (.), like, even though they might be humble, they're children aren't. |
| (9) | | Like, if they have, like, a nice job even though they have humble parents, |
| (10) | | like, there are like "ah you buy clothes there? That's for poor people. I |
| (11) | | buy them in PacSun". **Y yo como que** "oh, okay". And then if I put |
| (12) | | something casual, they're like "ew". |

In the private school, there were several instances of hybrid practices, some from participants who had previously lived in the United States, others whose social identities were continuously performed on a day to day basis through the use of English (as English played an essential role to their communicative repertoire). The type of 'English' used across individuals is variable and at times very individualistic. As critiques of code-

switching frameworks have often argued: describing bilingual speech in terms of visibly flagged switches, of monolithic entities (i.e. one Spanish vs. one English) is masking the hybridity that happens within those enregistered entities.

For instance, in Mission High there was Miguel, an outlier to my corpus in Mission High Private School, as he had previously lived in the United States for several years and had native command of English – in contrast to his peers and classmates, many of whom acquired English in school. This native knowledge gave him an advantage, and in later sections when bilingual styles are discussed in terms of frequency of distribution, his advantage and bilingual skill becomes particularly evident in his immediate context. Let's observe how some of his practices are difficult to classify in the sample below:

### EXAMPLE 4. HYBRID PRACTICES IN A TRANSNATIONAL STUDENT FROM MISSION HIGH

(Regular font = Standard American English(es); **Bold** = Puerto Rican Spanish; Underline = teen talk features).

| | |
|---|---|
| 01 Katherine | ¿Mara eØ la máh alta de tu salón? ¿La nota máh alta? |
| 02 Miguel | **No- esa e:Ø la**: -- compare Pablo to Dario. Pablo **e:Ø** the smartest kid in the |
| 03 | class. I don't think that they're smarter than me, I just tʰink they try harder. |
| 04 | **Polque: elloØ, él ehtudia y ehtudia y ehtudia.** I just don't care to study. I |
| 05 | kind of just know stuff. |
| 06 Katherine | Yo creo que that's good, o sea, hay diferente typo de inteligencia, hay gente |
| 07 | que se sienta y prehta atención= |
| 08 Miguel | I mean**, hay algunaØ cosa que yo me ehtudio como pa' física, pero como** |
| 09 | **Biblia yo no ehtudié,** like literally I didn't even have the papers. **Cuando él** |
| 10 | **ehtaba dando el repaso yo ehtaba: dolmido en la clase.** |

***Translation***

| | |
|---|---|
| 01 Katherine | Mara is the highest in your classroom? The highest grade? |
| 02 Miguel | **No—that's the**—compare Pablo to Dario. Pablo **i:s** the smartest kid in the |
| 03 | class. I don't think that they are smarter than me, I just think that they try harder. |
| 04 | **Because they study and study and study.** I just don't care to study. I kind of |
| 05 | just know stuff. |
| 06 Katherine | I think that that's good, I mean, there's different types of intelligence, there's people |
| 07 | that sit down and pay attention= |
| 08 Miguel | I mean**, there's some stuff that I study like for Physics, but like Bible** |
| 09 | **I don't study,** like literally I didn't even have the papers. **When he was** |
| 10 | **giving the review I was sleeping in class.** |

In the exchange above, I ask Miguel to discuss the academic performances of his classmates, and he provides descriptions of the different studying practices of his friends. At first it seems that Miguel uses Spanish speaking styles to discuss the behavioral practices of his classmates, such as Pablo who is *the smartest kid in the class* (Lines 2 - 3) because *él ehtudia, ehtudia, y ehtudia* or 'he studies, studies, and studies' (Line 4), versus his own studying practices (or sense of self) assessed in Standardised American English in *I don't think they are smarter than me….I just don't care to study* (Lines 3 – 4). Additionally adopting American English colloquialisms like *kind of* and *stuff* to denote 'things in general' in Lines 4 – 5 when he says 'I *kind of* just know *stuff*', an utterance indexical of American youth speech (see Tagliamonte, 2016), as well as other lexical items such as *like* (Line 09) and *just* (Line 03), as storytelling strategies or salient discourse markers (Tagliamonte, 2005). While it may seem that he uses American English features to describes his own practices versus his definition of others, we later see in his second turn, Lines 8 to 10, Miguel describing himself and his academic practices in Spanish when he claims *hay alguna cosa que yo ehtudio como pa física* ('there are some things I study for like Physics'). Thus, demonstrating that he is able to draw on his transnational repertoire in practice in a unique way that transcends binary 'we'/'they' explanations of identity and language practice, such that he constructs his own academic practices through use of both 'Spanish' and 'English', rather than one enregistered mode or the other.

**ALTERNATIONAL**

On some occasions, I asked questions in Spanish and the informant would reply in English, but his/her previous turn was in Spanish. In this particular case, I would label this as an instance of change of communicative style in the speaker, or an *alternation,* as they had previously incorporated a different speaking style in the previous turn and there was a shift in language system. For many speakers across my corpus, adopting this description of alternation worked well. Consider for instance the following example with public school student Federico at the beginning of an interview as we negotiate the event of the interview and logistics behind recording, and then move on to interview questions. Here we see evidence of a change in Federico's speaking style, as he moves from asking questions related to recording technology in English, and initially answers the first interview question in English, but when pressed to elaborate he alternates to Puerto Rican Spanish. This is a good example of alternation between turns. Note that my language has

also shifted, as I attempt to mimic his speaking style from his initial responses, however, interestingly he moves to incorporate my style in his later turn.

**EXAMPLE 5. ALTERNATIONAL PRACTICES DURING NEGOTIATION OF INTERVIEW EVENT**

(Regular = PR Spanish; **Bold** = Standard American English)

| | |
|---|---|
| Federico | **Is it recording?** |
| Katherine | Sí. Entonces, ¿tTu mamá vivió en Holanda? |
| Federico | **Yes.** |
| Katherine | *How long?* |
| Federico | Ella estudio primero en la Inter y dehpueh se mudo para Holanda porque el ehposo era military y creo que vivió primero en California. |

These two styles of alternation serve as perhaps the most obvious and least complicated labelling exercises: changes across turns. One could suggest that it almost presents an instance in which language serves a situational purpose (Gumperz, 1982). That is, that according to a shift in external settings (participant-related and/or topic related), a participant will switch his/her speaking style based on a change of circumstances.

Within a single turn, if a participant provided indication of a change in linguistic style I first considered the following linguistic characteristics:

- Did the utterance showcase a finished/completed idea?
- Was there an end to the intonation unit or a falling intonation?

Consider the following examples of Norman (private school), Fernando (private school), and María (public-school). In the first example, Norman employs a dominant Puerto Rican Spanish speaking style, only switching to English when he speaks about a cousin of his who grew up in the United States but does not know Spanish. In this sense, this shift in language use can be interpreted as serving a *metaphorical* function (Gumperz, 1982), so as to indicate or emphasize through English use that his cousin did not know Spanish with an 'Oh yeah' by switching to the non-local code (Line 5). In this case, this exclamation phrase is an alternation from the dominant variety that Norman was using before that point, i.e. it occurs within a single turn, at an utterance level, rather than in the middle of an utterance or sentence. He alternates or shifts languaging modes between turns rather than within a single turn, for his PR Spanish utterance in 3 to a standardised General American utterance in 5. In Example 7, Fernando partakes in inter-sentential alternations or within his turns. Consider line 5 when he discusses alternating beliefs: in

Spanish he first declares that he thought we both had similar interests in anime, he shows solidarity or friendship to me by crossing over to English 'I thought we', whereas 'you' speech was in dominant PR Spanish.

**EXAMPLE 6. ALTERNATIONAL BILINGUALISM ACROSS TURNS**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (1) | Katherine | ¿Y elloh son (.) bilingue? |
| (2) | Norman | Uno sí:, y el otro, pue:, entiende pero no lo habla. Se le hace |
| (3) | | difícil el ehpañol, no le guhta. |
| (4) | Katherine | ¿En serio? ¿Ehpañol? |
| *(5)* | Norman | **Oh yeah.** |

Translation:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (1) | Katherine: | And they are (.) bilingual? |
| (2) | Norman: | One yes, and the other well (.) understands, but does not speak |
| (3) | | it. It becomes difficult Spanish, they do not like it. |
| (4) | Katherine: | Seriously? Spanish? |
| (5) | Norman: | **Oh yeah.** |

**EXAMPLE 7. ALTERNATIONAL BILINGUALISM WITHIN TURN**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (1) | Katherine | ¿Tú veh animé? |
| (2) | Fernando | ¿En serio? ¿Tu ve anime también? |
| (3) | Katherine | NO! |
| (4) | | ((*Laura laughs))* |
| (5) | Fernando | ((*laughs*)) Yo creía que tu lo veía0! **I was – we were bonding like a** |
| (6) | | **minute ago!** |

Some practices are difficult to code syntactically as they involve the use of complex island constituents. Some of these complex constructions were visible in the practices of the most fluent bilinguals, such as María and Luis in O'Reilly High, and Miguel and Fernando in Mission High. These participants will be discussed at greater length in sections to come, as well as their social affiliations, ideologies, and personal beliefs.

Below Maria is talking about her outings with friends and things that she does during her free time, it is evident from the small excerpt below that she is participating in complex styles which involve the use prepositons (*y* 'and'), discourse fillers (*entonces* and *pues*: 'so' and 'well'), prepositions (*en* 'in'), and article (*el* 'the'). Evidence of code-mixing is made visible in the combination of a Spanish article *el* and English noun *group chat*, as it represents two items that are not typically characterized as a code-switch, rather exhibit a deeper understand of grammatical rules as a both a determiner and noun are involved. However, one may argue that perhaps *group chat,* as a technological noun is a

loanword or *nonce borrowing* in youth speech, and that it serves as a label for an invention first introduced through the English language.

**EXAMPLE 8. ENGLISH AS THE DOMINANT LANGUAGE IN A TURN**

(Regular font = Standard American English; **Bold** = PR Spanish; Underline = teen talk discourse marker)

| | |
|---|---|
| María | And, umm, **quizaØ** a lot of random things**. Y entonceØ pueØ en el** *group chat*, and, like, whatnot. And, like, we went ice-skating, and, um, I try to find different things that like I'm able to do, but I'm usually not able to do anything. And that was the first time that I went out like Federico, *y Larry,* **y entonceØ**…but with my other friends, we usually just go to church. |
| **Translation** | **And, umm,** maybe **a lot of random things.** And then well in the **group chat, and like whatnot, and like, we went ice-skating, and um I try to find different things that like I'm able to do, but I'm usually not able to do anything. And that was the first time that I went out like Federico**, and Larry, and then… **But with my other friends, we usually just go to church.** |

## INSERTIONAL

As discussed in Chapter 4, insertional bilingual styles are common in communities where there is unequal access to bilingual language education, or characterised by educational and class disparities and different proficiencies in languages. Perhaps the reason why this is so is to avoid communication breakdown through use of excessive bilingual styles, or, as Perez Casas (2008) suggests in her account of Puerto Rican bilinguals – to avoid sounding 'snobby' in social situations. This style is most dominant in private school settings in the present thesis, all students engaged to one extent or another in the insertion of a nonlocal phrase or lexical into the locally accepted grammatical structure. Meanwhile, there is more variation in the public school corpus, as we will later see. Below are some examples of insertional strategies involving small lexical items, such as discourse markers, in narrative strategies, and more complex (nonlocal) phrases peppered into an ideological dominant 'Language'.

In Example 9, cases A to C I demonstrate how individuals from different communities of practice: Josue and Bobi (Caco-Jock) and Federico (Rocker) use lexical items to facilitate their narrative strategies. Josue speaks of his hobby – basketball playing – an the importance of clothing choice or quality of clothing, such as shoes with *grip* (Example a), for playing basketball. In the second example, Bobi talks about the public school class schedule, suggesting the number of mandatory classes through discourse marker *so*, he then connects the following statement in a causational structure, "if we had

to take X amount of classes, THEN I had to take Y" (or perhaps more colloquially: because X then Y). *So* here preserves its original phonological structure, with anglo diphthong [oʊ], rather than a monophthongised Hispanic [o].

EXAMPLE 9. ENGLISH AS A CONVERSATIONAL INSERTIONAL STRATEGY

(a) Josue — Mayolmente, lo que loh hace diferente eØ el **grip.** Tienen un **grip** que, como que tu puede il corriendo con la bola, y paral y no te va a salil nunca.

(b) Bobi — **[soʊ]** tieneh que cogel cinco, **[soʊ]** tenía que cogel una, te obligaban, aunque no te guhtara… Y, pueh, yo: pueØ obviamente Precalculo que me ayuda paØ la univelsidaØ y eso, pueØ, la cogí.

(c) Federico — Lo que me encojona eh que **like** ella tenía un novio en **[nju ˈjɜərk]** que era perfecto **like** era bello:=

There were other cases in which a longer string or combination of words, such as idiomatic phrases *what the fuck* (Example A) or conjunction and verb phrases *and she was chill with it* (Example B) are inserted into dominant 'Spanish' structured. This indeed is a style prevalent in much teen talk, even among the elite. Particularly, as we will see, elite groups have a tendency to include insertional phrases into Spanish grammatical structure, whilst those that engage in bilingual talk in O'Reilly High public school tend to reserve their bilingual styles to a minimum, often involving sole lexical items or discourse markers, with the exception of some members of the Rocker CofP.

EXAMPLE 10. ENGLISH PHRASES IN STORYTELLING STRATEGIES

**(a)** Federico — Y, entonces, ella lo dejo polque no lo amaba eh como que **[wʌt ðə fək]**

(b) Angélica — Le dimoØ una ehcusa, **and she was chill with it.** Pero fue *bien cool* porque cada rato que nosotroØ veíamoØ que alguien se acercaba a la pue:lta:, noh asustabamoØ, y noh tiramoØ al piso y apagamoØ lah luceØ.

## CONGRUENT LEXICALIZATION

Congruent lexicalization is the third type of bilingual speech in Muysken's typology, and recall that it is most frequent in situations in which speakers are competent in the grammatical workings of both ideological 'Languages'. Congruent lexicalization represents the true hybrid style of bilingualism, in which it is difficult to discern dominant ideological modes or base 'Languages'. This type of bilingualism was coded for in the present research under a "hybrid" label. Hybrid styles were not as frequent across both corpora – it occurred rarely and it was most dominant in the speech of transnationals (those with experiences abroad in English-dominant contexts) and in the speech of some communities of practice in private school contexts. See below an example from Tatiana, a member of the Pop Culture Enthusiasts CofP when she speaks of her experience in a public ice-skating rink installed in Mayagüez.

EXAMPLE 11. CONGRUENT LEXICALIZATION IN THE SPEECH OF PRIVATE SCHOOL STUDENTS

(Regular = PR Spanish; **Bold =** Standard American English)

Tatiana (A) Pero allí como era **too much people** (B) **I was <[laik]>** "n$^{h}$o poØque que me voy a cael y me voy a coltal lo deo (C) **and I was like "mmhmm"** y pueh no.

Translation: But there there were like **too much people and I was like** "no because I am going to fall and I am going to cut my fingers **and I was like mmhmm"** and well no.

See how her conversational turn above consists of both phrasal elements tied to "English", in Example A *too much people* (adverbial phrase), B *I was like* (quotative phrase), C *and I was like mmhmm* (quotative phrase). These three examples also consist of phrasal elements in PR Spanish, such that it is difficult to discern whether there was a shift in mode (alternation) or an insertion of a constituent phrase and/or lexical item – and an overall mixed style is the apparent norm with an underlying shared grammatical structure.

**CONVERSATIONAL TURNS**

The insertional, alternational, and borrowing typologies were measured against number of *conversational turns,* which are taken to be opportunities to reassess, construct new identities or positonalities based on what has been said previously, or on the direction of the conversation. While other variationist approaches to code-switching and bilingualism have taken their unit of measurement as the first thousand words, or perhaps the first 30-minutes of an interview (see Macaulay, 2013 for a discussion on *discourse variation*) this information tells us very little of the opportunies of talk for each participant, and/or whether the dominant variety shifted at any point, and what were the sociolinguistic conditions of that point, e.g. were they accommodating to their addresse, shifting styles to address a new topic, etc. In such approaches it would be difficult account for changing sociolinguistic circumstances, in this sense, adopting the conversational turn as unit of measuring variable bilingual styles addresses both the research question to do with 'how' and 'why' Englishes are adopted in colloquial speak.

## 6.5 Bilingual Styles in Mission High

By incorporating the Muysken typology, I found that students from Mission High school, even when orienting positively to the target language culture, did not engage to much extent in English using, bilingual practices. Indeed, this was the case for the *Gamer CofP,* as well as the *Pop Culture Enthusiasts*. The *Choir Girls,* in contrast, differed significantly from their older counterparts, by outperforming them in their bilingual and English dominant styles. Overall, participants from Mission partook to some extent in bilingual language styles, in contrast to some participants in O'Reilly High who did not engage in any bilingual language styles at all. Instead, these participants found other creative ways to communicate social meaning, e.g. through use of local vernaculars. However, I also found that of those who did incorporate bilingual styles, many could match – if not outperform – the bilingual styles showcased by students in Mission High.

## 6.6 Bilingual Styles According to Categorical Methods

### 6.6.1 Gender

The following tables discuss the bilingual styles found in Mission High according to gender affiliation. Table 26 and Table 27 present a breakdown of these practices. Note that the numerical figures on these tables represent the *linguistic potential* of each student *on the basis of the interview data*, however, should not be taken as an absolute figure, as each interview event represents a single communicative instance, rather than the entirety of the biographical repertoires .[105]

*Male bilingual practices at Mission High*

Approximately half of the participants in Mission High were male. In this way, I was able to accomplish equal representation in terms of sex categorization. 5 out of 9 male participants agreed to also take part of focus group interviews. This means that I have both individual interview style data and peer-group style data from male participants. Table 26 gives a general idea of the English using strategies implemented by males in their individual interviews. *Turns* in each table refer to number of conversational turns of possibilities to reassess, construct new identities or positonalities based on what has been said previously, or on the direction of the conversation.

A general overview to their styles suggests that most participants adopted Spanish-dominant speaking styles with occasional insertional and alternational strategies for most interview topics. This is particularly evident in a second table, where numerical distribution has been replaced by whether they did or did not at any point in the interview event engage in bilingual styles. Numerically, there were two participants that deviated from the unmarked Spanish-dominant bilingual norm: Emanuel and Miguel. Both Emanuel and Miguel straddled across two communities of practice: *the Jocks* and *the Gamers*. Roberto, included in this table, did not participate in the individual ethnographic interviews; therefore, the numerical distribution I present here is only representative of

[105] Given the scope of this study and the number of participants interviewed, it was not possible to incorporate a more in depth look into the linguistic styles of a participant outside of school, such as through the implementation of self-recordings, and following a student or select group of students through different social events and interactions. Other smaller case studies have been successful at incorporating this method (see Perez Casas 2008 for a discussion of the linguistic strategies of a network of elite bilinguals).

his performance in the focus group interviews. Perhaps had he participated in the ethnographic interview there would be more to say about his linguistic competences.

*Table 32*. Bilingual Strategies Implemented by Male Speakers in Mission High.

| **Male bilingual practices in Mission High** | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | ***English matrix*** | | | ***Spanish matrix*** | | | ***HB*** | ***Borrowings*** | |
| CofP | Partici-pants | # of turns | Insert | Alt. | # of turns | Insert | Alt | | Phon. Int. | Not phono int. |
| In-between Jocks | *Emanuel* | 29/96 | 25 | 13 | 65/96 | 4 | 7 | 2/96 | 3 | |
| | *Miguel* | 122/143 | 58 | 14 | 17/143 | 3 | | 4/143 | | |
| Gamer | *Pablo* | 2/63 | | | 61/63 | 30 | | | | 22 |
| | *Dave* | 4/77 | | | 73/77 | 41 | 1 | | 9 | 17 |
| | *Norman* | 3/78 | | | 75/78 | 21 | | | 9 | 14 |
| | *Roberto** | | | | 42/42 | 8 | | | 5 | 3 |
| | *Daniel* | 6/153 | | | 145/153 | 52 | 6 | 2/153 | 10 | 7 |
| Outsiders/ PopCulture | *Fernando* | 19/77 | | | 46/77 | 44 | 26 | 12/77 | | 22 |
| | *Zuriel* | 2/92 | | | 89/92 | 42 | 7 | 1/92 | 3 | 8 |

| **Male bilingual practices in Mission High** | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | ***English matrix*** | | | ***Spanish matrix*** | | | ***HB*** | ***Borrowings*** | |
| CofP | Participants | # of turns | Insert | Alt. | # of turns | Insert | Alt | | Phon. Int. | Not phono int. |
| In-between Jocks | *Emanuel* | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | |
| | *Miguel* | x | x | x | x | x | | x | | |
| Gamer | *Pablo* | x | | | x | x | | | | x |
| | *Dave* | x | | | x | x | x | | x | x |
| | *Norman* | x | | | x | x | | | x | x |
| | *Roberto** | | | | x | x | | | x | x |
| | *Daniel* | x | | | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Outsiders/ PopCulture | *Fernando* | x | | | x | x | x | x | | x |
| | *Zuriel* | x | | | x | x | x | x | x | x |

*Female Bilingual Practices at Mission High*

Most female participants in Mission High private school exhibited bilingual using strategies, again with preference towards a Spanish dominant matrix. However, some students, particularly those belonging to the *Choir Girl* CofP, exhibited occasional use of English-dominant styles with insertional and alternational Spanish, as is evidenced by Table 12. For the female group, as with the male group, there is an overall preference to insert English constituents into Spanish utterances, a total number of 347 instances were

accounted for (approximately 19% of the data), whereas 126 times they alternated to English in a dominantly Spanish interaction (approximately 7% of the data). In terms of likelihood to incorporate phonological integration (Spanish phonology) into English borrows, the outcome was mixed, with a slight preference for no local form integration (maintenance of foreign language phonology). However, it must be noted that this phonological outcome was also down to individual and personal preference or idiolects.

*Table 33*. Bilingual styles in female participants of Mission High.

| **Female bilingual practices in Mission High** | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | *English matrix* | | | *Spanish matrix* | | | *HB* | *Borrowings* | |
| | | # of turns | Insert | Alt. | # of turns | Insert | Alt | | Phon. Int. | Not phono int. |
| Pop Culture CofP | *Cristina* | 6/90 | | | 78/90 | 95 | 6 | 6/90 | 3 | 5 |
| | *Laura* | 4/61 | | | 56/61 | 79 | 36 | 1/61 | 7 | 11 |
| | *Tatiana* | 5/59 | | | 50/59 | 78 | 10 | 4/59 | 7 | 11 |
| Choir CofP | *Fiorela* | 28/87 | 11 | 5 | 54/87 | 80 | 15 | 5/87 | 15 | |
| | *Pilar* | 75/84 | 17 | 2 | 7/84 | 3 | 3 | 2/84 | | 3 |
| | *Dianid* | 10/67 | 7 | 3 | 55/67 | 40 | 7 | 2/67 | 10 | 5 |
| | *Mariela* | 29/63 | 25 | 4 | 32/63 | 13 | 7 | 2/63 | 11 | |
| | *Erica* | 27/77 | 8 | 1 | 43/77 | 4 | 1 | 7/77 | | |
| | *Amaris* | 11/64 | 10 | 4 | 50/64 | 14 | 19 | 3/64 | 6 | 15 |

*Note*. Where HB is congruent lexicalisation.

For instance, Amaris from the Choir Girl CofP was most likely to incorporate English phonology to her borrows, but Fiorela from the same CofP used Spanish phonology in her borrows (and no instance of English phonological maintenance).

In the reverse situation, whereby female students used English dominant styles over Spanish, there was also a similar preference to incorporate insertional strategies (of Spanish) over alternational. Instances in which the matrix, or dominant language, was unidentifiable were few, totalling 12 (although this is a rough estimate). Furthermore, not everyone participated in these mixed heterogeneous styles, it seemed to be a phenomenon most demonstrated in participants from the Choir Girls CofP (figured in the following table). There, this outcome suggests that perhaps there is an overall preference to keep languages separate, with only insertional strategies accepted. The second table demonstrates overall patterns of whether subject did or did not participate in bilingual styles in interview event.

*Table 34*. Female bilingual practices in Mission High.

| **Female bilingual practices in Mission High** | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | *English matrix* | | | *Spanish matrix* | | | *HB* | *Borrowings* | |
| | | # of turns | Insert | Alt. | # of turns | Insert | Alt | | Phon. Int. | Not phono int. |
| Pop Culture CofP | *Cristina* | x | | | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| | *Laura* | x | | | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| | *Tatiana* | x | | | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Choir CofP | *Fiorela* | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | |
| | *Pilar* | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | | x |
| | *Dianid* | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| | *Mariela* | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | |
| | *Erica* | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | | |
| | *Amaris* | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |

## 6.6.2. CLASS

From a broad perspective, looking at the distribution of bilingual styles across socioeconomic circumstance, all students engage in bilingual styles regardless of background. It must be noted that because most of these students by default are enrolled in 'premium' education or private school education, all start off with some type of priviledge or access to priviledge that cannot be extended over to our depictions of public school demographics.

In the present study I accounted for six different socioeconomic groups. However, given the small sample size, together with the considerable consistency of background, I grouped students into two groups: (1) upper working class (2) middle class. None of the groups demonstrated an apparent or recurring pattern based on family job occupation. All students engaged in bilingual styles but the extent to which they did did not appear to vary according to parent occupation. What seems consistent across groups is their ability to use Spanish-dominant conversational turns peppered with instances of English phrases and words, and, at times, ability to conduct English-only conversations (though variable according to person).

*Table 35*. Social class bilingual styles in Mission High.

| Social class | | English matrix | | | Spanish matrix | | | HB | Borrowing | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Person | # of turns | Insert | Alt. | # of turns | Insert | Alt | | Int. | Not Int. |
| upper working class | *Cristina* | 6/90 | | | 78/90 | 95 | 6 | 6/90 | 3 | 5 |
| | *Mariela* | 29/63 | 25 | 4 | 32/63 | 13 | 7 | 2/63 | 11 | |
| | *Roberto** | | | | 42/42 | 7 | | | 10 | 3 |
| | *Fiorela* | 28/87 | 11 | 5 | 54/87 | 80 | 15 | 5/87 | 15 | |
| | *Miguel* | 122/143 | 58 | 14 | 17/143 | 3 | | 4/143 | | |
| middle class | *Dave* | 4/77 | | | 73/77 | 41 | 1 | | 9 | 17 |
| | *Emmanuel* | 29/96 | 25 | 13 | 65/96 | 4 | 7 | 2/96 | 3 | |
| | *Erica* | 27/77 | 8 | 1 | 43/77 | 4 | 1 | 7/77 | | |
| | *Daniel* | 6/153 | | | 145/153 | 52 | 6 | 2/153 | 10 | 7 |
| | *Norman* | 3/78 | | | 75/78 | 21 | | | 9 | 14 |
| | *Dianid* | 10/67 | 7 | 3 | 55/67 | 40 | 7 | 2/67 | 10 | 5 |
| | *Fernando* | 19/77 | | | 46/77 | 44 | 26 | 12/77 | | 22 |
| | *Pablo* | 2/63 | | | 61/63 | 30 | | | | 22 |
| | *Pilar* | 75/84 | 17 | 2 | 7/84 | 3 | 3 | 2/84 | | 3 |
| | *Zuriel* | 2/92 | | | 89/92 | 42 | 7 | 1/92 | 3 | 8 |
| | *Laura* | 4/61 | | | 56/61 | 79 | 36 | 1/61 | 7 | 11 |
| | *Tatiana* | 4/58 | | | 50/58 | 78 | 10 | 4/58 | 7 | 11 |

| Social class | | English matrix | | | Spanish matrix | | | HB | Borrowing | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Person | # of turns | Insert | Alt. | # of turns | Insert | Alt | | Int. | Not Int. |
| upper working class | *Cristina* | x | | | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| | *Mariela* | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | |
| | *Roberto** | | | | x | x | | | x | x |
| | *Fiorela* | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | |
| | *Miguel* | x | x | x | x | x | | x | | |
| middle class | *Dave* | x | | | x | x | x | | x | x |
| | *Emmanuel* | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | |
| | *Erica* | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | | |
| | *Daniel* | x | | | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| | *Norman* | x | | | x | x | | | x | x |
| | *Dianid* | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| | *Fernando* | x | | | x | x | x | x | | x |
| | *Pablo* | x | | | x | x | | | | x |
| | *Pilar* | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | | x |
| | *Zuriel* | x | | | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| | *Laura* | x | | | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| | *Tatiana* | x | | | x | x | x | x | x | x |

## 6.6.3 COMMUNITIES OF PRACTICE

### A) IN-BETWEEN JOCK COFP

As suggested in Chapter 5, the In-Betweener Jock CofP at Mission High was not directly comparable to the Jock CofP in O'Reilly High. This is primarily because I was unable to reach interest of the most extreme Jock CofP cases of individuals who incorporated very little English-speaking strategies, and oriented negatively to the English teacher. Instead, I managed to garner interest of those that partook in some bilingual strategies, and even placed in *Advanced English* classes. I called these members In-Between Jocks, as they shared interests with the Jock-Jocks and engaged in athletic and other out-of-school practices with members of the Jock CofP, all the while also maintaining affiliation with members from other groups. Thus, the results featured in this section do not represent the entirety of the Jock CofP, rather, a portion of the Jock CofP, who simultaneously engaged in other practices with members from other peer groups and were enrolled in Advanced English.

*Table 36.* Bilingual strategies in the In-Between Jock CofP.

| **In-Between Jocks** | **English Matrix** | | | **Spanish Matrix** | | | # of HB turns | **(Nonce) Borrowings** | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *CofP* | *# of turns* | *Insert.* | *Alt.* | *# of turns* | *Insert.* | *Alt.* | | *Phono. Int.* | *Not. Phono. Int.* |
| Emanuel | 29/96 | 25 | 13 | 65/96 | 4 | 7 | 2/96 | 3 | |
| Miguel | 122/143 | 58 | 14 | 17/143 | 3 | | 4/143 | | |
| Cristina | 6/90 | | | 78/90 | 95 | 6 | 6/90 | 3 | 5 |

**Miguel**

Based on the table above, Miguel possessed the most noticeably high bilingual strategies out of the entirety of the Jock CofP. This is of little surprise, considering Miguel's position as an outsider even within the school community, as he had spent a significant amount of years living in different places across the United States, e.g. Virginia, Florida, and New Maryland. His conversational style demonstrated preference for the use of an English matrix with frequent Spanish insertional strategies. He also brought different language strategies to the table, along with his flagged bilingual strategies. He

incorporated AAVE features and idiomatic slang, as can be suggested by the excerpt below:

**Setting:** Sitting at Gamer's Hill, on a sunny day in Mission High.
**Present:** Dave, Norman, Roberto, Fausto, Daniel, and Miguel.

Katherine: Estan listos? (Trans. *Are you ready?)*
Miguel: We* (are) Gucci mo' nigger!

| ***Linguistic feature*** | ***Meaning*** | ***Environment*** |
|---|---|---|
| Copular absence | to be | we ___ Gucci |
| Gucci | good | we___ mo nigger |
| Mo | my | Gucci ___ nigger |
| Nigger | my friend*[106] | we Gucci my ___. |

He also adopted Puerto Rican phonology when discussing place names and themes of home. For instance, his vocalizing of bilabial /b/ in intervocalic position (e.g. [awuela]) (Line 02), his aspiration of plural marker /-s/ in final position (e.g. in [lah ehkuela] ) (Line 03), aspiration of /s/ in pre-consonantal position in [ehkuela] (Line 03) and [ɟevahte] (Line 10), and in his deletion of final-syllable in a two syllabic words (e.g. [pa']) (Line 10). These are visible in the excerpt below when he discusses his grandmother's profession, what it involved, and what route she took to commute to work.

EXAMPLE 1. MIGUEL, IN-BETWEEN JOCK COFP TRANSNATIONAL STYLE

| | |
|---|---|
| 01 Katherine | Eso eØ cool, y, ¿No sabeØ en qué trabajaban entonceØ? |
| 02 Miguel | **Mi awuela**, I call her **mamá**, **mamá ella trabaja:ba: e:n,** she was <u>like</u> (.) a |
| 03 | social worker? **En lah ehcuela, y ella iba de pública en pública** (.) |
| 04 | <u>and all that.</u> |
| 05 Katherine | ¿En lah ehcuela? |
| 06 Miguel | She work(ed) <u>like</u> **al lado de mi casa (.) en el Maní** for, <u>like</u>, many many. |
| 07 | years. She tells me stories about how she used to, <u>like,</u> drive down this road all |
| 08 | that time. |
| 09 Katherine | ¿Cuál? Ehta? |
| 10 Miguel | Noh, **la:** -- <u>you know,</u> ¿**cuando me llevahte pa casa?** |

**Translation**

| | |
|---|---|
| 01 Katherine | That is cool, and you don't know in what they worked then? |
| 02 Miguel | **My grandma**, I call her **mom**, **she worked in, she was like** (.) a social |
| 03 | worker? **In the schools, and she used to go from public to** public (school) (.) |
| 04 | <u>and all that.</u> |

[106] For this socially charged word the solidarity principle plays a role.

| | |
|---|---|
| 05 Katherine | In the schools? |
| 06 Miguel | She work(ed) like **next to my house, in el Maní,** for like many, many years. |
| 07 | She tells me stories about how she used to, like, drive down this road all that |
| 08 | time. |
| 09 Katherine | Which? This one? |
| 10 Miguel | No, **the**: -- you know, **when you gave me a lift home?** |

For instance, in the excerpt above, when Miguel is describing his close relationship with his grandmother, he incorporates Spanish to provide her nickname, and often changes to Puerto Rican Spanish when talking about her: /my grandma/ →/mi abuela/ (Standard Spanish) → [mi] + [awuela] (Puerto Rican Spanish). When describing her occupation and what it involved in the olden days, he also does some of this incorporating noun phrases and verb phrases with Puerto Rican Spanish phonology (Lines 2 - 3). For a breakdown of these strategies see the table below that illustrates that Spanish incorporated, its meaning, and the utterance-level environment in which such language used occurred:

| **Linguistic feature** | **Meaning** | **Environment** |
|---|---|---|
| Mi awuela | my grandmother | _____**NP (SP)** + VP (ENG) |
| Mamá | mom | VP (ENG) + ____ **NP (SP)** |
| Mamá, ella trabajaba en | mom, she worked in | _____**N (SP) + VP (SP)** + VP (ENG) |
| En lah ehcuela, | in the schools | ____ **NP (SP)** + VP (SP) |
| Y ella iba de pública and publica | and she went from public | ____**VP (SP)** + DM (ENG) |

When referring to official titles of his grandmother, or providing additional external commentary, he does so using English language strategies:

| **Features** | **Function** |
|---|---|
| I call her | Providing description |
| She was like, a social worker? | Providing official occupation name |
| …and all that. | To indicate there is more to be said, but he does not wish to elaborate. |

In the short excerpt in which Miguel is describing his grandmother's occupation, he also utilises features from Standard American English phonology. He makes use of hallmark teen talk features that have been widely recorded and documented in the speech of the American youth:

- Discourse marker "like" as a narrative strategy:
  - Was like (be like): She was like…
  - Worked, like: She worked, like, al lado de mi casa…
  - For, like: (worked) en el Maní for, like, many many years.

In Line 05 of the transcript, he omits past tense morphological marker /–ed/ turning verb "worked" to "work" in "she work(ed)" – a feature that is typical of AAVE[107] (University of Hawaii, Sidnell 2010). Furthermore, Miguel complies with both languages' underlying structure (grammar), following what Poplack (1978/81) refers to as the "equivalence constraint" or the act of 'switching' in a grammatically permissible point.[108]

Syntactically: **Mi awuela**, I call her **mamá**, **mamá ella trabaja:ba: e:n,** she was like (.) a social worker? **En lah ehcuela, y ella iba de pública en pública** (.) and all that.

S (SP) + VP (ENG) + OBJ (SP), S (SP) + VP (SP) + VP (ENG) + NP (SP).
NP (SP) + VP (SP) + DM (ENG).

He also makes use of Puerto Rican Spanish as a contextualization cue and storytelling strategy, to mark order of events:

20 Miguel Yeah, **pero,** my: - my mom's mom, she died when my mom was fifteen and
21 then my mom's dad, he died around two-thousand-*ish*, **y de:hpue**:, I never
22 really… my grandma, my mom, my father's grandma doesn't really talk about
22 her husband, so (.) I don't really [no'] (know). But, yeah, I got my:, 'cciano,
23 like, Italian-*ish* thing (.) from his side.

| **Words/Phrases** | **Meaning** | **Function** |
|---|---|---|
| Pero | but | Introduce change of topic |
| Y/Dehpue | and afterwards | to indicate continuation, add new Information |

Also note that in the interaction above, several features of North American teen slang are apparent: (1) morphological ending *–ish,* (2) discourse marker and narrative strategy *so*, (3) filler *like*.

| Item | Translation |
|---|---|
| Pero | But |
| Y dehpue | And then |
| My awuela | My grandma |
| …mamá ella trabajaba en… | …my mom she worked in… |
| En lah ehcuela, | In the school, |
| …y ella iba de pública en pública… | …and she went from public to public (school)… |
| …al lado de mi casa, en el Maní… | …next to my home, in el Maní… |
| …la:... | …the… |
| …cuando me llevahte pa casa? | …when you took me to my house? |

[107] "The verb in AAVE is often used without any ending… there are some separate words that come before

[108] The equivalence constraint states that "switched sentences are made up of concatenated fragments of alternating languages, each of which is grammatical in the language of its provenance" (Poplack, 1980: 2).

At the same time, however, while Miguel was able to partake in the local vernacular and in PR phonology when discussing matters of home and places in Puerto Rico, he was also able to partake in distancing strategies or refer to Puerto Rico by incorporating non-local (American English) features onto Spanish items. See for instance, when he discusses his dad – whom he is not close to – who currently lives in the States but was raised in Puerto Rico:

| | |
|---|---|
| Miguel | Ummm **mi <[awuelo]>**? Well, I never met **mi <[awuelo]>.** I've only met my grandma, out of all my mom's and dad's parents. Actually- I forgot to tell you, out of- my dad also grew up in **<[pɚr'ðə] [ri: 'koʊ]>** (Puerto Rico). |

In this pronunciation of Puerto Rico, Miguel adopts a flap pronunciation of /t/ following a rhotic. Generally speaking, flap productions of /t/ are a common occurrence in General American English and uncommon in dialects of Spanish where the dental stop production is maintained. In American English the flap /t/ is said to occur when (1) /t/ comes between two vowels, or (2) the syllable before is stress and that which comes after is unstressed. In the case of *Puerto Rico*, the stress of the first segment lies in *Puer-* or [**pɚr**]. Miguel also elongates the /i/ vowel sound in /Ri-/ and diphthongizes the final vowel sound /o/ to [ou].

**Emmanuel**

Following Miguel's lead, Emanuel, a member of the In-Between Jock CofP also demonstrates a preference for English matrices, with frequent Spanish insertions – an atypical style in the context of Puerto Rico.[109] The excerpt below provides an example of Emmanuel's communicative style in the ethnographic interview:

[109] In the focus group interview, results not featured above, he adopted a more mixed bilingual style, from time to time shifting to dominantly Spanish or English, depending on the topic.

EXAMPLE 2. EMMANUEL, IN-BETWEEN COFP, BILINGUAL STYLE

(Regular font = PR Spanish; **bold** = Standard American English; *italics* = PR slang; <u>underline</u> = discourse markers)

| | |
|---|---|
| 01 Katherine | ¿Tú te lleva bien con tuh helmanito? ¿Cómo eh esa dinámica? ¿Se |
| 02 | siente como **babysitting**? |
| 03 Emmanuel | **No:, not at all, but okay,** mi mamá y: (.) el que era mi padrahtro (.) |
| **04** | **they separated on bad terms, a:nd** (.) **since he's not home** (.) **many** |
| **05** | **of the responsibilities that my step-father should have** las tengo yo. |
| **06** | **<u>So:,</u> the girls,** que no eh algo ehtraño que digan 'papá' o: Emy, polque |
| **07** | yo soy desafoltunadamente o afoltunadamente la figura patelna de la |
| **08** | casa**<u>, y pue</u>**: **I: bat$^{h}$e the:m, I: make** *bibis*, ¿cómo se dicen bibis en |
| **09** | ingléh? **Bottles.** Eso:. **I change the:m, I clothe the:m. What daddy** |
| **10** | **should do. But I understand, I understand it's not his fault, or my** |
| **11** | **mother's. It's just (.) was a bad dynamic.** |

| | |
|---|---|
| ***Translation*** | |
| 01 Katherine | Do you get along well with your little brothers and sisters? How is |
| 02 | that dynamic, does it feel like babysitting? |
| 03 Emmanuel | **No, not at all, but okay,** my mom and (.) the one who was my step- |
| 04 | father (.) **they separated on bad terms, and** (.) **since he's not home** |
| 05 | (.) **many of the responsibilities that my step-father should have** I |
| 06 | have them. **So, the girls,** it's not something strange that they say |
| 07 | "papá" or Emy, because I am unfortunately or fortunately the father |
| 08 | figure of the house, and well**, I bathe them, I make them** bottles, |
| 09 | **how do you say** bottles **in English? Bottles.** That. **I change them, I** |
| 10 | **clothe them. What daddy should do. But I understand, I** |
| 11 | **understand it's not his fault, or my** |
| **12** | **mother's it's just** (.) **was a bad dynamic.** |

In the focus group interview, he maintained a similar style to that which he exhibited in the one-on-one ethnographic interview, which suggested that this style may be his preferred way of speaking for most of his social interactions. Take, for instance, when jokingly bringing up the topic of Disney princesses among his friends, he showcases PR Spanish styles alongside General American English and knowledge of Caribbean English features, popularized by the Disney film *the Little Mermaid*. In this sense, Emmanuel references popular media, and deploys intertextual references, or other voices, to convey meaning for comedic ends. His stylizing of English is observed in Lines 12 to 13. Teen talk features, such as pragmatic marker *y'know*, are also visible in Emmanuel's speech in Line 27. *You know* or *y'know* serves a participatory function of presupposing 'one speaker and at least one addresse [are] taking part in a speech situation' (Erman, 2001, p. 1339), it is a way by which a speaker invites the listener to engage in the interaction by "lessening the distance between the speaker and listener… foregrounding intersubjectivity" or insinuating a type of shared knowledge thus strenghtening social bond (Kallen, 2005, p. 58). At later points in this excerpt, Emmanuel goes on to provide additional detail to do

with popular media and the Disney film industry, by engaging in GenAm styles when he describes Disney princess Mulan as <u>*actually*</u> *real* (Line 28). The use of *actually* in Line 28 is classified by experts of youth speech as a 'syntactic intensifier', words which "maximize or boost the meanings of the adjectives they modify" (Tagliamonte, 2016, p. 221; cf. Tagliamonte & Denis, 2008), accompanying the adjective *real* in this case. At a later turn, Emmanuel provides an intertextual reference to the movie Aladdin through allusion or paraphrasing of the characteristics of Disney princess *Jasmine*, when he jokingly states: *Have you ever seen me and not a tiger in the room?* (Lines 31 - 32). In this case, Emmanuel is again drawing on shared knowledge of popular culture, or assuming shared knowledge between himself and the addresse (me), thus showing positive rapport and identification with the researcher and others in the group. Again, in the use of this rhetorical strategy, Emmanuel engages in GenAm styles, demonstrating his comfort in engaging in hybrid discourse styles of Englishes and Spanishes (Lines 12 - 13), as well as English-dominant turns for Lines 27 – 28, 31 – 32.

EXAMPLE 3. EMMANUEL, IN-BETWEEN COFP, BILINGUAL STYLE (II)

(Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = Standard American English; <u>Underline</u> = American Youth Speech features)

| ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 01 Katherine | De toda lah princesah= | 01 Katherine | Out of all the princesses= |
| 02 Emanuel | ¿Con cuál yo me identifico? ((*laughs*)) | 02 Emanuel | Which one do I identify with? ((*laughs*)) |
| 03 Katherine | No ((*laughs*)). Tu pu-tu puede | 03 Katherine | No ((*laughs*)). You can respond |
| 04 | contehtalme esa si quiere. Pero | 04 | to that if you want. But go |
| 05 | dale, **answer the question.** | 05 | ahead, **answer the question.** |
| 06 | Esa pregunta que me acabo de | 06 | That question I have just come |
| 07 | invental. | 07 | up with. |
| 08 Emanuel | Bueno sería o **[Jaezmɪn]** o | 08 Emanuel | Well I would be or **Jasmine** or |
| 09 | Ariel. | 09 | Ariel. |
| 10 Dave | **<[snou waɪt]>?** No te guhtaría | 10 Dave | **Snow White**? You don't want |
| 11 | vivil con siete enanoh? | 11 | to live with seven dwarfs? |
| 12 Emanuel | Yo prefiero vivil <[***undah da*** | 12 Emanuel | I rather live ***undah da*** |
| 13 | ***si:*****]>.** | 13 | ***sea*** ((*laughs*)), |
| 14 Miguel | **[əndəh da si?]** ((*laughs*)) | 14 Miguel | **Under the sea?** ((*laughs*)) |
| 15 Katherine | ¿Por qué Jasmine o Ariel? | 15 Katherine | Why Jasmine or Ariel? |
| 16 Emanuel | Ariel polque Ariel eh | 16 Emanuel | Ariel because Ariel she is |
| 17 | curiosa y e: **playful** y= | 17 | curious and **playful** and= |
| 18 Miguel | **I know what he means.** | 18 Miguel | **I know what he means.** |
| 19 Dave | Yo sería Ariel porque ella eh | 19 Dave | "I would be Ariel because she is |
| 20 | bien curiosa y: (.) no | 20 | very curious a:nd (.) I don't |
| 21 | sé ((*nasal, high tone of* | 21 | know ((*nasal, high tone of* |
| 22 | *voice*)) se parece a mi. | 22 | *voice*)) she reminds me of me." |
| 23 Emmanuel | Es que no sé por | 23 Emmanuel | It's just that I don't know |
| 24 | qué… ((*playing along*)) | 24 | why… ((*playing along*)) |
| 25 Pablo | | 25 Pablo | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 26 | **I like what's the Chinese one?** | 26 | **I like what's the Chinese one?** |
| 27 Emmanuel | Umm, <[Mu.lan]>? | 27 Emmanuel | Umm, Mulan? |
| 28 | Mulan, **y'know, um, she's** | 28 | Mulan, **y'know, um, she's** |
| 29 Miguel | **actually real.** | 29 Miguel | **actually real.** |
| 30 Katherine | **She's a real character**? | 30 Katherine | **She's a real character**? |
| 31 Emmanuel | ¿Por qué Jasmine? | 31 Emmanuel | Why Jasmine? |
| 32 | **Have you ever seen me and not** | 32 | **Have you ever seen me and not** |
| 33 Katherine | **a tiger in the room?** | 33 Katherine | **a tiger in the room?** |
| 34 Miguel | O:kay: | 34 Miguel | O:kay: |
| 35 | **I'd call you a liar but I have no grounds to prove that.** | 35 | **I'd call you a liar but I have no grounds to prove that.** |

As suggested by the excerpt above, the topic of popular culture triggers Emmanuel hybrid or translingual styles perhaps most obviously from Lines 12 onwards, although in previous turns he refers to character names through English phonology. In the example before this one, we also observed how Emmanuel is mutually comfortable engaging in these styles when talking about subjects of personal or familial attachment (i.e. when he describes the role he plays within his own family – that of a parent). Therefore, we can arrive at an understanding that bilingual styles are an intergral part of who Emmanuel is, such that it is prevalent in his adopted style on a one-on-one basis as well as in a more dynamic interaction (both in individual and peer group interviews) and themes (family versus popular culture).

**Cristina**

Cristina was a dual member of both the In-Between Jocks and the Pop Enthusiasts. Her suggested bilingual style does not mimic that of her "in-between" status peers, rather, it is more comparable to that of her second community, the Pop Culture enthusiasts (as demonstrated in Table 15 below). Under this picture, Cristina complies with a dominant Spanish-matrix speaking style with a high degree of English insertional strategies. Her divergent use of language under this CofP serves as an act of agency and demonstrates that while the CofP framework is a useful tool to discuss and observe socially-influenced styles, one must keep in mind that an individual will not always represent the group in question, rather, a single person engages in multiple communities of practice in their day to day lives, and all of these may play a role in their stylistic repertoire, rather than one group alone. As a smaller community, it seems somewhat unsurprising that Cristina would engage in other practices outside of her primary CofP (the In-Between Jocks). Indeed, in smaller communities one often gets the feeling that "everybody knows everybody." Cristina's style can then be assessed as the outcome of the sum of her

practices. Since she is most similar to the Pop Culture CofP, I will discuss her linguistic practices in the section that follows.

## B) POP CULTURE COFP

The Pop Culture CofP demonstrated an overall preference for PR Spanish language use, with a high degree of English insertional strategies onto their PR Spanish matrix. Most of the interviewees for this group incorporated insertional strategies from 79 to 81 times in their interview. The preference for alternational strategies was least uniform, with Tatiana engaging in these slightly more than Cristina (10 times; 4 times), but both holding overall conservative styles of alternation.

Table 37. *Pop culture enthusiasts CofP Bilingual Strategies [Mission High Private School]*

| Pop Culture | English Matrix | | | Spanish Matrix | | | HB | (Nonce) Borrowings | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *CofP* | | *Insert.* | *Alt.* | *# of turns* | *Insert.* | *Alt.* | | *Phono. Int.* | *No Phono. Int.* |
| Laura | 4/61 | | | 56/61 | 79 | 36 | 1/61 | 7 | 11 |
| Tatiana | 5/64 | | | 50/64 | 78 | 10 | 4/64 | 7 | 11 |
| Cristina | 6/90 | | | 78/90 | 95 | 6 | 6/90 | 3 | 5 |
| Fernando | 19/77 | | | 46/77 | 44 | 26 | 12/77 | | 22 |

Note: Phono. Int. = Phonologically intergrated into base language or local vernacular, *PR Spanish*; No Phono. Int. = Not phonologically intergrated into local vernacular system (contains original form).

### Fernando

Fernando engages in alternational strategies a substantially higher amount of times (28), together with his best friend Laura (36). Unlike the rest of his friends, Fernando incorporates medium-level insertional strategies into his Spanish (36 times versus the 79 – 81 insertions by his friends). Fernando simultaneously engages with the Outsiders CofP, when he is not found with the Pop Enthusiasts CofP. If one compares his insertional strategies to those found in the Outsiders CofP (Table 18), one is able to find a more accurate comparison to the Outsiders CofP.

**Cristina**

Cristina's speaking style consisted of frequent incorporation of Englishes in lexical and constituent levels. Additionally, she introduced suprasegmental and phonological features from mainland Englishes into her speaking style. For instance, in her stylistic repertoire, Cristina adopted elements of standardized or ideological General American English, exhibited suprasegmental instances of up-talk alongside lexical elements like *like* indexing valley speech (see Barry, 2008). She adopted a comedic displays of English, what I refer to here as 'meme speech', or the intertextual reference of material distributed through social media that featured images alongside comedic captions. Meme speech holds phonemic features untraceable to any standardized English, or even non-native variety of English, such as Puerto Rican English as defined by Walsh (1996) and Dayton & Blau (1999) and mainland Hispanic English as defined by Fought (1999). The specific type of meme speech Cristina refers to mimics a type of 'foreign' accent. In this sense, one may suggest that Cristina's style truly goes beyond what typologies of codemixing and codeswitching may cover, and truly embodies what contemporary repertoire-driven account of bilingualism like *translanguaging* (see Li & García, 2014) suggest - a host of semiotic sources that transcend our ideological definitions of language.

The context behind the conversation is the following: as part of my plans to establish rapport among students, I brought adult coloring books to school for students to photocopy. Cristina had demonstrated an interest by asking to see them. Below she is examining page by page Millie Marotta's (2014) *Animal Kingdom* and Johanna Basford's (2015) coloring book *Lost Ocean*.

EXAMPLE 1. CRISTINA'S, POP CULTURE COFP, BILINGUAL SPEAKING STYLE

(Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = Standard-like General American English; Underline = Teen talk discourse marker)

| | |
|---|---|
| 01 Cristina | ¿CuantoØ tieneØ **[doʊ]?** |
| 02 Katherine | Cuatro. |
| 03 Cristina | **[enʃænted] [forɛst], [ænɪməl] [kɪŋ'dəm]** – ay, que bello! Pero **[oʊ]** |
| 04 | **[ma] [gɑd].** Ehte va último polque **I love the ocean*.** Puede hacelme |
| 05 | el **interview** mientrah veo **[bʊks].** |
| 06 Katherine | Dale. Mano, eh como que suena el timbre y ((*makes swishing sound*)) |
| 07 Cristina | Sí, to'l mundo se va. No le guhta nadie la ehcuela, **like**, a nadie. |
| 08 Fernando | Mara se llevó todoØ loh libroØ? |
| 09 Cristina | No, ehtan aquí. **Der al hi:r mai fren!** Me guhta mucho lah páginaØ, |
| 10 | son como que gruesaØ, no son como ehtoØ **[kɑlering] [bʊks]** de nene |
| 11 | chiquito, que en la páginaØ yo pintaba duro y de momento atráØ ehtaba |
| 12 | pintado, como que se marcaba. [**soʊ] [priti], [soʊ] [priti], yer** |
| 13 | **[soʊ] [priti]**. Aquí yo viviría, pero aquí arriba, no aquí abajo. |

### *Transcription*

01 Cristina How many do you have **though [doʊ]?**
02 Katherine Four.
03 Cristina **[enʃænted] [forɛst], [ænɪməl] [kɪŋdəm]** – how beautiful! But **[oʊ]**
04 **[ma] [gɑd].** This one goes last because **I love the ocean*.** You can do
05 the **interview** while I look at **[bʊks].**
06 Katherine Let's do it. Dude, it's <u>like</u> the bell goes off and ((*makes swishing*
07 *sound*))=
08 Cristina Yes, everyone leaves. Nobody likes the school, **<u>like</u>**, nobody.
09 Fernando Mara took all of the books?
10 Cristina No, they are here. **Der al hi:r mai fren!** I like the pages a lot
11 they are <u>like</u> thick, not like these **[kɑlering] [bʊks]** for little
12 kids, that in the pages I painted hard and suddenly behind I was
13 painting, <u>like,</u> you could see the marks. **[Sou] [prit$^{h}$i], sou priti, yer**
14 **sou prit$^{h}$i.** Here I would live, but up here, not down here.

| **Cristina's Bilingual Style** | | |
|---|---|---|
| ***Location*** | **Feature** | **Description** |
| *Line 01* | Though | GenAm the flapped /d/ is more voiced [d] |
| *Line 03* | **[**enʃænted] [forɛst]<br>[ænɪməl] [kIngdəm] | GenAm<br>GenAm |
| *Line 03 – 04* | [ou] [ma] [gɑd] | AAVE |
| *Line 04* | I love the ocean*. | GenAm |
| *Line 05* | interview…[bʊks] | GenAm |
| *Line 07* | like | GenAm |
| *Line 09* | Der al hi:r mai fren! | **Meme speech;** voiced /th-/, fronted /a/, tense /i/, raised /ai/, weaking/elision of /-d/ |
| *Line 10* | [kɑlering] [bʊks] | GenAm |

### *Laura*

Laura's bilingual style was similar to her best friend, Fernando. She demonstrated a slight preference for a PR Spanish conversational turn. When adopting bilingual styles, she tended towards word-level insertions (N = 79), at times, engaging in larger constituent or alternational practices (N = 36). Some of the themes that triggered her use of English and bilingual speech arose when speaking of Internet social media culture (memes, group chats, emojis, YouTubers, etc.) *Electronic Dance Music* or EDM DJ culture, and other forms of popular media (television shows, movies) references. However, Laura also

incorporated bilingualism when speaking of her family, which suggests that appropriating bilingual styles is overall an intergral part of her identity.

Below is an example of Laura discussing relatives from abroad, she mentions that one of her uncles is married to a woman he met through the Internet, here we see how the topic of the Internet yields Anglo-origin lexical items like *internet friends* (Line 6 )and *online* (Line 7), while incorporating these Laura is sure to maintain the structural form of the term, producing phonological sounds alike standardised English, appropriating needed morphological components, and placing these terms in *points of equivalence* between the two grammars involved – Spanish and English.

Several lexical items crop up, such as *programs* (Line 18, 19) to refer to the U.S. schools that cater to children with special needs, and *Slovenia* (Line 19) to refer to the country of origin of her aunt, now living in Canada. Note the perceived *prestige* of Laura's immediate family: an uncle who married a European woman, in a country where 99% identify as Hispanic or Latino (US Census Bureau, 2016). This means that even within her immediate family, Laura has external ties to outside culture, and potential links to outside practices.

EXAMPLE 2. LAURA, POP CULTURE COFP, SPEAKING STYLE

(Regular = PR Spanish; **Bold** = Standard-like General American English)

| | ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** |
|---|---|---|---|
| 01 Katherine | ¿Tu tieneØ alguno Ø familiareØ | 01 Katherine | Do you have any family |
| 02 | en Ehtados UnidoØ? | 02 | in the United States? |
| 03 Laura | Te:ngo: helmano de papi:, que: | 03 Laura | I have my dad's brother, that |
| 04 | se mudó a Florida, y: conoció: a | 04 | moved to Florida, and he met |
| 05 | su ehposa via Internet, | 05 | his wife on the Internet, they |
| 06 | fueron **<[i:ntərnɛt] [frɛnds]>,** | 06 | were **internet friends,** |
| 07 | se conocieron **<[ɔnla:ɪ:n]>** | 07 | they met **online** |
| 08 | ((*laughs*)). Sí! EntonceØ, él eØ | 08 | ((*laughs*)). Yes! So, the one |
| 09 | de Florida, vivía en Florida:, y | 09 | from Florida, lived in Florida:, |
| 10 | trabajaba en **<[dısni:]>,** y | 10 | and worked in **Disney,** and |
| 11 | siempre ibamoØ para allá, | 11 | we always went over there, |
| 12 | porque él noh podía | 12 | because he couldn't come |
| 13 | pasa:l, y la hija de é:l (.) ella | 13 | here, and his daughter (.) she |
| 14 | tiene autihmo, **[soʊ]** que se | 14 | had autism, **so** that they |
| 15 | mudaron pa Cana:da: polque | 15 | moved to Cana:da: because |
| 16 | había uno: (.) no sé | 16 | there was one (.) don't know |
| 17 | como decil-lo, como que | 17 | how to say it, like |
| 18 | **<[proʊgræms]>** para, si, | 18 | **programs** for, if, |
| 19 | ehcuela con **<[proʊgræms]>** | 19 | schools with **programs** |
| 20 | para elloØ, y se mudaron | 20 | for them, and they moved |
| 21 | para allá:, y: mi tía eh de | 21 | over there:, and my aunt is from |
| 22 | **<[sloʊvi:nj:ə]>** , **so** que le guhta | 22 | **Slovenia , so** she likes |
| 23 | el frío:, y no podía con la | 23 | the cold:, and couldn't take the |
| 24 | calol de Florida, y eso que hace | 24 | heat from Florida, and there is a |
| 25 | fri::to en Florida, y: | 25 | little bit of cold in Florida and |
| 26 | ahora mi tío y mi tía y mi | 26 | now my uncle and aunt and my |
| 27 | prima vive:n en Canada. **[Soʊ]** | 27 | cousin live in Canada. **So,** |
| 28 | que no sé si Cana:da: eh palte de | 28 | I don't know if Canada is part |
| 29 | loh Ehtados UnidoØ, no | 29 | of the United States, I don't |
| 30 | creo:… | 30 | think so… |

Laura also projects a storytelling devise visible in North America teen slang, which is the incorporation of connective and causal discourse markers *so* (Lines 13, 19, 23).

| *Location* | *Sentence* | *Description* |
|---|---|---|
| *Line 13* | 'Ella tiene autihmo, so que se mudaron pa Canada.' | Connective |
| *Line 19* | 'Y mi tía eh de Slovenia, so que le guhta el frío' | Causation |
| *Line 23* | 'So, que no sé si Canada eh palte de loh Ehtados Unido.' | Sentence-starter / Introduction of topic |

Also part of Laura's style was the incorporation of Internet English, meme speech, previously detected in Cristina's speech. She drew on this peer group style when

discussing the subject of politics. One could suggest that by incorporating this style in her alignment/disalignment strategies to the topic of Puerto Rican politics, Laura was uptaking a stance of 'indifference' and light humor in the face of a controversial topic, *Puerto Rican politics*, and the many arguments and debates they often ensue. Laura's incorporation of meme speech further fortifies her relationship and shared repertoire with Cristina and Tatiana, who in their interviews engage in this non-standard style. Meme speech derives from online images or drawings, such as 'Spoderman' and other, followed by a humorous caption.

Agha (2004, 2005) defines a *linguistic register* as a 'repertoire that is associated culture-internally with particular social practices and with persons who engage in such practices' (p. 24). Laura's meme speech below is indicative of her social practices as an avid social media user, it is tied to her humorous and 'chill' outlook to life in accordance to Miguel's description of her (see Chapter 5). In this example, Laura discusses her reluctance to engage in topics of Puerto Rican politics with friend Tatiana. Tatiana mimicking similar stylistic features, in parody suggests they form their own political party (in Line 03), called the *Potato* or *Potato Ravers* ( Line 05). Tatiana's self-naming served dual purpose: first, *ravers* is a direct reference to their party lifestyle and affinity for club electronic music. The reference to *potatos* derives from social media culture. Here the use of *potatos* is indexical of a playful and comedic stance to serious matters, such as politics; it simultaneously represents literacy in social media culture as an act of intertextuality (cf. Sierra, 2016 for a discussion on intertextuality and media cultures) or reappropriation of 'other's voices' for personal means (see Bakhtin, 1991). Potatoes are a popular meme used in social media interactions that 'are commonly used mockingly as a reply to obvious or idiotic questions to mock many other memes' and a 'popular trolling method' ('potato', *Know Your Meme*, 2016). In other instances of our informal interactions, I would often hear them refer to themselves as the *Potato Group* or the *Potato Girls*, thus, this led me to come up with the name of their CofP: Pop Culture Enthusiasts.

EXAMPLE 3. POP CULTURE ENTHUSIASTS MEME SPEECH

(Regular font = PR Spanish; Bold = Standard-like General American English; ***Bold & Italics*** = Mock English / Meme Speech)

| | |
|---|---|
| ***Original*** | |
| 01 Laura | **<[*a:] [don]* [laɪk] [pɑlɪtiks]>.** Que salga el que salga, to: son |
| 02 | igua:le:Ø. VamoØ a hacel un nuevo paltido nosotroØ, y:= |
| 03 Tatiana | **<[*de] [po'te:'to:]*> (The Potato)** |
| 04 Laura | **<[*Po'te'to*] [pɑlɪtiks]> (Potato Politics)** |
| 05 Tatiana | **<[*Po'te'to]* [reɪvərs]> (Potato Ravers)** |
| ***Translation*** | |
| 01 Laura | ***I don't* like politics.** Win whoever wins, they're all the |
| 02 | same. Let's make a new party ourselves, a:nd= |
| 03 Tatiana | ***The Potato.*** |
| 04 Laura | ***Potato* politics.** |
| 05 Tatiana | ***Potato* ravers.** |

Note that in their incorporations of English in this playful exchange, they are also simultaneously using phonological and orthographic (phonemic) conventions features exhibited in meme speech, such as that from *Spoderman* defined by youth media websites as "an MS Paint character resembling a poorly-drawn version of Spiderman… any content involving Spoderman typically contains poor grammar and spelling, and has many signature phrases such as 'an fagit' and 'sweg'" ('Spoderman', *Knowyourmeme*, 2013).

There is the tensing of particular vowels, /I/ in politics and "ravers" and monothongization of others /ou/ and /ai/ in words like "don't", "I", "potato". There is also non-standard voicing of certain consonantal sounds /d/.

### *Tatiana*

Tatiana's outside engagements in fashion and music allowed her to interact with different types of people, and experience a number of social events that allowed for opportunities in repertoire expansion and acquisition of an elite 'cosmopolitanism' status. Tatiana was also well travelled and had been to places like Alaska with her family during the winter. She participated in after school modelling and theatre performances (as suggested by Chapter 5). Undoubtedly, she was in a position of priviledge in Puerto Rico. Her speaking style corroborated this participation with outside culture. She often resorted to Englishes and bilingual talk during her interview. Furthermore, she was also likely to partake in hybrid and complex-structured bilingual practices, as well as some occasions of English-only turns.

EXAMPLE 4. TATIANA, POP CULTURE COFP, BILINGUAL STYLE

| | ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 30 | Tatiana | **<[laik]>** en Mayagüeh, | Tatiana | **Like** in Mayagüeh, |
| 31 | | >cuando lo pusieron en | | >when they put it in |
| 32 | | Mayagüeh< >yo fui un día< | | Mayagüez< >I went one day< |
| 33 | | y me caí! Y yo ehtaba | | and I fell! And I was |
| 34 | | **>**como que**<** 'en serio'? Uy | | **>**like**<** "seriously"? Ew |
| 35 | | no… | | no… |
| 36 | Katherine | Yo fui:, no me caí:, ehtuve todo | Katherine | I went, I didn't fall, I was all the |
| 37 | | el tiempo así, agarrá de la | | time this way, holding on to the |
| 38 | | pared, pero dehpuéØ me | | wall, but then I became |
| 39 | | desesperaba polque había | | desperate because there were |
| 40 | | gente al frente mío que | | people in front of me that were |
| 41 | | iban bien lentoØ. | | going very slow. |
| 42 | Tatiana | A:ja: y tu ehta >como | Tatiana | Yeah: and you are>like< |
| 43 | | que< **basically**. PueØ yo me | | **basically**. Well I |
| 44 | | caí **<[bicuz]>,** yo me caí | | fell **because,** I fell |
| 45 | | **<[bicuz]>** ehte: Ryan cogió y me | | **because**: umm Ryan took me and |
| 46 | | empujó y me cogió la mano, y | | he pushed me and took my hand, |
| 47 | | me hizo así, y dehpuéØ me dijo | | and did this, and then told me |
| 48 | | que frenara – **and I** | | to stop– **and I** |
| 49 | | **didn't know** – y me caí, poØque | | **didn't know** – and I fell, because |
| 50 | | choqué con otra persona **and** | | I crashed into another person **and** |
| 51 | | **I was just** "pueØ, **<[daz]> why** | | **I was just** "well, **that's why** |
| 52 | | **I fall."** Pero nadie sabe | | **I fall."** But nobody knows how |
| 53 | | frenar aquí, como que, lah | | to stop here, like, the |
| 54 | | personaØ que saben *ehquial*, eso | | people who know how *to ski*, that |
| 55 | | eh dificil poØque tiene que | | is difficult because they have |
| 56 | | haceØlo como que de laØo. | | to do it like sideways. |
| 57 | | Y yo como que | | And I'm like |
| 58 | | "hmm <[**dæ:m**]>, no sé patinal y | | "hmm **damn,** I don't know to |
| 59 | | tu creeØ que yo | | skate and you think I can |
| 60 | | frene? Pero aja. **I was** | | stop? But yeah. **I was** |
| 61 | | **like** "Ah!" Yo le grite, y me caí | | **like** "Ah!" I yelled, I fell |
| 62 | | y le dije **"sorry" to the other** | | and said **"sorry" to the other** |
| 63 | | **person** polque (ben)dito. | | **person** because poor them. |
| 64 | | **<[doʊ]> he was tall.** | | **Though he was tall.** |

## C) GAMER COFP

The Gamer CofP in Mission High was linguistically hybrid group in terms of bilingual strategies. Some of the members of this group were enrolled in the Advanced English class – Norman and Pablo - the other two (Dave and Daniel) were enrolled in the Intermediate English classroom. However, none of these categorization techniques came to play when determining this group's overall linguistic style. This comes to much surprise given the group's continuous mutual engagement. Their styles appear to be idiosyncratic.

Dave and Daniel engaged in a similar level of Spanish matrix strategies with occasional English insertions (N = 41; N = 45). Norman was somewhere in the middle in

this group's style (21 in English insertions). Pablo, the often described as the "high achiever" of this group (in academic contexts), engaged in English insertional styles a total of 30 times during the interview event, at a later point in the interview when he describes his languaging practices as being determined by his audience (to friends he speaks in English and Spanish; to family in Spanish). Thus, the extent to which Pablo engages in bilingual speech and/or English use (in present data) is reflective of his rapport and trust with the researcher, such that he did not mask or avoid English language use – a self-reported linguistic adjustment, such that he is aware of how his style shifts with teachers and family members.

Below I provide specific descriptions of the bilingual styles of each member of this CofP, additionally I also present some data from focus group interviews to see if a clearer picture emerges in terms of interview topics. However, across individual interviews and shared set of sociolinguistic characteristics, few similarities can be drawn in terms of inherited sets or identity acts to which they orient positively to.

*Table 38.* Bilingual Practices in the Gamer CofP of Mission High.

| *Gamers* | **English Matrix** | | | **Spanish Matrix** | | | # of turns in HB | **(Nonce) Borrowings** | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Cof P* | *#of turns in English* | *Insert.* | *Alt.* | *# of turns in Spanish* | *Insert.* | *Alt.* | | *Phon. Int.* | *No Phono. Int.* |
| Pablo | 2/63 | | | 61/63 | 30 | | | | 22 |
| Dave | 4/77 | | | 73/77 | 41 | 1 | | 4 | 17 |
| Norman | 3/79 | | | 75/79 | 21 | | 1/79 | 9 | 14 |
| Daniel | 6/88 | | | 80/88 | 45 | 17 | 2/88 | 10 | 7 |
| Roberto* | | | | 42/42 | 8 | | | 5 | 3 |

Note: Phono. Int. = Phonologically intergrated into base language or local vernacular, *PR Spanish*; No Phono. Int. = Not phonologically intergrated into local vernacular system (contains original form).

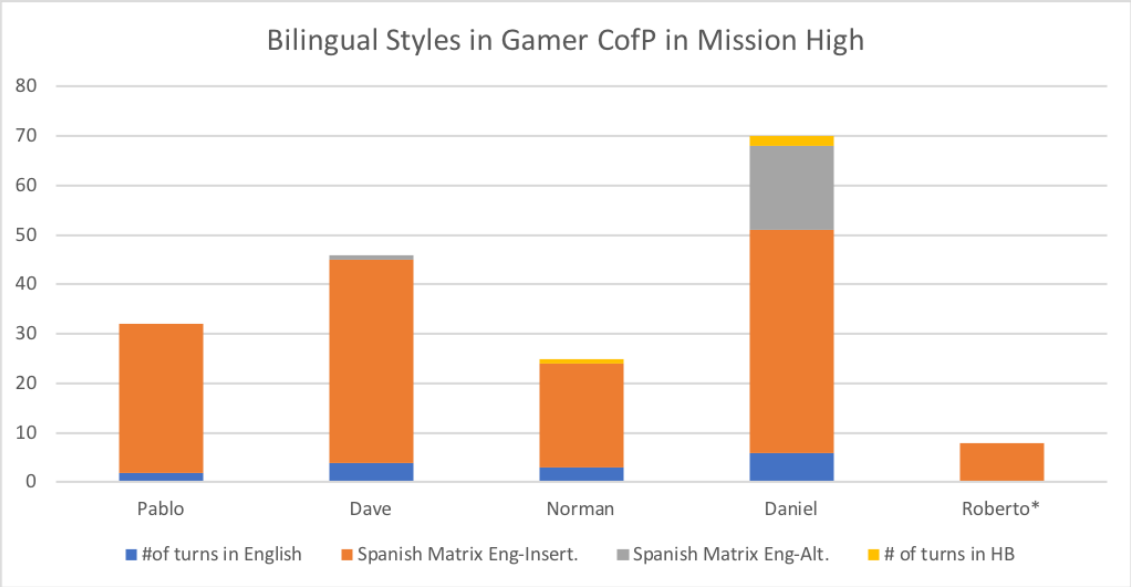



Table 31 above represents some of the findings of the bilingual styles that were visible in members of the Gamer CofP in Mission High, particularly in the first 30 – 40 minutes of the ethnographic interview. Individual speaking styles were consistently PR Spanish dominant, although the amount English insertions incorporated onto this style varied on an individual level. Dave and Daniel, for instance, were those most likely to incorporate English insertions onto their PR Spanish dominant styles (N = 41 and N = 45 insertions respectively). Meanwhile Pablo engaged in bilingual styles to a somewhat lesser extent, though not noticeably so, inserting 4 points less than the average amount of insertion in the Gamer CofP which was 34 (Pablo utilized English insertions 30 times in his 1 turns of PR Spanish). Norman engaged in English insertional styles a total of 21 times.

## *Norman*

Norman produced the least amount of bilingual speech in his community of practice. Table 31 suggests that he appropriated Englishes into dominant Spanish turns (N = 75) a total of 21 times in his interview. While he did not participate in bilingual turns to the same extent, the times he did he adopted a similar style to the one his friends spoke.

On occasion, English was appropriated into Spanish on a lexical level and rarely as the sole language of a conversational turn. Insertional practices included the use of lexical items like nouns, adjectives, adverbs, and discourse markers. On a constituent

level, Norman used adverb phrases (N = 2), verb phrases (N = 2). 3 of his turns were also conducted in English matrices, while only 1 of them was labelled hybrid.

Words that sat between the fence of borrowings and single-word switches, words such as *sky diving* (the sport). *Diving* on its own has 5 ocurrences in the CREA corpus, all of which are from different Spanish-speaking regions of the world; *sky diving* has zero occurences in the CREA and CORDE corpora from the Real Academia Española, and zero occurences in the Tesoro Lexicográfico de Puerto Rico. In the present corpus it occurs once, and when it does it is not phonologically intergrated into the local vernacular (Spanish). This word was then labelled as 'borrowing / not-integrated'. The excerpt below demonstrates two instances in which Norman refers to an English language concept, but this time with certain Spanish phonological 'tweeks' or features: *Six Flags* as <[sɪk(s)] [flag]> (/-s/ elision), *Disney* as <[dihni]> (/I/-raising, /-s/ aspiration, /i:/ shortening). He use an English insertions in line 17, when describing that *feeling* that you get when you are in a roller coaster, line 20 in *Yeah* as an exclamative expression, *Technically* in line 22 so to introduce a scientific explanation. A fixed phrase is employed in line 21 when he suggests that I 'defy death' by overcoming my fear of rollercoasters, and he also makes used of novel uses of the word *because* popularized by the internet and internet memes. In this semantic extension of *because*, it is used as a way to 'introduce a noun, adjective, or other part of speech' without needing to be followed by *of* or a 'full clause', e.g. 'Because science!', 'Because reasons!' (American Dialect Society, 2014). In the exchange below informal uses of *because* are extended to Spanish equivalent 'porque' when Norman proudfully owns up to his style of speaking in the construction *polque Spanglish!* (Line 23), when I call to question his use of English *feeling* (Line 22). In this way, Norman addresses me as someone familiar to bilingual and contemporary styles of speech.

EXAMPLE 1. NORMAN, GAMER COFP, BILINGUAL STYLE

(Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = Ideological General American, Puerto Rican English; Underline = discourse marker)

| ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 01 Norman | Yo fui a **<[sɪk(s)] [flag]>** | 01 Norman | I went to ***Six Flags.*** |
| 02 Katherine | ¿A:, a ti te guhta eso? | 02 Katherine | You like that? |
| 03 Norman | A mi me encanta. Yo ehtoy | 03 Norman | I love it. I am |
| 04 | loco pa' ilme pa' **<[dihni]>** | 04 | crazy to go to ***Disney*** |
| 05 | ya:. | 05 | already.[110] |
| 06 Katherine | Yo le tengo miedo a lo:… | 06 Katherine | I am afraid of… |
| 07 Norman | Ave María. | 07 Norman | Holy Mary (trans. to "Oh |
| 08 | | 08 | c'mon!") |
| 09 Katherine | Tsí. Yo me acueldo de cuando | 09 Katherine | Yes. I remember when |
| 10 | yo vivía en Arizona, mih | 10 | I lived in Arizona, my |
| 11 | amihtadeØ y yo: decidimoØ il | 11 | friends and I decided to go to |
| 12 | a **<[siks]> <[flaeg]>** de | 12 | **Six Flags** of |
| 13 | Califolnia, y yo | 13 | California, and I |
| 14 | sin querel compré el | 14 | unintentionally bought the |
| 15 | *ticket* anual. | 15 | annual ticket. |
| 16 Norman | *Diantre*. | 16 Norman | The hell. |
| 17 Katherine | Yo le tengo miedo a las | 17 Katherine | I am afraid of |
| 18 | montañas rusas. | 18 | roller-coasters. |
| 19 Norman | Eh que *ehtan brutal*. A mi me | 19 Norman | They are awesome. I |
| 20 | encangta, ese **feeling** que | 20 | love them, that **feeling** they |
| 21 | da. No sé. | 21 | give you. I don't know. |
| 22 Katherine | ¿Ese **feeling**? | 22 Katherine | That **feeling?** |
| 23 Norman | Polque **Spanglish***. **Yeah,** | 23 Norman | Because **Spanglish**. **Yeah,** |
| 24 | eh que *ehta brutal,* de veldaØ, | 24 | it's just awesome, truly, |
| 25 | **defy death. Technically,** si | 25 | **defy death. Technically,** if |
| 26 | tu va a esa velocidad y no | 26 | you go to that speed and you |
| 27 | tieneØ eso, pue:… | 27 | don't have that, 1 |
| 28 Katherine | Yo sé, yo sé, pero yo digo a mi | 28 Katherine | I know, I know, but I say that |
| 29 | me guhta seguil segura. | 29 | I like to feel safe. |
| 30 Norman | Ay, yo haría **<[skaɪ]>** | 30 Norman | Ay, I would do **sky** |
| 31 | **<[daɪ'ving]>** | 31 | **diving.** |

## *Daniel*

Daniel's conversational style involved both lexical and constituent level bilingual practices. Much of Daniel's use of bilingual styles relied on single-word lexical insertions, as well as fixed word expressions such as *shut up*!, *I dunno*, *I'm sorry,* and collocations such as *eat food* in his interactions. A total of 45 insertions were coded for in a total of 80 Spanish turns. Meanwhile, English turns were quite minor in comparison to other peers in his own school, amounting to a total of 6 occurences. His speech was also evidently influenced by technology and social media engagements. Like many in the

[110] Referencing the senior trip.

present study, he used non-standard *Yas* whenever he wanted to emphasize his positive alignment towards a person and/or idea. At other points of the interview, he referred to *el chat* or *el group chat* 'the group chat' (transcripts, pg. 265), where he and his friends arranged to meet up on a regular basis. He also used non-standard words of affiliation, such as *bro*, to indicate disbelief with friend or peer (e.g. such as to indicate 'bro, I can't believe you just said that'), as well as solidarity to friend/peer.

EXAMPLE 2. DANIEL, GAMER/OUTSIDER COFP, STYLISTIC USE OF INTERNET SPEECH

(Regular = PR Spanish; **Bold** = Standard General American)

| | |
|---|---|
| 01 Daniel | Campo y ciudaØ, loh doh mehclaØo (1.59 silence) |
| 02 Fernando | Obvio poØke es una urbanización= |
| 03 Daniel | **<[d͡ʒas]>** pero yo no vivo ni en una ulbanización, eh como una |
| 04 | carretera= |
| 05 Fernando | Como lah casa que ehtan cogiendo pa' mi casa= |
| 06 Daniel | **<[d͡ʒas]>** ((*louder*)). Pues eso que sea eh mi casa. |
| 07 Katherine | EntonceØ toda tu vida tu haØ vivido= |
| 08 Daniel | **<[d͡ʒes]>.** |

***Translation***

| | |
|---|---|
| 01 Daniel | Country(side) and city, both of them mixed (1.59 silence) |
| 02 Fernando | Obviously because its a neighborhood= |
| 03 Daniel | **Yas,** but I don't live in a neighborhood, it's like a |
| 04 | road= |
| 05 Fernando | Like the one that you take to go to my house= |
| 06 Daniel | **YAS** ((*again pronounced as [d3as])*). Well whatever that is is my house. |
| 07 Katherine | So all of your life you have lived= |
| 08 Daniel | **Yes.** |

Academically inclined Pablo engaged in translingual strategies when discussing job prospects and his ambitions as an actor in Hollywood, following local celebrity Benicio del Toro's footsteps. While his linguistic practices demonstrated attunement to native varieties, such as African American Vernacular and the highly esteemed yet ideological General American, some of his English practices demonstrated first language influence. For instance, the word *job* below is produced as *[hob]* in Line 12. He demonstrates awareness of career oriented terminology in Lines 10 and 12. In this same excerpt, Pablo deploys AAVE features in his speech (in Line 04), which I discuss in the following paragraph.

EXAMPLE 3. PABLO, GAMER COFP, BILINGUAL STYLE

Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = General American English, AAVE, Puerto Rican English; ***Bold & Italics*** = Puerto Rican English; Underline = Emphasis.

| | |
|---|---|
| 01 Katherine | ¿Tu te tiraría esa movida? |
| 02 Pablo | Todo depende – todo depende si:, si soy bueno de verdad. No eh como |
| 04 | una gente que salen de **<[*hai* skul]>** y dice "pueh en la ***<[hai]>*** salí bien en |
| 04 | drama, pueØ **<[æˈmæ drɑp oʊt]>** no voy pa' la |
| 05 | universidad." Pue:Ø, yo no quiero hacer ese riehgo polque yo sé que' (.) como |
| 06 | a mami- yo sé lo he dicho a mami, y mami me dice pueØ toh –tu ehtudia lo |
| 07 | que tu quieraØ ehtudial, pero eh veldaØ lo que ella me dice, eso eØ un trabajo |
| 08 | que hay (.89) bien po:co: (.) *a: trabajo**, pol deciloØ así. |
| 09 Katherine | Sí:. |
| 10 Pablo | Eh un **<[vɛri ʃɔrt laɪn *əf* wərk]>**, y: (.23) ehtan (.) la: extrema: derecha |
| 11 | >que< son loh que hacen chavo en ***<[holi wud]>,*** ehtan lo que pueØ! viven |
| 12 | en un **<ˈminimum]> <[weidʒ]>** ***<[hob]>*** loh ***<[salariØ]>*** que—si ehtudia |
| 13 | ingeniería química no va a tenel ese problema. |

***Translation***

| | |
|---|---|
| 01 Katherine: | Would you do that move? |
| 02 Pablo: | It all depends – IT ALL DEPENDS i:f, if I am truly good. Not like some |
| 03 | people that get out of **high school** and say "well, in ***high*** (school) I was |
| 04 | good in drama, well, "**Imma drop out** not going to |
| 05 | university." Well, I do not want to do that risk because I know that (.) like my |
| 06 | mom- I have told my mom, and my mom said well you–you you study what |
| 07 | you want to study, but it's true what she tells me, that's a job that |
| 08 | there is (.89) very little (.) to work, to put it that way. |
| 09 Katherine: | Yes. |
| 10 Pablo: | It's a **very short line *of* work,** and (.23) ehtan (.) to the extreme right |
| 11 | >is< those that make money in ***Hollywood*** the ones that well! Live with |
| 12 | a **minimum wage *job*** the **salary** that—if you study engineering |
| 13 | chemical* you will not have that problema. |

He also incorporated knowledge of AAVE features and drew on these as a contextualization cue when discussing the possibility of "dropping out of college" (Line 04). In this move Pablo demonstrates pragmatic awareness of stereotypes typically attached to these non-standard features: that of "uneducated" or "low-income" people with little academic motivation or ambitions.

## D) CHOIR GIRLS COFP

The bilingual strategies found in the Choir Girl CofP were also quite varied, although noticeably all of the members of this CofP at some point or another engaged in English matrix styles. This made the Choir Girl CofP stand out among the rest of the linguistic practices in the Mission High landscape.

*Table 39*. Bilingual Strategies in the Choir Girl CofP in Mission High.

| **Choir Girls** | **English Matrix** | | | **Spanish Matrix** | | | **# of HB** | **(Nonce) Borrowings** | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *C of P* | *# of turns* | *Insert* | *Alt.* | *# of turns* | *Insert* | *Alt.* | | *Not phono. Int.* | *Phono. Int.* |
| Fiorela | 28/87 | 11 | 5 | 54/87 | 80 | 15 | 5/87 | 15 | |
| Pilar | 75/84 | 17 | 2 | 7/84 | 3 | 3 | 2/84 | | 3 |
| Dianid | 10/67 | 7 | 3 | 55/67 | 40 | 7 | 2/67 | 10 | 5 |
| Mariela | 29/63 | 25 | 4 | 32/63 | 13 | 7 | 2/63 | 11 | |
| Erica* | 27/77 | 8 | 1 | 43/77 | 4 | 1 | 7/77 | | |
| Amaris | 11/64 | 10 | 4 | 50/64 | 14 | 19 | 3/64 | 6 | 15 |

Note: Phono. Int. = Phonologically intergrated into base language or local vernacular, *PR Spanish*; No Phono. Int. = Not phonologically intergrated into local vernacular system (contains original form).

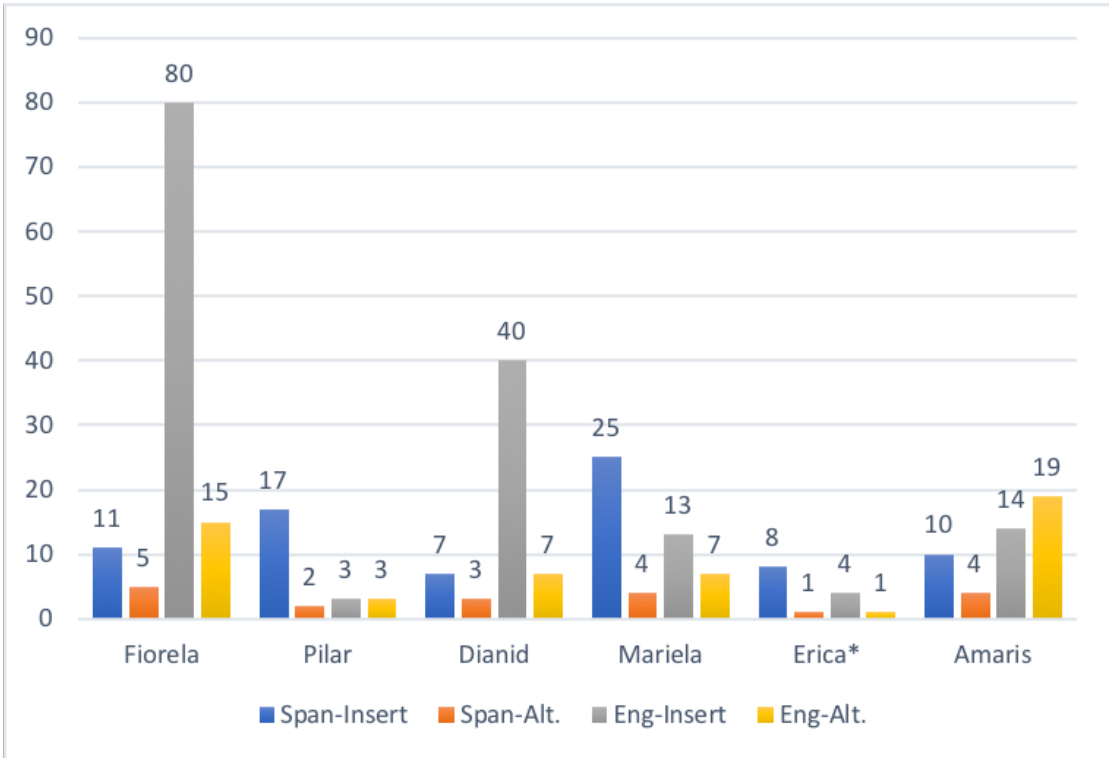



*Figure 66*. Bilingual styles (insertions and alternations) in Choir Girl CofP.

Labelling strategies thus far have allowed us to identify particular speech styles in which one language is more dominant than the other, and every now and then meaningful bilingual styles are deployed be it for comedic or indexing 'coolness' purposes, to show positive alignment to a particular topic and/or addresse, as a distancing strategy, as a way to refer to a topic and or person (e.g. speaking about American television in English), etc. Futhermore, these practices have fallen under the safe confines

of observable alternational or insertional styles, and to some extent phonologically incorporated and non-phonologically incorporated *borrowings*. The Choir Girls CofP, however, challenged this neat picture of bilingual styles thus far. Most, if not girls produced highly mixt styles in Spanish, English, and Hybrid turns. Pop Enthusiasts and Gamer CofPs, for instance, had taken part in fewer English turns; when they did, they rarely inserted Spanish features or alternated to Spanish. Choir Girl CofP engaged in English matrices at a higher rate, and also incorporated local features (such as Spanish discourse markers *como que* or "like") into their non-local English turns. They also exhibited other suprasegmental features atypical of the English taught and spoken in Puerto Rico (or Hispanic Englishes), such as features to do with the Valley Girl register, e.g. creaky voice, uptalk, and frequent use of filler "like" in their narrative styles. This was especially prevalent in the speech of CofP member Erica and Pilar. As mentioned in earlier chapters (Chapter 5), Erica had direct experience with the English language, having lived some of her first years in Boston.

Also characteristic of this CofP was the use of uptalk or rise in intonation in declarative sentences. This was particularly frequent in the speech of Erica, but to some extent also Pilar and Amaris (featured below). When discussing upcoming *DC Extended Universe* film, Amaris demonstrated lack of enthusiasm over the casting of Ben Afflect as the lead character *Bruce Wayne*. When I asked her to elaborate on her negative sentiments her initial response consisted of a *I dunno?* with a slight rise in intonation in word final /-no/, as demonstrated by the blue line on the spectrogram in Figure 67.

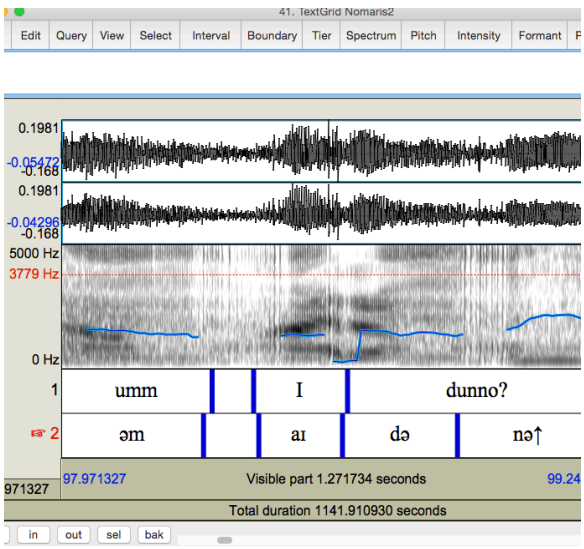



*Figure 67.* Acoustic demonstration of Amaris' uptalk.

This rising intonation feature in declarative sentences can also be appreciated in Erica's talk, when she discusses how her parents met and the uncertainty of the nature of how they came to know each other. As is suggested by the small sample below, this is a feature that is quite frequent in Erica's speech style, occurring a total of five times below, two of those times at the end of an utterance.

Erica **Well, let$^{h}$ me explain to you** *[di:] <[situaʃon]>* (.) **I don't know↑, [bɪkəz], to when I- to when I have my memery↑ which is, <u>like</u>, maybe seven years old↑**
Mariela **Alright! I haven't heard the story=**
Erica **They were fighting a lot and they didn't like to talk about each other↑, that was a couple of years before they got divorced, <u>so,</u> yah↑**

Other members of this CofP, such as Pilar, who held no ties to living on the mainland like Erica or Miguel in Mission, also led in the use of English and translingual styles in the Mission High landscape. The transcript of her speech coded through NVivo nodes suggests the overall picture of 50 English turns (longer in length than other interactions), 20 uses of discourse markers such as *so* and *like* as narrative strategies (13 of which were "fillers". A total of 6 Spanish turns were detected, and 3 insertions of Spanish constituents (primarily VPs) into English talk.

## E) OUTSIDERS COFP

Two of the members of the Outsiders CofP held dual membership elsewhere – Fernando's speech was also influenced by Pop Culture Enthusiasts, Daniel was a simultaneous member of the Gamer CofP – the one single-affiliated member of this community was Zuriel. Despite dual memberships of both Fernando and Daniel, I have included them in the descriptions of the Outsiders CofP as they divided their time equally with other groups, as well as this one. Furthermore, they all shared a similar academic history, moving from a private Presbyterian Spanish-speaking school to Mission High after 9$^{th}$ grade. The formation of this CofP was shaped by shared school experiences and, perhaps, linguistic practices tied to these experiences.

In the interviews of Daniel and Zuriel both cited feeling linguistically anxious in their English speaking skills in a bilingual environment. However, despite this cited 'discomfort' they still incorporated bilingual styles in their speech events, as suggested by a numerical look at their codemixing strategies in Table 33. Fernando appeared to lead in the adoption of Englishes in the sociolinguistic interview, with a total of 19 English-

dominant conversational turns and 46 Spanish-dominant turns; 44 insertions of lexical and constituent level items, alongside 26 alternations in his Spanish-dominant speech. His inclination towards Englishes in his speech could be attributed to his shared membership elsewhere, in the Pop Enthusiast group where bilingual styles are also high.

In contrast, Zuriel the 'black soul' loner demonstrated a tendency towards Spanish-dominant turns and several insertions, particularly at the lexical level. According to the tabulations coded through NVivo, he inserted a total of 42 items in locally vernacular speech and alternated a total of 7 times. Only 2 times he used English-dominant turns, but both of these times were idiomatic, referencing idioms with no Spanish equivalence. Daniel used 'insertional' type Englishes into PR Spanish a total of 52 times, alternating to a variety of English 6 times in Spanish-dominant speech; he spoke 6 times in English-dominant turns.

*Table 40*. Bilingual strategies in the Outsiders CofP in Mission High Private School.

| Outsiders | English Matrix | | | Spanish Matrix | | | HB | (Nonce) Borrowings | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *C of P* | *Turns in English* | *Insert* | *Alt.* | *Turns in Spanish* | *Insert.* | *Alt.* | | *Phono. Int.* | *Not Phono. Int.* |
| Fernando | 19/77 | | | 46/77 | 44 | 26 | 12/77 | | 22 |
| Daniel | 6/153 | | | 145/153 | 52 | 6 | 2/153 | 10 | 7 |
| Zuriel | 2/92 | | | 89/92 | 42 | 7 | 1/92 | 3 | 8 |

Note: Phono. Int. = Phonologically intergrated into base language or local vernacular, *PR Spanish*; No Phono. Int. = Not phonologically intergrated into local vernacular system (contains original form).

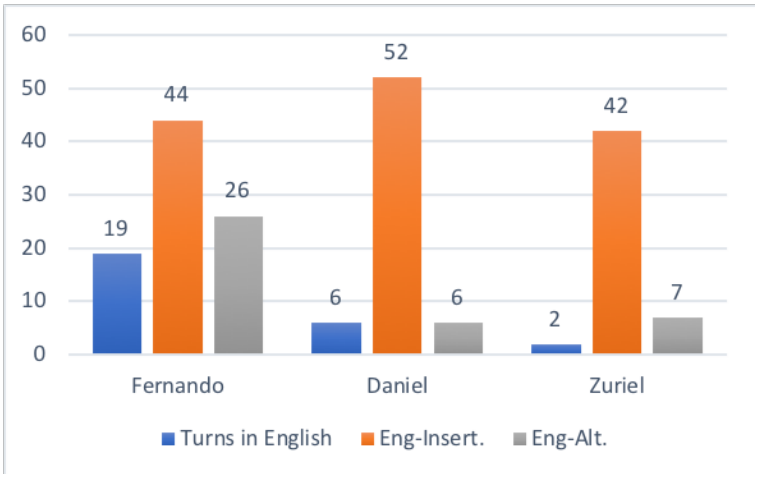



*Figure 68*. Bilingual styles (Insertions, Alternations, and turns) in Outcast-Black Souls CofP

Several topics that triggered the use of insertional strategies at a lexical level in Zuriel were topics to do with interests and self-identity. Below he discusses wanting to watch the latest Marvel film based on an anti-superhero, a character with superpowers that does not embody the typical well-intentioned superhero, rather bodes selfish intentions for his heroic acts. His enthusiasm for this character is displayed in Line 17 when he draws from netspeak lexical item *Yasss* or 'yes', prevalent in meme speech, and also visible in both Daniel and Fernando's interviews. He further uses other English items to as self-description strategies, to describe his *dark side* (Line 26), perhaps referencing previous popculture reference of Deadpool, a superhero whose origin story is tainted with themes of danger, death, and battling cancer. Zuriel's mother was diagnosed with cancer few years ago and died on account of this illness. In this sense, Zuriel defines his 'origin story' or how he came to be who he is below. Line 35 has some additional instances of English insertions (nouns) in *paintings* and *clothes*, when he lists his artistic interests to the researcher, and how these are different to those immediate to him (i.e. his best friend Eva, Fernando, and Daniel).

EXAMPLE 1. Zuriel, Outsider CofP, Bilingual Style.

| ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 01 Katherine | ¿Por qué no vah? | 01 Katherine | Why don't you go? |
| 02Zuriel | **Because**… e: (.) no sé, | 02Zuriel | Because… umm (.) I don't know, |
| 03 | em… mañana no sé va a sel | 03 | umm… tomorrow nothing will be |
| 04 | na:da:-yo soy tesorero de la | 04 | done- I am the treasurer of the |
| 05 | clase graduanda, pero, no sé, | 05 | graduating class, but, I don't know, |
| 06 | no:-- realmente no quiero | 06 | I don't – truly I do not want to |
| 07 | venil. El amo:l:-mi nombre y | 07 | come. Love-my name and |
| 08 | el amol como que no, no | 08 | love like do not, like do not, do not |
| 09 | cae en la mihma balanza. He | 09 | fall under the same balance. I have |
| 10 | ehtado solte(r)o. Pienso: | 10 | been single. I think |
| 11 | mañana pueØ salil co:n: (.) il a | 11 | tomorrow I will go out with (.) to |
| 12 | **<[ˈæpəlˌbi:z]>** o algo conEva. | 12 | **Applebees** or something with Eva. |
| 13 | O: (.) o: con quién vayamoØ a | 13 | O:r (.) o:r with whoever we go with |
| 13 | vel **<[ded] [pu:l]>** | 13 | to watch **Dead Pool.** |
| 14 Katherine | ¿Ah sí? That would be cool. | 14 Katherine | Oh yeah? That would be cool. I saw |
| 15 | Yo vi el **<[treɪlər]>** y se veía | 15 | the **trailer** and it looked really |
| 16 | bien chévere. | 16 | cool. |
| 17 Zuriel | **[dʒæs].** | 17 Zuriel | **Yaaas.** |
| 18 Katherine | Okay, y pueØ, ¿pol qué tu dice | 18 Katherine | Okay, and well, why do you think |
| 19 | que tieneh un **dark side**? | 19 | that you have a **dark side?** |
| 20 Zuriel | EØ muy dificil de ehplical, | 20 Zuriel | It's very difficult to explain, |
| 21 | pe:ro: (.) todo empezoØ | 21 | but (.) everything started |
| 22 | cua:ndo: yo era un | 22 | when I was |
| 23 | ehpermatozoide ((*bursts into* | 23 | a sperm ((*burst into* |
| 24 | *laughter*)). Ahí empezó | 24 | *laughter*)). There everything |
| 25 | todo, pero realmente tengo un | 25 | started, but truly I have a |
| 26 | **dark side** porque tengo un | 26 | **dark side** because I have a |
| 27 | pensar completamente | 27 | way of thinking completely |
| 28 | dihtinto a: elloØ. Emm, yo me | 28 | different to them. Umm, I |
| 29 | relevo de otrah manera, | 29 | express myself in other ways, |
| 30 | tengo otro guhto. Emm, | 30 | I have other tastes. Umm, |
| 31 | no sé que máh ehplicalte. | 31 | I don't know what else to tell you. |
| 32 | Emm, realmente el punto eØ | 32 | Umm, (.) truly that is the |
| 33 | ese. No sé, yo soy máh en | 33 | point. I don't know, I am more into |
| 34 | **paintings,** en **clothes,** y: (.) | 34 | **paintings,** into **clothes**, and (.) |
| 35 | eso. Tambié:n, no sé, anteh yo | 35 | that. Also, I don't know, before I |
| 36 | me preocupaba máh en (.) si | 36 | used to worry more in (.) if |
| 37 | yo saco A, B, C, me da igual. | 37 | I got an A, B, C, it's the same to me |
| 38 | Lo impoltante eØ que | 38 | (now). The important thing is that |
| 39 | aprendihte algo. No | 39 | you learned something. Not |
| 40 | versu:Ø anteh sí, lo admito, yo | 40 | versus before yes, I'll admit it, I |
| 41 | era así.. | 41 | used to be that way. |

## 6.7 O'REILLY HIGH BILINGUAL STYLES

*Overview*

O'Reilly Public High School was a difficult situation to access in terms of gender distribution, particularly because not every community of practice had equal amounts of gendered representation. For instance, within the Jock CofP, I was only able to conduct an ethnographic interview with one female community member (out of 3 females in an 8-person CofP). The other members of this community that partook in the present study were Ignacio, Josue, and Bobi. Such a small representation of female members in this particular group makes it difficult to draw any conclusions in terms of interactions between variables: *gender* and *community of practice*. This type of difficulty of meeting statistical numbers of representation or "filling in the cells" is quite common in ethnographic fieldwork, which attempts to focus more on the minute to minute detail of a specific group or community's life, at expense of the larger number. It is with this in mind that I begin my discussion of bilingual styles across different social factors in O'Reilly High: gender, class, and community of practice. In the end of this chapter, I also discuss the differences found in the private school versus the public school, which presents my fourth social factor – *education*.

### 6.7.1 GENDER

*Males*

Male students from O'Reilly High School by and large did not use English conversational turns. It was unusual to find participants in general who would engage in English-only practices in a public school settings. Nonetheless, in the present corpus there were five participants that stood in opposition to this norm, all members of the Bookworm CofP: *Luis, Pepe, David*, and to a lesser extent *Federico* and *Pedro*. This suggests that while gender alone does not seem to suggest a picture as to languaging strategies, coupled together with CofP or peer group affiliation, male Bookworms led in the use of bilingual language within males in O'Reilly High. Bilingual styles of each of these participants will be discussed in greater depth in later sections.

In terms of most common linguistic practices, not everyone engaged in bilingual styles to the same extent: most opted for Spanish-dominant styles with occasional English insertions – primarily on the lexical level. A breakdown of insertional strategies is

presented in further sections. Some males incorporated insertional styles more than others, such as *Pepe* and *David*, who considerably led in bilingual styles, even when compared to students from the private school. In terms of hybrid practices – or instances of congruent lexicalisation – the practice was seldom used in interview events of O'Reilly High males. During one instance of his interview, *Pedro*, exhibited hybrid mixing tendencies in his speech. This will be discussed at greater length below. For the most part, students would either: (A) use Spanish-dominant talk with occasional English lexical items and/or phrases, (B) incorporate English-dominant styles (though the number of students who did this was low). Interview data in the public school suggests a preference for separateness of codes.

*Table 41*. Bilingual styles of males in O'Reilly High.

| ***O'Reilly High Bilingual Practices According to Gender (Male).*** | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Case* | *English* | | | *Spanish* | | | *Congruent Lexicali-sation* | *Borrowings* | |
| Person | # of turns | Insert | Alt. | # of turns | Insert | Alt | | Int | Not Int. |
| Bobi | | | | 80/80 | 7 | | | 2 | 1 |
| Josue | 1/91 | | | 90/91 | 4 | | | 9 | 2 |
| Ignacio | 1/101 | | | 100/101 | 14 | 1 | | 15 | |
| Kevin | 1/56 | | | 55/56 | 6 | | | 31 | 10 |
| Martin | | | | 101/101 | 12 | | | 14 | 3 |
| Puma | 4/97 | 6 | | 90/97 | 14 | 3 | 3/97 | 9 | 5 |
| Sammy | 3/95 | | | 92/95 | 6 | | | 18 | 11 |
| Sergio | 3/113 | | | 110/113 | 2 | 1 | | 13 | 7 |
| Esteban | | | | 72/72 | | | | 3 | |
| Saul | | | | 80/80 | 7 | | | 2 | 1 |
| Pedro | 4/91 | 1 | | 84/91 | 42 | 4 | 3/91 | 9 | 6 |
| Luis | 77/104 | 44 | 5 | 24/104 | 20 | 12 | 3/104 | | |
| David | 50/91 | 23 | 5 | 16/91 | 49 | 11 | 25/91 | | |
| Pepe | 5/111 | | | 96/111 | 135 | 25 | 10/111 | | 2 |
| Federico | 17/137 | 1 | 2 | 107/137 | 93 | 52 | 13/137 | 5 | 18 |

Note: Phono. Int. = Phonologically intergrated into base language or local vernacular, *PR Spanish*; No Phono. Int. = Not phonologically intergrated into local vernacular system (contains original form).

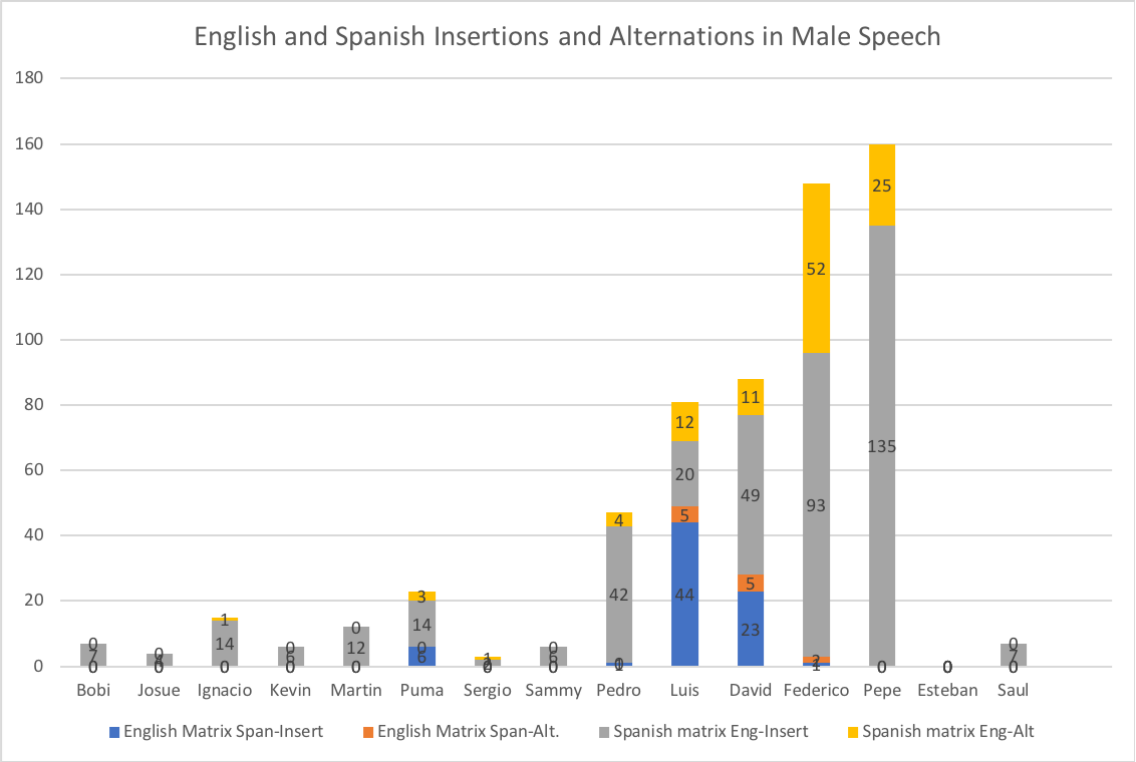



*Figure 69*. English and Spanish insertions and alternations in male speech at O'Reilly High.

*Females*

In terms of bilingual styles appropriated across the female population of O'Reilly High public school, a spectrum of variable practices was detected across the data. There were females that were more likely to engage in monolingual Spanish styles, these were usually from *Jock* and *Marketing* CofPs and some belonged to working class families. The opposite scenario was also found, whereby the only styles of speech that were detected, or the most dominant, were English. For instance, María of the *Bookworm-Rocker* CofP below is comparable to Pilar in Mission High private school (and member of the Choir Girl CofP). There were also individuals with highly mixed styles, such as Bianca and Rosa; and, lastly, participants who abided by the general Spanish dominant rule in public discourses, but who from time to time engaged in acts of identity through use of insertional and alternational strategies. The latter case found in subjects Angélica and Sara. While female bookworms largely outnumber other CofP females discussed in this Corpus - the original *Jock CofP* had few females to begin with - one may suggest that best friends Penelope and Dalia from the *Marketing* CofP have similar speech styles, and that this is possibly due to their regular interactions with each other, in school and outside

of school, as best friends. Dánica incorporated one authentic turn in GenAm English which was when she was responding in agreement to a statement that was previously said, to which she answered a one-word utterance *Yeah*, produced as [jɛə]. Other instances, turns were made referring to English nouns or names and no occurrence of Spanishes, but the items that were referred to were culturally-specific borrowings, or loans. Additionally, these were incorporated onto the local phonological system.

*Table 42*. Bilingual styles of females in O'Reilly High Public School.

| *Case* | **English matrix** | | | **Spanish matrix** | | | **# in HB** | **Borrowings** | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Person | # of turns | Insert | Alt. | # of turns | Insert | Alt | | P. Int | Not P. Int. |
| Dánica | 1/151 | | | 150/151 | 2 | | | 8 | 0 |
| Dalia | | | | 132/132 | | | | 9 | 0 |
| Penelope | | | | 100/100 | 14 | | | 8 | 2 |
| Angélica | 1/50 | | | 49/50 | 82 | 1 | | 11 | 3 |
| Rosa | 22/132 | 15 | | 94/132 | 61 | 4 | 16/132 | 2 | 15 |
| Bianca | 45/83 | 21 | 2 | 35/83 | 39 | 21 | 3/83 | 0 | 4 |
| Sara | 2/52 | 0 | 0 | 50/52 | 21 | 3 | | 1 | 4 |
| María | 40/43 | 11 | 0 | 3/43 | 4 | | | | |

Note: Phono. Int. = Phonologically intergrated into base language or local vernacular, *PR Spanish*; No Phono. Int. = Not phonologically intergrated into local vernacular system (contains original form).

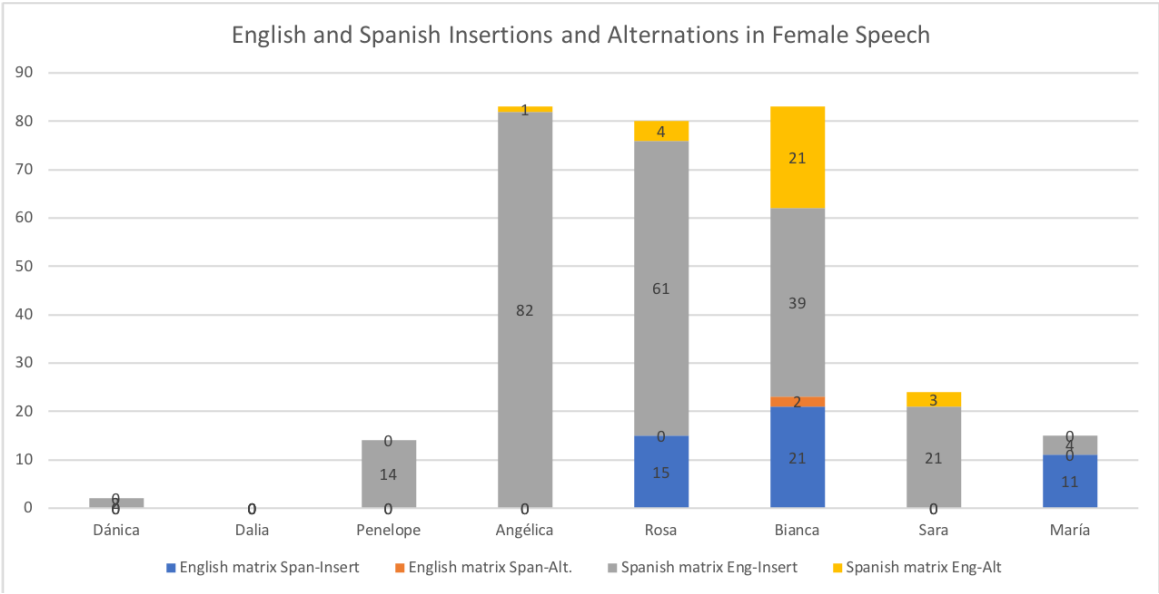



*Figure 70*. English and Spanish Insertions and Alternatons in Female speech at O'Reilly High.

### 6.7.2 CLASS, COFP, AND PERSON

The table below provides a summary of the extent to which individuals partook in bilingual styles from a birds eye perspective. It groups participants in terms of the socieoeconomic groups by which each were found to belong to according to the Fought (1997) typology. It also adds additional information as to the peer groups in which these participants engaged, as well as their own individual identities and performances. I avoid grouping styles together as I take into account personal agency and styles, as well as the possibility of multiplicity of social engagements not necessarily tied to their primary CofP of choice.

*Table 43*. English distribution in O'Reilly High according to Class, CofP, and Person.

| | | | English matrix | | | Spanish matrix | | | HB | Nonce borrowing | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **CofP** | **Person** | **# of turns** | **Ins.** | **Alt.** | **# of turns** | **Ins.** | **Alt.** | | **Phon. Int.** | **N.Int.** |
| **Lower Working Class** | *Jock* | *Dánica* | | | | 150/150 | 2 | | | 8 | |
| | *Mark.* | *Penelope* | | | | 87/87 | 8 | | | 8 | 2 |
| | *Mark* | *Dalia* | | | | 132/132 | | | | 10 | |
| | *Gam.* | *Puma* | 4/97 | 6 | | 90/97 | 14 | 3 | 3/97 | 9 | 5 |
| | */ Rock* | *Pepe* | 5/111 | | | 96/111 | 135 | 25 | 10/111 | 0 | 2 |
| **Working class** | *Gam.* | *Sergio* | 3/113 | | | 110/113 | 2 | 1 | | 13 | 7 |
| **Upper Working Class** | *Rock* | *María* | 85/100 | 40 | 18 | 10/100 | 15 | | 5/100 | | 10 |
| | *Rock* | *Federico* | 17/137 | 1 | 2 | 107/137 | 93 | 52 | 13/137 | 5 | 18 |
| | *Gam.* | *Kevin* | 1/56 | | | 55/56 | 6 | | | 31 | 10 |
| **Lower Middle Class** | *Jock* | *Josue* | 1/91 | | | 90/91 | 4 | | | 9 | 2 |
| | *Jock* | *Ignacio* | 1/101 | | | 100/101 | 14 | 1 | | 15 | |
| | *Rock* | *Angelica* | 1/50 | | | 49/50 | 82 | 1 | | 11 | 3 |
| **Middle Class** | *Rock* | *Luis* | 77/104 | 44 | 5 | 24/104 | 20 | 12 | 3/104 | | |
| | *Rock* | *Bianca* | 51/98 | 45 | 2 | 35/98 | 56 | 13 | 12/98 | | 4 |
| | *Rock* | *Rosa* | 22/132 | 15 | | 94/132 | 61 | 4 | 16/132 | 2 | 15 |
| | *Mark* | *Saul* | | | | 110/110 | 15 | | | 16 | 3 |
| **Upper Middle Class** | *Jock* | *Bobi* | | | | 80/80 | 7 | | | 2 | 1 |
| | *Rock* | *Pedro* | 4/91 | 1 | | 84/91 | 42 | 4 | 3/91 | 9 | 6 |
| | *Rock* | *Sara* | 2/92 | 0 | | 90/92 | 21 | 3 | | 1 | 4 |
| | *Rock* | *David* | 50/91 | 23 | 5 | 16/91 | 49 | 11 | 25/91 | 5 | 15 |
| | *Mark* | *Esteban* | | | | 72/72 | | | | 3 | |

Note: Phono. Int. = Phonologically intergrated into base language or local vernacular, *PR Spanish*; No Phono. Int. = Not phonologically intergrated into local vernacular system (contains original form).

*Figure 71*. Bilingual Styles according to class in O'Reilly High (Insertions in Spanish dominant speech).

As can be observed by the table, the lighter shade of blue used to indicate the Bookworms CofP leads us to the conclusion that most of the members of this community actually belong to middle classes or upper working classes with the exception of Pepe. Marketing, Gaming, and Jock CoPs were more mixed in composition which prohibits us from making a similar evaluation. A note worthy observation is that within the higher classes – middle class in this community – several members avoided engaging in English or bilingual practices, despite a comparatively wealthier upbringing. A way to make note of this is by observing the *English matrix* and *Spanish matrix* columns and observing the number of 0s found in rows labelled with higher classes: (1) Saul, Esteban, Bobi, Josue, Ignacio, Sara for English matrices, and (2) Saul, Bobi, Sara, and Estaban for Spanish matrices.

The image painted, particularly for the Rocker CofP, is one of privledge. In other words, despite prominent discourses that suggest that public school education puts students at a disadvantaged in the future, in terms of job opportunities, because they are not taught in the prestigious code, the Rocker CofP provides an exception to these discourses. Here are a group of highly bilingual individuals, who use English on a regular basis to construct their identity and negotiate day to day interactions, and these are

primarily taking place in public school settings. However, an interesting factor that perhaps merits attention of its own in a closer, case study basis, is the concept of 'elitism' within the public school, and whether these participants are comparable to others outside of public school settings. This study only presents a snapshot of how this plays out, but it is figured alongside Spanish monolingualism and the non-elite.

One may suggest that similar upbringings in terms of class and access serve as an influential factor to the coming together of this CofP. For example, the ability to have a Netflix subscription, to travel abroad, to order books from Amazon in English, etc., are opportunities not necessarily available to subjects from lower income families.

### 6.7.3. COMMUNITIES OF PRACTICE

#### A) JOCK COFP

Overall, the *Jock CofP's* communicative practices tended to PR Spanish monolingual styles. There were few English appropriations in their PR Spanish dominant interactions. When participants did engage in visibly flagged acts of bilingualism, they were reduced to lexical insertions, with few occasions of alternations. Most English borrowings were integrated morphologically, syntactically, and phonologically into the base vernacular -- with a total of 31 instances of these. Under Poplack's (2012) *nonce borrowing hypothesis* discourse marker *so* could potentially count as an already intergrated element in the local vernacular, Spanish; that is, a way of speaking that is not socially significant, nor merits the status of a 'deviation' or shift in speaking style because of its frequency distribution and level of intergration (morphological, syntactic, phonological). For most items, the categorisation of nonce- and loanword was made by consulting online resources, such as the *Real Academia Española's* Spanish corpora CREA and CORDE, as well as the University of Puerto Rico's own word bank of PR Spanish dialectology: *Tesoro Lexicográfico de Puerto Rico*. Speech occurences were also measured in relation to other speech evidence elicited through observational and recorded means.

Only 4 occurrences of non-incorporated borrowed items and potential single-word switches occurred. Thus, out of all of the communities of practice sampled, the Jock CofP was perhaps the most likely to uphold the local norm in their everyday interactions and in the school community.

*Table 44*. Bilingual practices according to Caco-Jock CofP in O'Reilly High.

| **Jocks** | **English Matrix** | | | **Spanish Matrix** | | | **HB** | **Borrowings** | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *C of P* | *# of turns* | *Insert.* | *Alt.* | *# of turns* | *Insert.* | *Alt.* | | *P. Int.* | *Not P. Int.* |
| Dánica | 1/151 | | | 150/151 | 2 | | | 8 | 1 |
| Bobi | | | | 80/80 | 7 | | | 2 | 1 |
| Josue | 1/91 | | | 90/91 | 4 | | | 9 | 2 |
| Ignacio | 1/131 | | | 130/131 | 14 | 1 | | 15 | |

Note: Phono. Int. = Phonologically intergrated into base language or local vernacular, *PR Spanish*; No Phono. Int. = Not phonologically intergrated into local vernacular system (contains original form).

My sample collected for this CofP suggests that their speaking styles consist of Spanish-dominant utterances and few, if any, occurences of bilingualism or English appropriations. The Caco-Jock interview styles corroborated their projected styles throughout my participant observations, as well as their own self-assessment in terms of language practice, and others' descriptions of their behaviors (e.g. teachers and classmates). Dánica was least likely to produce bilingual items in her speaking styles with a small number of lexical-level insertions (N = 2) and one instance of an English conversational turn (a one worded reaction 'yeah'). Ignacio resorted to bilingual features to a slightly greater extent, yet most of these instances were down to lexical appropriations (N = 15) and some insertions (N = 14). However, many of his 'insertions' occurred as discourse marker *so,* arguably not significant under a traditional variationist typology of code-switching (see Poplack, 1980), but an occasion of 'insertion' or more as 'dummy word insertion' in the scholarship by Deuchar, Muysken, and Wang (2007) which examines Spanish-Portuguese, Spanish-Italian, and Spanish-English bilinguals. These authors found that 'so' was frequent across bilingual groups, although they were at best *semantically empty* items and used primarily for organizational functions of discourse. Other discourse elements among bilinguals included *well* and *you know* (Lipski, 2014, p. 35). In Ignacio's interview, *so* was one of the most common insertions deployed in interaction. When it occurred, it did not incorporate local vernacular phonology, such that it would experience diphthongal simplification, and go from being pronounced as [sou] to [so] or [so:]. Instead, every occurrence preserved the form of its contact language, English. See how he deploys discourse marker 'so' below:

EXAMPLE 1. IGNACIO, JOCK COFP IN O'REILLY HIGH, ENGLISH DISCOURSE MARKER STYLES

**Ignacio, Jock CofP, O'Reilly High**

(a) *Context: Describing Christmas family trips to mainland United States.*

| | |
|---|---|
| 01 Ignacio | Sí, yo lo visite. Ahora: (.) todoØ loh beranoh voy y en NavidadeØ yo fui a la |
| 02 | casa de él y de la casa de él noh fuimoØ paØ Tennessee. |
| 03 Katherine | Eso ehta cool Tennessee. Y, ¿dónde en Tennessee? ¿A MemphiØ ((*produced* |
| 04 | *[Memfih]))?* ((*Pause from the other end*)) ¿No? ¿MemphiØ no? A <[Nasvıl]>? |
| 05 Ignacio | A Tennessee, no me acueldo polque fuimoØ paØ lah montaña. Era: (.) yo no |
| 06 | sé cómo se llamaba, **[soʊ]...** |

(b) *Context: Discussing his positive alignments to his own nationality and ethnic identity.*

| | |
|---|---|
| 50 Ignacio | Nah, no sé. Somoh diferente a loh demáh del mundo, vamoØ a donde sea, |
| 51 | **[soʊ]**. Loh otroØ día mataron a una tipa en Dubai. Eh malo polque la mataron, |
| 52 | pero hahta en Dubai hay pueltorriqueño, **[soʊ].** |

***Translation***

(a)

| | |
|---|---|
| 01 Ignacio | Yes, I visited him. Now (.) every summer I go and in Christmas I went to his |
| 02 | house and from his house we went to Tennessee. |
| 03 Katherine | That's cool Tennessee. And where in Tennessee? To Memphis? No? Memphis no? |
| 04 | To Nashville? |
| 05 Ignacio | To Tennessee, I don't remember because we went to the mountains. It was (.) I |
| 06 | don't know how it was called, **[soʊ]…** |

(b)

| | |
|---|---|
| 50 Ignacio | Nah, I don't know. We are different to the rest of the world, wherever we go, **[soʊ].** |
| 51 | The other day they killed a girl in Dubai. It's bad because they killed her, but even in Dubai there are Puerto Ricans**, [soʊ].** |

In the excerpt above, Ignacio is recalling how he visited a family member in Tennessee during the summer and in Christmas time, but that he does not remember the name of the place. He also utilized a 'dummy insertion' to signal the end of an utterance, or the end of his point, so as to invite a response: "I don't know how it was called, so"(Line 06), "we go wherever in the world, so", "but even in Dubai there are Puerto Ricans, so" (Lines 50, 52).

Beyond using discourse markers in his strategies, Ignacio also used cultural borrowings that would otherwise have no equivalent in Spanish, that were to do with American culture and career roles. These insertional (noun) strategies became apparent when he discussed his future ambitions about studying and later joining the Navy:

EXAMPLE 2. IGNACIO, JOCK COFP IN O'REILLY HIGH, USE OF ENGLISH CULTURAL BORROWINGS

| | |
|---|---|
| 80 Katherine | ¿Tú no te va a cansal de ehtudial y de hacel todo ese entrenamiento? |
| 81 Ignacio | Y también dehpueØ que telmine de eso, quiero ilme pal: pal **Navy** y quiero |
| 82 | llegal hahta- hahta loh **<[Nei:vi:]> <[Si:ls]> Navy Seals.** |

***Translation***

| | |
|---|---|
| 80 Katherine | Will you not get tired of studying and doing all of that training? |
| 81 Ignacio | And also after I finish that, I want to go to (.) to (the) **Navy** and I want |
| 82 | to get to (.) to the **Navy Seals.** |

There was also English insertional strategies when referring to local events, such as a school dance. However, in these occasions when reference was to be made to something happening nearby or in town, Ignacio referred to these place names or event names into the local vernacular, therefore, reappropriating it into Spanish and using these items as phonologically intergrated borrows:

EXAMPLE 3. IGNACIO, JOCK COFP IN O'REILLY HIGH, APPROPRIATING SPANISH PHONOLOGY TO ENGLISH NAMING PRACTICES

*Context: Discussing Spring Dance organized by that year's 12th Grade graduating class* ***"The Falcons"***

| | |
|---|---|
| 90 Katherine | ¿Cómo se llama? |
| 91 Ignacio | **<[wai] [blak]> pari (.)** y **[ɑl' miti]>** |
| 92 Katherine | ¿Qué eØ eso? |
| 93 Ignacio | Un cantante. |
| 94 Katherine | No pero que – <u>o sea</u> – el **<[blak]>** -- tienen que ir vestidos de ese |
| 95 | colores= |
| 96 Ignacio | **BlaØ anØ waiØ,** *negro y blanco*. |

***Translation***

| | |
|---|---|
| 90 Katherine | What's the name of the dance? |
| 91 Ignacio | **White Black party** (.) and **Almighty.** |
| 92 Katherine | What is that? |
| 93 Ignacio | A singer. |
| 94 Katherine | No, but what – <u>I mean</u> – **the Black** – do you have to come dressed in those |
| 95 | colors? |
| 96 Ignacio | **Black and white**, black and white. |

Note that in the interaction above, Ignacio uses bilingual styles to communicate the meaning of the party name to me. That is, when I ask him to explain the nature of the event, whether they need to dress in a certain color (as the name of the party is the 'Black and White Party'), Ignacio goes on to repeat and re-emphasize the name to me in [Bla' an' wai']**.** He insists on a Spanish-influenced phonology by following phonological system rules such as not ending a word with a voiceless obstruent in Spanish and also

weakening the /-d/ in *and*. In Line 96, Luis repeats the phrase in an act of translation to Spanish *negro y blanco* (Line 96).

When discussing his favorite artists, Ignacio lists off a number of artists from the United States, however, does so again by intergrating and reappropriating their names into the local vernacular phonology. He references American rapper Drake as [Drei] (omitting final verlar stop), Kanye West as [kein] [west], simplying the two syllable name "Kanye", as is costumary in PR Spanish to simplify several words that are bi-syllabic (e.g. /todo/ to /to'/; /para/ to /pa'/), and Kendrick Lamar as [kerndi], once doing away with the possibility of a word ending in a consonantal stop.

EXAMPLE 4. IGNACIO, JOCK COFP IN O'REILLY HIGH, APPROPRIATING ENGLISH NAMES TO LOCAL PHONOLOGY

(Regular font = Puerto Rican Spanish; **Bold** = PR English; *Italics* = PR Spanish Youth Speech intensifiers)

| | |
|---|---|
| 33 Ignacio | **<[drei:Ø]>,** to'a esa ge:nte: *le mete bien duro*. |
| 34 Katherine | ¿Kanye West? |
| 35 Ignacio | **<[kein**Ø**] [west]>,** e: ehte:, no me acueldo de loh nombre. **<[kern'di]** |
| 36 | <[lɑmɑr]>, to' esa gente (.) *por encima*. |
| 37 Katherine | ¿Y tú entiende lo que dicen? |
| 38 Ignacio | *Jei*. |

***Translation***

| | |
|---|---|
| 33 Ignacio | **Drake**, all of *those people kick it bad*. |
| 34 Katherine | Kanye West? |
| 35 Ignacio | **Kanye West,** is, umm, no I don't remember his name. **Kendrick** |
| 36 | **Lamar,** all of those people (.) *are above*. |
| 37 Katherine | And do you understand what they are saying? |
| 38 Ignacio | *Yeah*. |

## *Josue*

Josue, much like his peer Ignacio, was most likely to engage in English discourse strategies through the use of discourse marker *so*. Indeed, the use of *so* occurred four times in the data. Below are some examples of the times in which he used it:

EXAMPLE 5. JOSUE, JOCK COFP IN O'REILLY HIGH, USE OF ENGLISH DISCOURSE MARKERS

**(1) When he goes out with his best friend, Bobi (DM - Causal):**

| | |
|---|---|
| Josue | Casi siempre salimoh junto, **[soʊ]** vamo:Ø (.) depende. |
| ***Translation:*** | |
| Josue | Usually we go out together, **[soʊ]** we go (.) it depends. |

**(2) How Josue spends his free time vs. how his best friend spends his free time (DM – Sentence-Enders):**

| | |
|---|---|
| Josue | *Sei* ((*laughs*)). Ehte: pueØ cuando, obviamente pueØ cuando ehtamoØ con:, pueØ cuando el ehta con la novia, va: al cine a vel que sé yo. Ehte:, yo tenía novia, **[soʊ].** |
| ***Translation:*** | |
| Josue | Yes ((*laughs*)). Umm, well when, obviouly well when we are with (.) well when he is with his girlfriend, he goes to the movies and I don't know what else. Umm, I used to have a girlfriend, **[soʊ].** |

**(1) On scholarships and university admission processes (DM - Causal):**

| | |
|---|---|
| Josue | …Como ehtoy entrando como que pol depolte, pue:Ø ehtoy ehperando a vel que univelsidaØ me ofrece la mejol beca y ahí pueØ. Pero ahora mihmo la mejol beca que me han ofrecido eØ el Colegio de Mayaguéh, **[soʊ]** esa eØ la que voy a (.) cogel. |
| ***Translation:*** | |
| | Since I am being admitted, like, through Athletics, well, I am waiting to see which university offers the best scholarship and then well. But right now the best scholarship I have been offered is from *el Colegio* of Mayagüez, **so** that's the one I will (.) choose. |

(2)

| | |
|---|---|
| Josue | Algunoh compañero de equipo hablan máh ingléh que ehpañol. Tsí, por eso, polque la mayoría de mih compañero de soccel hablan así, hablan ingléh mayolmente. Pagan, **[soʊ]** necesitan una buena educación. |
| ***Translation:*** | |
| | Some of my teammates speak more English than Spanish. Yeah, that's why, because the majority of my soccer friends speak That way, they speak English predominantly. They pay, **so,** they need a good education. |

According to Tagliamonte's (2016) typology of discourse marker *so*, the four times *so* was used by Josue in the interview would fall under 'causal' for examples 1, 3, and 4, and 'sentence-ender' for example 2. Sentence ender *so* then serves as a contextualization cue to signal the end of an utterance or idea, and to invite the speaker to react to what has been said.

## *Bobi*

Bobi also engaged in usage of discourse marker *so* a similar number of times during his portion of the interview event. He deployed four different uses of *so* during his portion of the interview while speaking in dominant PR Spanish style: (1) *so* as a sentence-starter, to indicate continuation of previously stated idea, or to build on something, (2) *so* as a sentence-ender, to indicate that an idea has been communicate and that a response may be issued (may serve as an invitation to engage in dialogue to audience), (3) *so* to indicate a cause-and-effect relation, (4) *so* as connecting one thought to another in the middle of a sentence.

EXAMPLE 6. BOBI, JOCK COFP IN O'REILLY HIGH, FOUR TYPES OF ENGLISH DISCOURSE MARKERS STYLES

(Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = Standard-like General American English; [] = impressionistic phonetic transcription)

**(1) Bobi talking about his relationship with his dad:**

Bobi: Pue:Ø, mih padreØ son de Mayagüeh, mi mamá: pueh eh contable (.) mi papá no vive conmigo. É:l vive e:n EhtadoØ UnidoØ, pueØ no tengo comunicación con él ya, **[soʊ] …** Y se conocieron supongo en la ehcuela.

*Translation:*

Bobi: Well, my parents are from Mayagüez, my mom well she is an accountant (.) my dad he doesn't live with me. He lives in the United States, well I have no communication with him anymore, **[soʊ] …** And I suppose they met at school.

**(2) Bobi talking about mathematics electives and classes at O'Reilly High:**

Bobi: **[Soʊ],** tieneh que cogel cinco, **[soʊ]** tenía que cogel una, te obligaban, aunque no te guhtara, y pueØ yo: pueØ obviamente Precalculo que me ayuda pa la univelsidaØ y eso, pue, la cogí.

*Translation:*

Bobi: **[Soʊ],** you have to take five, **[soʊ]** you have to take one, they forced you, even if you didn't like it, and well I: well obviously (took) Precalculus which helped me for university and that, well, I took it.

**(3) On his decision to study at the University of Puerto Rico – Mayaguez:**

Bobi No, eh que como el Colegio e de loh mejoreØ en ingeniería, pa' que me voy a il LejoØ? Y vivo aquí en MayaguéØ, **[soʊ]…**

*Translation:*

Bobi No, it's just that since el Colegio (the University of Puerto Rico) is one of the best in engineering (in the world rankings), why would I go far away? And I live here in Mayaguez, **[soʊ]…**

**(4) On his perception of the researcher (me) and first impressions:**

Bobi No sé, te veo *nolmal*. Y dehpueØ dijihte que te guhtaba el pop, **[soʊ]**, *nolmal*.

*Translation:*
Bobi I don't know, I see you *normal*. And then you said you liked pop, **[soʊ]**, *normal*.

## *Dánica*

Dánica from the Jock CofP rarely if ever engaged in translingual or bilingual practices during the interview events, or during my residence at O'Reilly High as I observed her engage with teachers, friends, and school administrators. If ever she used English or acceptable variaties of English in her speech, they normally represented instances in which there was no existing equivalent to the lexical item in Puerto Rican Spanish. Other instances of English insertions in Dánica's speech occured when referring to an item, product, or television show originating in and popularised by North American culture. Even then, when reference was paid to these external cultural items, Dánica appropriated these to the local vernacular or the local phonological system. Additionally, at the very beginning of the interview event, she outwardly positioned herself to me as an exclusively Spanish speaking monolingual. She defiantly missed multiple lectures of her English class, and rarely ever completed her English writing assignments. Additionally, she personally came to me hoping I would be able to complete them for her in exchange for the present interview. These acts, and her overall disposition to English in school, indicate or serve as foreshadowing to her absent or minimal engagement to translingual or bilingual styles.

Some of the instances in which Dánica was most likely to use English was when speaking about television shows she watched and the Internet. Again, her use of English overall, including English borrows was minimal. Other instances included assertion phrases such as *yeah,* also used by others peers in her CofP and in the specific context used it referred to her positive evaluation to things related to the Internet. Below I have included two sample excerpts that demonstrate Danica's incorporation of phonologically-intergrated forms, deriving from Englishes and netspeak. Results from Dánica's interview suggest a communicative disadvatange in terms of English education and access and a simultaneous lack of investment; furthermore, unlike some of her peers, English incorporating styles are absent, or not an essential part of her communicative repertoire. This latter point is of particular importance, as recent sociolinguistics literature suggests

that more and more through different domains adolescents are seen engaging in translingual acts through social media (cf. Blommaert, 2015). In her demographic information she ticked off categories that suggested complete disengagement to English, a question like 'at what stage did you learn English?' was answered with *nunca* or 'never'. In other points, when asked to describe the language she used to talk to her friends, she replied with 'Spanish'. In this sense, Dánica projects herself as someone who has little access or exposure to the English language, this may inform her overall disengagement to bilingual and translingual styles, the factor of competence, or lack thereof, in comparison to some of her peers. See below an excerpt which showcases some of Dánica's passive engagements with the English language, such that it is limited to media references, product names, and Internet applications. In the first example, Dánica references a popular North American TV series she watched in Spanish which encouraged her to pursue a career in nursing after she finishes university.

EXAMPLE 7. DÁNICA, JOCK COFP IN O'REILLY HIGH, USE OF ENGLISH BORROWS INTO SPANISH DOMINANT TURNS

(Regular font = PR Spanish; Bold = Standard-like General American English)

70 Katherine En la Intel. Y, ¿pol qué Biología?
71 Danica Polque me guhta el campo de la salu(d). Por eso veía <[**greis]> <[anatomi]>.**
72 Katherine Ou, ¿Tú quiereØ ser médica?
73 Danica Enfermera. Enfermera anehtesióloga.

***Translation***
70 Katherine In the INTER (InterAmerican University). And why Biology?
71 Danica Because I like the field of medicine. That's why I watched **Grey's Anatomy.**
72 Katherine Ou, so you want to be a medic?
73 Danica Nurse. Nurse anesthetist.

A second example is seen in Dánica discussion of interests, such as that of riding the Four Track, or quad, known in mainland America as the four-wheeler or vehicle that consists of "low pressure tires" (en.wikipedia.org, 2018). She then defines herself as the non-musical type, non-athletic, but suggests she engages in online internet practices during her free time, primarily through the use of social media applications such as *Twitter*, *Snapchat*, or *Phhhoto*. In Lines 08 and 12 she fleetingly takes part of minor insertional strategies, primarily through the use of single-word items such as affirmation *yeah* (Line 08) and Internet concept *GIF* to talk about moving photos (Line 12). When she discusses social media sites, she refers to their names through incorporation of local Puerto Rican phonology.

EXAMPLE 8. DÁNICA, JOCK COFP IN O'REILLY HIGH, DISCUSSION OF INTERESTS THROUGH ENGLISH BORROWS

(Regular font = PR Spanish**;** ***Bold & Italics*** **=** Puerto Rican English)

| | |
|---|---|
| 01 Katherine | Okay, okay. ¿Qué hobbies tu tiene? |
| 02 Dánica | Correl ***[fol trah], ¿***sabe lo que eØ? Umm, e:. ((*takes out her* |
| 03 | *Smartphone to show pictures of her riding the car*)). |
| 04 Katherine | Eso no eØ como ***[for] [trak]*** ese, el carrito ese. Y ademaØ de eso, |
| 05 | ¿tocas mú:si:ca: o haces deporte? |
| 06 Dánica | Ninguno. |
| 07 Katherine | ¿Usas la Internet? |
| 08 Dánica | **<[jæ(ə)]>** |
| 09 Katherine | **¿**Qué tu hace cuando usa la ***intelneØ***? |
| 10 Dánica | ***[tui ter],* [*snaØ *cha*], [*fou tou*].** |
| 11 Katherine | [fou tou], **¿**qué es eso? |
| 12 Dánica | Eh como **[gɪf],** son como **[gɪf]** que mueve bien rápido. |
| 13 Katherine | Y, ¿eØ como un **Instagram** entonceØ? |
| 14 Dánica | O menoØ. No tu saca [***fou tou***] diferente, depende de la foto que |
| 15 | saque. |

***Translation***

| | |
|---|---|
| 01 Katherine | Okay, okay. What hobbies do you have? |
| 02 Danica | Run **Four Track,** do you know what that is? Umm, it's ((*takes out her* |
| 03 | *Smartphone to show pictures of her riding the car*)). |
| 04 Katherine | Isn't that like that **Four Track** that, the little car. And besides that, do |
| 05 | you play any musical instruments or do any sports? |
| 06 Danica | None. |
| 07 Katherine | Use the Internet? |
| 08 Danica | **Yeah.** |
| 09 Katherine | What do you do when you use the Internet? |
| 10 Danica | **Twitter, Snapchat, Phhhoto.** |
| 11 Katherine | **Photo**, what is that? |
| 12 Danica | It's like **GIF,** they're like **GIF** that move very fast. |
| 13 Katherine | Is it like an **Instagram** then? |
| 14 Danica | Or less. You take **foutou** differently, it depends on the photo that you |
| 15 | take. |

Unlike the rest of her peers, Dánica never uses English discourse markers in her speech. However, a trend that was noticeable in this group alone was their form of address towards me, as a young researcher and university student. Both Bobi and Josue did it at some point during the interview, as well as Dánica: they addressed me as *Misi* or "Mrs". This form of address is an anglicism in Puerto Rican Spanish, or established borrowing, however, it does not denote the same age group or matrimonial definitions as the term in the English language. In Puerto Rican Spanish "Misi" is typically used in the classrooms as synonymous to "maestra", or teacher. It is used as a sign of respect towards a woman in a position of experience or power. In this sense, although Dánica from time to time referred to me by my own name, other times she shifted back to Misi unknowingly.

## B) BOOKWORM COFP

In O'Reilly High I was most successful recruiting participants from Bookworm and Rocker CofPs. Their inclination and curiosity towards me may have been a direct result of the places I was given permission to observe: English classrooms. Despite having asked to be able to observe other classrooms, I faced a number of misunderstandings and obstacles in my endeavor to achieving this. As suggested in Chapter 5, many thought that because I was a linguist I should be observing the English classrooms alone. Despite this association to the English classroom, an unforeseen shortcoming, I limited my observations to a sole classroom allowed me to view multiple students (groups of 12th grade) and how they interacted with the English teacher, behaved in the classroom, and interact (or did not inreract) in the English language. I also complimented these observations with out of classroom observations and CofP-specific observations.

Interviews at O'Reilly High generated innovative insights in that no contemporary piece of scholarship on the island has examined naturalistic language use in adolescents, specifically in non-elite settings. Extra-ordinary language practices were documented in non-elite settings, that is, practices that do not map into previous traditional research on the island that describe a two-speech community divided by class. Furthermore, findings in this CofP were also not uniform across individuals, but it was found that although participants ahared similar interests in English language culture, as well as similar belief systems as to the importance of English, the extent to which they engaged in English using practices was down to personal idiolect (or indexical repertoire) as well as subject under discussion.

Four participants in this group engaged in higher amounts of English turns, than Spanish turns in their interviews – most notably Luis and Maria, demonstrated in Table 46 below. Others engaged in more hybrid or mixed styles, such that at times it was difficult to discern whether acts of bilingualism were individually meaningful or whether their overall existence (in comparison to others' speech) was meaningful in the detection of CofPs and behavioural practices. This mixed style was prevalent in the speech of subjects David and Bianca.

A particular outlier for insertional styles was Pepe, who inserted English lexical items and phrases into dominant Spanish turns a total of 135 times, in this way still authenticating his status as islander familiar with the vernacular, but adding elements of

personal indexical biographies (cf. Blommaert & Backus, 2011), as a transnational subject having previously lived in mainland United States in his early youth.

*Table 45.* Bilingual styles in Bookworm-Rocker CofP in O'Reilly High.

| **Bookworm CofP** | **English Matrix** | | | **Spanish Matrix** | | | **HB** | **Borrowings** | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Participants | *# of turns* | *Insert.* | *Alt.* | *# of turns* | *Insert.* | *Alt.* | *RAW* | *P. Int.* | *Not Phon.* |
| *Pedro* | 4/91 | 1 | | 84/91 | 42 | 4 | 3/91 | 9 | 6 |
| *Luis* | 77/100 | 44 | 5 | 24/100 | 20 | 12 | 3/100 | | |
| *Rosa* | 22/132 | 15 | | 94/132 | 61 | 4 | 16/132 | 2 | 15 |
| *Angélica* | 1/50 | | | 49/50 | 82 | 1 | | 15 | |
| *David* | 50/91 | 23 | 5 | 16/91 | 49 | 11 | 25/91 | | |
| *Sara* | 2/92 | | | 90/92 | 21 | 3 | | 1 | 4 |
| *Pepe* | 5/111 | | | 96/111 | 135 | 25 | 10/111 | | 2 |
| *Bianca* | 51/98 | 45 | 2 | 35/98 | 56 | 13 | 12/98 | | 4 |
| *María* | 40/43 | 11 | | 3/43 | 4 | | | | |
| *Federico* | 17/137 | 1 | 2 | 107/137 | 93 | 52 | 13/137 | 5 | 18 |

In sections to come I describe some of the styles found across the linguistic icons of this group. I follow the definition provided by Mendoza-Denton of linguistic icons (see Mendoza-Denton, 2008; Woolard, 2008), to define speakers that act of the linguistic leaders and innovators of their own CofPs, peer groups, or identity groups. These are the trend setters that many follow throughout the course of their social interactions.

### *Luis*

Luis was the highest user of English matrix styles. Other bilingual strategies are also present during his interview. Luis was most likely to use English turns than PR Spanish turns. The former he produced a total of 77 times, the latter a total of 24 times. When he spoke about himself, his experiences growing up, school life, hobbies and interests, he was most likely to engage in English practices, incorporating all types of registers or variable features. However, when speaking of topics related to local culture, Puerto Rican identity, mainland Americans and the United States, Luis was more likely to adopt Spanish-learning or Spanish-English mixt styles, so as to authenticate his position as a legitimate Puerto Rican, competent in the local vernacular. This linguistic act, or pattern, in it of itself serves as an indication of Luis' *enregistered awareness* (cf. Agha, 2003; Mendoza-Denton, 2011) of languages and the ideologies tied to these on the island.

Below is an example of one of the few instances in which Luis partakes in hybrid styles; note that in Line 20 when referring to the concept of a Puerto Rican born on the mainland he crosses over into a Puerto Rican Spanish style, when he says: *Dehpuéh ehta otro caso, cuando ere puertorriqueño, nacihte allá (a)fuera, tuh papah son puertorriqueño, dice que ere puertorriqueño. AH, claro ahora! J.LO, Marc Anthony* "Then there is the other case, when you're Puerto Rican, born out/ there, your parents are / Puerto Rican, you say you're Puerto Rican. AH, of course / now! J. LO, Marc Anthony". This momentarily crossing onto local ethnic identity and behaviour indexical of this identity, occurs surrounded by GenAm content.

EXAMPLE 1. LUIS, BOOKWORM-ROCKER COFP IN O'REILLY HIGH, MIXED STYLES AND COMPLEX BILINGUAL CONSTITUENTS

| | | ***Original*** | | | ***Translation*** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 01 | Luis | **It happens to everybody**, e' | 01 | Luis | **It happens to everybody**, it's |
| 02 | | como que también Alejandro | 02 | | like also Alejandro |
| 03 | | Iñarritu, el hizo a lot of **(the)** | 03 | | Iñarritu, he did a lot of **(the)** |
| 04 | | **Revenant** ((*undetermined* | 04 | | **Revenant** ((*undetermined* |
| 05 | | *speech*)), Guillermo del Toro – | 05 | | *speech*)), Guillermo del Toro – |
| 06 | | **he's Mexican,** e:: otro máh, | 06 | | **he's Mexican,** mm another |
| 07 | | ***Potel*, a Harry Potter movie?** | 07 | | ***Potel*, a Harry Potter movie?** |
| 08 | | **Shit I forgot the name.** | 08 | | **Shit I forgot the name,** |
| 09 | | **Anyway, I** ehte tipo que hizo la | 09 | | **Anyway, I** this guy that made |
| 10 | | tercera [***hari]* think he's** | 10 | | the third [***hari]* think he's** |
| 11 | | **Mexican too.** Pero:: **the thing** | 11 | | **Mexican too.** Bu::t **the thing** |
| 12 | | **is they, in their – no** | 12 | | **is they, in their – no** |
| 13 | | **Guillermo del Toro - they** | 13 | | **Guillermo del Toro - they** |
| 14 | | **don't become famous in** | 14 | | **don't become famous in** |
| 15 | | **their cities, they leave and** | 15 | | **their cities, they leave and** |
| 16 | | **they become famous. And** | 16 | | **they become famous. And** |
| 17 | | **then their cities come** | 17 | | **then their cities come** |
| 18 | | **claiming for to, <u>like</u>, people** | 18 | | **claiming for to, <u>like</u>, people** |
| 19 | | **to admire them because** | 19 | | **to admire them because** |
| 20 | | **they're from there**. Dehpuéh | 20 | | **they're from there**. Then |
| 21 | | ehta otro caso, cuando | 21 | | there is the other case, when |
| 22 | | ere puertorriqueño, nacihte allá | 22 | | you're Puerto Rican, born out |
| 23 | | (a)fuera, tuh papah son | 23 | | there, your parents are |
| 24 | | puertorriqueño, dice que ere | 24 | | Puerto Rican, you say you're |
| 25 | | puertorriqueño. AH, claro | 25 | | Puerto Rican. AH, of course |
| 26 | | ahora! J.LO, Marc Anthony, | 26 | | now! J. LO, Marc Anthony, |
| 27 | | **they bash on them (.) because** | 27 | | **they bash on them (.) because** |
| 28 | | **they say they're Puerto** | 28 | | **they say they're Puerto Rican** |
| 29 | | **Rican, but they're not born** | 29 | | **but they're not born here.** |
| 30 | | **here. And they feel more** | 30 | | **And they feel more** |
| | | **Puerto Rican than people** | | | **Puerto Rican than people** |
| 31 | | **that are actually born here.** | 31 | | **that are actually born here.** |
| 32 | Katherine | ¿Qué tu piensah de la gente esa | 32 | Katherine | What do you think about those |
| 33 | | de Nueva York que dice que | 33 | | that live in New York that say |
| 34 | | son puertorriqueño? | 34 | | they are Puerto Rican? |
| 35 | Luis | **I feel like it's in all their** | 35 | Luis | **I feel like it's in all their** |
| 36 | | **right. It's all their right to say** | 36 | | **right. It's all their right to** |
| 37 | | **they're Puerto Rican.** | 37 | | **say they're Puerto Rican.** |

(Regular font = PR Spanish; Bold = Standard-like General American English; Underline = Discourse marker)

## *Rosa*

Rosa's speaking style was highly mixed, as her her former peer Luis. She was amongst the highest users of English matrix turns. Like Luis, she was also enrolled in AP English. In her previous educational experiences, she had been enrolled in private school when she was in her formative or primary school years. She fell under "lower middle

class" descriptions with a single mother who worked as a nurse. She did not know what occupation her dad had, and at the time of the interview held little contact with him. Her style was characterized by high level English insertions onto Spanish matrices; lesser alternations were employed in her Spanish dominant styles. When she engaged in English matrices, a total of 22 times, she used Spanish insertions a total of 15 times. She engaged in hybrid matrices a total of 16 times.

In the excerpt below, Rosa describes her affinity for North American pop artist, Taylor Swift, and how she discovered her music and engaged with her lyrics to the extent that she often referenced them in text messages to a friend. Although the excerpt below does not showcase her English matrices, it does provide an idea of her most dominant style, which was Spanish speech peppered with constituent-level insertions: (1) *because I love her* (VP) (Line 122), (2) *yeah* (ADV) (Line 125), (3) *'cause* (informal – CONJ.) (Line 131), and (4) *not anymore* (ADV) (Line 133 - 134). It also demonstrates intertextual references to popular culture, such as the popular song *You Belong with Me,* as she explains her experience of having unrequited love for her best friend.

EXAMPLE 2. ROSA, BOOKWORM-ROCKER COFP IN O'REILLY HIGH, CULTURAL ORIENTATIONS

(Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = Standard-like General American English; Underline = Youth speech discourse marker; *Italics* = Anglicisms)

| ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 120 Rosa | <[okei]>, no me puede decil que | 120 Rosa | Okay, you cannot tell me that |
| 121 | 'me guhta Taylor Swift' | 121 | you don't like Taylor Swift |
| 122 | **because I love her.** Yo: - la | 122 | **because I love her.** I – the |
| 123 | primera canción que yo ehcuche | 123 | first song I heard from |
| 124 | de ella fue **'You Belong With** | 124 | her was **"You Belong With** |
| 125 | **Me'**y yo dije '**yeah,** yo voy a | 125 | **Me"** and I said "**yeah**, I am |
| 126 | buhcal máh de ella polque yo no | 126 | going to look up more from her |
| 127 | puedo quedalme con ehto | 127 | because I do not want to stay |
| 128 | solamente'. Y literalmente yo fui | 128 | only with this." And literally I |
| 129 | a Wikipedia y fue como que (.) | 129 | went to Wikipedia and it was |
| 130 | y lah anote toda y dehpue ehtaba | 130 | like (.) and I wrote down all and |
| 131 | to:do: el día:", y (.) | 131 | then I was with them all day, |
| 132 | le *tehtiaba* '**cause** yo solia a | 132 | and (.) *texted* him **'cause** I used |
| 133 | *textial* mucho con él, **not** | 133 | to *text* him a lot, but **not** |
| 134 | **anymore.** | 134 | **anymore.** |

## *Angélica*

Angélica's bilingual style was characterised by PR Spanish dominant matrices and high level of English insertions. She demonstrated only one instance of an English-dominant turn, and 1 hybrid turn in her interview event. She was most likely to intergrate loanwords into the local vernacular, rather than preserve its original, parent language form. Following the socioeconomic classification system, she fell under lower middle class category, and had briefly attended a private school during her primary years.

Her overall speech style served as evidence of her familiarisation with English, even when it came to discussing personal life aspects. For instance, in the interview exchange below, she engages in bilingual talk at beginning stages of the interview rather than attempting to change her speech style to match the formality of the interview event. Like Pedro, she uses teen talk discourse marker *like* in her narrative styles (Lines 42, 45), when discussing her relationships with siblings. While discussing activities she used to share with her brother, again she employs insertional styles, this time in the larger constituent level *we used to prank her a lot* (VP), and later on uses as second discourse item *like* to introduce her repetition of *a lot* in Spanish 'cada rato' (Lines 45 - 46), giving it an overall tonality of emphasis. Other peppered insertions include English noun *pranks* (Line 46), storytelling strategy and discourse marker *so* (line 46, 52) used as a connective or transition word (cf. Tagliamonte, 2016), adjective *close* (Line 50), adverb *whatever* (Line 54).

EXAMPLE 3. ANGÉLICA, BOOKWORM-ROCKER COFP IN O'REILLY HIGH, SPANISH-DOMINANT STYLES WITH FREQUENT ENGLISH INSERTIONS

(Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = Standard-like General American English; Underline = Teen talk discourse marker)

| | ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** |
|---|---|---|---|
| 40 | Angélica | Polque yo:, yo y mi | Because I, myself and my |
| 41 | | helmano como tenemo menoh, | brother since we have less, |
| 42 | | **[laɪk]** , hay loh añoh de | **like**, there's less of an age |
| 43 | | diferencia son meno, meno de un | difference less than, less than a |
| 44 | | año, pue el y yo, **we used to** | year, well him and I, **we used to** |
| 45 | | **prank her a lot – like**, a cada | **prank her a lot – like**, all the |
| 46 | | rato, **[præŋks]** que tu te queda | time, **pranks** that you would |
| 47 | | como que "diablo". **[Soʊ],** toda la | be like "shit". **So,** all of |
| 49 | | vida, Tom y yo hemo sido | my life, Tom and I have been |
| 50 | | máh **[kloʊs]** polque la | more **close** because we |
| 51 | | molehtamo, siempre. Pero como | bother her, always. But since |
| 52 | | Sonia eh nena, y yo también soy | Sonia is a girl, and I am also a |
| 53 | | nena, pue yo aprendí mucho de | girl, well I learned a lot from |
| 54 | | ella, y **whatever**, **[soʊ]** cada veh | her, and **whatever, so** every time |
| 55 | | que yo me iba con ella polque ella | that I left with her because she |
| 56 | | me iba a enseñal algo:, iba | wanted to show me something, I |
| 57 | | a *jangueal* con ella, Tom | went to hang out with her, Tom |
| 58 | | siempre se quedaba como que | would always stay like |
| 59 | | moldío, como que "me dejahte | upset, like "you left me for |
| 60 | | pol ella." | her." |

***Sara***

Sara's bilingual styles were on the conservative side of the spectrum when compared to that of her peers. For the most part, she spoke in PR Spanish, with occasional single-word inserts or short constituent phrases. In the interview event, she inserted English lexical and constituent phrases unto Spanish turns a total of 21 times for 90 conversational turns in PR Spanish. Twice she produced English matrix turns, but these were on a short single item level, usually as a response like *yeah*, or *I don't know,* elements that are typical of teen talk (Tagliamonte, 2016). She intergrated loanwords into the local vernacular variably, particularly when talking about television shows and or movies.

In the excerpt below, Sara discusses her ambitions once she acquires financial stability and a job. Prior to this description, she described to me her life plan, which involved buying an expensive big house, becoming a neuropsychologist, purchasing a sports car, and below – being able to afford a house in Italy for her parents. These dreams contrast deeply with that of others in her own high school community. And, indeed, in the landscape of the school Sara fell under upper middle class descriptions, prior to her current public schooling experience she had received private schooling, and she had also

informed me that she lived in a big house in the countryside of Mayagüez. There are four occurences of insertions in this conversation below: (1) *expensive taste* (noun phrase) (line 70), (2) *not to brag about it* (verb phrase) (line 71), (3) *maybe* (adverb) (Line 86), and (4) *too much* (adv. Phrase) (Lines 86 – 87). What is interesting about these uses is that they all signal to her prestigious background or dreams of grandeur and luxury. In this sense, her use of English in this particular example can be interpreted as serving a semantic function, as English on the island is also seen as key to achieving that high status, or prestige. Also noticeable in the excerpt below is Sara's continuous use of PR Spanish discourse markers, such as *como que* "like" (Lines 72, 73, 80, 81, 82, 86) and *pol decilo así* "to put it that way" (Lines 79, 85 – 86), which appear to play an intergral part of Sara's narrative style or idiolect. Por decirlo así functions as a tag statement, whereas, como que introduces an idea (Line 72), to provide an explication or further information (Line 73, 80, 82), and also as a pausing strategy to indicate that more is to come, or the stereotypical 'filler' role (Line 81, 86).

EXAMPLE 4. SARA, BOOKWORM-ROCKER COFP IN O'REILLY HIGH, CONSERVATIVE PHRASE-LEVEL ENGLISH INSERTIONAL STYLE

(Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = Standard-like General American English; Underline = Teen talk discourse marker)

| | ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** |
|---|---|---|---|
| 70 | Sara | Te:ngo: un **expensive taste**. Como | I have an **expensive taste**. How |
| 71 | | te digo:, **not to brag about** | do I explain, **not to brag about** |
| 72 | | **it**, eh como que pa dalme el guhto | **it**, but it's like to treat myself, |
| 73 | | de, como que, tenel la satihfacción/ | like, to have the satisfaction |
| 74 | | de que (.) 'contra ehte tiempo de | that (.) 'crap this time of |
| 75 | | ehtudio, mira me puedo compral | study, look now I can buy |
| 76 | | lo que yo quie:ro:, no tengo que | whatever I want, I don't have to |
| 77 | | dependel de mami y papi:', de la | depend on mom and dad', at the |
| 78 | | veh (.) devolve-le lo que ello | same time (.) return what they |
| 79 | | me han dao, pol decil-lo así. | have given me, to say as such. |
| 80 | | Como que, quiero: que ello tengan | Like, I want them to have |
| 81 | | como que su propia casa en Italia, | like their own house in Italy, like |
| 82 | | como que me vengang a visi:ta:l, | that they come and visit me, also |
| 83 | | también me visualiso también (.) | I see myself as well (.) I would |
| 84 | | quisiera adoptal. Pue así: me | want to adopt. Well, yes, I |
| 85 | | visualizo:, pol decil-lo | see myself, to put it that way, |
| 86 | | así. **Maybe** eh como que: (.) **too** | like that. **Maybe** it's like **(.) too** |
| 87 | | **much**? ¡¿Pero no sé?! | **much?** But I don't know? |

## *David*

David, together with Rosa, Luis, Maria and Bianca, was one of the leaders of translingual practices in O'Reilly High. In his own conversational style, David was likely to engage in English matrices (a total of 50 times) or recognizably English dominant styles, and least like to take part of recognible PR Spanish matrices (a total of 16 times). In his turns in Spanish, David inserted a total of 49 constituent and word level insertions and alternated 11 times. He was also more likely to engage in hybrid styles than dominant Spanish turns, a total of 25 turns were coded under this label. Recall that not many participants engaged in truly mixt turns, such that they were difficult to classify, but only a select number of students did.

Below I have included an instance from the excerpt in which David spoke to me in highly mixed style. The subject under discussion was dreams and ambitions, where he saw himself ten years from now. Note that I have included myself in this excerpt as I also engaged in bilingual styles so as to match his informal interview style. The first utterance of his turn (Line 113) is said in GenAm English as he is referring to my previous statement of my age, he jokingly states *I will not confirm that*, showcasing playfulness and positive solidarity in joint 'insider' knowledge of my age. He then replies provides a mixed response: *eh que no sé, life is suprising* ('I don't know, life is surprising'). The follow up statement is also uttered in mixed speech: *Como que one day you'll be like 'maybe not yet' pero dehpue yo diga […]* ('Like one day you'll be like 'maybe not yet' but then I say') (Lines 115 – 117). Through mixing strategies he discusses his ambitions ten years from now. Spanish appears to play the structural role, organizing his thought processes: (1) first introducing his thoughts with a *como que* or 'like' (Line 115), (2) following up with a counter argument through *pero dehpue yo diga* 'but then I say' (Lines 116 - 117), (3) concluding with a *por eso* or 'that's why' (Line 118). Meanwhile, English appears to play the role of his actual thought processes or his inner voice and evaluative statements, see for instance statements like (1) *life is surprising* (Line 114), (2) *one day you'll be like 'maybe not yet'* (Line 116), (3) and *oh wait, I want this now* (Lines 117 - 118).

His second turn is more recognizably GenAm English oriented, there are a couple of PR Spanish insertions such as *también* in the second utterance ( "as well"; adverb) (Line 124), *es que* ( 'it's just that') (lines 124 - 125), *pol lo meno* ('at least') (Lines 127 – 128), and *empezando* ('Starting') (line 129).

EXAMPLE 5. DAVID, BOOKWORM-ROCKER COFP IN O'REILLY HIGH, ENGLISH-DOMINANT TURNS AND ELEMENTS OF CONGRUENT LEXICALISATION (MIXED SPEECH)

(Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = Standard-like General American English; Underline = Discourse marker)

| | ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** |
|---|---|---|---|
| 110 | Katherine | ¿Qué te veh haciendo en dieh | 110 Katherine What do you see yourself doing |
| 111 | | añoh de ahora, que eh | 111 ten years from now, which is |
| 112 | | **my age?** | 112 **my age**? |
| 113 | David | **I will not confirm that**. Eh que | 113 David **I will not confirm that**. Well, I |
| 114 | | no sé, **life is surprising**. | 114 don't know, **life is surprising**. |
| 115 | | Como que **one day you'll be** | 115 Like **one day you'll be like**, |
| 116 | | **like**, "**maybe not yet**", pero | 116 "**maybe not yet**", but |
| 117 | | dehpue yo diga "**oh wait, I** | 117 then I say "**oh wait, I want this** |
| 118 | | **want this now**". **Sou**, por eso: | 118 **now**." **So,** that's why |
| 119 | | (.) **let's put a "maybe" on** | 119 (.) **let's put a "maybe" on** |
| 120 | | **that**, **let's put a "maybe** | 120 **that, let's put a "maybe** |
| 121 | | **later" on that question**. | 121 **later" on that question**. |
| 122 | Katherine | O sea, ¿tú te ve | 122 Katherine You mean, you see yourself |
| 123 | | casado? | 123 married? |
| 124 | David | **Maybe**. **O twenty** también. Eh | 124 David **Maybe. Or twenty** too. It's |
| 125 | | que **when I'm ready, when I** | 125 just that **when I'm ready, when** |
| 126 | | **don't have like my energies** | 126 **I don'thave like my energies** |
| 127 | | **being drained by age**, pol lo | 127 **being drained by age,** at |
| 128 | | meno**, I think like twenty-** | 128 least**, I think like twenty-** |
| 129 | | **nine o thirty** empezando. | 129 **nine or thirty** starting. |

## *Pepe*

Pepe's linguistic experiences or language socialization growing up could be parallel up to some extent to Miguel's from Mission High. In his approach to stylistic practices, Pepe engaged in a myriad of translingual and bilingual practices, some that were untraceable to the island or current local surroundings, but that were a reflection of his experiences abroad. Although he only lived in mainland U.S. for a short amount of time during his early youth, he still carried with him some of the practices, such as the use of discourse markers *so*, *like*, and *yeah* in his narrative styles or when telling a story. The use of sentence ender *so* was particularly prominent– a contextualization cue that may occur at the end of a sentence, which signals the end of a statement and/or idea, and subsequent invitation to contribute to the addressee and to 'fill in the silence'. Discourse markers like *so* and *like*, and *so yeah* are also used to indicate a topic of *discomfort* (cf. Tagliamonte 2016 & D'Arcy, 2007 for comprehensive discussions on discourse markers in teen talk).

In his matrices, Pepe used a total of 135 insertions in his Spanish matrices and 25 alternations into English in his PR Spanish turns. Below I have included a break down of some of Pepe's deviating discourse marker practices that position him in a unique status as leading in the use of these features within his own immediate social environment.

*Pepe's Stylistic Use of "So", "Like" and "Yeah"*

**A) DM – Filler, tag [Sentence-ender]**

**(1) After recounting an embarrassing story**

Discourse-pragmatic function: participatory invitation, waiting for response; indicating the end of a narrative.

> Polque yo le ehtaba dando un beso y el *trolley* venía, y el *trolley* casi le mete con el retro-loh ehpejo de al la'o, casi le mete en la cabeza, **so, like, yeah…**
>
> ***Translation***
> Because I was giving her a kiss and the trolley was coming, and the trolley almost hit her with the wing mirror, it almost hit her on the head, [**sou], like, yeah…**

**B) DM – Causal [Sentence-starter]**

**(2) Describing a cause and effect situation at the beginning of a sentence or mid-sentence.**

> Tecnicamente, mi mamá se guhtaba de el helmano, y:: mi papá se guhtaba de la helmana de mi mamá. Que al final se casaron mi mamá con mi papá, y la helmana de mi mamá con el helmano de mi papá. **Soʊ,** mih primo tienen mih do0 apellido0 también.
>
> ***Translation***
> Technically, my mom liked the brother, and my dad liked the sister of my mom. In the end my mom married my dad, and my mom's sister my dad's brother**. [Soʊ],** my cousins have my two last names as well.

(3) Explaining age gap between parents:
"Nou, un- doh máh (.) que mi papá. **[Soʊ],** mi papá tenía diciséi como dieci-sie::te: dieci-nueve."

***Translation:***
No, one-two more (.) than my dad. **[Soʊ]** my dad was sixteen, like seventeen, nineteen."

These and four other discourse strategies were identified using Tagliamonte's (2016) typology of discourse markers "so" in teen talk. Based on NVivo codification methods, results yielded that a large majority of insertional strategies by Pepe were done on the discourse marker level, including other variables and collocates such as *like* and, *so like,* and *so yeah*.

## C) GAMER COFP

In this community of practice the apparent bilingual strategies encouraged the use of English insertion items into a predominantly Spanish matrix. In terms of borrowings and appropriations incorporated in their speech, participants had a tendency toward producing Spanish phonology into English-origin loanwords. Although there was a preference for Puerto Rican Spanish, several loanwords were produced with original phonology from the source language. Kevin and Sammy used source or target language phonology when referring to themes related to movies, music, television, and the Internet. Puma led in the use of English matrices in this group, although the number of times he did (8 on the Table) suggest that he did so in a passive, or occasional manner, rather than as an overall speech style.

Despite engagements with gaming practices which have been found to encourage intertextual use of gaming English or phrases in the gaming world (see Mendoza-Denton, 2011; Sierra 2016 on intertextuality and popular culture), in the subculture of Gamers in O'Reilly High very little bilingual practices surfaced across interviews. Most participants in this CofP maintained PR Spanish dominant styles. This poses a question to the idea suggested by Emmanuel from Mission High private school "you are what you do" to refer to the practice of adopting different ways of being according to what you spend your time doing, your set of interests, who you surround yourself with. Emmanuel's assessment of identity undoubtedly reductionist and essentialist in nature, is best counter-responded with the Gaming CofP in O'Reilly High - they had regular interaction with English through video games, board games, and also in their immediate environment (recall, where the Gaming CofP meets there is an excessive amount of North American music being played through Bluetooth speakers, and English graffiting practices), but despite these external languaging practices or elements of their social life, many were Spanish-dominant in interaction, with conservative employment of English insertions. In this group both Martin and Puma led in the incorporation of insertional strategies, though primarily on the single-word level, meanwhile Puma produced most instances of English turns, though these were quite limited and occurred alongside themes of family, but these occurred on a longer constituent level. Sergio demonstrated even fewer turns in English, primarily on the single-word lexical level. Samples of these will be discussed in this section.

*Table 46*. Bilingual strategies according to Gamer CofP in O'Reilly High Public School.

| | English | | | Spanish | | | HB | Borrowings | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| C of P | Turns | Insert | Alt. | Turns | Insert | Alt. | | Int. | Not Int. |
| *Kevin* | 1/56 | | | 55/56 | 6 | | | 31 | 10 |
| *Martin* | | | | 101/101 | 12 | | | 14 | 3 |
| *Puma* | 4/97 | 6 | | 90/97 | 14 | 3 | 3/97 | 9 | 5 |
| *Sammy* | | | | 92 | 6 | | | 18 | 11 |
| *Sergio* | 3 | | | 110 | 2 | 1 | | 13 | 7 |

## Kevin, Gamer CofP, O'Reilly High

Kevin's languaging styles mimicked those immediate to him. His linguistic style demonstrated preference for Spanish matrices with occasional English incorporating strategies, primarily on the single item level, rather than the larger constituent level. In this sense, Kevin respected the immediate linguistic norms of his own community, the school, and did not run into much conflict with acceptable styles on the island. Engaging in minor acts of bilingualism is acceptable for most, as such Kevin's style was unproblematic ideologically. He used items such as *friendly* (Example 1) to describe his own identity, and positioned himself as someone who is friends with everyone. He defines himself as a former *Gamer* (Example 2) now "turned friends with everyone" in the first example; however, as I saw him most of the time interacting in the Cooperativa region with the gaming community, and at times engaging in gaming practices, I kept his former title for grouping peer group identification purposes. In example 2 he still refers to the mutual practices that characterize the gaming community, such as engaging with card games like *Magic* and *Yu-Gi-Oh!*, and outwardly claims to still be in touch and in engagement of gaming practices when he says "now we're back to playing…" in the second example, with a collective "we", so as to still presently align with this community.

EXAMPLE 1. KEVIIN, GAMER COFP O'REILLY HIGH, INSERTIONAL BILINGUAL STYLE IN DISCUSSION OF IDENTITY

(a)

| | |
|---|---|
| Kevin | Yo soy así […] Yo soy como que: (.) me guhta hacel amihtah, a vece yo ehtoy con mi novia por ahí, y mi novia eh como que: "tu vah a sel un [go.wel.na.dol], polque tu *literalmente* saluda a todo el mundo." Y polque soy bien **friendly,** me guhta hacel amihta. O sea, no tengo prefencia si eh caco, sea rockero. O sea, lo saludo, lo conohco, me llevo bien con ello. |

***Translation:***

| | |
|---|---|
| Kevin | I am that way. I am that way like (.) I like to make friendships, sometimes I am with my girlfriend around, and my girlfriend is like "you will be governor one day, because you literally say hello to everyone." And because I am very **friendly**, I like to make friends. That is, I have no preference if they are Cacos, or if they are Rockers. I mean, I greet them, I know them, I get along with them. |

(b)

**On gaming activities and self-identity**

| | |
|---|---|
| Katherine | Y, ¿Cómo tu te identifica? |
| Kevin | No **[gei'mel]** po0que como deje loh juego y eso. Yo soy máh como que: (.) no sé, yo soy medio raro. Ante yo lo jugaba mucho aquí, pero ya eso como que se fue: (.) *d'ehto*, y ehtuvo un tiempo como que: (.) jugamo Yu-Gi-Oh, se separo tol mundo de Yugioh y empezó a jugal **MagiØ,** y ahora como que tol mundo se separo de **MagiØ** y volvimo a jugal Yugioh, obviamente. |

***Translation***

| | |
|---|---|
| Katherine | And how would you identify yourself? |
| Kevin | Not **gamer** because I left games and that. I am more like (.) I don't know, I am a bit weird. Before I used to play a lot, but now that kind of like left (.) umm, and I was some time like (.) we played Yu-gi-Oh, everyone abandoned from Yu-Gi-Oh and then we started playing **Magic** (the Gathering), and now like everyone abanadoned **Magic** *and we're back to playing* Yu-Gi-Oh, obviously. |

Martin, Gamer CofP, O'Reilly High

Martin's practices were similar to those found in his peer Kevin – primarily restricted to single word insertions. Featured in some of the examples below is the use of *handyman* to describe his grandfather's occupation (Example 1), a word that has not been intergrated into the local vernacular or widespread, such that it is not traceable in existing corpora of Spanishes (*CREA*, *CORDE*, and *Tesoro Lexicográfico de Puerto Rico*). Other lexical items found in his speech included usage of collocational compound *sleepover*, and the adjective *Scream* to describe the type of music he enjoys (e.g. heavy metal and screamo). Reference is also paid below to certain English bandnames, though when mentioned in his heavy Spanish turns they are not fully intergrated into the local vernacular, but maintain some phonological features of its original pronunciation thus

*with Sirens* from the North American band Sleeping with Sirens is produced as [wð saɪrənz]. Other bilingual practices apparent in Martin's speech, but also visible across CofPs in O'Reilly High was the use of discourse marker *so* as organization strategy in interaction. While Muysken and others (2007) classify these as "dummy word insertions" in variationist typologies of codemixing – suggesting they play little to no apparent role in translingual talk – it is interesting to note its discourse functions in terms aiding the organization of ideas. That is to say, in the case below, it co-occurs alongside of the Spanish preposition "que" in *so que* "so that". Such is the case in the second example below. This discourse strategy originating from English occurs alongside Puerto Rican youth discourse markers *sa'e, sabe*, or more standard *sabes* "you know" and equivalents to English like or as such *como tal* in this case (in others *como que*). Two instances of *so* are detected in the example below, the first occurs as a sentence ended *so que…*, so as to let the hearer understand he has finished an idea, and they may arrive at their own conclusions, the second occurrence of *so* occurs as a "cause and effect" marker, such that it communicates the idea "we know this" therefore "that".

EXAMPLE 2. MARTIN, GAMER COFP IN O'REILLY HIGH, INSERTIONAL STYLE AND USE OF DISCOURSE MARKER 'SO'

(Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = General American English; Underline = Discourse marker; [] = Impressionistic phonetic transcription)

(a)

Martin E:, como tal, de mih abuelito no mucho. Sé que mi abuela pol palte de padre como tal era secretaria. Mi: abuelo pol palte de padre era como una ehpecie de **<[handi man]>,** bregaba mucho con velja, con puelta, haciendo ehcrine y cosa así.

***Translation***

Umm, as such, my grandpa not a lot. I know that from my grandmother's side from my dad's part, she was like a secretary. My grandpa from my dad's part was like a type Of **handyman**, he worked a lot with gates, doors, making screens and stuff like that.

(b)

Martin Eran como tal de pol palte de madre eran ocho, pero una falleció en pleno palto, sa'e, ya eran siete, y ya han muelto doh, **so** que… Pero, ya ahora todo ehtan en Mayagué, **so** que tenemo comnucación todo.

***Translation***

Martin They were as such from part of my mom they were eight, but one passed away mid-birth, you know, so thhen we were seven, and two have died, so that… But, already now all are in Mayaguez, so that we can communication with each other.

## *Puma*

As previously suggested, Puma's bilingual style led in the incorporation of English turns within his own CofP. However, this does not say much, as the amount of times it was coded for amounted to a total of 4 turns in dominant English – a style not necessarily marked against the Spanish-monolingual norm. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that he was able to engage in whatever extent – minor or major – in bilingual styles in social his social interactions, therefore drawing upon the different repertoire features available to him and deploying these to achieve whatever metalingual (discourse function) or extralingual (social function) (cf. Becker, 1998 on *languaging*). Below I have included some of these English dominant turns in their entirety, note that in comparison to other more salient translinguals, this 'turn' is not as marked as a style employed by Luis, for instance (i.e. with a total of 77 turns). However, despite the relatively fewer instances of bilingual talk, Puma demonstrates abilities of being able to engage in bilingual social practices. From the single word lexical level (example 3b *complain*), to the larger constituent level (example 3a *I just hate it* VP); from the English-dominant turns exhibited in example 1, to the hybrid turns of example 2 consting of PR Spanish constituents and English constituents in a single turn. Note that *complain* in its current form denotes the English verb "to complain", however, in the sense that Puma wishes to make reference to it, as a noun or in its nominalised form, is absent from this utterance. In order to make this a more standard-abiding utterance, the word *complain* must be changed to "complaint(s)", so as to meet the equivalence constraint suggested by Poplack (1980), ultimately turning the sentence to: *no tengo mucho complaint como tal* to parallel fixed expression *no tengo mucha queja* ("queja" in Spanish functions as a mass noun). A like-minded adjustment is to take complain in the singular simple present form and change it to its infinitive form "to complain", such that Puma says "no tengo mucho *to complain*." In this sense, it appears that "complain" may be either (a) the outcome of first language influence or transfer (thinking of Spanish equivalent 'queja' and it's role as both verb and noun), or (b) elision or simplification of verb, such that the final /-s/ gets dropped, or the "to be" component of infinitive form does not make an appearance.

EXAMPLE 3. PUMA, GAMER COFP O'REILLY HIGH, NON-LOCAL ASPIRATIONS AND ENGLISH-DOMINANT, HYBRID, AND INSERTIONAL STYLES

(Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = Standard-like General American English; [] = impressionistic phonetic transcription; ***Italics & Bold*** = Puerto Rican English; Underline = Discourse marker)

**(1) English turns**

| | |
|---|---|
| Katherine | Y, ¿Tú lo hah visitado en Florida? |
| Puma | **[noʊ], I've never *gotten out** of Puerto Rico.** |
| Katherine | ¿En serio? |
| Puma | **I want to.** |

**(2) Hybrid turns**

| | |
|---|---|
| Katherine | Entonces, ¿Tu veh Red Box y Netflix y todo eso? |
| Puma | **Yup**… 'pera, 'perate, en *[red boks]* polque *[net fliks]* **doesn't count. I can't afford it.** |

**(3) Insertional strategies**

a. Puma Okay, eh como que hay alguna cosa que pue uno como lah matemática, la física, la hihtoria, la clase de Hihtoria, **I just hate it**.

b. Puma La clase de ingléh… no tengo mucho **complain** como tal.

And, finally, we see how these bilingual practices take part in interaction. In the excerpt below Puma speaks of a family member, close to his age, who died recently. He transfers Spanis idiom "sucedió un accidente" into his English alternational description of what happened *She happened an accident* (Lines 26 to 27). Other single-item turns, such as "Yeah" exhibited in Line 31; an alternational occurrence is also visible in Line 34 when discussing cousins.

EXAMPLE 4. PUMA, GAMER COFP IN O'REILLY HIGH, INSERTIONAL BILINGUAL STYLE

(Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = Standard American English; Underline = Discourse marker)

| | ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** |
|---|---|---|---|
| 20 | Katherine | Entonce:, o sea:, ¿tuh primo? O | 20 Katherine Then, you mean, your cousins? I |
| 21 | | sea, ¿quién se crió allá | 21 mean, where they brought up |
| 22 | | afuera? | 22 over there? |
| 23 | Puma | Mih primo, que son- son | 23 Puma My cousins, that are my girl |
| 24 | | prima, que una de ella paso:, | 24 counsins, that one of them went, |
| 25 | | como te digo (.) umm**, she's not** | 25 how do I say, umm **she's not** |
| 26 | | **alive anymore**. **She: (.)** | 26 **alive anymore. She: (.)** |
| 27 | | **happened an accident**. Ummm, | 27 **happened an accident.** Umm, |
| 28 | | sí. Ya lo único- **they were** | 28 yes. The only ones – **they were** |
| 29 | | **three.** | 29 **three.** |
| 30 | Katherine | ¿Quedan treh? Lo siento. | 30 Katherine There are three? I'm sorry. |
| 31 | Puma | **Y(e)ah.** | 31 Puma **Yeah.** |
| 32 | Katherine | Y son, ¿Cómo que máh o meno | 32 Katherine And they are, like, more or less |
| 33 | | de tu edad, o so:n…? | 33 your age, or are they…? |
| 34 | Puma | **No, they're much older**. Umm, | 34 Puma **No, they're much older.** Umm, |
| 35 | | una: tiene como loh benti-ocho | 35 one has like twenty-eight |
| 36 | | año, cuidao si casi loh treinta:, la | 36 years, careful if almost thirty, the |
| 37 | | que falleció lo que le llevaba era | 37 one that passed away it used to be |
| 38 | | un año de diferencia:, y: mi | 38 one year's difference, and my |
| 39 | | primo, que: tiene: (.) como loh | 39 cousin, he has like |
| 40 | | benti:-- benti uno, benti-doh | 40 twenty- twenty one, twenty-two |
| 41 | | por ahí. | 41 somewhere there. |

## *Sammy*

Sammy from the Gaming CofP did not engage to bilingual practices to much extent during the interview event except when discussing interests and activities done for leisure. He cites certain American table networks, even those that are subscription based nad require possession and subscription to Satellite television (e.g. *Starz*, *Disney Channel*). That is, a lot of these broadcasting networks do not form part of standard TV packages but are only accessible through additional pay. Usually a sign of wealth, seen across upscale neighborhoods, is the use of satellites. When I inform him about my inability to access many of the channels he cites from abroad he uses grammatically and phonologically intergrated loanwords *traqueen* ("track you") and *bloquea* ("it blocks"). Some insertional strategies on the constituent level are triggered by the topic of internet and access to specific video streaming sites. This is referred to in lines 60 and 63 *there's no porn* and *there's no porn websites**. No-standard usage of verbs is exhibited here, where "there is" would be "there are" when referring to countable or plural nouns.

EXAMPLE 5. SAMMY, GAMER COFP IN O'REILLY HIGH, BILINGUAL STYLES RELATED TO ONLINE PRACTICES

(Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = Standard American English; ***Bold & Italics*** = Puerto Rican English; Underline = Teen talk discourse marker)

| ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **42 Katherine** | ¿Qué canale usualmente | **42 Katherine** | What channels do you usually |
| **43** | veh? | **43** | watch? |
| **44 Sammy** | Pue, fijate, no veo mucha | **44 Sammy** | Well, look, I don't watch much |
| **45** | television, pero cuando lo veía, | **45** | television, but when I used to, |
| **46** | pue:, me guhtaba mucho | **46** | Well, I liked a lot |
| **47** | **[*kartu:n*] [*netwuerk*], [diz ni:]**, | **47** | **Cartoon Network**, **Disney**, |
| **48** | veía también loh ***[eh-starz],*** e: | **48** | I also watched a lot ***Starz,*** umm, |
| **49** | ***[sai-fai].*** Me guhtaba todo eso. | **49** | ***Sci-Fi***. I liked all of that. |
| **50** | Ahora veo todo por | **50** | Now I watch everything on the |
| **51** | Internet. | **51** | Internet. |
| **52 Katherine** | Como yo vivo allá, allá tienen | **52 Katherine** | Like me, I live over there, and they |
| **53** | mucho **website** *bloqueado*. Como | **53** | have a lot of blocked **websites**. |
| **54** | Hu:lu:, y todo eso. Y tu sabe que | **54** | Like Hulu, and all that. You know |
| **55** | a vece **[ei] [bi] [si:] [fæmili]** a | **55** | that sometimes **ABC family** |
| **56** | vece *pohtean* episodio en suh | **56** | posts stuff on their |
| **57** | **website**? | **57** | **website?** |
| **58 Sammy** | Sí. Sí. Pero cuando ehta en | **58 Sammy** | Yes. Yes. But when you are in |
| **59** | Europa, en mucho sitio que: (.) | **59** | Europe, there are many places that |
| **60** | **there's no po:rn**, ello quitan el | **60** | (.) **there's no porn**, they take out |
| **61** | **porn.** Y si te encuentran viendo | **61** | **Porn.** And if they catch you seeing |
| **62** | esa cosa te pueden metel preso. | **62** | Those things you can get arrested. |
| **63** | Como en China **there's no porn** | **63** | Like in China **there's no porn** |
| **64** | **website(s),** no hay na:da: de eso, | **64** | **website(s)**, there is nothing of that, |
| **65** | polque si ello te llegan | **65** | because if they catch you they take |
| **66** | cogel. Si, hay un caso de un | **66** | you. If there is a case of |
| **67** | violación, una cosa loca ello | **67** | violation, one crazy thing of theirs |
| **68** | (.) quitang todo lo que tiene que | **68** | (.) they take away everything that |
| **69** | vel con eso. | **69** | has to do with that. |
| **70 Katherine** | Sí, ¿Ello son bien estricto. Aún | **70 Katherine** | Yes, they are very strict. Even |
| **71** | usando un **VPN**, que:... sabes lo | **71** | Using a **VPN,** that… do you know |
| **72** | que es? | **72** | what it is? |
| **73 Sammy** | Sí, sí, que *bloquea* tu dehto | **73 Sammy** | Yes, yes, that it *blocks* your thingy |
| **74** | pa que ello no te *traqueen*. | **74** | so they don't *track* you. |

## D)MARKETING COFP

*Table 47*. Bilingual styles in Marketing CofP

| | English Matrix | | | Spanish matrix | | | HB | Borrowings | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Participants* | # of turns | Insert. | Alt. | # of turns | Insert. | Alt. | | P. int. | Not P. Int. |
| *Penelope* | | | | 87/87 | 8 | | | 8 | |
| *Dalia* | | | | 132/132 | | | | 10 | |
| *Saul* | | | | 110/110 | 15 | | | 16 | 3 |
| *Esteban* | | | | 72/72 | 0 | | | 3 | |

Alongside Gamer CofP, Marketing CofP was among the most monolingual groups in linguistic practices throughout the interview event. The results gathered here are also further authenticated in the notes collected for the ethnographic component of this study, whereby students engage in practices in their local vernacular. Like other members of the O'Reilly High landscape, this is not to say that their use of Spanish is not interesting, or that these students restrain completely from ever engaging in bilingual or bilingual practices. Rather, that the regular use of English is not a socially defining feature of their community. However, it is outside of the scope of this study. What I will note is that, much like the rest of their peers in O'Reilly, their use of PR Spanish was peppered with narrative strategies including discourse fillers *como que* "like", *como tal* "as such", *pueØ* "well", and non-standard use of the words *normal* for "cool", and *literal* for "literally" (rather than literalmente). Their Spanish phonological system was also characterised by typical PR Spanish features, such as the hallmark /-s/ elision, yeísmo, and lateralization of /r/, and other features found across islanders. Male CofP members engaged in local uses of [hei] or "jei" for *sí* ("yes"), and at times also demonstrated fricativization of double /rr/ sound in words like /puertorriqueño/ to [pueltoχiqueño] *Puerto Rican*. As suggested in Chapter 5, participants in the Marketing CofP were of mixed socioeconomic composition and, as such, little can be said of this factor in relation to members of this CofP: e.g. whether 'class' was to their coming together or formation of group, or a simultaneous factor that serve as explanation to their apparent monolingualism. With the exception of Saul, most were virtually Spanish "monolinguals". Saul importantly held intimate ties with a member of the Bookworm CofP, his twin sister Matilda. *Marketing* CofP interests are primarily focused on local practices: (academically) they engaged in Marketing competitions, and they also watched Spanish-speaking TV shows, listened local radio stations, and the two males of this CofP simultaneously engage in gaming

practices after school at the local youth centre *Lion's Den,* where they invested – to a receptive extent – with English literacy practices. Marketing CofP shared a physical space with Gamer CofP, near the *Cooperativa* region of the school (southside O'Reilly High). At times, there were overlaps in terms of engagement in shared activities, e.g. talking, listening to electronic music, going to the same places to eat, etc. It is also possible to measure performance of this group alongside that of *Gamer* CofP, based on shared interests.

Some speakers momentarily demonstrated knowledge and use of dummy insertions, or discourse marker *so,* such as Penelope below. Both examples of *so* fall under cause-an-effect functions, labelled by Tagliamonte (2016) as causal discourse markers.

EXAMPLE 1. PENELOPE, MARKETING COFP IN O'REILLY HIGH, USE OF DISCOURSE MARKER 'SO'

(Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = Standard American English; Underline = Youth speech discourse marker)

***Penelope***

| | |
|---|---|
| (1) | |
| Katherine | Y, ¿en dónde tu criaría? |
| Penelope | No eh el lugal donde tu cría, eh cómo loh crie, **[soʊ],** en cualquier lugal. |
| *Translation* | |
| Katherine | And where would you raise them? |
| Penelope | It's not about what place to raise them, it's how to raise them**, so,** in whichever place. |
| (2) | |
| Penelope | Ummm, vengo de familia grande pero no he compaltío con esa familia y ya mucho se han muelto **[soʊ]** ya lo que queda eh una familia pequeña, me queda mih helmana, mih tía, y mih prima. |
| *Translation* | |
| Penelope | Umm, I come from a big gamily but I have not spend time with that family and many have died already **so** what is left is one small family, what is left is my sister, my aunt, and my cousin. |

Saul was the highest engager of bilingual practices within his own CofP, most of his insertional practices, however, occured in limited amounts, on the lexical level (through use of adjectives and nouns), and most dummy insertions. In the interaction below, Saul is decribing his experience abroad in the United States when he visited Universal Studios as a young child with his family. His first use of *so* is a sentence-ender, or to indicate the end of an idea, in this case it has an "as-a-matter-of-fact" effect as he states his dad's

linguistic experiences of living abroad. The second *so* mimics that showcased in Penelope's speech, as a cause-and-effect discourse marker.

EXAMPLE 2. SAUL, MARKETING COFP IN O'REILLY HIGH, USE OF DISCOURSE MARKER 'SO'

(Regular font = PR Spanish; Bold = Standard American English; Underline = Discourse marker)

| | |
|---|---|
| Katherine | Y, ¿Uhtede hablaban ingléh? |
| Saul | A esa eda: yo lo entendía, pe:ro: pa hablal-lo nada, ni pa ehcribil-lo tampoco. Y mi papá vivió afuera, **[soʊ].** Y el vivió afuera:, **[soʊ]** que:, el habla pero no mucho. |
| **Translation** | |
| Katherine | And did you guys speak English? |
| Saul | At that age, I understood it, but to speak it nothing, not even to write it. And my dad lived abroad, **so.** He lived abroad, **so** that he speaks it but not a lot. |

# 6.8 CHAPTER SUMMARY

*Bilingual Speech as a Stylistic Strategy*

Previous work island bilingual practices had suggested that bilingualism and English using practices form an intergral part of the social lives and identities of the island elite. This observation is somewhat true, particularly after what we have seen in Mission High students, and several members of O'Reilly High (primarily middle class Rockers). However, I have also demonstrated how this evauation is flawed and provides an incomplete picture. Indeed, within this privledged minority, particularly that which belongs to private school education, there is a rich array of linguistic strategies being implemented, in creative ways across different CofPs.

For the case of the private school, it seems, that while everyone may have the same amount of educational exposure to the English language, the output or practices across groups vary according to peer group identity. This variable picture suggests that within the microcosm of Mission High private school students have an advantage that other youth do not outside of private school settings: the choice to adopt particular styles of English. They are aware of the prestige and marketable value of English as a second language – that is, English's *symbolic capital* (see Bourdieu, 1977), but their *choice* to engage or disengage in these practices on a routinely basis, or in a fleeting manner, is entirely up to them. In contrast, they may also choose to adopt more locally acceptable

ways of communicating through the adoption of dominant PR Spanish turns, or incorporation of Spanish phonology onto their English insertions. And, indeed, it seems as if "who you are" and "who you are not", plays a descriptive role in suggesting different styles of languaging in Mission. As Perez Casas suggested in her study of the bilingual elite in san Juan "codeswitching is evidence of bilinguals' appropriation of each language in their habitus" as well as of "the skills and mastery in aptly deploying each language in interactions" (Perez Casas, 2008, p. 77). This is particularly true for many of the members of this school setting, however, their repertoire features are variable according to their different social engagements.

For the case of O'Reilly High a more hierarchical outcome takes place, particularly when discussing issues of class differences. As suggested in previous sections, it seems that the most salient translinguals or bilinguals (i.e. the Bookworm CofP) have all at some point or another received some type of private school education; furthermore, there is a trend towards higher socioeconomic classes or middle classes as those who lead in bilingual styles. This picture suggests that while social identification or orientation may be a contributing factor to the languaging styles in Mission High, the same cannot be said for the youth in O'Reily High, all who come from mixed backgrounds, some have acquired English knowledge through familial ties, others through previous private school education, and some through investments or engagements in target language. An observation we can be made in terms of the formation of the Bookworm CofP: that perhaps previous prestigious educational opportunities or current socioeconomic affordances may serve as a reason for all of them to come together and engage in mutual practice. Indeed, it is through similar shared experiences – be it through education, or outside access to English – that many of these adolescents engaged in bilingual styles. Other CofPs, such as the Gaming CofPs provide a more realistic picture as to the global influence of English on countries were English is not routinely spoken. I say this because the Gaming CofP is primarily public-school oriented in composition and also variable in terms of socioeconomic standing. They come into contact with the English language through the standard public school policy (English as a subject in years K-12 and first two years of university), and to an outside extent through their own gaming and online practices. We have evidence that suggests minor engagement in bilingual styles, particularly in the speech of Puma, Miguel, and Kevin, but perhaps not enough to form an intergral part of their daily social lives or identities in school. However, we also saw how the emblems of authenticity within the Puerto Rico

landscape – the Jock CofP – were able to draw upon instances of netspeak in social talk, referencing meme speech like *squad* and essentialising practices involving labels of *hipster* [histel] (Bobi), *emo*, and other. Interestingly, one of the most frequent occurences of English insertions across groups was the use of discourse items such as *yeah* (at times 'yas' depending on CofP), *so*, and *whatever*.

It seems that from a birds eye view, bilingual distribution is perhaps most socially stratified in O'Reilly High, whereas in Mission High generalizations are not clear-cut. Furthermore, while census statistics have been suggestive about existing bilingual strategies on the island, even members of the most "monolingual" or "least economically stable" communities demonstrate some degree of bilingualism in social talk, even if minor, it does not suggest a purist monolingual picture. Their demonstrations of bilingualism in social talk only provide us with that information – their choice to include these items as part of their regular interactions and projections of who they are – but they do not describe the full picture of linguistic *competence*, especially when these practices occur against the background of neocolonial settings, were adopting a non-local way of speaking is often associated with ideologies of betrayal, superiority, or inauthenticity in a Puerto Rican. Because of this, an islander may choose to not engage in these practices, such as to avoid conflict, or be associated with values that do not work harmoniously for some with concepts of Puerto Rican identity. However, such conclusions cannot be drawn with accuracy in public school settings because of the discrepancies in language exposure and education. It is particularly tempting at this stage to partially adopt a theoretical standpoint, first suggested by Bourdieu to describe language use in postcolonial settings: "The educational system is a crucial object of struggle because it has a monopoly over the production of the mass of producers and consumers, and hence over the reproduction of the market on which the value of linguistic competence depends." (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 652). In the case of O'Reilly High and other public schools, the language that is being promoted as the local norm is Puerto Rican Spanish, but again the domains of education and local values face an equally powerful giant, one that has presence in business, medicine, higher education, global and local governmental domains. These two giants will be in ideological struggle as long as conservative discourses of PR Spanish as the sole signifier of national identity continue to prevail. We will see in the next Chapter how ideologies of language play out across different communities of practices and schools, and whether and how students use English to orient to important cultural discourses involving language, ethnicity, culture, class, and linguistic competence.

# Chapter 7
## ACTS OF IDENTITY THROUGH BILINGUAL STYLES

### 7.1 OVERVIEW

The findings from this Chapter represent the last component of the triangulation process towards arriving at an understanding of the role that English plays in the social lives of adolescents in Puerto Rico. Previous chapters discussed my observational findings in the schools (such as Chapter 5), the collective distribution of bilingual styles and how they facilitated the detection of shared ways of being or social identities (Chapter 6), I now culminate with a discussion of the qualitative roles that English inhabited *locally* and *discursively* in interaction (Chapter 7). Part of this dialogic construction of meaning depends on an understanding of the contextual (*presupposed*) or macrosociological information – a competence of ideologies of what it means to speak English and Spanish in Puerto Rico. The other part also involves an understanding of microcontextual ideologies dependent on speaker, addressee, topic, etc., such that each use is the outcome of macro-micro relations as well as intersubjective positionings (therefore recreating or creating indexical *entailments*). This Chapter includes a discussion of metapragmatic ideologies of what 'being American' or 'Puerto Rican' sounds like, according to the local adolescent indexical constructions of identity. This chapter includes a discussion of adolescent *metalinguistic competences*, that is, their *explicit* understanding of the ideologies tied to specific ways of speaking, and how adolescents orient to these ideologies – perhaps implicitly – through the adoption of diverse languaging styles.

We know from research on indexicality that speaking styles come to signal specific meaning based on their distribution and frequency across interactions, spaces, and people; they become emblematic, or conventionalised ways of speaking, based on previous uses and current usages. Now that we've discussed the relative distribution and type of English use found in adolescents in elite and non-elite settings we can move unto the fluid construction of meaning in talk.

In the first half of this chapter, I provide sample excerpts from the sociolinguistic interviews that touch on the subject of language attitudes and linguistic ideologies. These will serve as an important foundation to understand the enregistered roles of General American English, Puerto Rican English and Puerto Rican Spanish on the island today,

specifically among the Puerto Rican youth. Once understanding the social role of these varieties or ideological codes, the latter sections will discuss how participants strategically used enregistered knowledge of speech towards their construction of alignments (stances) in interaction and overall social (peer-group) identities. Social alignments to the following concepts will be discussed in this Chapter: ethnicity and national identity (the authentic Puerto Rican), US culture and English investment, class differentiations, and the "competent" bilingual in Puerto Rico.

## 7.2 LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES

### *Macro-Sociological Ideologies in High Schools*

The politicisation of English on the island was prominent across various discourses in each school. Recall that Chapter 3 briefly discussed the ideological attachment of English to 'America' or 'all things American' – these ideologies were further supported in conversational data from Mission and O'Reilly schools. While these discourses were widely known, or referred to as some point or another referentially or non-referentially (through processes of indexicality), participants' choice to positively or negatively align to these values varied according to peer-group membership (social identity), as well on a moment-to-moment basis, according to the subject under discussion and participants in interaction (e.g. researcher-student vs. researcher-students for focus group interviews). This latter point is crucial to the study of identity, as it implies that subjects do not inhabit fixed, predictable identities on a categorical or peer-group basis, but that individual identities are varied, fluid, and at times context-dependent.

While the correlation of English to the United States was especially evident, so were other more positively oriented ideologies, such as those of instrumentality or usefulness of English (Dornyei, 1990), whereby instrumentality represents the "sets of motives involving the individual's striving for better career prospects" (p. 2), personal improvement, and/or travel opportunities. These seemingly conflicting ideologies were first encountered in previous studies of Chapter 3 (cf. Clachar, 1997a; Mazak, 2007; Perez Casas, 2008).

### 7.2.1 IDEOLOGIES OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN ELITE CONTEXTS

#### A) IN-BETWEEN JOCK COFP

I begin my discussion of the ideological landscapes found in Mission High by first discussing the language orientations in the Jock CofP. As suggested in my observations Chapter (Chapter 5), the Jock CofP[111] was often associated with practices of rebellion, anti-authority, and anti-academic values. Some partook in adult-oriented activities (e.g. underaged drinking and parties), while others belonged to school sport teams (e.g. basketball, volleyball). They were united by their athletic inclinations, high status in the school social pyramid, and general indifference (or outward/superficial indifference) to scholastic matters and/or the English language. These were the values that were assigned to members of the Jock CofP by outsiders or members of other communities of practice; however, as most labelling practices, they do not reflect an accurate portrayal of individual practices. Rather, labelling styles are reflective of essentialising practices or – often – blanket psychological evaluations to which others oriented.

It seems fitting that I begin my discussion of linguistic values with those that serve as emblems of Puerto Rican authenticity and subsequent maintenance of Spanish. To others, members of these groups were labelled as 'monolingual' or not as academically successful in the English classroom. However, this was not the case *for everyone* in Jock CofP community in Mission High Private School, as suggested in Chapter 5 and 6. There was variability in academic achievement, as well as variability in placement of AP classrooms. In my sample set, the *In-Between Jocks* (from Mission High) stood out from the *Jock-Jocks* in that they possessed external ties (e.g. some to the *Gamers CofP*, others to the *Pop Culture CofP*), and were enrolled in Advanced English (AP English). Their English linguistic competence is also suggested in their overall bilingual strategies, discussed in Chapter 6.

[111] As suggested in Chapter 5, due to the close nature of Mission High, I was unable to reach certain participants from the Jock CofP, the most rebellious type. However, this study presents data from the other subgroup also belonging to this wider group, which I call "the in-between Jock CofP".

*Miguel*

A core member of the *In-Between* Jocks was Miguel. Miguel held multiple social ties, or 'got along with everyone'. He held a unique status in the school as a transnational, or someone who had spend some of his life living outside of the island in mainland United States. Consequently, as a transnational he brought divergent linguistic practices to his group, such that they had no basis in their immediate island linguistic landscape (e.g. the employment of AAVE features, when island Puerto Ricans have little to no contact with this community). However, earned social acceptance by engaging in local practices, such as sports, going to parties, and having a light-hearted approach to school and academic success. When I asked about his ideologies with regards to the importance of English on the island, he did not hesitate to provide a positive evaluative statement, demonstrated in Example 1 below.

EXAMPLE 1. MIGUEL, JOCK COFP IN MISSION HIGH, ETHNOLINGUISTIC IDETITY (PT. 1)

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 Miguel<br>2 | I think that people should be more fluent because **Puelto Rico eh part of loh Ehtados Unido.**<br><br>(I think that people should be more fluent because **Puerto Rico is part of the United States.)_** |

*Note*. Regular font = Standard-like General American English; **Bold** = PR Spanish.

In Line 1 he provides a short answer on why he thinks Puerto Ricans should speak English. In it, he emphasizes the status of Puerto Ricans as U.S. citizens and 'part of the whole': *Puerto Rico eh part of loh Ehtados UnidoØ*. Thus, for Miguel's personal belief system, he does not see English as something that should exist in opposition to Spanish or Hispanic culture, rather, something that should be taken up by members of the Puerto Rican community out of duty. In this statement, Miguel also implies that he sees English as "the" language of the United States, and so in order for Puerto Rico to comply with its American identity, they should also acquire the *de facto* mainland language, English. It should also be noted that in this excerpt, Miguel engages in Spanish insertional strategies by referring to the United States in Spanish, thus demonstrating himself as an English-speaking Latino who is able to talk about the United States from distance, as a member of the local community, incorporating the local vernacular.

*Emmanuel*

Emmanuel, another member of the In- Between Jock CofP, communicated similar sentiments, although providing more than one reason to the idea of "English as important" for Puerto Ricans. This may be, perhaps, due to the fact that Emmanuel was brought up on the island and is therefore more familiarized with the arguments as to why or why not English should be adopted by islanders.

EXAMPLE 3. EMMANUEL, IN-BETWEEN JOCK COFP IN MISSION HIGH, ETHNOLINGUISTIC IDENTITY

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 Katherine | Y, ¿tu piensah que eh importante hablar ingléh en Puerto Rico? |
| 2 Emmanuel | Pueh – claro (inglés es importante) polque Puerto Rico |
| 3 | eh palte de EhtadoØ UnidoØ. Y mucho turi- muchah persona de *allá* vienen |
| 4 | acá y tenemoh que sabel como comunicalnoh. |
| | |
| ***Translation*** | |
| 1 Katherine | And do you think that it is important to speak English in Puerto Rico? |
| 2 Emmanuel | Well – of course (English is important) because Puerto Rico |
| 3 | is part of the United States. And many turi-many people from *over there* come |
| 4 | here and we have to know how to communicate. |

*Note*. Regular font = PR Spanish; *Italics* = Spatial identity orientation; Underline = discourse marker.

Like Miguel, Emmanuel conceives of Puerto Rico's identity as shaped by its relationship to the United States. Puerto Rico's duty as 'part-of-the-whole' (the U.S.) is to know the English language, Emmanuel suggests in Line 2 when he states *Pues claro* (Line 2) or 'well, of course (it is important to speak English in Puerto Rico)'. 'Well, of course' as a response suggests that the role of English on the island is permanent, may not be refuted or questioned, and its importance is logical and obvious.

In his second utterance, Emmanuel hints at some ideological distance to the U.S. by addressing them as 'tourists' rather than a 'part of us', unlike Miguel's response which constructed a more hybrid identity. In Line 3, Americans are conceived as *touristas* and *persona de allá* or 'people from over there', further cementing spatial distance from island life. Arguably, the change of address in Line 3 of 'tourists' to 'people from over there' or *allá* (Line 3) is less ideologically loaded. Addressing someone as a tourist relies on the assumption that the person is a foreigner and, therefore, does not belong. Rephrasing *turista* to *persona de allá* allows a more abstract and general conceptualisation of the mainland American, and our duty to accommodate to a less threatening figure and more abstract construct.

In Line 4 Emmanuel uses *tenemos* ('we have to') to mark a sense of obligation, such that speaking English on the island is not an option. In this way, Emmanuel simultaneously hints at his own ideological convictions and orientations to English and the English-speaking American, as someone of importance, who will potentially invest on the island (and perhaps award it with prestige), therefore, as 'a less important' linguistic culture, Puerto Ricans must learn to meet the linguistic needs and ways of being of mainland Americans: *we* accommodate to *them*, reproducing a type of linguistic hegemony or ideological inequality of the perceived importance of languages.

*Cristina*

Cristina, the third *In-Betweener Jock* member to be interviewed, also possessed similar values to those expressed by her peers above. It should be noted that like Emmanuel, Cristina had lived her entire life in Puerto Rico. She had had the opportunity to travel abroad on several occasions, had a number of family members living on the mainland, and was also enrolled in the Advanced English classroom. I approached the question of English in Puerto Rico in a slightly different way to how I had done in previous interviews, following the order of events in the conversation. We were discussing family members from abroad, I then brought up the topic of English attainment by Puerto Ricans, its importance, and whether families abroad should strive for the inclusion of Spanish in the household.

EXAMPLE 4. CRISTINA, IN-BETWEEN JOCK COFP, ETHNOLINGUISTIC IDENTITY (PT. 1)

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 Cristina | Yo pienso que debe sel, **like,** ehpañol en la casa y el ingléh |
| 2 | (.) aunque sea un [χebolu]. Como mi primito, mi primito se fue ahora |
| 3 | paØ *allá* fuera, creo que ya te lo dije, y tu le dice un colol y te lo |
| 4 | dice en ingléh. Y loh númeroh también. Un nene así, chiquitito. |
| | |
| ***Translation*** | |
| 1 Cristina | I think that it should be, **like,** Spanish in the home and English |
| 2 | (.) even if it is messy. Like my little cousin, my little cousin left now |
| 3 | for over there, I think that I told you, and you tell him a color and he |
| 4 | says it in English. Numbers, as well. A boy like this (.) little. |

*Note*. Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = ideological General American English.

In Lines 2 to 4, Cristina provides a personal anecdote of a cousin she has who masters the English language alongside Spanish. She describes this as the ideal situation: English to be instructed from an early age, even if it turns out 'messy' (Line 2). In her use of the word 'messy' or *rebolú* she is hinting at the bilingual styles of incorporating both Spanish

and English in conversation (i.e. code-mixing, in this thesis), which are at times falsely interpreted as acts of incompetence or incomplete acquisition of both languages – both in traditional linguistic literature but also in the metapragmatic discourses of fear surrounding constant use of English in Puerto Rico (cf. Clachar, 1997). In this excerpt, Cristina positions herself as an advocate of *ambilingualism*, or the complete mastery of two languages (see Halliday, 2009). She cites instruction from birth as key to achieving this status.

I then ask Cristina to describe how she sees herself and her relationship to Spanish and English, so I can arrive at a better understanding of her initial response. She admits that both English and Spanish are integral parts of her life and experiences – *an important part of who she is*. This is suggested in the excerpt below, particularly lines 14 to 15. In this sense, Cristina's ideological convictions of the importance of bilingualism do not rely on the sociopolitical relationship of the United States and Puerto Rico, rather, lean to more developmental explanations as to why bilingualism enhances quality of life.

EXAMPLE 5. CRISTINA, IN-BETWEEN JOCK COFP IN MISSION HIGH, ETHNOLINGUISTIC IDENTITY (PT. 2)

| | |
|---|---|
| 14 Cristina | Me identifico con el ingléh polque: lo usamoØ mucho, como ahora mihmo |
| 15 | ehtoy hablando mitaØ en ehpañol y mitaØ en ingléh. A veceh, <u>como que</u>, no |
| 16 | me salen lah palabraØ en ehpañol y prefiero decil-laØ en ingléh, o: me guhta |
| 17 | máh como suenan en ingléh que en Ehpañol. |
| | |
| ***Translation*** | |
| | |
| 14 Cristina | I identify with the English (language) because we use it a lot, like right now |
| 15 | I am talking half in Spanish and half in English. Sometimes<u>, like,</u> the *words* |
| 16 | *don't come out* in Spanish and I rather say them in English, or *I like* |
| 17 | *more how they sound* in English than in Spanish. |

*Note*. Regular font = PR Spanish; underline = discourse marker.

In Lines 14 to 17 she suggests a slightly greater inclination to the English language by describing her style as incorporating 'a lot' of English, despite using Puerto Rican Spanish styles to communicate this (perhaps as a shielding mechanism on account of attention paid to speech). Importantly, she also lags behind in bilingual, English incorporating styles, in comparison to other members from her same peer group (*In-Betweener Jocks*) or the girls from the *Choir Group CofP*. She then repositions this self-linguistic assessment by describing her bilingual style as 'half and half' or equal in Lines 14 to 15: 'like right now I am speaking half in Spanish and half in English'. This self-evaluation matches more with her linguistic reality, although her bilingual style still

suggests an inclination to Spanish structures, peppered with insertional Englishes. Cristina's speaking style is still within the boundaries of linguistic acceptability on the island: a dominant local way of speaking, with few non-local forms. She credits her use of English to occassions when she is momentarily filling in a *lexical gap* or knowledge gap, and she wants to communicate her point across as fast as possible, perhaps due to her ambilingualism or native-like command of two languages which she routinely uses. Other times, she states, she uses an English word because she 'likes more how they sound' (Lines 16 - 17), thus suggesting a linguistic inclination or preference to the prestigious elite code. "English as the cool (or trendy) language", as is suggested by several informants of Perez Casas' (2008) study of the bilingual elite of San Juan. In this sense, Cristina is referring to intentional use of English, such that it suggests that her bilingual style may be at times purposeful and conveys meaning in interaction, showcasing a metalinguistic awareness of her own personal styles and the purposeful flaunting of them.

## B) GAMER COFP

The Gamer CofP was characterised by their love of video games and out-of-school interactions in the parking lot, the nearby *McDonalds*, and playing iPads and *Nintendo DS* during lunch hours. Outside of school they would also meet at the local arcade, outside of the cinema, and/or each other's house to play *Nintendo Super Smash Bros*. All of the members of this CofP were born and raised in Puerto Rico and had spent most of their schooling in private school institutions, with the exception of Roberto (not discussed here).

*Daniel*

One of the first CofP members I was able to record was Daniel, born and raised in the countryside of Mayagüez. Prior to conducting the interview, he stated that he did not know how to speak English fluently, thinking that the event was a test of how bilingual he was. I assured him that my research intentions were not to measure competence. I said to him that he could speak in whatever language he so desired. This type of reported linguistic anxiety in elite contexts is absent from the scholarship on bilingualism on the island (see Pousada 2000 and 2007 for a discussion of 'English enclaves' and the competent bilingual on the island).

EXAMPLE 1. DANIEL, GAMER COFP IN MISSION HIGH, ETHNOLINGUISTIC IDENTITY (PT. 1)

| | |
|---|---|
| 60 Katherine | ¿Tú piensah que eh importante que un puertorriqueño sepa hablal ingléh? |
| 61 Daniel | Bueno (.)¿sí? Ehte, **umm**, no tanto paØ vivil aquí, pero, por ejemplo, si me |
| 62 | quiero mudal allá, sí. PaØ trabajar. |
| | |
| **Translation** | |
| | |
| 60 Katherine | Do you think that it is important for a Puerto Rican to know how to speak English? |
| 61 Daniel | Well (.) yes? Umm, **umm,** not so much to live here, but, for instance, if I |
| 62 | want to move there yes. To work. |

*Note*. Regular = PR Spanish; **Bold** = General American English.

In his response, Daniel echoes some of the sentiment advocated by his peers: that English is an important tool to acquire by islanders. However, his upward intonation at the end of the sentence indicates uncertainty, he then continues this new frame of thought by providing additional clarification 'not so much to live here, but, for example, if I want to live over there yes' (Lines 2 - 3). His response echoes an acknowledgement of the *de facto* norm on the island, and the ability to survive and get by without competency in English. He then pursues this idea by suggesting a context in which the language would be useful: 'if I were to live abroad' and 'to work'.

### *Pablo*

As suggested in Chapter 5, Pablo's identity within his group was that of being an exceptional student. In all subjects, Pablo succeeded. People would often come to Pablo for help in solving Math or Physics problems. He could be found working out near the fields during lunchtime. Many spoke highly of him and saw him as an accomplished person. He was competent in both Spanish and English, and participated in Spanish-matrix strategies coupled with insertional and alternational Englishes. The phonological strategies he incorporated unto his English mimicked those of Standard General American (see early sections for a description). As a fully competent bilingual, and one of the few that placed in Advanced English in his own community, I was interested in discovering what he saw the role of English on the island to be. His response was very emblematic of the overall elite sentiment: of English possessing monetary value and status. Example 3 demonstrates his response.

EXAMPLE 3. PABLO, GAMER COFP IN MISSION HIGH, PERCEIVED PRESTIGE AND INSTRUMENTALITY OF ENGLISH (PT. 1)

| ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 01 Pablo | Pue:s:, sí:, ingléh eh importante | 01 Pablo | Well, yes, it is important |
| 02 | polque te habré cierta∅ puerta∅ | 02 | because it opens certain doors |
| 03 | polque: (.) mucho trabajo, la | 03 | because (.) many jobs, the |
| 04 | mayoría de loh trabajo∅ aquí | 04 | majority of the jobs here |
| 05 | son público∅. E:, si quiere ir a | 05 | are public. Umm, if you want |
| 06 | lante en ehto∅ trabajo∅ eh | 06 | to get ahead in these jobs it's |
| 07 | bueno sabel ingléh | 07 | good to know English because |
| 08 | polque: (.) loh federale∅ | 08 | (.) the federal (companies) |
| 09 | tambié:n (.) buhcang trabajo | 09 | too (.) look for labour |
| 10 | aquí, que sabel ingléh | 10 | here, that you know English |
| 11 | te puede ayudal en lah | 11 | can help you in the |
| 12 | posicione∅, subil de | 12 | positions, or to get a higher |
| 13 | posicione:∅. Pe:ro: no eh que | 13 | position. But it is not that it is |
| 14 | sea necesario para vivir, | 14 | necessary to live, |
| 15 | pe:ro: (.) no que sea necesario | 15 | bu:t (.) it is unnecessary |
| 16 | para vivir (.) en Puerto Rico, | 16 | to live in Puerto Rico, |
| 17 | pero sí si quiere: tener | 17 | but yes if you want to have |
| 18 | máh dinero, má:h | 18 | more money, more |
| 19 | oportunidade∅. | 19 | opportunities. |
| 20 Katherine | O sea, tu lo veo como:= | 20 Katherine | You mean, you see it like= |
| 21 Pablo | Un **asset.** | 21 Pablo | An **asset.** |

*Note*. Regular = PR Spanish; **Bold** = ideological General American English; Underline = Discourse marker.

Pablo's response to the question of the role of English on the island can be divided into two parts, each reflective of the local indexical presuppositions of the financial and social instrumentality of the language on the island. His first response is much attuned with his upbringing (elite school, upper middle-class background), as well as reflective of a shared belief system inherent in his immediate community of practice, which conceives of English as the primary gatekeeper to prestigious career opportunities.

Additionally, Pablo speaks of English's monetary value, or semiotic currency which allows one to *get ahead* in jobs (Line 31), to secure higher promotions (Lines 33 - 34), and have *more money* and *more opportunities* (Line 35) – the metapragmatic awareness of the prestige of English on the island, versus the limited vernacular Spanish. Thus, while his response is no different from that of his peers in terms of an overall positive evaluation, he does, however, add a 'price tag' to the knowledge of English through the explicit use of *asset*. In my field notes, and other's assessment of Pablo, he is often characterised as someone "of wealth", especially given his father's position as an established lawyer. In one of my first informal interactions with Pablo, Pablo demonstrated an interest to my location and university affiliation, as he was well-travelled himself. He enthusiastically recounted stories of his travels to exotic and far away

locations, shared pictures of pyramids in Egypt and of the city of Dubai. Note that on the island, it is especially uncommon to hear of people who have been to these places. It is more usual to hear of trips to neighbouring islands (cruises), New York City and/or Disney World (Orlando), as these are at times sold at lower prices and in many travel deals. Rarely does one hear of Puerto Ricans travelling to European countries, and – if they do – it is typically associated with a person of higher social standing. Consequently, the fact that Pablo's response to the role of English was one that was class and economically based, fits with his inherited social circumstances. Additionally, when discussing the economic value of knowing English, Pablo temporarily partakes in what Gumperz (1982) would consider a *metaphorical switch* when calling English an *asset* into a PR Spanish matrix, in that is conveys an additional semantic message, in this way he is solidifying the message being conveyed by incorporating GenAm noun at this particular moment in the utterance.

In another part of the interview, I ask him whether he thinks the ability to speak English can serve as an indicator of socioeconomic standing; in his assessment of others, he appears to back-pedal. He presents the evaluative argument that while English *is* an *asset* (overall), possessing this ability is unnecessary to establish financial stability *on the island*. He supports his argument by providing anecdotal examples of professionals he knows: 'the doctors that *I know'* he says in Lines 41 to 42, then clarifies his relation in Line 42 'that *are mine'*, so as to suggest that his relation to them is not personal, rather, professional. He presses on by providing an assessment of their abilities as island professionals 'don't know much English, and… they are very well paid' (Lines 42 - 44). It is not clear what Pablo means by 'much English', nor his perceptions of bilingualism at this point, but later he provides examples of professions where islanders do possess 'advanced knowledge' of English due to the nature of their professions and the terminology they must get acquainted with in order to practice this career, at this point Pablo provides personal references of people his wealthy father is well-acquainted with: 'the people that surround my dad… bankruptcy lawyers… they know a lot of English to work' (Lines 46 - 50). Towards the end of his turn, Pablo wraps his stance with regards to English and elitism on the island by reiterating his previous position: knowing English *no marca tanto el estatus social* 'It does not mark the social status much' (Lines 52 - 53), but for his own personal ambitions and 'future self' or desired identity (i.e. ambitions), he sees English as an object or a physical ticket (Line 63) to 'get out'.

Followers of the local argument, pro-island, may interpret his statement of 'getting out' as an act of snobbery or nationalistic betrayal, particularly under recent social protests and ideological discourses against the Puerto Rican brain drain (or loss of professionals), and for the improvement of the local economy and workers' rights. Counter movements to the massive exodus of islanders for the mainland include online hashtag practices of solidarity and strength, such as those including phrses like *yo no me quito* "I'm not a quitter" (Carrero, 2016[112]). This single statement perfectly captures the struggle of the islander who must choose between potential unemployment or financial instability in order to "defend" their local culture, help their country move forward, fight for what is *theirs*, versus accommodating to the foreign code (English), establishing their lives abroad, whilst donating their skills and expertise to the powerful Other.

EXAMPLE 4. PABLO, GAMER COFP IN MISSION HIGH, PERCEIVED PRESTIGE AND INSTRUMENTALITY OF ENGLISH (PT. 2)

| ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 38 Katherine | O sea, ¿que ma:rca: ehstatus | 38 Katherine | You mean, it marks the |
| 39 | socioeconómico? | 39 | socioeconomic status? |
| 40 Pablo | No necesariamente porque: loh | 40 Pablo | Not necessarily because the |
| 41 | médicoØ, yo:, loh médicoØ que | 41 | doctors, I:, the doctors that I |
| 42 | yo conohco, loh míoh, no saben | 42 | know, that are mine, don't know |
| 43 | mucho de ingléh, y tieneng (.) | 43 | much of English, and they have (.) |
| 44 | son gente muy bien pagado. | 44 | they are very well paid. |
| 45 | Pero: en San Juan (.) como yo | 45 | But, in San Juan (.) since |
| 46 | vivo en San Juan, la mayoría de | 46 | I live in San Juan, most who |
| 47 | la gente que se rodea mi papá mi | 47 | surround my dad, |
| 48 | papá tiene mucho dinero ahora | 48 | my dad has a lot of money |
| 49 | mihmo, esoØ jueceh son | 49 | right now, and those are judges, |
| 50 | abogado de: de quiebra. | 50 | those are bankruptcy lawyers. |
| 51 | Saben muchoØ ingléh para: (.) | 51 | They know a lot of English to (.) |
| 52 | trabajal. No creo que marque | 52 | work. I don't think that it would |
| 53 | tanto el EhtatuØ social, ni la | 53 | mark much social status, the |
| 54 | economía:, polque: (.) cieltoØ | 54 | economy, because (.) certain jobs |
| 55 | trabajoh (.) con Ehpañol (.) eh | 55 | (.) with Spanish (.) it is |
| 56 | suficiente: y: (.) se gana | 56 | sufficient and (.) you can win |
| 57 | bahtante dinero. Pero, paØ mi, | 57 | much money. But for me, |
| 58 | me guhta máh (.) conocer el | 58 | I like more (.) knowing |
| 59 | ingléh, polque me da | 59 | English, becase it provides me |
| 60 | máh posibilida:Ø, | 60 | with more possibilities, |
| 61 | opoltunida:Ø, y si quiero ir para | 61 | opportunities, and if I want to go |
| 62 | loh Ehtados Uni:do:Ø, pue:Ø, ya | 62 | to the United States, well, |
| 63 | tengo un *ticket* (.) paØ salil. | 63 | I already have a *ticket* to get out. |

[112] Carrero, J. (2016). #YoNoMeQuito Movement Aims to Inspire, Uplift Puerto Ricans. [online] NBC News. Available at: https://www.nbcnews.com/news/latino/yonomequito-movement-aims-inspire-uplift-puerto-ricans-n573016.

*Norman*

Norman, the third member of this CofP to be interviewed, held one of the most extreme oppositional ideologies to Puerto Rican culture, as will be discussed at a later section. Despite this, his performances in both individual and focus group interviews were primarily Spanish, peppered with few English insertional strategies (as suggested in Chapter 6). When asked about the currency of English on the island, he mimicked one of the answers provided by Emmanuel from the Jock CofP. He believed that for touristic purposes, islanders should acquire a second language. However, he does not explicitly refer to tourists from the U.S., as Emmanuel does in his response. Norman refers to tourists in general by calling them 'people' (*la gente que viene pa'ca*) (Line 6) and 'tourists' (*to' loh turihta*) (Line 7), but he never says from where, which suggests that he conceives as the toursits as an abstract English-speaker, rather than a familiar one. In Lines 8 – 10 he explicitly discusses his ideological vision of English as the gatekeeper to fruitful tourism and international appeal: *ingléh eh un idioma universal ya* 'English is an international language already' (Lines 8-9), hinting at his metapragmatic awareness of the global currency of English (which is unsurprising, considering his status as a teen in a globalized 21st century).

A third theme in his response below is related to foreign recruiters or companies that establish themselves in Puerto Rico, and an employee's ability and competence in meeting their employers demands – in this case, Norman is implicitly referring to the opportunities brought upon American companies on the island which hold the largest corporate monopoly, which has historically wiped out local competitors. In this sense, Norman is momentarily upholding the importance of English both globally and locally over Spanish, such that the indexical association with prestige, wealth, opportunities and socioeconomic improvements is well indoctrinated into the ways of thinking of many of the members of this CofP (as well as others in Mission High).

EXAMPLE 5. NORMAN, GAMER COFP IN MISSION HIGH, PERCEIVED PRESTIGE AND INSTRUMENTALITY OF ENGLISH

| ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 01 Katherine | Y, ¿Tú piensa que eh | 01 Katherine | And do you think it's |
| 02 | importante sabel hablal | 02 | important to know how to |
| 03 | inglés Ø para poder | 03 | speak English to be able to |
| 04 | sobrevivil en Puelto Rico? | 04 | survive in Puerto Rico? |
| 05 Norman | Yo pienso que sí por toda | 05 Norman | I think that yes because of |
| 06 | la gente que viene | 06 | all of the people that come |
| 07 | pa (a)'ca, to' loh turihta Ø. | 07 | over here, all of the tourists, |
| 08 | Inglés eh un idioma | 08 | English is a universal |
| 09 | universal ya, uno | 09 | language already, one of the |
| 10 | de loh máh que se conoce, y | 10 | most well known, and |
| 11 | <u>pue Ø</u> si viene una compañía | 11 | <u>well</u> if a company comes |
| 12 | para acá para Puerto Rico | 12 | here to Puerto Rico |
| 13 | hablando en inglés, ¿cómo | 13 | speaking English, how will |
| 14 | vah a conseguil su trabajo | 14 | they find a job if they |
| 15 | sino hablah inglés? | 15 | cannot speak English? |

*Note*. Regular font = PR Spanish.

In a later part of the interview, Norman adds that the importance of speaking English is also related to Puerto Rico's relationship with the United States. Therefore, once again hinting the colonial-like relationship of the island, which demands of islanders to come to terms with a nonlocal culture and way of speaking. The "part-of-the-whole" argument, exhibited by Emmanuel and Miguel from the In-Between CofP is also present here. Thus, within a single interview event, Norman shifts identity positions by first providing a distancing side to English: "it's a global language" and "we need it for tourism", to progressively U.S.-P.R. relations and being part of the whole, by not just referring it to a global language (objective) and the gatekeeper to potential career opportunities, but as "part of us" in the use of *somos*, meaning "we are" (Line 8).

EXAMPLE 6. NORMAN, GAMER COFP IN MISSION HIGH, PERCEIVED PRESTIGE AND INSTRUMENTALITY OF ENGLISH (Pt.2)

| | |
|---|---|
| 7 Katherine | <u>O sea,</u> turihmo y compañíah. |
| 8 Norman | Exacto, y que somo Ø parte de: Ehtados Unido Ø. |
| 9 Katherine | Okay, políticamente. |
| 10 Norman | Exacto. |
| | |
| ***Translation*** | |
| 7 Katherine | <u>You mean,</u> tourism and companies. |
| 8 Norman | Exactly, and that we are a part of the United States. |
| 9 Katherine | Okay, politically. |
| 10 Norman | Exactly. |

*Note*. Regular font = PR Spanish.

## *Dave*

Dave held a prestigious status within his own CofP. Many co-members referred to his antics in admiration and spoke highly of his offbeat, nonchalant persona. In Chapter 5, I presented Dave as a person of rebellious practices (e.g. breaking school dress code, frequent abscences, tardiness, talking in class). Aesthetically, Dave stood out with his big curly hair and gray beanie in a hot tropical weather. It comes to know surprise then that given his alternative practices, Dave would be hesitant to provide a 'status quo' evaluation of the importance of English on the island. In act of defiance to the expected elite norm, Dave at no point mentions the argument of P.R. being "part-of-the-whole" (the U.S.), nor Puerto Rico's obligation or duty to comply with the prestigious norm. He reconstructs previous indexical notions of English (pro-Statehood and Pro-U.S. ideologies) to a *cosmopolitan meaning* (Lines 11-13), therefore, providing an additional and alternative indexical value and appeal to English, detached from local political tensions on the island.

EXAMPLE 7. DAVE, GAMER COFP, PERCEIVED PRESTIGE AND INSTRUMENTALITY OF ENGLISH

| ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 01 Katherine | En Puerto Rico, ¿Tu piensah que | 01 Katherine | In Puerto Rico, do you think that |
| 02 | eh importante que la gente::, | 02 | it is important that people know* |
| 03 | sepa ingléh? | 03 | English? |
| 04 Dave | **Yeah.** | 04 Dave | **Yeah.** |
| 05 Katherine | ¿Por qué? | 05 Katherine | Why? |
| 06 Dave | **There's no such thing a:s** | 06 Dave | **There's no such thing a:s** |
| 07 | sabel demasiado, **<u>like,</u>** porque | 07 | knowing too much, **<u>like,</u>** because |
| 08 | va – por qué parar de | 08 | you're going to – why stop |
| 09 | hablar? Por qué parar de | 09 | talking? Why stop learning |
| 10 | aprender cosaØ, cosaØ | 10 | things, things (that are) |
| 11 | nuevaØ? Y inglés e:Ø **super** | 11 | new? And English is **super** |
| 12 | **useful** porque eØ un **universal** | 12 | **useful** because it is a **universal** |
| 13 | **language.** Hay gente que:: | 13 | **language.** There are people tha:t |
| 14 | que:: **they get cocky.** | 14 | tha:t **they get cocky.** |
| 15 | ((*Whispers*)) Tiffany, Tiffany, | 15 | ((*Whispers*)) Tiffany, Tiffany, |
| 16 | Tiffany ((*Whispers*)). | 16 | Tiffany ((*Whispers*)). |
| 17 Katherine | ¿Como qué? | 17 Katherine | Like who? |
| 18 Dave | ((*Whispers*)) Tiffany! | 18 Dave | ((Whispers)) Tiffany! |
| 19 | ((*Whispers*)) y:: <u>pue::</u> **they** | 19 | ((*Whispers*)) a::nd <u>we::ll</u> **they** |
| 20 | **get cocky**, si se creen gringoh | 20 | **get cocky**, if they think the are |
| 21 | (.) de veh en cuando. | 21 | gringos (.) from time to time. |
| 22 | Y::, e:: pero <u>en verda:Ø</u>, **yeah,** | 22 | A::nd, umm, but <u>honestly</u>, **yeah,** |
| 23 | eh importante, **I guess**. Si tu | 23 | it's important, **I guess**. If you |
| 24 | quiere…(((*Whispers loudly*)) | 24 | want…((*Whispers loudly*)) |
| 25 | Tiffany! | 25 | Tiffany! |

*Note*. Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = Standard-like General American English; Underline = teen talk discourse marker.

Out of the members of his CofP, Dave does little to mask his bilingual speaking style when explicitly discussing language. Following the sociolinguistic interview paradigm, questions to do with competence, style, and language ideologies generate *attention to speech* (cf. Labov, 1968; Schilling, 2013; Tagliamonte, 2013). What reaffirms Dave's callous persona is that, despite engaging in issues related to language ideologies, identity politics, and affiliations, he does not alter his way of speech. This is particularly visible in Lines 6, 7, and 11 to 14, where we find a mix of insertional verb phrases (e.g. *there's no such thing as…*), insertional lexical items (e.g. filler *like*), adjective phrases (e.g. such as *super useful*), and noun phrases (e.g. such as *universal language*) to talk about English.

Beyond employing a wide range of parts of speech, Dave is simultaneously speaking in a native, or near-native US English style, and this is demonstrated in streams of speech in Lines 1 – 6. Consequently, Dave demonstrates command of both languages by engaging in mixing and not violating the grammars of the ideological codes involved, abiding by the equivalence constraint described in Poplack's (1980) work.

In Line 6, Dave offers a 'neutral' indexical argument for the act of speaking multiple languages (general), arguing for its cognitive and cultural benefits: *there's no such thing as sabel demasiado* or 'there's no such thing as knowing too much'. At this point, Dave offers an evaluation from a position of 'authority' or knowingness through the adoption of 'there's no such thing', suggesting that the benefits of speaking multiple languages are well-known and unrefutable. Towards the end of his second and third turn, he continues this train of thought of English as a code of personal enrichment, right until the very end. Despite his projected anti-Puerto Rican persona particularly in his evaluation of local youth culture (reggeaton), Dave simultaneously rejects adopting full immersion-style persona. He positions himself strongly against English-only practices in his last turn (Lines 18 - 25). In Lines 13 - 14, above, Dave introduces the possibility of adopting too much English through mixed speech so as to evidence his refusal to speak English only: *Hay gente que:: que:: <u>they get cocky</u>* "There are people tha:t tha:t they get cocky". He then supplies us with a person he believes exemplifies this stereotype of superiority complex and cockiness, by citing a fellow classmate from the Pop Culture Enthusiasts CofP (and simultaneous member of the English-dominant Choir Girl CofP),

Tiffany. In Lines 19 to 21 he awards English-only practices with anti-nationalistic values and equates it with 'thinking they are *gringos'* and simultaneously *cocky*. Here we see evidence of what Jonathan Rosa (2019) refers to as "sounding like a race" or racialised political discourses that conceive of Spanish as the sole emblem and signifier of a collective Latino (in this case Puerto Rican) identity, and of English as the language of 'the gringo' or the United States, a separate entity to the island, despite the island's unincorporated status.

Consequently, from an outward perspective, Dave has contradicted himself: his first position advocating for bi-/multilingualism ("why stop learning?"), and his second position leaning towards the politicization of English and the oppositional view of those who incorporate English-only styles in local contexts (Lines 19 - 21). His initial stance of utility and universality loses power, and simultaneously gains a new meaning: English is a useful tool, but not if you use it to accommodate or acculturate to the powerful Other. Dave creates an act of identity that lives up to what he has projected himself to be so far: an outlier, difficult-to-label or determine, different, rebellious, deviant, "cool". His last ideological position is provided in Lines 22 to 23 when he says 'but in reality, yeah, it's important', coming in full circle of his previously stated ideology, followed by non-threatnening discourse marker *I guess*, so as to alleviate the importance of English and simultaneously live up to his cool, non-academic persona – as well as his indifference to local political issues.

## C) THE OUTSIDERS

*Zuriel*

Zuriel positioned himself as a firm believer of the significance of the local vernacular: Puerto Rican Spanish. Like his peers, he made reference to the usefulness of English for island tourism – 'it is necessary because of the tourists, etcetera' (Lines 09 - 10) – howevever, he simultaneously disaligns with the language, particularly if used outside of economic domains. In Lines 10 to 12 he refers to his own ideological inclinations as similar to those of islanders outside of the school who see the use of two languages, or ability of using two languages, as unnecessary in Spanish-functioning contexts. In other words, Zuriel constructs an indexically *diaglossic* scenario (cf. Ferguson, 1959): where the high variety (the prestigious language) is acceptable in certain formal settings (e.g. business, touristic, and work domains), and the low variety (the local

vernacular) is acceptable in most informal domains (e.g. between Puerto Ricans, friends, family, and other intimate settings).

His language ideologies are further authenticated through his performance in the interview event, where most of his conversational turns take place in Puerto Rican Spanish, rather than English.

EXAMPLE 1. ZURIEL, OUTSIDERS COFP IN MISSION HIGH, PERCEIVED PRESTIGE AND INSTRUMENTALITY OF ENGLISH

| ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 01 Katherine | Y, ¿Tú creeØ que en Puelto | 01 Katherine | And, do you think in Puerto Rico |
| 02 | Rico se debe de aprendel a | 02 | one should learn how to speak |
| 03 | hablal ingléh? | 03 | English? |
| 04 Zuriel | Bueno:, en Ehtado-sí::, si tu te | 04 Zuriel | Well, in the States-ye:s, if you |
| 05 | mudas sí eh necesario-o | 05 | move there then it is necessary, |
| 06 | cualquiel palte del mundo, sí es | 06 | or any part of the world, it is |
| 07 | necesario el inglés. | 07 | necessary the English language. |
| 08 | Pero en Puelto Rico como ta:l/, | 08 | But in Puerto Rico as such, |
| 09 | es necesario polque eh bien | 09 | it is necessary because of the |
| 10 | turihta:s, ecetera, pero: (.) un | 10 | tourists, etcetera, but a |
| 11 | pueltorriqueño entre otro no | 11 | Puerto Rican between another I |
| 12 | creo que sea tan necesario. | 12 | don't think it necessary. |

*Note*. Regular = PR Spanish.

Another indexical value noted by Zuriel in his response above is the idea of English as the language of 'the outside' or abroad (global and international contexts), and the United States (immediate sociopolitical contexts): *en Ehtado-sí* 'in the States-yes' (Line 4) and *sí, eh necesario cualquiel palte del mundo* 'yes, it is necessary in whatever part of the world' (Lines 5 – 7). In Lines 10 – 12, he goes as far as to claim English practices in Puerto Rico as 'unnecessary' in *un puertorriqueño entre otro no* 'one Puerto Rican to another no' (Lines 10 - 11). His response stands in stark contrast to that provided by his peers in Mission High who see the instrumental and social utility of English in local and global contexts, and who also adopt bilingual styles frequently (see Fernando, below, for instance). The ideological undertones of Zuriel's exchange are in alignment with those of his best friend and classmate, Daniel (who bodes dual ties with the *Gamer CofP* and *the Outsiders*).

## *Fernando*

Fernando, who held dual memberships in both *Pop Culture Enthusiasts* and *the Outsiders* groups, constructed an ideological perception of English that could be

construed as ideologically problematic, particularly when held against nationalistic discourses of Hispanic pride and identity. In Chapter 6, his bilingual styles were discussed as frequently mixed, at times incorporating English-dominant styles to his conversational turns, but carrying an overall tendency towards Spanish-dominant styles with frequent occurences of English insertions and alternations. It is then ideologically coherent for him to produce these styles as well as perform positive metapragmatic discourses of English and English-speaking culture. In the excerpt below, however, Fernando goes as far as to suggest the English-dominant culture as superior to his own local island culture. This suggestion becomes evident in Lines 6 to 10, when he gives thanks to the English language and English speaking culture *Ehtados Unido* for 'accepting' Puerto Ricans into their country and awarding them with a status of 'prestige'. The prestige of English is vocalised when Fernando speaks of the universality of English as *uno de loh idioma mah hablado en el planeta* 'one of the most spoken languages on our planet' (Lines 04 - 06), and thus, Puerto Rico's status as a U.S. territory (i.e. part of them) is appealing and desirable.

His evaluation of English and American culture as 'accepting' of Puerto Ricans is not only ideologically problematic, but historically so. The main reason behind this being that the circumstances by which Puerto Rico came to be associated with the United States were the outcome of violence and war (see Pousada, 2000 on Spanish-American War, Chapter 3 on this thesis). The move to make Puerto Ricans American citizens in 1917 was motivated by recruit motives during an ongoing war (World War I) and to further foster loyalty among recently acquired Puerto Ricans (cf. Franqui-Rivera, 2015). One may suggest that perhaps Fernando's own conceptualisation of the United States in relation to Puerto Rico may be due to the cultural hegemony of the United States on Puerto Rico (cf. Valdez, 2016), particularly through its overwhelming presence in the media, business world, government agencies and educational domains. As such, bilinguals such as Fernando may have over-inflated perceptions of cultures that seem more powerful and prestigious than the local culture, due to their presence across multiple domains. This perception, in turn, has real psychological repurcussions over Fernando's perception of self and his personal identity.

EXAMPLE 2. FERNANDO, THE OUTSIDERS COFP IN MISSION HIGH, PERCEIVED PRESTIGE AND INSTRUMENTALITY OF ENGLISH (PT. 1)

| ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 01 Katherine | Y, ¿tú piensa que e importante | 01 Katherine | And do you think it's important |
| 02 | aprendel ingléh? | 02 | to learn English? |
| 03 Fernando | Mmmhmm, eh impoltante | 03 Fernando | Mmhmm, it's important |
| 04 | polque el ingléh (.) e:s uno de | 04 | because English is one of the |
| 05 | loh idioma máh hablado | 05 | languages most spoken |
| 06 | en el planeta, y: y: gracia al | 06 | on the planet, a:nd a:nd thanks to |
| 07 | ingléh, bueno, gracia a | 07 | English, well, thanks to the |
| 08 | Ehtados Unido pol aceptal a | 08 | United States for accepting |
| 09 | Puelto Rico como palte de | 09 | Puerto Rico as part of the |
| 10 | Ehtados Unido, palte de ello, | 10 | United States, part of them, |
| 11 | ehte: (.) noh dió | 11 | umm (.) it gave us the |
| 12 | la opoltunida de aprendel otro | 12 | opportunity to learn another |
| 13 | idioma. | 13 | language. |

*Note*. Regular font = PR Spanish.

## D) AMERICAN POP CULTURE ENTHUSIASTS

Chapter 6 set the scene for the linguistic practices of the Pop Enthusiasts, the second highest incorporaters on English onto their everyday speech in Mission High. Their language attitudes confirm their projected styles. In an interview with Laura, one of the main members of this CofP, she tells me that she associates English as a universal language first and foremost. She then goes on to cite countries beyond the U.S. that use English on a daily basis, and cites China as one of these (Line 2). In this sense, Laura projects an ideology similar to that of Dave from the Gamer CofP, in that she sees English as a universal quality, rather than one immediately tied to notions of the United States' and Puerto Rico's immediate political bond with an English speaking country. After framing English in terms of its universality, she then provides a career-driven explanation to the usefulness of English, and being able to secure better jobs or access a wider range of careers. In Line 15 she addresses the issue of "the United States", however, instead of referring to Puerto Rico's status as a territory, her explanation addresses the outside tourists, that are "not from here" (Line 13), but "from the United States" (Line 14) and the value behind being able to communicate with them or accommodate to them should they pay a visit to the island. In this sense, Laura constructs the United States as a more supreme entity, in that they should have a say in the styles that islanders adopt should the circumstances of a social interaction change; that is, should an English monolingual join in the conversation, islanders should prioritise their speech over their own. This discourse stands in extreme contrast to the existing rhetoric on the mainland, one of "this is

America, speak English" (cf. Lippi-Green, 1997). The order of linguistic prioritisations of a non-local code over the local code allow us to achieve a better grasp in terms of language dynamics as well as self-perception of the island Puerto Rican, as not good enough or powerful enough on its own.

EXAMPLE 3. LAURA, AMERICAN POP ENTHUSIASTS COFP, PERCEIVED PRESTIGE AND INSTRUMENTALITY OF ENGLISH

| ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 01Katherine | Y, ¿Tú piensa que eh | 01 Katherine | And do you think that it's |
| 02 | impoltante hablal ingléh pa | 02 | important to speak English to be |
| 03 | podel vivil en la ihla? | 03 | able to live on the island? |
| 04 Laura | E: e:l **[ju:.nə.vər.səl]** | 04 Laura | Umm, it's the **universal** |
| 05 | **[læŋ.gwɪdʒ], <u>[so:ʊ:]</u>** (.) hahta en | 05 | **language, <u>so</u>** (.) even in |
| 06 | China hablan ingléh (.) y allá | 06 | China they speak English (.) and |
| 07 | lo que hablang eh (.) | 07 | there what they speak is (.) |
| 08 | Chino. Si tu jefe habla | 08 | Chinese. If your boss speaks |
| 09 | ingléh, puedeØ | 09 | English, then you can |
| 10 | comunicalte mejol y dice, "ah, | 10 | communicate better and say,"ah, |
| 11 | ehta habla bueno ingléh, | 11 | this one speaks good English, I |
| 12 | puedo usal-la:. **<u>Like,</u>** hay | 12 | can use her. **<u>Like,</u>** there are |
| 13 | máh **opportunities** si (.) | 13 | more **opportunities** if |
| 14 | puede: hablal **more** [de] | 14 | (.) you can speak **more** than |
| 15 | **one language.** Hay muchoØ | 15 | **one language.** There are many |
| 16 | turihtaØ que no son de aquí, | 16 | tourists that are not from here, |
| 17 | so:n (.) de Ehtados UnidoØ. | 17 | they're from(.) the United States. |
| 18 | Y como dije si tu **[bʊs]** llega | 18 | And as I said if your **[bʊs]** is |
| 19 | a sel Dominicano, aunque tu | 19 | Dominican, even if you |
| 20 | ehteØ en Puelto Rico, **ye:s**, te | 20 | are in Puerto Rico, **ye:s,** it |
| 21 | ayuda:/. >Yo pienso que sí, te | 21 | helps you. >I think that yes, it |
| 22 | ayuda<. | 22 | helps<. |

*Note*. Regular = PR Spanish; **Bold** = Standardised General American English; Underline = teen talk discourse marker.

Interesting to note is that as Laura provides a metapragmatic evaluation of her opinion of English, she also engages in a bilingual speaking style while she expresses her positive evaluation: *eØ el [ju:.nə.vər.səl] [læŋ.gwɪd͡ʒ], [so:ʊ:]* ( **'**it's *the* universal language, so') (Line 2). Her act of engaging in this ideology mimics that of Dave from the Gamer CofP, who also voiced English's utility through use of English insertional strategies in the phrase 'universal language'. Both insertions can be seen as metaphorical switches under Gumperz's (1982) typology of bilingual speech. She ends her utterance with colloquial discourse marker *so*, which in this instance is a classic example of what Tagliamonte (2016) refers to as 'sentence-ender' so, whose pragmatic function serves to suggest the end of an idea, or also as a strategy to invite the audience to jump in, or to fill in an awkward silence. In this case, it may be appealing to suggest that so's role is that of

emphasizing what has been previously stated. Consider in another case, where one may use this type of sentence ender *so*: *I didn't like her anyway, so*. Laura in this sense is suggesting that English's role as a universal language is obvious, or perhaps, not new information. Comparisons can be drawn to a similar variant – 'so yeah' – at the end of a sentence, and how it can also mark the end of an utterance and at the same reemphasize what has been stated.

Interestingly, and not to be taken for granted, is her introduction of English or her description of English as '*él* universal language', an utterance that involves the insertional strategy of Spanish definite article *él* coupled by the flaunting of bilingual talk 'universal language'. The inclusion of a definite article communicates an act of signalling out a specific item in the world; in this case, that item is English, and English appears to be the sole item of universal importance – at least, in this particular moment in the interaction. Despite Spanish's equal global currency, it is often perceived as a more local *heritage* language, rather than an objectively universal language whose acquisition would be just as useful as that of English (cf. Lippi Green, 2012). Laura's response echoes many of these island ideologies that emphasize English education, at times at the expense of equally powerful Spanish. She provides examples of jobs on the island that value English language competency, and the potential of promotions and further opportunities in employment with this highly valued skill. However, despite her seemingly pro-English stance from lines 4 to 10, she then reframes her argument to be of additive bilingualism, or the importance of learning multiple languages, an act to depolitise her previous statements that achieved a more English-only oriented stance. All in all, Laura positively aligns to English as a language and the opportunities attached to knowing this language. Her positive alignments are further authenticated through her flaunting of insertional strategies on a lexical level – *universal language*, *so*, *like*, *opportunities, boss, yes* – and on a phrasal level – 'more than one language'. All of these uses point to positive values or concepts that are brought upon by acquiring an additional language.

## E) CHOIR GIRLS

### *Pilar*

Pilar from the Choir Girl CofP was one of the highest incorporators of English as a matrix language. While I interviewed her by using a Spanish matrix with occasional insertional strategies, a way of talking generally accepted and adopted by the student body in Mission High, she spoke primarily in English-only turns. Despite her extraordinary behaviour, her language ideologies with regards to English on the island were centrist, rather than fully pro-English. Take for instance, her response below in which she discusses the importance of English on the island and claims that is not "as important" as others believe.

EXAMPLE 1. PILAR, CHOIR GIRL COFP IN MISSION HIGH, PERCEIVED PRESTIGE AND INSTRUMENTALITY OF ENGLISH

| | |
|---|---|
| 01 Pilar | **I <u>feel like</u> it's important** (English in Puerto Rico), **but it's not [laɪkʰ] one** |
| 02 | **hundred percent, [laɪk], to survive:. But I <u>feel like</u> it's important. 'Cause,** |
| 03 | **<u>you know</u>, <u>like</u>, all languages are, <u>like</u>, mixing up everywhere. <u>Like,</u>** |
| 04 | **Spanish is taking over the U.S., and English is taking over (.) Puerto Rico,** |
| 05 | **<u>so.</u>** |

*Note*. **Bold** = Standard-like General American English; <u>Underline</u> = American teen talk (discourse markers).

Pilar's hesitation in declaring the importance of English is performed through use of American discourse strategies, such as *like* in presenting ideas and evaluations (*like* occurs 4 times; *feel like* 2 times), as well as *so* to mark the end of her turn (see Tagliamonte, 2016). Within 'the realm of the text' (Maschler & Schriffin, 2015), *like* may pragmatically suggest restraint or discomfort in Pilar's voice, particularly performed as *feel like*. Linguists have suggested that this discourse strategy may be used to communicate vagueness or 'lose language' (see Underhill, 1988; Miller and Weinert, 1995; Andersen, 1996). This could also be indicative of her gender identity, as other studies have suggested 'vagueness' as a characterising feature to submission in women's speech (see Lakoff, 1973, 1975), were women are "likely to use more forms expressing uncertainty and politeness than men" on account of "the inferior status of women in American society and the predominantly subordinate roles assigned to them in interaction" (Holmes, 1984, p. 59). Yet, coupled alongside other features *so* and *you know,* it becomes more likely that Pilar's adoption of these 'fillers' are representative of her identity as a 'cool' teen, who negotiates her stance to adult-oriented themes (politics,

language ideologies, Puerto Rican identity), through repertoire features of her current life stage – such that she need not alter her speech to more standard-like language.

*Like* here is also used as a contextualisation cue, so as to indicate more is to come, this is particularly visible in *like* in Lines 03 to 04: *Like Spanish is taking over the U.S…* linking this example to previously stated evaluation *languages are like mixing up everywhere* (Line 3). Pilar's apparent restraint or use of discourse features could also be indicative of her desire to abstain from providing a concrete stance due to the controversial nature of the subject, where taking a definite stance in the language debate is loaded with ideological undertones. This is also perhaps the reason why Pilar attempts to depoliticise the matter of bilingualism by referring to multilingualism and mixing as something that happens 'everywhere', not just in United States and Puerto Rico – and is, therefore, globally important.

When overtly discussing the social and ideological implications of speaking English in Puerto Rico, Pilar rarely alters her main form of expression despite explicitly negotiating her Puerto Rican identity. At a later turn in the interview, I attempt to arrive at a better understanding of her evaluation which alludes to *Spanish taking over the U.S.*, by asking her whether she conceives of English as important because of Puerto Rico's relationship to the United States. She provides an affirmative response and goes as far as to cite companies that establish themselves on the island that seek bilinguals in *[pər.rə.ri.koʊ]* (*Puerto Rico* following English standard-like phonology). Again, in attempt to depoliticise English or provide additional information as to English's global importance, Pilar says *United States…or…any other place*, ultimately arguing for the global importance of bilingualism, despite previous statements on the unimportance of English for island living.

EXAMPLE 2. PILAR, CHOIR GIRL COFP IN MISSION HIGH, PERCEIVED PRESTIGE AND INSTRUMENTALITY OF ENGLISH (PT. 2)

| | |
|---|---|
| 05 Katherine | O sea, tu piensaØ que es **important for** (.) la relación que tiene con Ehtados Uni:do:= |
| 06 | ((*That is, you think that it's important for (.) the relationship that it has with the United* |
| *07* | *States=))* |
| 08 Pilar | **Yea:h↑** |
| 09 Katherine | **Do you think people who know English can get better paying jobs?** |
| 10 Pilar | **Yes. That's actually a thing. 'Cause, mostly, a lot of the companies that are here in** |
| **11** | **[pər.rə.ri.koʊ], they associate with the United States, o:r (.) >with any other** |
| **12** | **place<, a:nd (.) obviously they speak English, not Spanish. Soʊ:, it's better to know** |
| **13** | **Spanish, AND English.** |

*Note*. Regular font = PR Spanish; Bold = Standard-like General American English.

She positions herself in the same line as her peers in elite settings: with an understanding of the power of English, as the gatekeeper of social mobility and professional advancement. She first draws connection to the immediate business partner of Puerto Rico, United States; however, she is quick to provide an alternative in Line 09, *or any other place* in fast speech, so as to alienate herself from being 'too sided' in the racio-ideological spectrum of the PR-US debate, where the Anglo- and the Hispanic are often at odds.

### *Erica*

Erica positions herself similarly to the importance of English as her peers. In Lines 03 to 04 she talks about employment opportunities in foreign companies established on the island, and goes as far as to indicate that if a Puerto Rican is unable to engage in English their professional quality or 'competence' may be jeopardised and they may be seen as *less capable* (Line 15) if they were to rely on their native tongue. Once again, we see a push to accommodate or succumb to the nonlocal code and the indexical ties of prestige and upward mobility tied to English, while Spanish is conceived as limited and even detrimental to one's professional development. She constructs the bilingual employee as being able to *work easier* (Lines 05). The evaluation in Line 14 of *less capable* is provided in stylised uptalk. Uptalk in American speech is primarily known for its ties to Southern California English, in other occasions it is tied to gendered language or women's speech, but it has also been tied with youth speech (cf. Warren, 2016). In this particular instance of providing assessment of the non-English-speaking Puerto Rican, it appears as if Erica herself is crossing into a different persona, and she is the mainlander or the "American" providing judgement of a person's abilities to perform at the workplace.

In Lines 16 to 17 Erica alleviates her stance by providing condition: *aunque no siempre you're less capable* 'although not always you're less capable'. This back and forth negotiation between the importance of English on the island, providing exceptions 'but not always' or 'you can be successful without it', is an ideological battle we have seen so far in the alignments of many elite school students (e.g. Pablo, Dave, Pilar, and now Erica). It seems that although English plays a pivotal role to their everyday social interactions, they resist to admitting to its overall power over Spanish.

In this sense, she constructs an identity that is positive towards English's instrumentality on the island, while simultaneously flaunting her own linguistic abilities and salient usage of English speaking styles.

EXAMPLE 3. ERICA, CHOIR GIRL COFP IN MISSION HIGH, PERCEIVED PRESTIGE AND INSTRUMENTALITY OF ENGLISH (PT. I)

| ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 01 Erica | En Puelto Rico como que, | 01 Erica | In Puerto Rico, like, |
| 02 | **since,** tenemoh tanta influencia | 02 | **since,**we have so much influen- |
| 03 | de: Ehtados Unido, **it shows** | 03 | ce from United States, **it shows** |
| 04 | **people↑ that you ca:n**↑ (.) tú | 04 | **people↑that you can**↑ (.) you |
| 05 | puede bregar máh facil. Como | 05 | can work easier. Like |
| 06 | que vamoh a suponel que tu | 06 | let's suppose that you |
| 07 | ehta trabajando en algo de: (.) | 07 | are working in something of |
| 08 | venta y alguien viene | 08 | sales and someone comes in |
| 09 | y alguien que (.) un | 09 | and someone who (.) an |
| 10 | Americano a preguntalte cosa | 10 | American to ask something in |
| 11 | en inglé:h↑, **if you don't know** | 11 | English↑, **if you don't know** |
| 12 | **English** tu vah a tenel que | 12 | **English** you are going to have |
| 13 | llamal a otra pelsona para que | 13 | to call another person so they |
| 14 | lo haga pol ti:, **and it looks** | 14 | can do it for you, **and it looks** |
| 15 | **like you're less capable?**↑ | 15 | **like you're less capable?**↑ |
| 16 | Aunque no siempre **you're** | 16 | Even though not always **you're** |
| 17 | **less capable. It gives you more** | 17 | **less capable. It gives you** |
| 18 | **opportunities. It looks** | 18 | **more opportunities. It looks** |
| 19 | **better on, like, a job** | 19 | **better on, like, a job** |
| 20 | **application or something,** | 20 | **application or something,** |
| 21 | **so…** | 21 | **so…** |

*Note*. Regular = PR Spanish; **Bold** = General American English; Underline = teen talk discourse marker.

In another part of the interview, Erica cites circumstances in which the knowledge and use of English is not as desirable (Example 4). Surprisingly, instead of alluding to the local situation which often places Spanish and English at odds due to conflicting national identities tied to Spanish, Erica alludes to global settings where using English may be seen as an act of superiority or snobbiness. In this way, Erica provides an exception to English's global utility.

EXAMPLE 4. ERICA, CHOIR GIRL COFP IN MISSION HIGH, PERCEIVED PRESTIGE AND INSTRUMENTALITY OF ENGLISH (PT. II)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 22Katherine | Y, ¿En otra palte del mundo, | 22Katherine | And, in another part of the world, to |
| 23 | para vivir fuera. | 23. | live outside? |
| 24 Erica | **Ummm it depends** polque hay | 24 Erica. | **Ummm it depends** because there |
| 25 | alguno lugare **that *they* still** | 25 | are some places **that *they* still** |
| 26 | **resent people that, <u>like,</u>** | 26 | **resent people that, <u>like,</u>** |
| 27 | **America <u>and whatever</u>** | 27 | **America <u>and whatever.</u>** |
| 28Katherine | ¿Como quién? | 28 Katherine | Like who? |
| 29 Erica | **I know that** Fiorela me dijo | 29 Erica | **I know that** Fiorela said to me |
| 30 | que ella fue pa: **Europe a lot of** | 30 | that she went to: **Europe a lot of** |
| 31 | **people in, <u>like,</u> Germany: or** | 31 | **people<u>, like,</u> Germany: or** |
| 32 | **Fra:nce,** cuando: **(.) they** | 32 | **Fra:nce**, when (.) ***they*** |
| 33 | **mistake her for an American**? | 33 | **mistake her for an American?** |
| 34 | Elloh como que se ponían | 34 | They like acted |
| 35 | como:- **they closed themselves** | 35 | like – ***they* closed themselves** |
| 36 | **a little?** <u>Como que</u> no se ponian | 36 | **a little?** <u>Like</u> they didn't act |
| 37 | natural, **they get a little bit** | 37 | natural, ***they* get a little bit** |
| 38 | **bitter, I don't know why?** | 38 | **bitter, I don't know why?** |

*Note*. Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = Standard-like General American English; <u>Underline</u> = teen talk discourse marker.

Erica cites her best friend, who had had the opportunity to travel to Europe and faced linguistic discrimination after having others judge her as American, as opposed to Latina, on account of her perfect English (Lines 30 -33). She describes her friend's competence as *sounding American* (Lines 26 - 30), the ideological benchmark and 'native' status. At another point of her interview, Erica also cites being mistaken as an American on occasion – the end goal for many language learners in Puerto Rico, and perhaps the ideological threat to others (see Dave). Note that this is the only instance in which *they* as a label is used to refer to a nationality other than American (European). In this part, Erica showcases her knowledge for international affairs or the global currency of "sounding American" and the negative price it comes at under certain contexts where people hold *resentment* (Line 23) toward the country. It is the second reference paid to "sounding American" at Mission High, or the acknowledgement that there are different styles of speech one may acquire in the journey to learning English: if one acquires a native-like style of English then one runs the risk of being labelled locally (see interview with Dave), or being "resented" and treated differently globally (Erica above). Using a European context as an example of ideologies tied to English further demonstrates the 'prestige' and elite nature of private school contexts, where some have the opportunity to travel to expensive travel destinations, such as Germany.

## 7.2.2 IDEOLOGIES OF SPANISH AMONG ELITE STUDENTS

As part of the ideological component of the interview task, students were also asked to respond with regard to the role of Spanish on the island and its symbolic importance in relation to the Puerto Rican identity. While many of the students in Mission High were quick to pinpoint the importance of acquiring English on the island, they diverged in their assessment of Spanish on the island.

### A) IN-BETWEEN JOCK COFP

In his assessment of the role of Spanish, Emmanuel from the In-Between Jock CofP granted importance to the specific dialect spoken on the island. Instead of tying Spanish directly to a purist notion of a homogenous dialect, emerging from the motherland country (Spain), Emmanuel paints Puerto Rican Spanish as distinctly different from any other Spanish and an outcome of a diverse past. The central idea behind his response is best seen in lines 06 to 07. This blended dialect is what he claims to be an essential part of the Puerto Rican identity, he says ‘at least’ (07 - 08) a person should have this dialect, which he declares 'our dialect’ (08), that is unique to the island and different from peninsular Spanish (line 09). To further authenticate this stance of the importance of our dialect, Emmanuel discusses the issue of the role of Spanish in Puerto Rican Spanish. He uses discourses strategies in Spanish to organise his talk, equivalents to ‘I mean’ are demonstrated in Line 17 *o sea* and *pues* ‘well’ in Line 14 as a connector to an idea previously stated (in this case, the fact that the Spanish spoken was originally Castilian Spanish).

EXAMPLE 1. EMMANUEL, IN-BETWEEN JOCK COFP, ETHNOLINGUISTIC VITALITY OF SPANISH

| ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 01Katherine | Ehte, ¿Tú piensa que un | 01 Katherine | Umm, do you think that a Puerto |
| 02 | puertorriqueño: debería saber | 02 | Rican should know how to |
| 03 | hablar ehpañol? | 03 | speak Spanish? |
| 04 | ((*Dave heard in the background* | 04 | ((*Dave heard in the background* |
| 05 | *saying "no matter where you are* | 05 | *saying "no matter where you* |
| 06 | *in this world, in this universe,* | 06 | *are in this world, in* |
| 07 | *you're like =))* | 07 | *this universe, you're like =))* |
| 08 Emanuel | Nosotroh tuvimoØ un examen | 08 Emmanuel | We had to take a test |
| 09 | ayel que decía algo de | 09 | yesterday that said something |
| 10 | eso. Okay. PaØ hablal en | 10 | like that. Okay. To talk in |
| 11 | ehpañol, en Puelto Rico | 11 | Spanish, in Puerto Rico |
| 12 | obviamente el lenguaje que loh | 12 | obviously the language that the |
| 13 | ehpañoleØ dejaron fue el ehpañol | 13 | Spanish left was Spanish from |
| 14 | cahtellano. PueØ nosotroØ lo | 14 | Castille. Well we |
| 15 | mehclamoØ con otro idioma y | 15 | mix it with other languages and |
| 16 | tenemoØ el ehpañol que | 16 | we have the Spanish that we |
| 17 | tenemoØ. O sea, que es parte de la | 17 | have. I mean, that it's part of the |
| 18 | identidad de un puertorriqueño | 18 | identity of a Puerto Rican |
| 19 | saber pol lo menoØ hablar en el | 19 | to know at least to speak in the |
| 20 | dialecto del ehpañol que nosotroh | 20 | Spanish dialect that we |
| 21 | tenemoØ. Polque el ehpañol que | 21 | have. Because the Spanish that |
| 22 | se habla aquí no eh el mihmo | 22 | is spoken here is not the same |
| 23 | que se habla allá. | 23 | one spoken over there. |

*Note*. The respond of Spanish in Puerto Rico is addressed in purely PR Spanish constructions and no instances of English loanwords, nonce borrows, or insertions.

In his response, Emmanuel positions himself as a fierce advocate for the role of Spanish in determining the Puerto Rican national identity. His promotion of Spanish is not tied to the Spanish conquistadors or Spain as a "motherland" nation, rather, defensive of a new emergent Spanish culture – one formulated through time and historical events which resulted in the melting pot culture of Puerto Rico.

## *Miguel*

Miguel, while not overtly stating whether he thinks it's important to speak Spanish to be Puerto Rican, positions himself as a somewhat engager of the local vernacular. This is particularly apparent in the previous excerpt analysed from his speech where he acknowledges his Spanish lexical gaps and linguistic difficulties, however, he still actively pursues local styles and utilises them in his informal speech and at times for comedic effect. In this sense, he establishes himself as a local Puerto Rican, literate or knowledgable of some of the linguistic strategies that identify an island Puerto Rican. His

relation to Spanish somewhat different to the majority of his classmates, as he must prove himself as a legitimate islander through the use of PR Spanish.

### B) GAMER COFP

When discussing the ethnolinguistic vitality of Spanish in Puerto Rico, Pablo from the Gamer CofP communicated a strong outlook on the relationship between Spanish language and Puerto Rican culture, in difference to his peers – many of whom negated the existence of a relationship between Puerto Rican identity, or maintaining an authentic Puerto Rican persona, and knowing Spanish. Pablo goes as far as to use mathematical terminology to describe the relationship between Spanish and cultural identity. His answer is provided below, as he engages in purely Spanish monolingual talk, coupled with linguistic features from Puerto Rican Spanish: (1) /-s/ aspiration in pre-consonantal position or before a stop in the word *Ehpañol* (Spanish), "bahtante" (substantially), and "acohtumbrado" (accustomed), and in word final position for *máh* (more), (2) /-s/ elision in word-final position in words like *PueØ* (well), *nosotroØ* (us), and proper name *UnidoØ* (United in United States), adjective *pueltorriqueñoØ* (Puerto Ricans), (3) /r/ lateralisation in word-final position in words like *vel* (to see) and *tenel* (to have), in syllable boundary positions or preconsonantal position in words like *pueltorriqueño* (Puerto Rican).

EXAMPLE 2. PABLO, GAMER COFP, ETHNOLINGUISTIC VITALITY OF SPANISH

| | |
|---|---|
| 19 Katherine | Okay, y:, ¿Tú piensa: que: para uno: considerarse puertorriqueño, uno |
| 20 | *debe* de sabel como hablal ehpañol, para ser puertorriqueño? |
| 21 Pablo | ¿Conocer el ehpañol puertorriqueño? Pue::Ø, no que tenga tanto que vel con el |
| 22 | idioma, aunque sí el idioma:, pueh, el ehpañol eh el idioma |
| 23 | puertorriqueño. |
| 24 Katherine | Sí, sí. |
| 25 Pablo | Eh máh la cultura la cultura en si, aunque la cultura tiene mucho de |
| 26 | ehpañol. Pe:ro: (.)¿Ah? Yo creo que sí, el ehpañol, sí. Ya tiene una conexión |
| 27 | bahtante amplia con la cultura (.) puertorriqueña. Así que:, loh que viven en |
| 28 | Ehtados UnidoØ, pueØ no eh que: (.) no sean pueltorriqueñoØ, aunque no |
| 29 | sepa:n. Si no saben ehpañol no eh que no sean pueltorriqueñoØ, |
| 30 | pero: (.) no tienen ese mihmo – esa mihma cultura que nosotro:Ø (.) la vamoØ |
| 31 | a tenel, se acohtumbraron a la vida máh (.) americana. Así que yo diría que el |
| 32 | ehpañol tiene una buena correlación con (.) la cultura. |
| | |
| ***Translation*** | |
| | |
| 19 Katherine | Okay, and do you think that for one to consider themselves Puerto Rican, one |
| 20 | must know how to speak Spanish, to be Puerto Rican? |
| 21 Pablo | Know Puerto Rican Spanish? Well, it's not so much to do with |
| 22 | language, even though yes the language, well, Spanish is the Puerto Rican |
| 23 | language. |
| 24 Katherine | Yes, yes. |
| 25 Pablo | It's more about the culture in itself, even though the culture has a lot of |
| 26 | Spanish. But (.) ah? I think yes, Spanish, yes. It already has a substantially |
| 27 | broad connection with the culture (.) from Puerto Rico. So:, those that live in |
| 28 | the United States, well it's not that they are not Puerto Rican, even though they |
| 29 | don't know. If they don't know Spanish it's not that they're not Puerto Rican, |
| 30 | but (.) they don't have that same – that same culture as us (.) (that) we would |
| 31 | have, they get used to life more (.) American. So, I would say that |
| 32 | Spanish has a good correlation with (.) our culture. |

*Note*. Regular font = PR Spanish; Underline = teen talk discourse marker.

Note that in his response, Pablo is a bit hesitant at first in admitting the importance of Spanish in Puerto Rican culture. His initial response emphasizes "culture" as an abstract construct, responsible for being different from American culture. As he considers his response a bit more, and reflects on how he would define Puerto Rican culture, he then comes to the conclusion that Spanish does play a substantial role after all in the ability to access a true, authentic Puerto Rican identity. Otherwise, Pablo believes that those that have grown up in the mainland are somewhat "different" and not the same from islanders. This response is different from that given from public school students, as we will see later on. While Pablo believes they are still Puerto Rican even if they only know English, in line 28 "it's not that they're not Puerto Rican", he then says if they don't know Spanish then they don't have our same culture, and in Line 29 – 30 he then equates this practices as being "more American" or getting used to American life. In this way, some of the metapragmatic values among adults discussed in Chapter 3, are still evident among

some Puerto Rican adolescents such as Pablo. In partaking in PR Spanish strategies only in this section of the interview, Pablo is simultaneously positioning himself as an authentic Puerto Rican, in that he has knowledge of this way of communication, needed – according to him – in order to truly be Puerto Rican or know the Puerto Rican experience.

### C) OUTSIDERS COFP

Zuriel refers to the practice of incorporating English-only styles in social contexts in Puerto Rico as a 'a talent' that he supports. Instead of condemning the practice as a betrayal to Puerto Rico's heritage and national identity, as some elders often do, he outwardly declares *go ahead, go for it* in a crossing stylisation (Line 03), reinforcing the idea that those that speak English only should be spoken to in English, as well as his positive evaluation of this act by also engaging in it. The majority of his assessment is taking place in the local vernacular, in this sense, he is not violating the local norm, in Line 02 he provides a somewhat paradoxical assessment calling it *weird*, but afterwards encouraging the practice "go for it". He continues his assessment in the local vernacular as he suggests that the most important thing that defines a Puerto Rican is not the language, but rather, *la sangre* 'the blood' – to carry it in one's lineage, or to be born into a family of heritage Puerto Ricans.

EXAMPLE 3. ZURIEL, OUTSIDER COFP, ETHNOLINGUISTIC VITALITY OF SPANISH

| ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 01 Katherine | ¿Qué tu piensa sobre loh | 01 Katherine | What do you think about Puerto |
| 02 | pueltorriqueñoh que hablan | 02 | Ricans who speak in English |
| 03 | ingléh solamente? | 03 | only? |
| 04 Zuriel | Si eh un talento que tiene | 04 Zuriel | If it's a talent that they have they |
| 05 | puede... Eh pensado que son | 05 | can... I've thought of it as |
| 06 | raro, pero:, eh realmente, si loh | 06 | weird, but, in reality, if its they're |
| 07 | dominan **go ahead, go for it**. | 07 | fluent in **go ahead, go for it**. |
| 08 Katherine | Y, ¿Qué tu piensaØ de loh | 08 Katherine | And what do you think of the |
| 09 | pueltorriqueñoh que dominan el | 09 | Puerto Ricans that are fluent in |
| 10 | ingléh máh que el ehpañol? | 10 | English more than in Spanish? |
| 11 | ¿Lo considera Ø | 11 | Would you consider them Puerto |
| 12 | pueltorriqueño? | 12 | Rican? |
| 13 Zuriel | Lo impoltante eh tenel sangre | 13 Zuriel | The important thing is to have |
| 14 | de pueltorriqueño. | 14 | Puerto Rican in your blood. |
| 15 Katherine | ¿Y loh Nuyorican? | 15 Katherine | ¿And the Nuyoricans? |
| 16 Zuriel | Dentro de mi significado:, tu | 16 Zuriel | Inside of my definition, you have |
| 17 | tenel la sangre, pueh sí. Pero, | 17 | the blood, well yes. But, |
| 18 | **honestly,** el pueltorriqueño eh | 18 | **honestly,** the Puerto Rican person |
| 19 | bago:, siempre buhca la mejol | 19 | is lazy, they always look for the |
| 20 | vida y ya. No se | 20 | best life and that's that. They |
| 21 | ehfuelza pol ella. | 21 | don't work hard for it. |

*Note*. Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = Standard-like General American English

Note that in the excerpt above both *realmente* and *honestly* co-exist when discussing the Puerto Rican who engages in high bilingual styles. In this sense, we can infer by this snapshot that Zuriel has knowledge of both ways of asserting or emphasing his opinion through the use of *honestly* or *realmente*. In its second usage, it occurs in English alongside a negative ideological assessment of the Puerto Rican persona. 'The average Puerto Rican is lazy' Zuriel indicates in lines 08 – 09, 'they always look for the better life… but they don't work for it.' In this way, one may interpret Zuriel as temporarily distancing himself from the average Puerto Rican by engaging in non-local speech, or perhaps attempting to provide an objective assessment by distancing himself from the predominant local dialect, though only momentarily.

### 7.2.3 Ideologies of English in Students from Non-Elite Settings

Ideologies of Mission High prioritised the instrumental, global, and prestigious ideologies of English on the island. There was some mention of negative ideologies tied to English-only users, but only by one member from the Gamer CofP, Dave, who was simultaneously admired within his own CofP for marching at the beat of his own drum, being a non-comformist and different. Nonetheless, the set of ideologies pertaining to English use could be somewhat predictable given the emphasized importance of English in private school settings and how it is built into the curriculum.

In O'Reilly High Public School the narrative was slightly different. There was much variation in terms of metapragmatic discourses involving language ideologies. For instance, those most likely to incorporate English-only strategies onto their speech, or insertional strategies, were quick to condemn people who spoke similarly to them or displayed behaviors that mimicked those from mainland Americans. This is an interesting find given their own affiliations, behavioural and linguistic practices, and social identities within the school environment. The Jock CofP in O'Reilly High, often perceived as the most 'locally-inclined' group in terms of shared practices, interests, and repertoires, initially communicated indifference to English-only practices on the island. When I asked them about Puerto Rico's relationship with the United States and the possibility of Puerto Rico becoming the 51st state, they were inclined to suggest that things would be "different", but for the most part preserved a nonchalant or indifferent stance. Like the

Bookworm CofP, their 'projected selves' during the interviews and stated ideologies did not match their linguistic reality[113].

## A) JOCK COFP

During the group interview with Josue and Bobi, I ask them what they think would happen if Puerto Rico were to hypothetically become a state, to which they responded with aslightly negative prediction of the fate of the local vernacular and culture on the island: "it would change" (Josue, Line 03).

EXAMPLE 1. JOSUE AND BOBI, JOCK COFP IN O'REILLY HIGH, PERCEIVED PRESTIGE AND INSTRUMENTALITY OF ENGLISH (SPANISH → ENGLISH TRANSLATION)

| | |
|---|---|
| 01 Katherine | Let's suppose that next year, Puerto Rico becomes a State, what would |
| 02 | happen to our language? |
| 03 Josue | It would change. |
| 04 Bobi | It would become a secondary language. |
| 05 Katherine | And, would you guys be okay with that idea? |
| 06 Bobi | Honestly it's *normal*, but well. It would be difficult because a lot of people in |
| 07 | Puerto Rico don't know how to speak English. |
| 08 Josue | Sixty percent of Puerto Ricans do not speak English, **[soʊ].** |

*Note*. Regular font = Puerto Rican Spanish; **Bold** = General American English; Underline = Teen talk discourse marker.

Beyond the negative prediction of the fate of Spanish, Lines 03 to 08 serve as examples to the dominant ideological discourse on the island, which see English as the gatekeeper to American culture, "becoming American" or achieving full citizen status, and necessarily the demotion of Spanish and the local culture (i.e. the loss of Hispanic heritage). In this way, English is perceived as a threat to what they believe to be Puerto Rican, or the culture currently in place. When I ask in Line 5 how they would feel about this "change" in language policy, Bobi constructs an indifferent or neutral stance by using colloquialism *normal*. Recall, that among this CofP, as well as immediate community (O'Reilly High), the use of "normal" is used as a strategy to communicate that something is "cool", or the equivalent to "chilling" or "to be chill with" something. In this sense, normal is not used to denote its standard meaning of "ordinary", as the act of Spanish

[113] In contrast, students from Mission High spoke of ideologies that were consistent to their linguistic and behavioural practices, by emphasizing ideas of "part of the whole" ideology of Puerto Rico as part of the United States, and English as the necessary tool in order to fully comply with their status as American citizens and holders of U.S. passports.

being substituted by a foreign or non-dominant language represents a change from the ordinary, or the local norm, and a move towards the extraordinary.

Josue and Bobi were aware of their privileged position as functional English speakers, in comparison to other islanders (sixty percent, according to Josue) that would be at disadvantage if English were to become the main form of communication (Line 08). While Bobi stated that he would be okay with being required to speak English, he knew it would be challenging for a large percentage of Puerto Ricans. The follow-up to this conversation of the status of English on the island is provided below. In it, Josue and Bobi expand on their awareness of the prestige and instrumentality of English on the island, despite the small amount of islanders that are competent in it. Like students from Mission High, both Bobi and Josue provide examples of local situations in which the use of English might seem necessary. In Mission High discourses reference was paid to tourism as a reason to acquire English and greater job opportunities in foreign-owned bilingual businesses and abroad as a 'ticket to get out' (Pablo, Gamer CofP interview). In contrast, Josue and Bobi refer to regions on the island (local contexts) where non-speaking Spanish people live. A suggestion of local contexts in which Spanish is not spoken may be interpreted as a testament to the local ties and ways of thinking of public school students who, in this case, resort to locally relevant examples, rather than those tied to prestige and upward mobility elsewhere (in Lines 08 – 09 when Bobi says "not in all places people speak Spanish"). This reason was not accounted for by any of the informants in the private school, but interestingly brought up in some occasssions in O'Reilly High. Once here, where Josue and Bobi refer to English-speaking places on the island, and the second time it occurs is in another focus group interview with members of the Rocker CofP referring to the Anglo-influence in neighboring towns, such as Rincón (to be discussed later on).

EXAMPLE 2. JOSUE AND BOBI, JOCK COFP IN O'REILLY HIGH, PERCEIVED PRESTIGE AND INSTRUMENTALITY OF ENGLISH (PT. 2)

| ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 01Katherine | Okay, ¿uhtedeØ piensaŋ que eØ | 01Katherine | Okay, do you guys think that it is |
| 02 | impoltante sabel hablal | 02 | important to know how to speak |
| 03 | ingléh para podel sobrevivil en | 03 | English to be able to survive in |
| 04 | Puelto Rico? | 04 | Puerto Rico? |
| 05 Josue | Sí. | 05 Josue | Yes. |
| 06 Katherine | ¿Pol qué? | 06 Katherine | Why? |
| 07 Bobi | Polque: (.) pol máh que sea | 07 Bobi | Because (.) even though it's |
| 08 | Puelto Rico:, no siempre en toh | 08 | Puerto Rico, not in all places |
| 09 | laØo se habla ehpañol= | 09 | people speak Spanish= |
| 10 Josue | Mayolmente pol el trabajo, | 10 Josue | Primarily for career |
| 11 | pol loh ehtudioØ. Ahora | 11 | (opportunities), for studies. Right |
| 12 | mihmo en Puelto Rico, lah | 12 | now in Puerto Rico, the |
| 13 | claseØ, loh libroØ son en ingléh. | 13 | classes, the books are in English. |
| 14 | Necesita sabel ingléh, por | 14 | You need to know English, for |
| 15 | ejemplo, cuando vaya a una | 15 | example, when you go to an |
| 16 | ofici:na:, lah palabraØ de la | 16 | office, the words of |
| 17 | medicina: son en ingléh, no te | 17 | medicine:s are in English, they |
| 18 | van a decil lah palabraØ en | 18 | won't tell you the words in |
| 19 | ehpañol. | 19 | Spanish. |
| 20 Bobi | Y *literal*, el ingléh eØ uno de loh | 20 Bobi | And *literally*, English is one of |
| 21 | idiomaØ máh hablaØo en el | 21 | the most spoken languages in the |
| 22 | mundo. | 22 | world. |
| 23 Josue | En ingeniería también se usa. | 23 Josue | In engineering you also use it |
| 24 | ((*referring to previous* | 24 | ((*referring to previous* |
| 25 | *conversation when Bobi spoke of* | 25 | *conversation when Bobi spoke of* |
| 26 | *his future ambitions*)). | 26 | *his future ambitions*)). |
| 27 Bobi | [La ingeniería, matemática, | 27 Bobi | [In engineering, mathematics, |
| 28 | ciencia, todo eh en ingléh! | 28 | science, everything is in English! |
| 29 Josue | [La matemática, el ingléh, todo | 29 Josue | [Mathematics, English, |
| 30 | eØ en ingléh, **<u>soʊ.</u>** | 30 | everything is in English, **<u>soʊ.</u>** |
| 31 Katherine | Pero aquí en loh saloneØ yo he | 31 Katherine | But here in all classrooms I have |
| 32 | vihto que loh libroØ son en | 32 | seen that the books are in |
| 33 | Ehpañol. | 33 | Spanish. |
| 34 Bobi | Sí, poØque son un peso. | 34 Bobi | Yes, because they are a buck! |
| 35 Josue | Sí, poØque son | 35 Josue | Yes, because this is a public |
| 36 | pública! | 36 | (school)! |
| 37 Bobi | Son, ehte:, no sé academiah | 37 Bobi | They are, umm, I don't know if |
| 38 | superioreØ o **<u>whatever,</u>** pero | 38 | its high schools or **<u>whatever,</u>** but |
| 39 | loh de la universidaØ son en | 39 | the university ones are also in |
| 40 | ingléh. | 40 | English. |

*Note*. Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = English (discourse marker); Underline = teen talk discourse markers.

Josue and Bobi continue to list different domains, some of the examples provided in Lines 10 to 28 include those to do with career opportunities, medicine, and higher education. The importance of literacy in English, or a passive knowledge of English (at least in terms of understanding, writing, and reading) is referred to by Josue when he lists of careers such as engineering, mathematics and science on the island which deal on a daily basis with English terminology. Another interesting reason provided by Josue and

Bobi, not apparent in other interviews, is their mention of medicine and the need to understand prescriptions and instructions on medical items sold on the island (local contexts) – 'everything is in English' (Line 28). In Lines 16 to 19, Bobi alludes to the bilingualism problem on the island where subjects of importance, such as a medical problem and the need to communicate prescription instructions or treatment, may be misunderstood because *no te van a decil la palabra en ehpañol* 'they will not tell you the (medical) word in Spanish'.

I make the observation that I've encountered many books in Spanish in the school, to which Bobi suggests it is because of their affordable price 'they are one dollar' (i.e. they are cheap), thus suggesting a relationship between the local vernacular (Spanish) and its graded value or economic worth (i.e. only one dollar). Josue then goes on to provide a education-type explanation, '(because) this is a public school!' (lines 35 - 36), though it is unclear whether he refers to the language policy explication or whether he is also arguing for the 'economic' argument provided by his friend Bobi that public school supply local alternatives to expensive sources. Bobi then adds another domain which would be more demanding in terms of second language literacy – in higher education contexts, where suggested readings and classroom textbooks are most likely to be written in the English language.

## B) BOOKWORM-ROCKER COFP

*Federico*

Federico's assessment of languages on the island and rules of appropriacy of linguistic behaviour are based on his immediate linguistic reality: O'Reilly High and his classmates. He condemns all of his classmates that 'speak English all the time', despite engaging in higher levels of bilingual talk than others in his school.

Chapter 6 showed us Federico's stylistic preference for English insertional styles, or the mixing of both individual and larger English constituents unto Spanish matrices. We also know from Chapter 5 that Federico engages in peer groups whose practices are defined by their shared interests in North American Rock and Pop music, watching popular *Netflix* series in English, and engaging in English literacy practices (reading popular North American YA novels). However, despite the ever-present role of English in his life, Federico constructs an identity for himself that is oppositional and hostile, even, to an apparent "Other" that uses English all the time. Perhaps as a defense

mechanism, or as an attempt to reclaim his Latino heritage, Federico constructs this apparent Other to which he claims to be different from. This Other is known for trying to 'be American' (Lines 06 - 07), and not using Spanish 'for anything' (Lines 10 - 11), a refusal to speak Spanish is then equated to 'refusal to being Puerto Rican', and the subsequent uptake of an American identity: 'No, I am not Puerto Rican', ((*creaky voice*)) 'I am from the United States', Federico exclaims in crossing styles (Lines 13 - 15).

Lines 06, 09, 11, 17, 20, 25 – 26 demonstrates other occasions in which Federico distances himself from these American-acting "Others". He uses third person pronouns to refer to them at distance 'those', 'people', 'they', 'those people', and other combinations in an almost mantra-like manner so as to establish his own position as different and not 'one of them', but 'one of us', i.e. a Puerto Rican. He speaks the Puerto Rican code (Spanish), thus he is Puerto Rican.

Throughout his construction of identity and boundary-making strategies, Federico engages very little in English insertional strategies, especially in relation to other parts of the interview event (e.g. such as the discussion of music, hobbies, and interests) where he implemented higher levels of English language. Despite his apparent shift to PR Spanish, he still engages in higher level insertional styles that are unseen in other more monolingual, or Spanish-dominant peers. Take, for instance, his use of discourse marker *like* (Line 09), stereotypical of North American teen slang: a strategy that is restricted and most used by his peers that use English on a routinely basis, rather than those that only occasionally use words like *whatever* or *so*. *Yup* also used later on (Line 23) as a line of assertion to refer to the individuals he is condemning, "yup, it's them", is also a variant of "yeah" unseen in the most monolingual speaking peers as it is typical of youth slang among native English speakers. He then finishes off with a reference to 'the Other' that is unlike previous references which has included *esa gente* (those people), *ellos* (they), *ellos mismos* (those exactly), *esos Weeaboos* (those Weeaboos). The last label is a reference to a global fandom, or subculture movement of Japanese popular culture. Those who follow this movement are likely to watch television shows, read graphic novels, and listen to music from Japan and in Japanese. They have an active online presence, where their practices and fashion aesthetic is spread to the masses in other parts of the world. Weeaboos in O'Reilly High were largely associated with the *Gamer* CofP and *Rocker* CofP. Therefore, in Federico constructing a linguistic Other, he is drawing boundaries between himself and other people from his same group of friends (i.e. 'I am not like my friends'). He distances himself from them, by claiming that they are always hanging out

in the Advanced English classroom (Line 29), which he does not; they speak English all the time, he speaks Spanglish (Line 05). In this sense, Federico conceives of Spanglish practices as not problematic, but in harmony with a Hispanic identity, they incorporate Spanish after all; this perception is not in alignment with that of other Spanish-dominant peers from O'Reilly High (from Marketing and Jock CofPs, for instance). However, it is more in line with ideologies recorded in mainland settings, where ethnic minorities rely on code-switching practices to exercise their unique Hispanic identity and differentiate themselves from others (see Zentella, 1997).

EXAMPLE 1. FEDERICO, BOOKWORM-ROCKER COFP IN O'REILLY PERCEIVED INSTRUMENTALITY AND PRESTIGE OF ENGLISH

| ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 01 Katherine | ¿Hablan ingléh | 01 Katherine | Do you speak a lot of |
| 02 | mucho? | 02 | English? |
| 03 Federico | Ah? Sí. | 03 Federico | Ah? Yes. |
| 04 Katherine | **¿Spanglish?** | 04 Katherine | **Spanglish?** |
| 05 Federico | Pero – exacto. **Spanglish.** | 05 Federico | But – exactly. **Spanglish**. |
| 06 | No ingléh to' el tiempo porque | 06 | Not English all the time |
| 07 | no somoh de esos | 07 | because we are not one of |
| 08 | Weeaboos que tratan | 08 | those Weeaboos who try |
| 09 | de ser *Americanoh*. | 09 | to be *American*. |
| 10 Katherine | ¿Como qué? No | 10 Katherine | Like what? I don't |
| 11 | entiendo… | 11 | understand… |
| 12 Federico | Okay. Eh que **<u>like</u>** | 12 Federico | Okay. It's just that **<u>like</u>** |
| 13 | hay una gente que tratan de | 13 | there are people who try |
| 14 | ser Americanoh y no hablan | 14 | to be American and do not |
| 15 | español para | 15 | speak Spanish for |
| 16 | nada:. Y dicen | 16 | anything And they say |
| 17 | ((*dramatic voice,* | 17 | ((*dramatic voice,* |
| 18 | *pronouncing all* | 18 | *pronouncing all* |
| 19 | *consonants loudly*)) "no, yo | 19 | *consonants loudly*)) "No, I |
| 20 | no soy puertorriqueño", | 20 | am not Puerto Rican", |
| 21 | ((*creaky voice*)) "yo soy | 21 | ((*creaky voice*))"I am |
| 22 | de los Estados Unidos". | 22 | from the United States." |
| 23 Katherine | ¿Aquí hay de esa | 23 Katherine | Here there are people like |
| 24 | gente? | 24 | that? |
| 25 Federico | Hay BASTANTE de | 25 | There are plenty of people |
| 26 | esa gente. | 26 | like that. |
| 27 Katherine | ¿De los que janguean en el | 27 Katherine | The ones that hang out in |
| 28 | salón de Aponte? | 28 | Aponte's classroom? |
| 29 Federico | ElloØ mihmo. | 29 Federico | Those exactly. |
| 30 Katherine | ¿De loh que se sientan en el | 30 Katherine | The ones that sit on the |
| 31 | escritorio? | 31 | desk? |
| 32 Federico | **Yup.** | 32 Federico | **Yup.** |
| 33 Katherine | Y, ¿Tu creeh que elloØ | 33 Katherine | And do you think that |
| 34 | se creen loh | 34 | they believe they are the |
| 35 | máh americanoØ? | 35 | most American? |
| 36 Federico | Que se creen loh | 36 Federico | They think they are the |
| 37 | máh americanoØ, y que | 37 | most American, and they |
| 38 | se creen | 38 | believe themselves to be |
| 39 | superior(es). | 39 | superior. |
| 40 Katherine | ¿Tú creeØ que | 40 Katherine | You think they see |
| 41 | se creen superior? | 41 | themselves as superior? |
| 42 | Pero tu hablaØ | 42 | But you also speak |
| 43 | ingléh también= | 43 | English, too. |
| 44 Federico | No, **yeah,** por eso. Pero | 44 | No, **yeah,** that's why. But |
| 45 | elloh dicen que si tu habla | 45 | they say that if you speak |
| 46 | ingleØ tu ereh | 46 | English you are |
| 47 | superior. **That's what** | 47 | superior. **That's what** |
| 48 | ***they*** **think.** | 48 | ***they*** **think.** |

*Note*. Regular font = PR Spanish; Bold = Standard-like General American English; *Italics* = Ethnic Labelling/ Othering.

*Luis*

In his interview, Luis from the Rocker CofP, constructs an alternative persona and refuses to be labelled by his linguistic and behavioural practices. I ask him what he thinks of the people in Puerto Rico who speak English all the time. In Lines 01 to 02 he begins his assessment of these people by distancing himself from them through 3rd person plural *los* 'the ones' in *los que hablan…* 'the ones who talk…' followed by positive evaluation from a seemingly detached 3rd person standpoint: *los respeto* 'I respect them' (Line 2 -3).

In my second turn, I ask him whether he considers himself a part of the 'English speaking people' on the island. He pursues his 3rd person stance of distinction and responds in negative with a *no* (line 6) I am not one of them, *yo no hablo ni afuera así bien dehto, a mi no me guhta, como que, hablal bien… en [pəblık]* / 'I don't even talk outside *like that*, I don't like it, like, talk very…*in public*' (Lines 06 - 08). His reference to English-only practices with distant demonstrative 'that', in conditions like 'outside' and 'public', is indexical of *distance* to those practices and their social meaning. Through metapragmatic discourse, Luis demonstrates his knowledge of the norms of appropriacy on the island, and how speaking Spanish in public is a desirable trait. Recall that in theories of linguistic anthropology, *metapragmatics* is the conscious discussion of the consequences and *conditions* that come with particular language use, that is, when societal norms with regards to language – such as appropriacy of language or *correctness* – are discussed by the speaker (cf. Silverstein, 1993). In this particular moment, Luis is aligning himself with the island ideologies of English-only practices as an aberration or source of shame, as illegitimate practices to island Puerto Ricans. In Chapter 6, Table 46 suggests that out of all of his classmates, Luis led in the English incorporating strategies, preferring to speak in English-dominant turns. It is curious then to see Luis deny his own practices as a frequent bilingual speaker.

In Lines 8 to 10, he then puts conditions as to when English using practices are acceptable. He claims he is not bothered by bilingual, English *and Spanish* practices with a *no me da diferencia hablal de loh doh* 'it doesn't bother me to speak of both' (Lines 8 - 10). After this slight shift in evaluative stance suggesting that speaking both in public 'is OK', he finally positions himself as *de esah pelsona que sabe que hablo máh ingléh* 'one of those people that knows he speaks more English', despite having previously denied his association to this practice. He attempts to construct an identity that is also tied to Hispanic practices when he claims to like the Spanish language*: polque yo también me guhta el Ehpañol* 'because *I also* like Spanish'. In this evaluative statement we see

evidence of second language transfer in the Spanish sentence structure. In standard Spanish, the adverb 'also' is near the word it modifies, usually after. Thus, a standard construction would look something like the following: 'me gusta *también* el Ehpañol' (V + ADV + OBJ) or 'me gusta el Ehpañol también' (V + OBJ + ADV). Furthermore, it is unnecessary to include an overt subject pronoun, such as 'yo' in 'yo también' when the construction 'me gusta' is in place, which already includes subject-verb agreement and information as to the person. After producing English-influenced Spanish, Luis assures that he is not *biased* (Line 14) or inclined to one language or the other and presents his bilingualism and English use as 'non-threaning', rather, condusive to an objective world view (Lines 13 – 14).

In the second part of this interview, Luis reclaims his Hispanic-Latino identity by engaging in condemning discourse to others who use English in public unnecessarily, so as to flaunt their elite status or 'pretend' they are competent in this prestigious code. The hypothetical scenario he refers to in Lines 15 to 24 is when people are in public places, such as shopping malls, are discussing items they bought and they cross over to Standard American English to talk about these luxury items: *no polque nosotro …and then we bought that thing, la cosa ehta* / "no because we… and then we bought that thing, this thing." He interprets this as an action of arrogance and people wanting to seem 'intellectual' (Line 18). Note that in this particular instance, he partakes in a type of *crossing* (cf. Rampton, 1999) or performance exercise by providing an account of his own practices in PR Spanish and condemning others in standard-like General American English. His response is then interrupted in Lines 26 to 27 by his grandmother, who calls him in the middle of the interview; somewhat ironically, he then excuses himself in his dominant social speaking style, PR English.

EXAMPLE 2. LUIS, BOOKWORM-ROCKER COFP IN O'REILLY PERCEIVED INSTRUMENTALITY AND PRESTIGE OF ENGLISH (PT. I)

| ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 01 Luis | Loh que hablan | 01 Luis | The ones that speak |
| 02 | ingléh, okay:, loh | 02 | English, okay, I |
| 03 | χehpeto. | 03 | respect them. |
| 04Katherin | ¿Te consideraØ que ereØ | 04Katherin | Do you consider yourself to be |
| 05 | uno de elloØ? | 05 | one of them? |
| 06 Luis | No, yo no hablo ni | 06 Luis | No, I don't even talk nor |
| 06 | afuera así bien *d'ehto*, a mi no me | 06 | outside like that, I don't |
| 07 | guhta como que hablal bien en | 07 | like like talking very in |
| 08 | **[pəblık],** no me da | 08 | **[pəblık],** it doesn't |
| 09 | diferencia hablal de | 09 | make a difference to speak |
| 10 | loh doh. Yo soy de esah pelsona | 10 | both. I am one of those people |
| 11 | que sabe que hablo máh | 11 | who knows that I speak more |
| 12 | ingléh, polque yo también me guhta | 12 | English, because I also like |
| 13 | el Ehpañol,**so** que no eh que (es)toy | 13 | Spanish, **so** that it's not that I |
| 14 | máh **biased** en uno que | 14 | am more **biased** in one than |
| 15 | otro, pe:ro: la gente que: tu veh que | 15 | another, but that people that you |
| 16 | ehta tratando de hablal Ingléh de | 16 | see trying to speak English all |
| 17 | momento trata de sel | 17 | of a sudden and try to be |
| 18 | intelectual y como que ((*higher* | 18 | intellectual and like ((*higher* |
| 19 | *pitch*)) {'ah no, polque nosotro a (()) | 19 | *pitch*)) {oh no, because we (()) |
| 20 | **and then we bought a: that thing –** | 20 | **and then we bought a tha:t** |
| 21 | **that thing** – la cosa | 21 | **thing – that thing –** what's the |
| 22 | esa ehta: (.) hay son | 22 | name of that (.) they are |
| 23 | $x^h$idiculo en veldaØ, a mi | 23 | ridiculous truly, they |
| 24 | me encabrona ((*Pedro heard* | 24 | fuck me up ((*Pedro heard* |
| 25 | *laughing in the background*)). | 25 | *laughing in the background*)). |
| 26 | **Gimme a second, my grandma is** | 26 | **Gimme a second, my grandma** |
| 27 | **calling… [pauses]** | 27 | **is calling… [pauses]** |

*Note*. Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = Standard-like General American English; Underline = teen talk discourse marker.

In the third part of his evaluative performance of the English-speaking Puerto Rican, Luis goes on to criticise those who broadcast, or make publically known, their ties mainland U.S. and experiences abroad: 'there is nothing more that fucks me up than this fucker comes and starts, 'no, no, because I was – I was out there, where? In Pennsylvania' (Lines 29 – 33). Again, he positions himself as an authentic, loyal islander in this turn by condemning in PR Spanish people with experiences abroad. In difference to his style in other exchanges, this turn is realised in PR Spanish, with no instance of bilingual or translingual style. Even in his crossing to imitate the Other (Lines 29 - 33), or the non-loyal Puerto Rican, he cites them in the Spanish language. In this turn, he also makes reference to the irony behind claiming ties to the United States and all-things-American, but citing locations or regions that are known to have a high population of Latinos and Spanish. He also engages in the use of perjorative labels, or ethnic slurs, in Line 42 when he talks about white European Americans, and how the population of Latino surpasses

Caucasian populations in many of these places that 'fancy' Puerto Ricans cite as 'cosmopolitan' or 'foreign': *TodoØ son pueltoχiqueñoØ. Todo. Tu saleØ afuera y no vah a encontral ni un gringo (*'All are Puerto Rican. All. You go out and you will not find not one gringo'). The use of taboo words, such as ethnic slurs or racial labels, are often used in interaction as tools to demonstrate solidarity or shared experiences (In this example, Luis is using labelling strategies to refer to the Ethnic Other, the American, and positively align to his own Hispanic island roots.

EXAMPLE 3. LUIS, BOOKWORM-ROCKER COFP IN O'REILLY HIGH, PERCEIVED INSTRUMENTALITY AND PRESTIGE OF ENGLISH (PT. II)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 28 Luis | Okay. Eso son χidículoØ <u>en</u> | 28 Luis | Okay. They are ridiculous |
| 29 | <u>veldaØ</u>, a mi me, a mi | 29 | <u>truly,</u> to me, to me there is |
| 30 | no hay máh que me endiabla | 30 | nothing more that fucks me up |
| 31 | que venga ehte cabrón y | 31 | than this fucker comes and |
| 32 | empiece, 'no, no, polque: | 32 | starts, "no, no, because |
| 33 | yo ehtaba – yo ehtaba | 33 | I was – I was |
| 34 | allá afuera, ¿En dónde? En | 34 | out there, where? In |
| 35 | Pennsylvania, >tu sabe< | 35 | Pennsylvania, >you know< |
| 36 | donde hay mucho | 36 | where all there are a lot of |
| 37 | pueltoχiqueñoØ, >polque en | 37 | Puerto Ricans >because in |
| 38 | Pennsylvania hay un | 38 | Pennsylvania there are |
| 39 | cojón de pueltoχiqueñoØ<, | 39 | fuckloads of Puerto Ricans<, I |
| 40 | ehtaba en Pennsylvania si me dice | 40 | was in Pennsylvania if you tell |
| 41 | un sitio (()) donde ehta jalto | 41 | me a place (()) where it is full of |
| 42 | de pueltoχiqueñoØ. TodoØ son | 42 | Puerto Ricans. They are all |
| 43 | pueltoχiqueñoØ. Todo. | 43 | Puerto Rican. All of them. |
| 44 | Tu saleØ afuera y no vah a | 44 | You go out there and you |
| 45 | encontral ni un *gringo*. | 45 | won't see a single *gringo*. |

*Note*. Regular font = PR Spanish; *Italics* = Ethnic Othering / Labelling' Underline = Teen talk discourse marker.

In section 4, mutual CofP member Pedro jumps in with an English-dominant utterance: *It's like Chinatown* (Line 46). Luis, influenced by new information from Pedro, shifts onto a hybrid turn. In Line 49 he equates the act of speaking English in public settings, making references to products and places from the U.S. in public discourse as *being a fake person* – or pretending to be something you are not. In other words, you are engaging in inauthentic styles or in an inauthentic persona, and simultaneously being disloyal to your own roots and language. His final evaluative stances, or personal opinions are displayed: *just don't* (Lines 56 - 57) in an almost mantra-like repetitive style. And, finally, providing an answer to the question on whether the island Puerto Rican should know English, Lines 60 to 64 Luis concludes in PR English that *all need to know English because it helps you be more analytical in things*. This evaluation of English as a

'gateway' to critical or competent thinking was also suggested in an interview by a private school student, Erica from the Choir CofP (also a frequent English-dominant speaker in the private school pool). Rationalising English as a 'superior' academic code to Spanish, or 'helping you be more' (Line 64 – 66), or fulfill a higher academic potential, is the sentiment that is implicitly instructed by the private-public school divide on the island (which sees English as the language of elite schools and, therefore, more prestigious), and further so by the higher education institutions on the island which demand English tests to be administered to prospective applicants in order to decide placements.

EXAMPLE 4. LUIS (AND PEDRO), BOOKWORM-ROCKER COFP IN O'REILLY HIGH, PERCEPTIONS OF ENGLISH-ONLY PRACTICES

| ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 46 Pedro | **It's like Chinatown.** | 46 Pedro | **It's like Chinatown.** |
| 47 Luis | Aja. EntonceØ eso me | 47 Luis | Yeah. Then that |
| 48 | encabrona, porque eh como que | 48 | fucks me up, because it's like - |
| 49 | - **you're being a fake person.** | 49 | **you're being a fake person.** |
| 50 | Como que no sabe máh | 50 | Like you don't know more |
| 51 | ingléh, y no sabe | 51 | English, and you don't know |
| 52 | hablal bien, okay te | 52 | how to speak well, okay I |
| 53 | entiendo. Pero si tu intentaØ | 53 | understand. But if you try |
| 54 | huil-lo paØ tu velte | 54 | to run away so you can seem |
| 55 | máh intelectual como que (.) no, | 55 | more intellectual it's like (.) no, |
| 56 | **just don't. Don't try, I don't** | 56 | **just don't. Don't try, I don't** |
| 57 | **like it. If you don't – if you** | 57 | **like it. If you don't – if you** |
| 58 | **don't,** si lo ehta usando | 58 | **don't,** if you are using it |
| 59 | solamente para oílte má:- máh | 59 | only to hear yourself mo-more |
| 60 | **fancy** eh como que: no. **All** | 60 | **fancy** it's like: no. **All need to** |
| 61 | **need to know English, but** | 61 | **know English, but** |
| 62 | **uh I think it's because it helps** | 62 | **uh I think it's because it helps** |
| 63 | **you: be: mo:re analytical in** | 63 | **you: be: mo:re analytical in** |
| 64 | **things. It gives you:, it helps** | 64 | **things. It gives you:, it helps** |
| 65 | **you be:cuz it helps you be:** | 65 | **you be:cuz it helps you be:** |
| 66 | **more.** | 66 | **more.** |

*Note*. Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = Ideological General American English; Underline = discourse marker.

## C) GAMERS COFP

Members from the Gamers CofP were the second most likely to engage in bilingual styles in O'Reilly High. Nonetheless, their engagement in English using practices was conservative, and further limited to occasional single-word items related to their interests and practices, e.g. to do with video games, card games, or bands. The degree to which these were incorporated to the local vernacular varied from person to person, and to assess

the role of these cultural items in a more thorough manner would perhaps merit further investigation.

### *Puma*

In the interaction below, I ask Puma from the Gamer CofP to talk about the importance of English on the island. Puma incorporated a greater amount of bilingual items in his interview style in relation to others in his group. In his first turn, his response below is Spanish dominant, yet the discourse content yields a generally positive orientation to English. He speaks of English as a *ventaja* or 'advantage' (Line 06). His response constructs the social argument of English as an elite and exclusive way of speaking *polque no todo saben hablal el ingléh* 'because not everyone knows how to speak English' (Lines 8 - 9). What could first be interpreted as metapragmatic awareness of the socioeconomic and educational advantage of speaking English earns an additional value in the following lines: *si tu tiene un compañero con el que sabeh hablal ingléh…eh como que te añade cielta privacida…otrah pelsona not te puedan entendel* 'if you have a friend that knows how to speak English…it's like it adds certain privacy… other people cannot understand' (Lines 13 - 15). This evaluation is unique in that it confirms some meta-discourse of the public's opinion on people who incorporate English all the time as being exclusive, arrogant, and distant to the local cuture. His stance is suggestive of his own linguistic potentials and his 'flaunting of the antithesis' or the status quo (Spanish). Despite this stance, in the interview event he did not produce as many bilingual items as, say, someone from the Bookworm-Rocker CofP: he produced a total of 14 English 'insertions' and 3 English alternations in PR Spanish turns (N = 90), a total of 3 mixed or hybrid conversational turns, and 4 English dominant turns.

EXAMPLE 1. PUMA, GAMER COFP IN O'REILLY HIGH, INSTRUMENTALITY AND PERCEIVED IMPORTANT OF ENGLISH (PT. I)

| ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 01 Katherine | ¿Tú piensa que eh impoltante | 01 Katherine | Do you think it's important to |
| 02 | sabel hablal ingléh para vivir | 02 | know how to speak English to live |
| 03 | en Puelto Rico? | 03 | in Puerto Rico? |
| 04 Puma | Pue:Ø, practicamente aquí: en | 04 Puma | Well practically here in |
| 05 | Puelto Rico yo lo considero una | 05 | Puerto Rico I consider it an |
| 06 | ventaja. | 06 | advantage. |
| 07 Katherine | ¿Por qué? | 07 Katherine | Why? |
| 08 Puma | Polque: no todo sabe:n hablal el | 08 Puma | Because not everyone has to know |
| 09 | ingléh, y: (.) ehte: hay una que | 09 | English, and (.) umm there is one |
| 10 | otra pelsona que lo puede hablal | 10 | or another person that can speak it |
| 11 | (.) bien y que tu puede ehtablecel | 11 | (.) well and if you can establish |
| 12 | conta:cto: nolma:l, así sin, | 12 | normal contact, like that without, |
| 13 | sin entonce:Ø como que te digo, | 13 | without then, how do I explain it, |
| 14 | si tu tiene un compañero con el | 14 | if you have a friend who |
| 15 | que: (.) sabeh hablal ingléh, | 15 | (.) knows how to speak English, |
| 16 | y: ehta en un lugal privado, eh | 16 | and you're in a secret place, it |
| 17 | como que teañade cielta | 17 | like adds a level of |
| 18 | privacidaØ el que lah otrah | 18 | privacy that other people won't be |
| 19 | pelsona no te puedan entendel a | 19 | able to understand up until a |
| 20 | cielto punto. Aunque siempre | 20 | certain extent point. Even though |
| 21 | hay uno que otro que sabe | 21 | there will always be a person who |
| 22 | ingléh,y que lo | 22 | knows English, and that |
| 23 | entiende, pueh yo lo veo de esa | 23 | understands it, well I see it that |
| 24 | manera. | 24 | way. |

*Note*. Regular font = PR Spanish; Underline = Spanish Teen Talk Discourse Marker.

I then ask him about his opinion of English as an advantage in the workplace, to which he agrees with many of his classmates in suggesting that English provides further career opportunities and makes an individual more appealing and outstanding in the job market (Lines 24 – 31).

EXAMPLE 1. PUMA, GAMER COFP IN O'REILLY HIGH, INSTRUMENTALITY AND PERCEIVED IMPORTANT OF ENGLISH (PT. II)

| ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 24 Katherine | Y, ¿Pa' trabajo? | 24 Katherine | And for work? |
| 25 Puma | Eh necesario y eh una | 25 Puma | It is necessary and it is an |
| 26 | ventaja, polque: e: (.) una sabe | 26 | advantage, because if (.) one |
| 27 | ingléh y: en loh trabajo | 27 | knows English and employers |
| 28 | a veceØ lo considera:n má:h, y: | 28 | sometimes consider you more, and |
| 29 | eso, **So:** que: (.) eh una ayuda. | 29 | stuff. **So** that (.) it is some help. |
| 30 | Como te digo, quien lo | 30 | How do I explain it, whoever |
| 31 | sepa y eso eh una ventaja, eh una | 31 | knows it it is an advantage, it is a |
| 32 | ayuda. | 32 | resource. |

*Note*. Regular font = PR Spanish; Underline = Spanish Teen Talk Discourse Marker.

## D) MARKETING COFP

### *Dalia*

Dalia from the Marketing CofP was one of the least likely to incorporate bilingual styles in the present study. When measured up against other candidates, such as her peers in O'Reilly High, her preferred style in her social interactions with friends, as she went about her day in school and work, was Puerto Rican Spanish. When asked to discuss the amount of importance she placed on English on the island, her outward assessment of its importance could be said to match her linguistic practices. Ideologically, much like her immediate scholastic environment of teachers, she understands the economic utility of English in Puerto Rico, but does not equate this importance as a 'necessity' at all times.

Despite her PR Spanish-inclined speech style, she was profoundly aware of the linguistic practices that took place around her and in her own social networks. For instance, when referring to friends and classmates that spoke English all the time, she said: 'they speak English here not because they speak it (i.e. *natively*), nor because they wish to, but because they like the language' (Lines 01 – 04). This assessment of English use appears to be somewhat paradoxical in that she refers to the subject of intentionality 'not because they want to', but simultaneously states that they do it 'because they like that language'. In this sense, Dalia may be referring to the fact that one may have interests in a particular culture and language, and invest in that language, such that it becomes *a part of your style* and who you are, part of a person's *habitus* or linguistic habits (cf. Bourdieu, 2017). Therefore, when you partake in bilingual styles it is not always an intentional act, and you do it 'not because… [you] want to' (Line 03), rather, it may just come down to the fact that you 'know English' and 'watched a movie in English' so you talk about what you invested on during your free time in English (Lines 05 - 07).

Dalia's intuitive assessment of other's language practices tells us that she is aware in some way or another of the importance or personal investment or possessing interests in subjects related to the target language. She is aware of such relationships between practice and use because of her social status and spatial position in school: her friends sit nearby those who practice gaming and reading practices (i.e. *Gamers* and *Rockers* CofP respectively). Subjects who took part of these activities were simultaneously the ones most inclined to use bilingual styles.

EXAMPLE 1. DALIA, MARKETING COFP IN O'REILLY HIGH, PERCEIVED INSTRUMENTALITY AND PRESTIGE OF ENGLISH (PT. I)

| ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 01 Dalia | Aquí se habla mucho ingléh, | 01 Dalia | Here they speak a lot of English, |
| 02 | pero no polque lo hablen, | 02 | but not because others speak it, |
| 03 | ni poØque se antojan, sino | 03 | nor because they want to, just |
| 04 | polque leh guhta el idioma, y: si | 04 | because they like the language, and if |
| 05 | alguien sabe ingléh y: una | 05 | someone knows English and a |
| 06 | película vieron en ingléh, pueØ | 06 | movie they saw in English, well, they |
| 07 | hablan ya: de eso en ingléh. | 07 | talk already of that in English. |

*Note*. Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = Puerto Rican English; Underline = PR Youth Discourse marker; *Italics* = PR Youth slang.

In the second part of this excerpt we discuss English on the island, and whether she believes it is important to know it. She does not personally identify as an English user herself, and her reasons for granting it importance notably exclude the fact that Puerto Rico is a U.S. territory, or that Puerto Ricans are U.S. citizen. She provides a more detached, business-oriented perspective to its utility. She cites tourism, computing, programming, and education as important reasons to know English (Lines 11 - 13). The monetary value of English for these domains – computing, tourism, etc. – are not factors that are restricted to Puerto Rico, but are rather the outcome of increase mobility, technological developments, and virtual interconnectedness of current times (cf. Crysal, 1997; Blommaert, 2010). In this sense, her response to the importance of English is depoliticised by emphasising the global value of acquiring English. In Lines 15 to 16 she presents herself as someone of limited English-understanding abilities, who has been affected at times by the overwhelming presence of a non-local language on the island: 'so many things (are in English) that even sometimes you say 'oh rats, I need a translator'. In this sense, she further cements herself as a dominant Spanish speaker, who possesses strong local linguistic roots.

EXAMPLE 1. DALIA, MARKETING COFP IN O'REILLY HIGH, PERCEIVED INSTRUMENTALITY AND PRESTIGE OF ENGLISH (PT. II)

| ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 08 Katherine<br>09<br>10 Dalia<br>11<br>12<br>13<br>14<br>15<br>16<br>17 | Y, ¿Tú creeØ que en Puerto Rico eh importante saber ingléh=<br>Sí:↑… polque hay mucho turihmo, y también (.) hay muchaØ cosaØ en ingléh, dehde computado:ra:, e: pro:gra:ma:s, tantaØ cosaØ que hahta a veceØ tu dice 'ay caramba, necesito un traductor', y también lo usa en la universida:Ø, la ehcue:la:. | 08 Katherine<br>09<br>10 Dalia<br>11<br>12<br>13<br>14<br>15<br>16<br>17 | And, do you think that in Puerto Rico it's important toknowEnglish=<br>Ye:s↑[114]… because there's a lot of tourism, and also (.) there are a lot of things in English, from the computer, umm programs, so many things that even sometimes you say "oh rats, I need a translator", and also you use it in university:, in schoo:l… |

*Note*. Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = Puerto Rican English; Underline = PR Youth Discourse marker; *Italics* = PR Youth slang.

In the third part of this interview, a more hostile disposition to the language is presented, as Dalia offers her stance on classmates who speak in dominant English styles. As a mother, or teacher, chastising a child, Dalia offers the following assessment: 'sometimes they cross the line' (Line 21). She offers a highly nationalistic, Pro-Spanish argument in Lines 22 to 24: 'if you are in Puerto Rico, you don't need to be speaking English all the time.' Her utterance in these lines follow on the wider ideological discourse of language use on the island (i.e. Spanish as the language of the island). Her assessments take a more negative turn when she labels it as deviating behaviour, or 'not normal' (Line 32) and 'something extra' (Line 31).

[114] *the vowel sound in [sí:] is elongated and has a rise in intonation – uptalk making it sound uncertain/less assertive*.

EXAMPLE 1. DALIA, MARKETING COFP IN O'REILLY HIGH, PERCEIVED INSTRUMENTALITY AND PRESTIGE OF ENGLISH (PT. III)

| ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 18 Katherine | ¿Qué tu piensah de loh | 18 Katherine | What do you think about the |
| 19 | puertorriqueño que ehtan hablan | 19 | Puerto Ricans that speak |
| 20 | ingléh todo el tiempo? | 20 | English all the time? |
| 21 Dalia | A veceh son un poquito pasao. A | 21 Dalia | Sometimes they cross the line. |
| 22 | vece: -- **HELLOU** – si tu ehta en | 22 | Sometimes -- **HELLOU** – if you |
| 23 | Puerto Rico, no tiene polque ehtal | 23 | are in Puerto Rico, you don't have |
| 24 | hablando ingléh todo el tiempo. | 24 | to be speaking English all the |
| 25 | No es el idioma de aquí, pero ya: | 25 | time. It's not the language from |
| 26 | cada cual con su... | 26 | here, but to each their… |
| 27 Katherine | Cosa. | 27 Katheine | Own. |
| 28 Dalia | Aja:. Sí yo sé que hablan ingléh, | 28 Dalia | Yeah. If I know that they speak |
| 29 | que hablen ingléh ((*aspira*)). Yo | 29 | English, let them speak English |
| 30 | no puedo hacel naØ, pero paØ mi | 30 | ((*exhales*)). I can't do anything, |
| 31 | es algo extra – <u>o sea</u>, no: (.) no | 31 | but to me it's something extra – <u>I</u> |
| 32 | *normal*. | 32 | <u>mean</u>, no:t (.) not *normal*. |
| 33 Katherine | ¿Algo raro? | 33 Katherine | Something strange? |
| 34 Dalia | No eh que sea raro, no – no eh | 34 Dalia | Not that it's strange, no – not that |
| 35 | que sea raro, eh <u>como que</u> (.) no | 35 | it's strange, it's <u>like</u> (.) not |
| 36 | eØ algo impoltante. | 36 | something important. |

*Note*. Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = Puerto Rican English; <u>Underline</u> = PR Youth Discourse marker; *Italics* = PR Youth slang.

## 7.2.4 IDEOLOGIES OF SPANISH IN STUDENTS FROM NON-ELITE CONTEXTS

### A) JOCK COFP

In the example below, Bobi and Josue from the Jock CofP construct a neutral stance to the topic of an English-speaking *island* Puerto Rican. I ask them in Lines 01 to 04 to assess whether they thought a Puerto Rican *should know* how to speak Spanish in order to call themselves 'Puerto Rican', Bobi was quick to provide the following middle ground assessment 'not necessarily' in Line 05. In this sense, Bobi provides an open-ended answer or a somewhat neutral response to a controversial question of ethnic ownership and national identity. Josue stays silent, suggesting agreement, or not having anything else to add to what has been said. I then press on, and ask them how they would feel about a Puerto Rican who only engaged in English-only styles and knew little Spanish. Bobi begins to formulate a response at the beginning of Line 11 with a 'well, that they…' so as to introduce an opinion or thought, but then hesistates, pauses, and says 'stay speaking English'. Josue laughs loudly, indicating a hint of surprise or disbelief in

Bobi's utterance. Particularly after their previous assessment in an informal conversation, when they condemned the Rocker CofP for speaking English all the time. Because the recording is still running, Bobi and Josue are perhaps more cautious of their judgements, and particularly because the interview event has turned from informal conversation topics such as *family life, interests*, and *peer groups* into language ideologies, beliefs of linguistic competence and political stances. Josue, to further comment on Bobi's point, then provides the following example: *eh como deci:l que: (.) Jennifer Lopez eh pueltorriqueña* 'it's like saying that Jennifer Lopez is Puerto Rican'. Jennifer Lopez as a point of reference provides the example of the atypical Puerto Rican, not raised on the island, brought up in mainland settings, and immersed in a hybrid, dual culture, where the hegemonic norm is English. From the outside, Josue's comparison to Jennifer Lopez seems sensical. Up close, we run into the following discordances in this comparison: one represents an individual who has been socialized in English-only settings, the other has been socialized in Spanish dominant settings. By comparing an English-speaking *island* Puerto Rican to Jennifer Lopez, Josue is suggesting that the practices of the *islander* are atypical, such that they mimic those of non-local Latinos, some of who speak little Spanish or have competence in local culture practices, and perhaps hold less of a claim to local island culture.

Whether this means the person could ultimately call themselves Puerto Rican remains unclear, but a distinction is made between the island Spanish-speaking Puerto Rican and the English-speaking Puerto Rican from the States.

EXAMPLE 1. BOBI & JOSUE, JOCK COFP IN O'REILLY HIGH, IDEOLOGIES OF ENGLISH

| ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 01 Katherine | Uhtede piensang que para una | 01 Katherine | Do you think that for a person to |
| 02 | persona considerarse | 02 | consider themselves |
| 03 | pueltorriqueña deben de sabel | 03 | Puerto Rican they should know |
| 04 | hablal ehpañol, ¿Sí o no? | 04 | how to speak Spanish, yes o no? |
| 05 Bobi | No necesariamente. | 05 Bobi | Not necessarily. |
| 06 Katherine | Si tu veh como un | 06 Katherine | If you see how a |
| 07 | pueltorriqueño que se ha | 07 | Puerto Rican that been raised all of |
| 08 | criado toda la vida en Puelto | 08 | their lives in Puerto Rico, but they |
| 09 | Rico, pero que domina el | 09 | are more fluent in English, |
| 10 | ingléh mejol, como hay pal de | 10 | like some people |
| 11 | gente aquí, ¿Qué uhtede | 11 | here, what do you think of |
| 12 | piensang de esa pelsona? | 12 | those people? |
| 13 Bobi | Pue, que se:… quede | 13 Bobi | Well, that they… stay speaking in |
| 14 | hablando ingléh. | 14 | English. |
| 15 Josue | ((*laughs*)) | 15 Josue | ((*laughs*)) |
| 16 Katherine | ¿No tienen problema con ese | 16 Katherine | You don't have a problem with |
| 17 | tipo de persona? | 17 | that type of person? |
| 18 Bobi | No tengo problema. Eh como | 18 Bobi | I have no problem. It's like |
| 19 | deci:l que:, eh como deci:l | 19 | saying that (.) it's like saying tha:t |
| 20 | que: (.) Jennifer Lopez eh | 20 | (.) Jennifer Lopez is |
| 21 | pueltorriqueña. | 21 | Puerto Rican. |

*Note*. Regular Font = Puerto Rican Spanish.

## *Dánica*

To explore this stance of neutrality in the Jock CofP a bit further, I provide the following case of an excerpt with mutual Jock CofP member Dánica below. Upon asking her a similar question on the issue of the authentic Puerto Rican, or the person who is able to claim Puerto Rican identity on the basis of their language, Dánica first provides an affirmative response: 'Yes, they should know Spanish' (Line 84). In her second utterance she repositions herself in a more neutral stance, mimicking her friends Josue and Bobi with a 'well, not necessarily' (Line 84). She then goes on to provide a similar hypothetical scenario, but somewhat adjusted: it could be that the parents are foreigners, or 'from another country' (Line 86) and had raised their child with that other language in Puerto Rico. In this sense, it appears that Dánica definition of a true, authentic Puerto Rican is determined by whether they are brought up on the island or born here, as opposed to brought up with the language. In the case of Josue and Bobi, their assessment of who is Puerto Rican in self-report is 'the language does not matter', nor place, they just need to have Puerto Rican ancestry.

EXAMPLE 2. DÁNICA, JOCK COFP IN O'REILLY HIGH, IDEOLOGIES OF SPANISH

| ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 80Katherine | Okay, ¿Tú sienteh que una | 80 Katherine | Okay, do you think that a |
| 81 | pelsona para poder | 81 | person in order to consider |
| 82 | considerarse pueltorriqueña, | 82 | themselves Puerto Rican, |
| 83 | debería de saber hablar | 83 | should know how to speak |
| 84 | ehpañol? | 84 Dánica | Spanish? |
| 85 Dánica | Sí:. Bueno no necesariamente | 85 | Yes. Well, not necessarily |
| 86 | polque puede habel sido que | 86 | because they could have |
| 87 | loh papá son de | 87 | been the parents from |
| 88 | otro paí: y el sea | 88 | another country and he could |
| 89 | pueltorriqueño, y loh | 89 | be Puerto Rican, and the |
| 90 | papá le haigan | 90 | parents could have |
| 91 | enseñado el Ingléh. | 91 | taught him English. |

*Note*. Regular font = Puerto Rican Spanish.

## B) ROCKER COFP

The Rocker CofP exhibited mixed sociolcultural inclinations when it came to defining Puerto Rican culture and whether the Puerto Rican bilingual – and, further, the Puerto Rican English speaker – could be considered a legitimate part of island life.

### *Rosa*

Rosa believed that an island Puerto Rican could be brought up speaking English and still maintain sociocultural ties to island identity. For Rosa, the authentic Puerto Rican, or the ideal Puerto Rican, does not have to know Spanish in order to legitimately qualify as Puerto Rican. In the excerpt below, she demonstrates metalinguistic awareness of existing ideologies and discourses of languages. In Line 203 she highlights Spanish as the main linguistic flag, or national signifier, despite English possessing equal official status. She repeats Spanish in 203: *Ehpañol, Ehpañol* emphasising its role as the 'one and only' national linguistic icon, but later considers exceptional cases through use of conjunction *but* and the existence of bilinguals on the island *hay mucha ehcuela bilingue aquí* (' There are many bilingual schools here'). In this sense, much like Dalia from the *Marketing CofP*, Rosa is keenly aware of the overwhelming presence of English on the island. However, instead of citing businesses, technology, and medical domains, Rosa goes on to cite a more proximant issue – education – and the existence of schools that promote socialisations in a language other than Spanish (Lines 204 – 205). And, so,

education has served as an instructional vehicle that has altered the linguistic and cultural practices traditionally found on the island – suggesting a change to the Puerto Rican ideologue.

She reassess her initial stance of the Spanish-only Puerto Rican to a bilingual Puerto Rican in *so, loh doh en velda* 'So, both of them truly' (Lines 207 - 208). Rosa's initial assessment of the symbolic value of Spanish on the island is simultaneously provided in the Spanish language, *so* in this sense Rosa is reaffirming the metapragmatic discourses, or abiding to the overall language ideologies of the island, and showing her respect and loyalty to this value. Once she introduces the possibility of English in Line 203, she begins incorporating English-bilingual styles progressively more in this particular section of the interview. We see her final assessment introduced with discourse marker *so*.

In my second turn, I ask her whether she believes that mainland Puerto Ricans could label themselves as belonging to the overall Puerto Rican community, despite sociocultural ties elsewhere and no competence in Spanish. In this question, Rosa changes her stance once more. She positions herself similarly to her first turn which advocated for the traditional Spanish-only ideologue in Line 203, and goes as far as to construct a racial difference in *Eh como que 'you live here, but you're not from here. You're a white friend'* "It's like 'you live here but you're not from here. You're a white friend"(Lines 213 - 216). In this sense, Rosa partakes in racialising discourses that are documented on the mainland which envision English as the dominant national emblem on the mainland, and anything deviating to that as 'non-European' or non-White, therefore, not legitimately American (see Rosa & Flores, 2017).

Rosa further positions herself as a member of the Latino community, an authentic islander, and distances the mainland *Other*, with linguistic characteristics of English-dominance as 'White'. This sort of assessment of someone as *white* based on their linguistic abilities or matter of behaviour does not match the labelling techniques normally found on the island. In a later section of this chapter, when participants' discuss their linguistic competence and construct their bilingual persona, we see them construct their bilingual persona based on the benchmark of the English-native speaker, or the *gringo*. However, 'white person' as a label of the English speaker is noticeably missing. This sort of rhetoric is most found on mainland cities, made up of multi-ethnic neighbourhoods and at times characterised by segregation or ethnic labelling strategies and linguistic and racial discrimination. Nonetheless, Rosa deploys *white person* as a

label twice in this excerpt to refer to the English-speaking Puerto Rican, granting it an almost accusatory-type tonality, such as to say "Traitor!" Rosa's othering is loaded with aggressive undertones, such as *you don't live here* (line 213), which alienates whoever is the prospective audience, and simultaneously places her in a position of power or local authority, and then in Line 225 *shut up!* as a command to silence someone who she believes has no voice in local matters, because he is *White* or English speaking. Granted, most of this conversation is taking place in a jovial tonality, Rosa is laughing, at the end of the exchange she shows me a picture of her *white cousin*, and expresses to me how much she loves him (Line 230). Nonetheless, this 'banter' type conversation provides us with an insight to the ideological and symbolic attachments she holds to Spanish. It also gives us a bit of insight into Rosa as a bilingual speaker, while she is one of the most salient users of bilingual styles, she also actively challenges any labels that others have bestowed upon her, such as *Weeaboo* or *wannabe gringo* (refer to Federico excerpt, p. 381), by engaging in ethnic-Othering, or providing examples of why she is authentically Puerto Rican, despite her heavy bilingual styles. Notable also in the excerpt below are the discourse strategies of citations or providing contrasts in voices, when shifting to talk to the *White person* or English speaker, Rosa crosses over to General American. However, for the rest of the interview which is to due with Puerto Rican culture, authenticity, and language, Rosa engages in PR Spanish styles.

EXAMPLE 3. ROSA, BOOKWORM-ROCKER COFP IN O'REILLY HIGH, IDEOLOGIES OF SPANISH

| ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 200 Katherine | ¿Cuál idioma tu cree que | 200 Katherine | Which language do you think |
| 201 | noh identifica como | 201 | identifies us as |
| 202 | pueltorriqueño? | 202 | Puerto Rican? |
| 203 Rosa | Ehpañol. Ehpañol, pe:ro: | 203 Rosa | Spanish. Spanish, but |
| 204 | hay mucha ehcuela | 204 | there are a lot of bilingual |
| 205 | bilingüe aquí:, mucha | 205 | schools here, many people |
| 206 | gente que se cría: hablando | 206 | brought up speaking |
| 207 | ingléh, **so:** (.) loh doh en | 207 | English, **so** (.) both of them, |
| 208 | velda. | 208 | truly. |
| 209 Katherine | Y¿si hay unPueltorriqueño | 209 Katherine | And, if there is a Puerto Rican |
| 210 | que vive en Ehtados | 210 | who lives in the United |
| 211 | Uni:do:, pero habla ingléh | 211 | States, but speaks English |
| 212 | solamente? | 212 | only? |
| 213 Rosa | Eh como que "**you live** | 213 Rosa | It's like, **"you don't live here,** |
| 214 | **here, but you're not from** | 214 | **but you're not from here.** |
| 215 | **here**. **You're a white** | 215 | **You're white** |
| 216 | **friend."** | 216 | **friend."** |
| 217 Katherine | **So,** ¿Qué tu piensa que son | 217 Katherine | **So,** you think they are from |
| 218 | de allá? | 218 | over there? |
| 219 Rosa | **Yea:h!** Yo le hago eso a | 219 Rosa | **Yeah!** I do that to |
| 220 | mih primo! Mi primo | 220 | my cousins! My cousin |
| 221 | Leonardo él e:, él e: de | 221 | Leonardo, he is, he is from |
| 222 | New York y él te habla | 222 | New York and he speaks |
| 223 | ehpañol con acento, | 223 | Spanish to you with an accent, |
| 224 | pero: (.) bien pronunciado. | 224 | but (.) really pronounced. |
| 225 | Y yo le digo **"shut up,** | 225 | And I tell him "**shut up,** |
| 226 | **you're my White cousin**", | 226 | **you're my White cousin**", |
| 227 | y él se rie. ((*Shows me a* | 227 | and he laughs. ((*Shows the* |
| 228 | *picture from her* | 228 | *researcher a picture from her* |
| 229 | *phone*)) **That's my** | 229 | *phone*)). **That's my** |
| 230 | **white cousin, I love him.** | 230 | **White cousin, I love him.** |

*Note*. Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = Ideological General American English; Underline = Discourse marker.

*Summary: Sociocultural Constructions of the Role of English and Spanish in O'Reilly High*

In O'Reilly High Public School, oppositional indexes were constructed with regards to the importance of English and Spanish: where there was a tendency for the Spanish-dominant CofPs to project themselves as 'nonchalant' and indifferent to English-dominant practices, and further argue for the local importance of attaining such language, whilst English-dominant speakers simultaneously projected themselves as fierce advocates of the local vernacular, Spanish, and as defenders of the Puerto Rican Spanish-speaking heritage, and simultaneously arguing for the importance of learning English. The reasons for acquiring English differed according to group, while the Spanish-dominant groups cited the local reasons as to why it would be important to acquire

English – to meet the demands of different branches of the professional world, to access domains on the island that use English texts (computer softwares, medicines), and to communicate with islanders who speak a language other than Spanish – English-dominant CofPs were most likely to cite profession, education, and opportunities abroad as reasons why someone may come to be bilingual and why English acquisition could ultimately help you to 'be more' (Luis from the Bookworm-RockerCofP) in life, more analytical, as well as more secretive by speaking a language few know (Puma of the Gamer CofP). It is unclear as to why English-dominant speakers were those most likely to take strong oppositional stances to the English-dominant Puerto Rican, such as to at times use accusatory labels such as 'White' and 'gringo', but perhaps this phenomenon of 'legitimacy' or wanting to construct themselves as authentic Puerto Ricans despite out-of-ordinary practices, or outside practices (atypical to the larger PR community), can be coined as a type of *island legitimisation* or act of belonging or authencity through the creation of an oppositional Other that possesses a host of oppositional values: is not from the island, speaks English all the time, sees themselves as 'superior', and is racially (or superficially, ideologically, and practically) 'White'. Meanwhile, Spanish-dominant CofPs were most likely to take neutral or perhaps passive aggressive (ultimately accepting) stances to the idea of an islander who speaks English. For instance, Josue and Bobi equated it to the behaviour of mainland Americans with little ties to island life, such as J.Lo, hinting at its negative consequence 'stay talking like that….(and see who understands you'). Other Spanish-dominant speakers like Dalia from the Marketing CofP branded English-only practices in social settings as 'unnecessary' and by default 'something extra' (Dalia, Marketing CofP interview).

### 7.2.5. Summary of Construction and Negotiations of Language Ideologies

The ideologies of language in both elite and non-elite settings yield a constellation of different indexical values, at times, in opposition to one another. In elite settings, islanders are more likely to attribute a monetary and global value to English than non-elite settings. English is described as the "universal language", the "language of modernity", and the language of "job opportunities" and therefore important to attain for own self-improvement. Other arguments for the importance of English among elite students include Puerto Rico's status as "part of the whole", or their duty as "Americans" – a political-ideological reason – as well as the need to accommodate to outsiders, tourists

from "over there", playing to the hegemonic values attributed to Spanish and English in mainland U.S. society (i.e. English over Spanish). In the discussion of language ideologies, values of "backwardness" are attributed to the idea of a monolingual (Spanish-speaking) Puerto Rico. This becomes evident in Fernando's interview, when he talks about Puerto Ricans being "better" thanks to the United States and that is "why English is important", and corroborated by Zuriel when he identifies Puerto Ricans as "lazy" and wanting "everything done for them" versus an outside language and culture that signals improvement and modernity. At the same time, values of modernity and desirability tied with the English language are faced with an ideological obstacle: it is desirable to know and to speak English for self-improvement purposes, but to use English in (island) society is not.

In non-elite settings, the value of English is tied to more emergent ideological matters, such as the immediate importance of knowing English for higher education, government jobs, regions in Puerto Rico where there people who do not speak Spanish (e.g., western surfing town Rincón, and the San Juan metropolitan area). All the while, the use of English for socialising purposes is deemed "unnecessary" (Dalia), "ridiculous" (Josue and Bobi), and an "act of superiority" (Luis). Somewhat paradoxically, the negative value against speaking English in social contexts is also attributed by those most likely to speak English (Luis and Rosa from the Bookworm-Rocker CofP). Despite their English-dominant and mixing practices, their ideological metalinguistic reportage is in alignment with the mainstream status quo: Spanish as the emblem of national identity.

In both cases there is an ideological distinction between English knowledge (skill) and English in society (production).

## 7.3 Construction of Ethnic and National Identities

### 7.3.1. Mission High (Elite Contexts)

This section explores the negotiation of identity with regards to *ethnicity* or ethnic identity. The sociocultural construction of ethnicity is discussed in terms of what non-linguistic practices are considered to local and nonlocal, authentic and inauthentic. Issues of authenticity and belongingness –the *right to claim* Puerto Rican identity– are central to the discussion of ethnic identity.

Pertinent to the discussion of identification is the discussion of *difference* or what is regarded extra-ordinary behaviour. In prominent discourses of island identity, the immediate counter example is often the mainland Americans or *los gringos*. For many Puerto Ricans, the concept of a *gringo* serves as the embodiment of oppositional values, practices, aesthetic, and identities, particularly due to their role in Puerto Rican history, the nature of U.S. occupation on the island, race relations with regards to Anglos and Hispanics on the mainland, and the current political relationship between island and mainland .

Ethnicity is spoken about in sociolinguistics often, but rarely defined uniformly. Joshua Fishman (2015) observed ethnicity as an unscientific term constructed intersubjectively, such that it is best defined in its local construction rather than by a universal label. Fishman draws on Wolf's (1992) definition that perceives race as a inherently problematic construct or "perilous idea'" (2015, p. 327), the same way it is troublesome to define people based on concepts of nationhood and peoplehood. The *exact nature* of ethnicity (or how one comes to construct an ethnic identity) is an issue that is continuously debated in sociolinguistics, particularly when it comes to using ethnicity as a label descriptor of language use in large scale studies of language variation and change (cf. Eckert, 2008; Benor, 2010). As such, Puerto Ricans' construction of ethnicity is not merely the result of society's "construction of ethnic differences" (Fought, 2010, p. 282), nor necessarily determined by peer-group status, rather it is something that is dependent on a combination of environmental and ideological factors, as well as one's construction of self in relation to others locally as well as globally (a super-addressee or ideological discourse). That is, in order for there to be a 'me' there needs to be a someone else, or multiple Others, whereby I construct me or come to understand 'me'.

In constructions of ethnicities there may be overlaps between ethnic 'self' and others in joint CofPs on account of shared values and interests. The community of practice approach highlights engaging in "a common endeavour" as part of its core, with "ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, values, power relations " emerging out of shared practices (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1992, p. 8). In this section, particular objects and practices are alluded to in constructing a unique Puerto Rican identity – these may range "from food to accent", and can "symbolically index ethnic affiliation" (De Fina, 2007, p. 373). Necessarily, these seemingly trivial objects serve as emblems of identity, belonging, and a collective sense of peoplehood. In what follows, I present a description of some the

objectifications of Puertorricanhood that are alluded to during the interviews when discussing ethnic alignments and identities.

I begin the discussion of ethnic identities with the ideological projections of private school students. In this discussion, I re-emphasize the ideological atmosphere of the private school, whereby attainment and familiarisation to English is encouraged from an institutional standpoint at times "at the expense" of the local. I highlight some of the key findings from members of several groups, but do not discuss everyone. I then move on to discussing the ethnic identities constructed in students at O'Reilly High Public School, with particular emphasis paid to those who engaged in frequent acts of bilingualism in Chapter 6.

## A) IN-BETWEEN JOCK (MISSION HIGH)

The In-Between Jock CofP had two members that relied on English-dominant speaking styles, despite status quo of Spanish-dominant turns and frequent smaller doses of English lexical items and phrases. Two of its members experienced American culture and English perhaps to a greater degree to others in the school, one of them was transnational (Miguel) and the other lived in a neighboring town that had significant mainland influences (Emmanuel) due to a large migrant English-speaking population[115]. I discuss here Emmanuel's construction of Puerto Rican culture, as lifelong islander and resident of Rincón, Puerto Rico.

### *Emmanuel, In-Between Jock CofP*

In his construction of the authentic Puerto Rican, rather than highlighting the importance of Spanish (a linguistic reason), Emmanuel refers to shared values and traditions as intergral to one's self-idenfication to Puerto Rican ethnic and national identity. While he does not expand on Puerto Rican 'traditions', he does refer to them as being exclusive to *aquí* 'here' (the island) rather than *allá* 'there', i.e. mainland culture. He uses key action words 'respect' *respeta* (Line 111) and 'honor' *honora** (Line 112) to emphasise how one must both observe and follow these traditions in order to classify as a legitimate Puerto Rican, promoting Puertorricanhood as a way of living, a lifestyle, rather than an identity restricted to speech.

[115] The neighboring town is Rincón, Puerto Rico.

In his evaluation to the Puerto Rican-American, he conceptualises national identity as both socially (culture, traditions) and biologically ('in the blood') inhabited. In alignment to his English-dominant practices, he includes the mainland Latino to his definition of ethnic identity: they also have the right to claim Puerto Rican identity, despite being brought up outside the island and engaging in atypical linguistic and cultural practices. Though his response is conditional, containing an "if"/"then" structure, his evaluation of the Puerto Rican American is ultimately positive. His definition of others 'right to claim' Puertorricanhood, may also serve as a projection of his own 'right to claim' Puerto Rican identity, despite offbeat practices that insinuate nonlocal ties.

After Emmanuel's second turn, Dave jokingly jumps in with a controversial counter-argument: *¡Noh! ¡Tiene que nacel en nuehtra patria, nuehtro paí!* 'NO! They have to be born in our country!' Emmanuel joins in in playful banter, demonstrating his joint metapragmatic awareness of the ethnic controversies regarding US-PR relations and dominant ideologies of belongingness 'if you weren't born in a public bathroom of *Isabella*' (Lines 155 - 116), where he references a town in the northwestern region of the island. Dave jumps in again, in a trumping fashion to provide another example of a legitimate birth place: 'if you weren't born in a public bathroom of *Perea*' (Lines 117 – 119) (a hospital located in the city centre of Mayagüez). In this sense, both Dave and Emmanuel poke fun of nationalistic discourses that promote the idea that place determines your right to claim a particular identity, suggestively advocating for more *laissez faire* approach to ethnic identification, i.e. you are who you want to be, as long as you 'respect' the culture, and engage in (socially construed) 'traditional' practices.

Emmanuel's language socialisation is unique – he has experienced English culture in academic settings and has been taught the importance of acquiring the ideological standard, but he also immediately experiences English and mainland culture in his hometown. Perhaps because of this contact with mainland culture and language, Emmanuel brings up the subject of 'respecting' and 'following' local culture, because in his immediate reality he witnesses the cohabitance of the two in Rincón, Puerto Rico.

EXAMPLE 1. EMMANUEL & DAVE, FOCUS GROUP, CONSTRUCTION OF NATIONAL IDENTITIES

| ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 100 Katherine | Una persona de Nueva York | 100 Katherine | But if a person from New York |
| 101 | (.) que: loh papáØ sean | 101 | (.) that they're parents are |
| 102 | pueltorriqueño:… Y que le | 102 | Puerto Rican… and that they |
| 103 | hayan enseñado ehpañol | 103 | have been taught Spanish from |
| 104 | puertorriqueño pero toda su | 104 | Puerto Rico all of their |
| 105 | vida: en Nueva York. | 105 | lives in New York. |
| 106 Emmanuel | [es de loh EhtadoØ UnidoØ? | 106 Emmanuel | In the United States? |
| 107 Katherine | Aja. ¿Esa persona eh | 107 Katherine | Yeah. Is that person |
| 108 | pueltorriqueña? | 108 | Puerto Rican? |
| 109 Emmanuel | Bueno, sí. Si le enseñan loh | 109 Emmanuel | Well, yeah If they teach them the |
| 110 | baloreØ y la: la tradicioneØ | 110 | values, the traditions from |
| 111 | de aquí y la x$^{h}$epeta y lah | 111 | here and they respect them and |
| 112 | **honora*,** sí. | 112 | they honor them, yes. |
| 113 Dave | ¡Noh! ¡Tiene que nacel en | 113 Dave | No! They have to be born in our |
| 114 | nuehtra patria, nuehtro paí! | 114 | country, be a part of our country! |
| 115 Emmanuel | Si tu no nacihte en un baño | 115 Emmanuel | If you weren't born in a public |
| 116 | público en Isabela= | 116 | Bathroom in Isabella= |
| 117 Dave | ¡Si tu no nacihteØ en el | 117 Dave | If you weren't born in a public |
| 118 | baño público de Perea tu no | 118 | bathroom of Perea then you are |
| 119 | ereh de aquí! | 119 | not from here! |
| 120 | ((*Emmanuel laughs loudly*)) | 120 | ((*Emmanuel laughs loudly*)) |

*Note*. Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = English-influenced Spanish.

In engaging in local jokes both Emmanuel and Dave establish themselves as legitimate Puerto Ricans, possessing knowledge of locally relevant issues, referencing insider knowledge of localities and island municipalities to deliver punch lines. Furthermore, in providing an assessment of the mainland Puerto Rican in PR Spanish, Emmanuel positions himself as someone in a place of authority by asserting his evaluation in the authoritative island vernacular.

## B) CHOIR COFP

Alongside the In-Betweener CofP, the Choir Girl CofP was among the most frequent bilingual groups in the Mission High Corpus, their cultural engagements were also greatly defined by American popular culture but they also engaged in joint activities in the local choir and church. As will be discussed below, some of the members of this community of practice shifted to more locally accepted styles when discussing issues pertinent to local identities[116], in this sense one may argue they were showcasing their

[116] "Acceptable speech" usually implies the ideological standard.

positive alignments to local identity, and even reclaiming their identities as authentic Puerto Ricans, despite their preferred English dominant mode with friends.

## *Erica*

Erica was mistaken several times for American. She was not ashamed of this, rather, in moments embraced her mixed identity. In the exchange below, she performs a positive indexical alignment to U.S. culture; this is not surprising considering her status as a transnational student. She is cautious as to how she constructs this mixed identity by strategically citing *loh doh* 'both of them' (Line 3) as part of her identity in Puerto Rican Spanish. In this way, Erica avoids adopting an extreme Other identity, or violating islandwide Hispanic nationalism. In Chapter 6, her style is described as frequently bilingual, it is curious then that at this stage of the interview event, she projects her ethnic identity through PR Spanish. Perhaps in some sense, Erica displays attention paid to speech when it comes to discussing ethnically perilous topics.

EXAMPLE 2. ERICA, CHOIR GIRL COFP IN MISSION HIGH, CONSTRUCTION OF ETHNIC IDENTITY

| | |
|---|---|
| 01 Katherine | ¿Tú: siente que: (.) te identifica en cielto ahpecto con la cultura |
| 02 | Americana? |
| 03 Erica | Bueno sí polque ahí (.) nací, nací con loh doh polque |
| 04 | cuando yo nací mi familia ya ehtaba en Bohton. |
| 05 | *Literalmente* todo. |
| | |
| ***Translation*** | |
| | |
| 01 Katherine | You, do you feel that (.) you identify in a certain way with the |
| 02 | American culture? |
| 03 Erica | Well, yes because there (.) I was born, I was born with both |
| 04 | because when I was born my family was already in Boston. |
| *05* | *Literally* everyone. |

*Note*. Regular font = PR Spanish; *Italics* = PR Youth speech.

She rationalises her mixed identity with the fact that she was born in Boston and has family there. In claiming familial ties, she feels she has a true authentic claim to mainland culture which is not at odds with her local culture, as it is not an intentional act of distance or a flaunting of elite status (or snobby behavior), rather an organic part of who she is. She engages in the local vernacular in her construction of ethnic identity: *ahí nací* 'I was born there' (Line 03). In this sense, she equates identifying with American culture as having the *birth right* to do so. She alludes to this birth two times later: (1) when she reiterates *nací con loh doh* 'I was born with the two of them' (Line 03),

advocating for a hybrid identity, and, later, (2) *cuando yo nací con mi familia* 'when I was born with my family' (Line 4), alluding to home roots and practices.

In the following turn, Erica is asked to respond to the matter of Puerto Rico's status, or Puerto Rico 'under U.S. influence' (Lines 01 – 04). After having identified with U.S. culture in the previous turn, Erica progressively aligns to island identity by adopting an 'us' and 'them' dichotomy and discussing matters related to politics. Here Erica showcases her awareness of local issues, perfoming acts of legitimacy and island identity by referring to political headlines and constructing personal alignments: the financial crisis, the uncertain political status of Puerto Ricans, (the lack of) bankruptcy rights and financial autonomy, and the financial oversight board (PROMESA) (see Long, 2017). In this discussion she performs others voices through bilingual styles, alluding to the different sides to the status argument: (1) *a lot of people (others) como que dicen que… eh mala polque no quintang la cultura* 'a lot of people like say that…. It's bad because they take our culture' (Lines 05 – 07), (2) *que noh tratan mal* 'that they treat us bad' (Lines 07 – 08). Two opposing arguments are cited by Erica: the first is provided in Spanish and speaking of the 'erosion of culture' or the taking away (extinction) of Puerto Rican culture, the second is provided in mixed speech and assesses the subject of quality of the relationship. Erica does not align with the first ideology that opposes U.S. culture, this is demonstrated by hear-say phrase 'a lot of people say' but not 'me' (= U.S. culture takes from our culture). In the second argument, Erica positions herself favourably, citing contemporary and traditional arguments against the U.S.: *they don't treat us with the equality* (human right) (Line 10), *no noh quieren dal la ley de quiebra* 'they don't want to give us bankruptcy rights' (civil right), *pero ehtan como que en el medio, pol (.) pol tenelo y hacel chavoØ* 'they don't want to make us a state, (they have us) stuck in the middle to make money' (American citizenship, belongingness, and financial autonomy) (Lines 16 - 17).

In this performance of knowledge, Erica makes use of pronouns 'they' and 'us' to index her own positionality as authentic islander. She pursues this usage of 'us' versus 'they' even later when discussing the positive aspects of the relationship, how *the people* (Line 18) and *la cultura de allá* 'the culture from over there' (Line 19) *makes it a little bit richer* (Line 20), arguing for an additive argument: 'it makes us more diverse' she suggests progressively incorporating more mixed speech in Lines 21 to 24, and alludes to the space and size, and the economic and entertainment influences it has had on the island through TV (Line 30) and shops (Line 32). In this way, rather than seeing U.S.

cultural presence as overwhelming and a threat to local culture, Erica believes it adds to what is already in place on the island. It is possible that Erica pursues an additive ideology to Latino and Anglo cultures because of her personal and familial ties to mainland culture, having lived in Boston during some of her childhood.

EXAMPLE 3. ERICA, CHOIR GIRL COFP, CONSTRUCTION OF NATIONAL IDENTITY AND AMERICAN CULTURE

| ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 01 Katherine | **Soʊ,** ¿Cuál eh tu: (.) opinión | 01Katherine | **Soʊ,** what is you (.) opinion about the |
| 02 | sobre: la influencia que | 02 | influence of the |
| 03 | EhtadoØ UnidoØ tiene sobre | 03 | United States |
| 04 | Puerto Rico? | 04 | in Puerto Rico? |
| 05 Erica | **A lot of people** como que dicen | 05 Erica | **A lot of people** like they say |
| 06 | que: que eh mala polque noh | 06 | that it is bad because they |
| 07 | quitang la cultura, que noh | 07 | take from us the culture, that they |
| 08 | tratan mal, lo cual (.) en palte | 08 | treat us badly, which (.) in part |
| 09 | eh veldaØ polque: **they don't** | 09 | its true because **they don't** |
| 10 | **treat us with the equality** que | 10 | **treat us with the equality** that |
| 11 | se supone que noh tratarang, | 11 | they should treat us, |
| 12 | que no noh quieren dal | 12 | that they don't want to give us |
| 13 | ley de quiebra, esaØ cosaØ, | 13 | bankruptcy law, that stuff, |
| 14 | que no noh quieren hacel | 14 | that they don't want to make us a |
| 15 | Ehtado, pero ehtan como que | 15 | State, but they are like |
| 16 | en el medio, pol (.) pol tenelo y | 16 | in the middle, to (.) to have and |
| 17 | hacel chavoØ. Pero:, lo que, o | 17 | make money. But, what, I |
| 18 | sea **the people**, y: (.) como que | 18 | mean **the people**, and (.) like |
| 19 | la cultura de allá como que | 19 | the culture from over there like |
| 20 | **makes it a little bit richer,** | 20 | **makes it a little bit richer,** |
| 21 | **'cause** hay mah divelsida:Ø, no | 21 | **'cause** there is more diversity, not |
| 22 | solamente **you get to know** | 22 | only **you get to know** |
| 23 | **other places** y **America is like** | 23 | **other places** and **America is like** |
| 24 | **such a huge country**, que hay | 24 | **such a huge country**, there is |
| 25 | mucho: (.) hay mucho de todo | 25 | a lot (.) there is a lot of the |
| 26 | en Ehtados UnidoØ y que (.) | 26 | United States and that (.) |
| 27 | **sometimes** eso como que: se | 27 | **sometimes** that like: crosses (.) the |
| 28 | pasa (.) acá. Qué no tenemoØ | 28 | border over here. What don't we have |
| 29 | de Ehtados UnidoØ? TenemoØ | 29 | from the United States? We have |
| 30 | libro:Ø, **[ti: vi:][ [ʃoʊs],** | 30 | books, **[ti: vi:][ [ʃoʊs],** |
| 31 | cuantoh *gringoØ* hay por ahí | 31 | how many *gringos* there are around |
| 32 | ((*laughs*)), tenemoØ tienda:Ø, | 32 | ((*laughs*)), we have shops, |
| 33 | **so:** que: (.) **it's not always a** | 33 | **so:** that (.) **it's not always** |
| 34 | **bad thing**↑, como que **it has** | 34 | **a bad thing**↑, like **it has** |
| 35 | **its downs** pero tambien tiene | 35 | **its downs** but also has its |
| 36 | **[proʊs]** […] | 36 | **[proʊs] […]** |

*Note*. Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = Standard-like General American English; Underline = Teen talk discourse marker.

In a later part of the interview, she discusses an additional reason as why she believes U.S. culture and influence is not detrimental to Puerto Rico's fate. In this assessment, Erica relies on the negative metapragmatic discourses that allude to the stereotype of the lazy Latino (Line 42), dependent on welfare (Lines 40 – 41), incapable

of being independent (Lines 38 – 39), *needing* the United States (Line 38). These ideologies of the lazy Puerto Rican are prevelant in local discourses of conservatively leaning political parties that advocate for complete union to the United States, it is also prevalent in discriminatory discourses on the mainland against the inclusion of Latinos in mainland affairs (see Lippi Green, 2012).

EXAMPLE 4. ERICA, CHOIR GIRL COF, CONSTRUCTION OF NATIONAL IDENTITY AND AMERICAN CULTURE (PT. II)

| | |
|---|---|
| 37 Erica | **The place** que ehta Puelto Rico ahora política y económicamente: si no tuvieramoØ a |
| 38 | EhtadoØ UnidoØ **we'd be a lot worse**, que: (.) **we can't run our conti- (.) this** |
| 39 | **country ourselves,** en el pasado sí podíamoØ, pero la: (.) como que (.) **we gotta** (.) |
| 40 | la gente del pasado se acohtumbro mucho a sel como que—**they get** (.) como que a |
| 41 | dependelse: de Ehtados Uni:do:Ø, pue:Ø (.) hemoØ bajado, **like**, **hard-working people.** |
| 42 | **We got lazier↑**, en cielta folma, aunque hay gente que de veldaØ quiere trabajar por eso, |
| 43 | pero (.) ha:y: tiene suh [**proʊs], and [kɑns**] en veldaØ. |
| | |
| | ***Translation*** |
| 37 Erica | **The place** in which Puerto Rico is right now politically and economically if we didn't |
| 38 | have the United States **we'd be a lot worse**, that (.) **we can't run our conti-(.) this** |
| 39 | **country ourselves**, in the past yes, but the (.) like (.) **we gotta** (.) |
| 40 | the people from the past have gotten used to a lot how to be like – **they get** (.) like |
| 41 | dependent of the United States well (.) we've gone downhill, **like, hard-working people**. |
| 42 | **We got lazier↑,** in a certain way, even though there are people that truly want to work for |
| 43 | that, but (.) there are **proʊs], and [kɑns**] in reality. |

*Note*. Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = Standard-like General American English; Underline = teen talk discourse marker.

## *Mariela*

Mariela has lived all of her life in Puerto Rico. She has also been schooled most of her life in private school settings. As part of the island 'elite', she pursues a positive ideology to local culture during her interview. Rather than relying on the mainland benchmark to conceive of a Puerto Rican culture, she constructs Puerto Rican culture as its own entity with a unique 'atmosphere', values, and practices. We first see evidence of her positionalities in Lines 1 to 3: *I feel, umm* (.) *orgullosa*, *porque:, o sea, Puelto Rico no eh un mal sitio: (.) to be* 'I feel, umm (.) proud, because, I mean, Puerto Rico is not a bad place to be'. Her cross to PR Spanish *orgullosa* serves as the metaphorical emphasis to this pride, she is flaunting her Hispanic pride and status through a momentary act of codemixing. By using Spanish to express her emotions, she is also building on the idea that Spanish is one of the most important emblems of Puerto Ricanness, whilst simultaneously positioning herself as authentically *Puerto Rican*.

In her second turn, she adopts a dominant Spanish style. Here she examines her stance with regards to Puerto Rico and provides evidence as to why she feels it is an overall good place to live: *la pelsona son buena* 'the people' (Line 08), *buena cultura* 'good culture' (Line 09), *ambiente familial* 'a familial environment' (Lines 10 – 11). By alluding to a distinct group of people, culture, and atmosphere that is 'good', Mariela is arguing for a positive vision of the island, further corroborated by atmospheric examples of 'tropical environment' and 'beaches' (Lines 12 – 13). Towards the end of this construction of Puerto Rico as a 'good place', Mariela brings up 'not being ashamed' of of being Puerto Rican (Line 13 – 14). Within island contexts, this last line is typical of nationalistic discourses which actively fight discriminatory or self-depricating statements of Puerto Rico being 'less than' the United States, because of its smaller size, wealth, and distinct culture. These acts of national pride usually involve chants like *Yo soy boricua, pa que tu lo sepas* 'I am Boricua (local label for *Puerto Rican*), so that you know!', a song from the 1990s written by Joel Bosch which encapsulates this feeling of shamelessness and is frequently sung at rallies and national sports matches to demonstrate collective identity and pride.

EXAMPLE 5. MARIELA, CHOIR GIRL COFP IN MISSION HIGH, CONSTRUCTION OF NATIONAL IDENTITY

| ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 01 Mariela | **Umm, I feel, umm** (.) | 01 Mariela | **Umm, I feel, umm** (.) proud, |
| 02 | orgullosa, porque: o sea, Puelto | 02 | because, like, Puerto Rico is not |
| 03 | Rico no eh un mal sitio: (.) **tobe.** | 03 | a bad place (.) **to be.** |
| 04 Katherine | **Why?** | 04 Katherine | Why? |
| 05 Mariela | Polque a pesal de suh | 05 Mariela | Because despite of all its |
| 06 | govelnanteh que son horrible:, | 06 | governors which are horrible, |
| 07 | **umm**, lah pelsonaØ son buena, | 07 | **umm**, the people are good, |
| 08 | lah pelsona son buena. Tienen | 08 | the people are good. They have |
| 09 | buena cultura, y como que: (.) | 09 | good culture and like (.) |
| 10 | sí. Eh un ambiente | 10 | yes. It's a family-oriented |
| 11 | familial. Eh un ambiente | 11 | environment. It's a tropical |
| 12 | tropical. Me guhta lah playa:, y | 12 | environment. I like its beaches, |
| 13 | no me avelguenza sel | 13 | and I am not ashamed of being |
| 14 | pueltorriqueña ((*clears throat*)). | 14 | Puerto Rican ((*clears throat*)). |

*Note. Regular font = PR Spanish; Bold = Standard-like General American English;*

In order to arrive at a deeper understanding of Mariela's conception of Puerto Rican culture, I rephrase my question to ask her how she thought Puerto Rican culture differed to American culture. She re-emphasizes the issue of *culture*, presumably *Hispanic culture,* and describes the island as having 'more' of it (Line 18). One may ask

why Mariela and others conceive of Puerto Rican culture as 'richer' or 'more' than mainland American, when mainland American culture is composed of different ethnic groups and a histories, as suggested by Erica in the previous excerpt. One possibility is that, as Late Modern youth, their conceptualisations of mainland culture may rely on media and entertainment discourses, which often promote a conceptually 'White' (European American) picture of 'America' over an image that includes the reality of its diversity and smaller cultures that make up the whole (see Lippi-Green's 2012 discussion of Disney films and racism in the media, p. 101 - 129). In comparing Puerto Rico, conceived as a 'mixed' culture by islanders, to 'America' often 'whitewashed' by the media and full of discriminatory ethnic stereotypes (ibid.), island Puerto Ricans may see themselves more identified with local than mainland culture, which is often conceived as homogenous, 'serious' and 'cold'.

In her construction of Puerto Rican culture she brings the issue of family, friendliness, and celebrations – implicitly suggesting that mainland culture holds different family values (i.e. family is not as important, therefore, they are distant), manners of being (i.e. *máh cerrado* 'more closed' in Line 23, or cold and not friendly), and serious (i.e. not celebratory).

In order to expand her definition of PR culture, she uses discourse marker *like* in Line 25 and lists celebrations as a point of difference: while the American would celebrate universal occassions such as a birthday (Line 26), Puerto Ricans celebrate 'the little things', such as the falling of a tooth (Line 29). In comparison to her overall mixed speaking style, provided in Chapter 6, Mariela uses dominant Spanish talk (Lines 14 - 27) to discuss local culture, further demonstrating positive alignments to the idea of a uniquely defined Hispanic culture.

EXAMPLE 6. MARIELA, CHOIR GIRL COFP IN MISSION HIGH, CONSTRUCTION OF PUERTO RICAN CULTURE

| PT. II | | PT. II | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 14 Katherine | Si pudieraØ definil lo que | 14 Katherine | If you could define the different |
| 15 | diferencia a un pueltorriqueño de | 15 | a Puerto Rican from |
| 16 | un Americano, ¿Cómo tu | 16 | an American, how would you |
| 17 | definiríaØ a un pueltorriqueño? | 17 | define a Puerto Rican? |
| 18 Mariela | SomoØ máh culturaleØ | 18 Mariela | We are more culturally-inclined |
| 19 | y máh familiareØ en el sentido | 19 | and family-oriented in the sense |
| 20 | de que noh llevamoØ mejol con | 20 | that we get along better with |
| 21 | mucha pelsona: Ø, somoØ | 21 | a lot of people, we are |
| 22 | fiehte:ro:, loh AmericanoØ son | 22 | party animals, the Americans are |
| 23 | máh cerrado en ese sentido, | 23 | more closed in that sense, even |
| 24 | aunque también hace muchah | 24 | though they also do a lot of |
| 25 | fiehta pero:, **like**, elloØ haceng | 25 | parties, **like**, they do (.) if there is |
| 26 | (.) si hay un cumpleañoh elloØ | 26 | a birthday they |
| 27 | hacen una fiehtaØ, nosotroØ si | 27 | do a party, us if a |
| 28 | se le cae el diente al nene ya se- | 28 | tooth falls from our child |
| 29 | hay una fiehta. | 29 | there is a party. |

*Note*. Regular font = PR Spanish; Bold = Standard-like General American English; Underline = Teen talk discourse marker.

## C) POP CULTURE COFP

The Pop Culture Enthusiasts engaged in shared practices that involved American popular culture: watching North American TV shows, being involved in music (as DJs and singers), and modelling and dance academies (which sometimes offered experiences abroad). Their bilingual style was in alignment with the elite school norm: Spanish dominant turns and frequent instances of English alternations and insertions. In describing Puerto Rican culture, members tended to include elements of American culture or to define Puerto Rico in relation to the United States. Below I discuss Tatiana's construction of Puerto Rican culture, and how it alludes to stereotypes of Latino Americans to define island identity and adopts celebrity figures from the mainland to emphasize the prestige and uniqueness of 'being Puerto Rican'. Thus, conceiving of Puerto Rican culture as involving 'America' or the Puerto Rican American.

### *Tatiana*

In her first turn, Tatiana responds to the question of defining Puerto Rican culture to a foreigner. In response to the nature of the question, she reacts with English idiomatic expletive 'well, da:mn!' (Line 5), where the /a/ in damn is highly nasalized, a feature

exhibited in AAVE speech (cf. Sidnell, 2017[117]). In her first two turns, Tatiana adopts single lexical and larger constituent level styles when referring to the positive aspects of Puerto Rican culture: *maybe* (adverb) (line 06), 'we are nice, we're not that evil' (VP1, VP2) (Lines 08 - 09), *technology* (noun) (Line 15), 'they should visit us' (VP) (lines 15 - 16). She makes reference to popularized stereotypes of Puerto Rican islanders as being uncivilized, living in huts or as the 'indigenous people' (Line 11). She uses technology as a definition of the country and culture, an aspect that is indicative of the importance the global youth places on technological items and advancements. In a latter part of this excerpt, while still engaging in translingual talk she incorporates English matrices to construct the Puerto Rican stereotype, 'that we yell a lot' (line 26), and a later point VP insertion 'we start the party everywhere' (29 – 30), referring to enregistered values of Puerto Ricanhood that have made their way to popular culture, such as famous YouTube video 'Rent-A-Rican' that showcases the stereotype of the partying Puerto Rican (CraBiMosi, 2013). The party lifestyle was also cited in Mariela's (Choir Girl CofP) construction of Puerto Rican culture.

Tatiana's ethnic alignments are atypical from those constructed by others in that she does not alter her speech so as to abide by the macro-ideological norms of the island with regards to languages. She reappropriates English, challenges previous associations to this code, and incorporates it to her positive evaluations and assessments of Puerto Rico. Her evaluations are also completed through a first person collective standpoint, using pronouns such as *we* (Line 08) and referring to a *we're* (Line 09) and the U.S. as a *they* (Line 15), and self-labelling Puerto Ricans as *nice* and 'not evil' (line 08, 09), not *anti-tourism* (Line 21-22), and descriptions such as 'we yell a lot' (line 26) and 'we start the party everywhere' (Line 30). Further down, she expands on her Puerto Rican pride.

[117] Sidnell (2017) writes in his descriptions of AAVE features that "when a nasal (n or m) follows a vowel, AAVE speakers sometimes delete the nasal consonant and nasalize the vowel."

EXAMPLE 7. TATIANA, POP ENTHUSIASTS COFP IN MISSION HIGH, CONSTRUCTION OF NATIONAL IDENTITY AND PUERTO RICAN CULTURE (PT. I)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 01 | Katherine | Si tu ehtuviese <u>como que</u> en | 01 | Katherine | If you were, like, in |
| 02 | | otro país (.) y hay gente | 02 | | another country (.) and there |
| 03 | | que nunca ha ehcuchado | 03 | | were people that have never |
| 04 | | de Puelto Rico , ¿cómo | 04 | | heard of Puerto Rico, how |
| 05 | | tu le dehcribiríaØ la | 05 | | would you describe to them the |
| 06 | | cultura? | 06 | | culture? |
| 07 | Tatiana | **Well, <[<u>daem</u>]>.** ((*Laughs*)) | 07 | Tatiana | **Well dãmn** ((*Laughs*)). |
| 08 | | Bueno, no sé, **maybe** | 08 | | Well, I don't know, **maybe** |
| 09 | | ehplicaría máh o menoØ | 09 | | I would explain more or less |
| 10 | | como somoØ nosotro: Ø y | 10 | | how we are and |
| 11 | | que: (.) **we are nice, we're** | 11 | | that (.) **we are nice, we're** |
| 12 | | **not that evil**, y que: no | 12 | | **not that evil,** and that we are |
| 13 | | ehtamoØ como loh indígenaØ | 13 | | not like the indigenous (people) |
| 14 | | como muchoh piensang, que | 14 | | like many think, that |
| 15 | | <u>pueh…</u> | 15 | | <u>well…</u> |
| 16 | Katherine | Hay civilización= | 16 | Katherine | There's civilization. |
| 17 | Tatiana | Aja. Exacto. Y que tenemoØ | 17 | Tatiana | Uh huh. Exactly. And that we |
| 18 | | **technology**: y que: **they** | 18 | | have **technology** and that **they** |
| 19 | | **should visit us.** | 19 | | **should visit us.** |
| 20 | Katherine | ¿Y lah personaØ? | 20 | Katherine | And the people? |
| 21 | Tatiana | Bueno, lah persona aquí son | 21 | Tatiana | Well, the people here are |
| 22 | | bien **<[nais]>,** no somoh tan | 22 | | very **nice,** we are not so |
| 23 | | (.54) **mean** como otra palte | 23 | | (.54)**mean** like in other parts of |
| 24 | | del mundo que son bieng | 24 | | the world that are very |
| 25 | | (.52) **anti-tourism**, (()) | 25 | | **anti-tourism,** (()) |
| 26 | | somoØ bien **<[nais]>.** | 26 | | we are very **nice.** |
| 27 | Katherine | ¿Cuál eh el ehtereotipo de un | 27 | Katherine | What is the stereotype of a |
| 28 | | puertorriqueño? | 28 | | Puerto Rican? |
| 29 | Tatiana | **That we <[d͡ʒɛl]> a lot.** | 29 | Tatiana | **That we yell a lot.** |
| 30 | Katherine | ¿Sí? | 30 | Katherine | Yes? |
| 31 | Tatiana | Que gritamoØ mucho, que | 31 | Tatiana | That we yell a lot, that we |
| 32 | | somoØ bienn (1.09) **we start** | 32 | | are really (1.09) **we start the** |
| 33 | | **the party everywhere**. | 33 | | **party everywhere.** |

*Note*. Regular font = PR Spanish; Bold = Standard-like General American English; Underline = teen talk discourse markeer.

Unexpectedly, she cites mainland figures as reasons to be proud of being Puerto Rican. In this sense, she challenges dominant discourses that contend that true Puerto Ricans are those that are island born and Spanish-speaking. She cites Bruno Mars as a source of Puerto Rican pride – a surprising choice considering his musical tendencies are rooted in African American genres (R&B, funk, soul, and Hip Hop) and his music is in the English language. Secondly, Bruno Mars was brought up in mainland contexts and is described in online biographies as an 'American singer' (Biography.com, 2014); implicitly suggesting that Tatiana sees Puerto Rican culture as involving other musical trends, such as African American Hip Hop trends, as well as figures that are not

stereotypically Puerto Rican (or island born). Other examples cited in different interviews included more explicit examples like Jennifer Lopez, Ricky Martin, and Marc Anthony – all regarded for their Latino and Puerto Rican roots.

EXAMPLE 7. TATIANA, POP ENTHUSIASTS COFP IN MISSION HIGH, CONSTRUCTION OF NATIONAL IDENTITY AND PUERTO RICAN CULTURE (PT. II)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 34 | Katherine | ¿Cómo se siente ser | 34 | Katherine | How does it feel to be |
| 35 | | puertorriqueña? | 35 | | Puerto Rican? |
| 36 | Tatiana | **I feel- proud**, en veldaØ, | 36 | Tatiana | **I feel proud,** really, |
| 37 | | aunque sea como que: (.) que | 37 | | even though there are, like, (.) |
| 38 | | casi nadie sepa de | 38 | | almost nobody knows about |
| 39 | | nosotroØ, e: Ø mejol poØque | 39 | | us, it's better because |
| 40 | | así tu poneØ tu- el nombre de | 40 | | that way you can make the |
| 41 | | Puerto Rico en alto. | 41 | | name of Puerto Rico known. |
| 42 | | Exacto. | 42 | | Exactly. |
| 43 | Katherine | Eh mejol. Y **anyway** hay | 43 | Katherine | It's better. And **anyway** there |
| 44 | Tatiana | mucha gente que ha puehto | 44 | Tatiana | are many people that have |
| 45 | | nuehtro nombre en alto, **like** | 45 | | helped give us rise to fame, **like** |
| 46 | | **J.LO:** y **<[Bru:nou Mars]>** | 46 | | **J.LO** and **Bruno Mars** and |
| 47 | | y to' esa gente= | 47 | | all of those people= |

When I question Bruno Mars' right to claim Puerto Rican identity – unaware of his upbringing – Tatiana goes on to defend his right by describing his mother's lineage, a woman of Puerto Rican descent, raised *on the island*. She describes his mom as *full on* Puerto Rican (line 55) *nació aquí y todo* 'she was born here and all that' (Line 57), once again reinforcing stereotypes that an authentic claim to Puerto Rican heritage is being born in the right place over linguistic or cultural practices. Her hybrid construction of Puerto Rico is further confirmed in Line 68, when Tatiana refers to the country's capital city as *Ol' San Juan*, rather than in its original Spanish form *El Viejo San Juan,* a place known for its colonial past and Spanish-style architecture. In this case, Tatiana's construction of culture and national pride is dependent both Hispanic and mainland culture, and she conceives of them as more harmoniously together than independent from one another. Her linguistic practices validate the content of her response: Spanish dominant, with complex insertional strategies that include lexical and constituent-level bilingual styles.

EXAMPLE 7. TATIANA, POP ENTHUSIASTS COFP IN MISSION HIGH, CONSTRUCTION OF NATIONAL IDENTITY AND PUERTO RICAN CULTURE (PT. III)

| ***Original*** | | | ***Translation*** | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 48 | Katherine | ¿'Perate Bruno Mars eh | 48 | Katherine | Wait, wait – Bruno Mars is |
| 49 | | puertorriqueño? | 49 | | Puerto Rican? |
| 50 | Tatiana | **<[d͡ʒɛs]>.** La mamá eh de | 50 | Tatiana | **Yes.** His mom is from |
| 51 | | aquí: | 51 | | here. |
| 52 | Katherine | ¿En serio? | 52 | Katherine | Seriously? |
| 53 | Tatiana | Aja:. El nació en Hawaii | 53 | Tatiana | Yeah. He was born in Hawaii |
| 54 | | pero la mamá eh de aquí. La | 54 | | but his mom is from here. His |
| 55 | | mamá eh **full on** | 55 | | mom is **full on** |
| 56 | | pueltorriqueña, **like**, la mamá | 56 | | Puerto Rican, **like,** his mom |
| 57 | | nació aquí y todo, | 57 | | was born here and everything, |
| 58 | | y se fue a trabajal | 58 | | and she went to work over |
| 59 | | allá, conoció el papá y, como | 59 | | there, met the father there, and |
| 60 | | que… | 60 | | like... |
| 61 | Katherine | ¿En qué área nació? | 61 | Katherine | In what región was he born? |
| 62 | Tatiana | Él nació en Hawaii. | 62 | Tatiana | He was born in Hawaii. |
| 63 | | No, pero la mamá. | 63 | | No, but the mom. |
| 64 | | No ehtoy segura, sé que | 64 | | I am not sure, I know that |
| 65 | | nació en Puerto Rico. | 65 | | she was born in Puerto Rico. |
| 66 | | DehpueØ vino acá en | 66 | | Afterwards, he came here in |
| 67 | | concielto él se fue a—al | 67 | | concert and he went to – to |
| 68 | | **Ol' San Juan,** ahí a tocal (.) | 68 | | **Ol' San Juan**, to play (.) |
| 69 | | gratiØ, con tol mundo, y con | 69 | | free, with everyone, and with |
| 70 | | el papá, y yo como que… | 70 | | the dad, and I was like… |

*Note*. Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = Standard-like General American English; Underline = Discourse marker.

## 7.3.2 O'REILLY HIGH (NON-ELITE CONTEXTS)

I begin with a discussion of the English-dominant Bookworm CofPs construction of ethnic and local identities, I then provide some mention of the realisations of identities apparent in Spanish-dominant groups like the Jock CofP.

### A) BOOKWORM-ROCKER COFP

In discussing the Bookworm CofP construction of ethnic alignments, or constructions of nationhood and local identity, I present an excerpt from a focus group interview conducted in February 2016 which discusses the role of race in Puerto Rican culture.

So far, discussions pertaining to race and physical appearance had played a minor to virtually non-existent role in the social interactions across communities in both school environments. In my six month ethnography, I noted little instances of reference to physical appearance or use of ethnic slurs or taboo language. Miguel from the private

school in Mission High was most likely to use taboo label 'ni###' when negotiating acts of identity and solidarity with other members of his own CofP. His usage of this lexical item was perhaps warranted, particularly because of his long-term upbringing in mainland settings, such that English and AAVE language appeared to play an intergral role of who he was and how he conversed with others.

In O'Reilly High, the same picture was corroborated, little to no instances or references to physical appearance with regards to race—that is, with the exception of one group: the Bookworm CofP. In the negotiation of identities of the Bookworm CofP, or in the comic displays of solidarity and shared knowledge, several members partook in the teasing strategies of 'Othering' towards members of the group who did not abide by the ideological or stereotypical Puerto Rican. These members that were visible Caucasian, or possessing of certain white European features were Sara and Federico in this CofP. In the following narrative the subject of *labelling* on the basis of appearance is brought up as a typical feature of Puerto Rican identity. It is first suggested by CofP member Angélica. In what follows I provide a discussion of the negotiation of race and identity among members of the Bookworm CofP in O'Reilly High.

Angélica suggests the Puerto Rico is *la única cultura* or "the only culture" (Lines 02 - 03) to use *negro* (Line 04) as a term of endearment. In this moment, she is interrupted by Federico who was about to provide more iconic or stereotypical examples of what it means to live on a tropical island in *playa!* "beach!" (Line 06), he then reflects on Angélica's recent evaluation, to which he enthusiastically responds with a *eh velda!* "it's true!" (Line 06). This then triggers a lengthy discussion on the non-traditional ways in which Puerto Ricans use different forms of address to indicate intimacy, trust, and solidarity. In Line 18 to 22 Angélica demonstrates metapragmatic awareness of what it means to use these ways of address – or taboo language – in outside settings: *Si otra cultura se enteran…vamoh a hacel lo mah racihta, lo mah vulgare* "if other cultures find out, we would be the most racist, the most vulgar." She provides the example of *nigga* in Line 08, however, it is important to note that when she mentions this example she is not referring to Puerto Ricans using this term, rather, that they use the Spanish equivalent "negro" in talk as a term of endearment. Angélica's use of "nigga" again showcases her metapragmatic awareness of the rules of polinteness and acceptability in Puerto Rico versus other communities of the world, such as the African American community in the United States, and the historical and controversial implications of using a label of similar nature (that signals a group based on appearance). Luis' participation in this discussion

are complementary to Angélica's argument of terms of endearment, he adds examples or further explanations to what Angélica is discussion in bilingual styles in both Lines 15 to 17 where he uses an insertional noun phrase to discuss what is normal on the island versus how these would translate elsewhere, and Lines 34 to 35 to reference norms of appropriateness in terms of taboo language: *you know that they say que no rasalte algun rahgo de la persona* "you know that they say that you shouldn't highlight any physical feature of a person", *aquí son como que normal* "here they are like normal". Federico then references his own experiences of being called on the basis of his own unusual appearance on the island by shouting *Mayonnaise!* (Line 43). The use of mayonnaise to refer to Federico is quite the iconic move, particularly because Federico's physical appearance does not match onto the ideal stereo-type of what is Puerto Rican: dark or tanned skinned and dark features. Indeed, Federico's appearance represents quite the opposite: pale, blonde, and light colored eyes. His way of being is also different to that of the local youth who follow local trends, his own identity practices lie in the North American rock subculture: he would often bring his guitar to school, wear black, spiked wristbands and black earrings as forms of accessory. Linguistically, as we observed in Chapter 6, he also engages in many bilingual speech styles. As such, among his own peers, he earned the name of *Mayonnaise* to signal his out-of-the-ordinary ways of being as well as his physical appearance as white; note that the label represents a product that bears ties to the United States and is not native to Puerto Rico, furthermore, it is reference in the English language rather than in the more used local form "mayonesa". Marco then ends this conversation with the assessment that Puerto Rico is a mixed culture, and in their definition or negotiation of identities, these also involve people who are white, Caucasian, and have unique practices (Lines 45 to 47). Luis then confirms this evaluation with English adverb *yeah* (Line 48). In this way, the Bookworms construction of ethnic identity indicate openness in challenging the traditional definitions of *what is* Puerto Rican externally, onto incorporating more out-of-the-norm practices, even those that may seem physically similar to what is considered American.

EXAMPLE 1. FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEW, ROCKER COFP, CONSTRUCTION OF NATIONAL IDENTITY AND PUERTO RICAN CULTURE

| ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 01 Angélica | A mi me guhta la cultura | 01 Angélica | I like the culture in |
| 02 | puertorriqueña. EØ la única | 02 | Puerto Rico. It's the only |
| 03 | cultura que yo he vihto que | 03 | culture that I have seen that |
| 04 | dicen *negro* de cariño. El rehto | 04 | say "black" out of endearment. The |
| 05 | lo considera malo. | 05 | rest consider it bad. |
| 06 Federico | [Playa:: Eh veldaØ! | 06 Federico | [Beach That's true! |
| 07 Angélica | El rehto lo considera un | 07 Angélica | The rest consider it an |
| 08 | insulto. Tu dice ***nigga*** allá | 08 | insult. You say ***nigga*** over |
| 09 | 'fuera y eØ como que::((*gasps*)) | 09 | there and it's like ((*gasps*)) |
| 10 Luis | [Negro, goldo… | 10 Luis | [Black, fatty… |
| 11 Angélica | [Aquí como que, ehte:, "negrita | 11 Angélica | [Here like, umm, "blackie |
| 12 | ven acá" eh como que (.) de | 12 | come here" it's like (.) out of |
| 13 | cariño. | 13 | endearment. |
| 14 Federico | Aquí nadie se insulta, aquí. | 14 Federico | Here nobody feels offended, here. |
| 15 Luis | [**Yeah, normal – normal** | 15 Luis | [**Yeah, normal – normal** |
| 16 | **insults in other places** aquí | 16 | **insults in other places** here |
| 17 | son como que *normal*. | 17 | they are like *normal*. |
| 18 Angélica | Si otrah culturaØ se enteran de | 18 Angélica | If other cultures find out about – |
| 19 | lo – todo lo que nosotroØ | 19 | everything that we say we |
| 20 | decimoØ vamoØ a sel loØ máh | 20 | say we would be the most |
| 21 | racihtah, loØ máh vulgareØ y | 21 | racist, the most vulgar and not |
| 22 | no ta:n, [como que, bien::literal. | 22 | so [like, really literal. |
| 23 Federico | [Aja:, Aquí noh | 23 Federico | [Yeah, Here we |
| 24 | decimoh negro, maricón= | 24 | say black, faggot= |
| 25 Luis | Negro, goldo, maricón, | 25 Luis | Black, fat, maricón, |
| 26 | cabrón= | 26 | fucker= |
| 27 Angélica | Literal, pero todo eh como que | 27 Angélica | Literally, but everything is like |
| 28 | de cariño. | 28 | of endearment. |
| 29 Luis | Todo ehto como que *super* | 29 Luis | All of this is like *super* |
| 30 | *chilling*. | 30 | *chilling*. |
| 31 Angélica | Mike le dicen negro, eØ ehta | 31 Angélica | Mike they call him black, to this |
| 32 | le dicen rubia ((*referring to* | 32 | one they call blonde ((*referring to* |
| 33 | *Sara*)) | 33 | *Sara*)) |
| 34 Luis | **They know- you know that** | 34 Luis | **They know- you know that** |
| 35 | **they say** que no resalte algún | 35 | **they say** don't refer to any physical |
| 36 | rahgo de la persona poØque | 36 | feature of a person because that is |
| 37 | eso eØ ofensivo? Pueh aquí | 37 | offensive? Well here |
| 38 | lo hacen. | 38 | they do it. |
| 39 Federico | [Exacto. | 39 Federico | [Exactly |
| 40 Luis | Como que "blanquita!", | 40 Luis | Like "whitey!", |
| 41 | "jincho!" ((*calling out*)). | 41 | "pale one!" ((*calling out*)) |
| 42 | ((*laughing*)) | 42 | (*laughing*)) |
| 43 Federico | **Mayonnaise!** | 43 Federico | **Mayonnaise!** |
| 44 Luis | **Mayonnaise.** | 44 Luis | **Mayonnaise.** |
| 45 Marco | Acuéldate que::, que la cultura | 45 Marco | Remember tha::t, our culture is |
| 46 | de nosotroh eØ una cultura:: | 46 | a culture :: that is |
| 47 | mehclada. | 47 | mixed. |
| 48 Luis | **Yeah.** | 48 Luis | **Yeah.** |

*Note*. Regular Font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = Standard-like General American English; Underline = Youth speech discourse marker.

### *David, Bookworm-Rocker CofP*

In constructing his own cultural orientations, and discussing the role of Spanish in Puerto Rico, David from the Bookworm-Rocker CofP momentarily engages in talks of race and ethnicity when poking fun of his classmate for being 'White'. In his first turn, David goes on to refer to Spanish as *our language* in English dominant talk, he refers to this occurence as a potential cost in exchange for becoming a state. He then goes as far as to re-correct himself in Line 200 when he says *ah! I said maybe again*. After reassessing his stance, he shift positions in the following Line to indicate that losing Spanish was not necessarily indicative of losing the local culture in its entirety, but an important part to distinguishing Puerto Ricans from mainlanders, and to achieving uniqueness and difference. This unique quality to Spanish is given through labels such as *the spice, I repeat, the spice*, referencing popular stereotypes of the spicy or sexy Latino and the Spanish language (Croom, 2015), in this case, this conversation shows how David also buys into these stereotypes or positively orients to these stereotypes, suggesting they are an important point of pride. Yet, above all the most important distinguishing feature, according to David, is the one that cannot be denied – *in the blood* (Line 203) or parental lineage. At this point, Federico chimes in and interrupts David, with a statement that is unheard due to his proximity to the recorder and the volume of his voice. In Line 207 David shoots back, as to sort of distance himself with Federico's assessment and position himself as an authentic figure of authority when it came to assessing Puerto Rican matters, by partaking in the comedic Othering of his peer and classmate: *Scott you're not Puerto Rican, you're American* (Line 207). Then he turns to me, and in comedic banter engages in acts of hyberpolic acts suggesting he is from a far away alien country, such as Spain, or even more foreign and other-worldly culture, *China* (Line 209).

An important David's term of address for Federico as *Scott*. Within his school landscape, Federico was known as Scott because of his traditionally White features, offbeat behavior, and his orientation to punk-rock music; Scott here is a direct reference to the film character Scott Pilgrim played by Canadian actor Michael Cera from the 2010 film *Scott Pilgrim Vs. The World* (Wright, 2010). In this way, within the O'Reilly High landscape race became an issue when it was pertinent to values that could potentially index the mainland persona or the American, and it was importantly referred to as "Other", rather than as a "part of us". This is even so the case for more English-oriented

communities, such as the Bookworm-Rocker CofP, who we have seen are not exempt from making these judgements on who has the right to claim Puerto Rican nationality.

EXAMPLE 2. DAVID, BOOKWORM-ROCKER COFP IN O'REILLY HIGH, CONSTRUCTION OF NATIONAL IDENTITY AND PUERTO RICAN CULTURE

| | |
|---|---|
| 200 David | Pero, **are we losing only our language? AH! I said maybe again. Okay,** |
| 201 | **losing Spanish, it's not losing our culture,** pe:ro: (.) **losing part of it.** Como |
| 202 | que, **yeah**, polque eh como **que the Spanish,** el lenguaje, eh lo que le da (.) |
| 203 | **the spice, I repeat, the spice**. **Puerto Ricans in the blood,** y: (.) como que: (.) |
| 204 | **we'll always have, I don't wanna say, Puerto Rican sass**, como que: (.) |
| 205 | **attitude** y: (.) **just the way that they act, 'cause maybe like their parents.** |
| 206 Federico | Pero aquí hay mucho *caco* y *yale*. |
| 207 David | **Scott you're not Puerto Rican, you're American** ((*laughs loudly*)). **He** |
| 208 | **looks kind of American-ish, I think his ancestors were more Spanish** |
| 209 | **than**… **His people come from China** ((*laughs*)). |
| | |
| ***Translation*** | |
| 200 David | **But, are we losing only our language? Ah! I said maybe again. Okay,** |
| **201** | **losing Spanish, it' not losing our culture,** but (.) **losing part of it.** Like, |
| **202** | **yeah,** because **it's like Spanish**, the language, is what gives us (.) |
| **203** | **the spice, I repeat, the spice**. **Puerto Ricans in the blood,** and (.) like (.) |
| **204** | **we'll always have, I don't wanna say, Puerto Rican sass,** like (.) |
| **205** | **attitude** and (.) **just the way that they act, 'cause maybe like their parents**. |
| 206 Federico | But here there are many *caco* and *yale*. |
| 207 David | **Scott, you're not Puerto Rican, you're American** ((*laughs loudly*)). **He** |
| **208** | **looks kind of American-ish, I think his ancestors were more Spanish** |
| **209** | **than… His people come from China** ((*laughs*)). |

*Note*. Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = Standard-like General Ameircan; *Italics* = PR Spanish labelling; Underline = PR youth speech discourse marker.

## B) JOCK COFP

Ignacio from the Jock CofP harboured positive ideologies of being Puerto Rican, which is displayed by his usage of the word *orgulloso* "proud" (line 07). While it would be foolish to assume that the fact that he partook in Spanish-speaking practices is necessarily correlated to his personal ideologies with regards to culture, one can make the observation that neither exist in conflict with each other: his dominant Spanish style and positive Puerto Rican ideology would be accepted by outsiders, language educators, and peers – despite that it is most likely unintentional, as he has maintained this style throughout the entirety of the interview, during observations, and can be interpreted to be a part of his overall social identity.

Notable in Ignacio's declaration of pride is his non-standard practice of incorporating English discourse marker *so* at the end of an utterance. While, as mentioned, Ignacio thrives in dominant Spanish turns, out of all of the members of his

group, he leads in the incorporation of *dummy insertions* or "semantically empty element" (Musyken, 2000, p. 105), or the lighter, less invasive English insertions, unto his speech. Furthermore, this non-standard form is not concealed in his most formal questions of the interview event, e.g. those directly assessing his linguistic capabilities or loyalties to the Puerto Rican culture and language.

EXAMPLE 3. IGNACIO, JOCK COFP IN O'REILLY HIGH, CONSTRUCTION OF NATIONAL IDENTITY AND PUERTO RICAN CULTURE

| ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 01 Katherine | ¿Tú te siente orgulloso de ser | 01 Katherine | Do you feel proud of being |
| 02 | puertorriqueño? | 02 | Puerto Rican? |
| 03 Ignacio | *Sei*. | 03 Ignacio | *Yes*. |
| 04 Katherine | ¿Pol qué? Amplía esa | 04 Katherine | Why? Can you expand on that |
| 05 | contehtación. Qué te guhta de | 05 | answer? What do you like about |
| 06 | sel pueltorriqueño? | 06 | being Puerto Rican? |
| 07 Ignacio | E:Ø naØ máh pol olgullo. | 07 Ignacio | It's nothing more than pride. |
| 08 | Olgulloso. Nah, no | 08 | I am prideful. Nothing, I don't |
| 09 | sé. Somoh diferenteØ a loh | 09 | know. We are different to the rest |
| 10 | demáh del mundo, vamoØ a | 10 | of the world, we go |
| 11 | donde sea, **sou.** Loh otroØ | 11 | wherever, **sou.** The other day |
| 12 | díaØ mataron a una tipa en | 12 | they killed some girl in |
| 13 | Dubai. Eh malo polque la | 13 | Dubai. It's bad that they |
| 14 | mataron, pero hahta en Dubai | 14 | killed her, but even in Dubai there |
| 15 | hay pueltorriqueño, **sou.** | 15 | are Puerto Ricans, **sou.** |

*Note*. Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = Standard-like English; Underline = discourse marker.

In the latter part of this excerpt, Lines 10 to 15, Ignacio goes as far as to reference a point of pride in terms of the legacy that Puerto Ricans' have left, not just in the island, or mainland United States, but how they have crossed seas unto other parts of the world. The story of a Puerto Rican woman living in Dubai is referenced in Lines 12 to 13. Although it is one of tragedy, as she is found dead in a foreign country, he nonetheless makes an effort to turn negative news to a positive spin, all the while incorporating bilingual stylisations, such as to emphasize his argument: *pero hahta en Dubai hay pueltorriqueño, **so*** "but even in Dubai there are Puerto Ricans, so" (Lines 14 to 15). The idea of Puerto Ricans "letting themselves be known to the world" by being successful in their careers, moving abroad, travelling, and making international headlines is one that is universal to discourses of pride and nationalism, in particular, it reinforces the idea of the existence of a collective group of people – in this case, it creates a distinct Puerto Rican entity in meta- discourses, such that even the death of an islander is construed as non-American.

In the second part of his discussion featured below, Ignacio refers to other parts of the world that perhaps are not so exotic to the average Puerto Rican, such as the United States, and in his narrative style he incorporates gradually more English styles, this time however with the discursive function of quotation or citing someone else's speech that is not his own, or referencing a speech event that occurred in it's original language. Lines 36 to 39 feature this act of once again crossing over to reference the Other in *con un cartel que decía Donald Trump makes AmericanØ white again* "with a poster that said Donald Trump makes Americans white again". This particular use of English, one of the few constituent-type insertions in Ignacio's speech is laden with negative undertones. Furthermore, when he produces this citation, he does not yield to standard-like phonology, rather, produces this citation from a Hispanic English standpoint, further cementing his own position as an ethnic minority affected by recent discurses in American politics. As an act of emphasis, to provide further explanation to the meaning, Ignacio engages in translating practices by repeating the same citation in the local vernacular in Lines 39 to 42, these translations are introduced by Spanish discourse marker *o sea* meaning "that is". "That is" serves the role of a contextualisation cue for expansion or clarification of something that was previously stated, in this case, the translation onto Spanish, this utterance is also produced in an exclamatory way such as to further indicate the severity of the message to me. He then ends this act of translation with a projection of his own stance on the matter: *eso eh como que bien racihta* "that's like very racist" (Lines 41 to 42). In Lines 47 to 48 he further distances himself from American culture and current values in political discourses by providing the example of politician and leader of the Nazi party, known for his acts of violence and racist rhetoric against European Jews: *vamo a vivil la epoca de Hitlel de nuevo* "we are going to live the period of Hitler again" (Lines 47 to 48).

EXAMPLE 4. IGNACIO, JOCK COFP IN O'REILLY HIGH, CONSTRUCTION OF NATIONAL IDENTITY AND PUERTO RICAN CULTURE (PT. II).

| ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 20 Ignacio | Tu- tu vah a Ehtados UnidoØ | 20 Ignacio | You—you go to the United States |
| 21 | y: casi: to(do) hay así | 21 | and almost everywhere there are |
| 22 | gente que habla Ehpañol. | 22 | people that speak in Spanish. |
| 23 Katherine | En Florida (.) hay un montón. | 23 Katherine | In Florida (.) there are a lot. |
| 24 Ignacio | Pero yo no me voy a mudal pa | 24 Ignacio | But I don't want to move to |
| 25 | Florida polque en Florida va a | 25 | Florida because in Florida is |
| 26 | ganal-'ta ganando **<[DonalØ]** | 26 | going to win, is *winning* ***Donald*** |
| 27 | **[Tromps]>** en lah eleccioneØ. | 27 | ***Trump*** in the elections. |
| 28 | Ya no me guhta Florida. | 28 | Now I don't like Florida. |
| 29 Katherine | ¿Tú piensa que hay racihmo | 29 Katherine | Do you think there's racism |
| 30 | allá? | 30 | there? |
| 31 Ignacio | Jei. ((*phone rings; vibrates*)) | 31 Ignacio | Yea ((*phone rings; vibrates*)). |
| 32 | Hello? Dame un <[breiØ]>. | 32 | Hello? Gimme a break. |
| 33 | ((*recorder is paused*)) | 33 | ((*recorder is paused*)). |
| 34 Ignacio | Pusieron una foto (.) de cuatro | 34 Ignacio | They put a picture (.) of four |
| 35 | tipah rubia, blancah, con un | 35 | chicks, blonde, white, with a |
| 36 | cartel que decía: **<[DonalØ]** | 36 | poster that said **"*Donald*** |
| 37 | **[Tromp]> <[meiks]** | 37 | ***Trump makes*** |
| 38 | **[amerıcanØ]> <[waiṯ]>** | 38 | ***American white*** |
| 39 | **<[agɛn]>.** O sea: [*Donal]* | 39 | ***again***". So like, ***Donald*** |
| 40 | *[Tron[* hah que America sea | 40 | ***Trump*** makes that America |
| 41 | blanco de nuevo! Eso eh como | 41 | becomes white again! That's like |
| 42 | que bien racihta. | 42 | super racist. |
| 43 Katherine | Literal. | 43 Katherine | Literal. |
| 44 Ignacio | DemasiaØo. Y con ehta | 44 Ignacio | Too much. And with these stupid, |
| 45 | ehtúpida, ridícula, viejah. Qué | 45 | ridiculous old ladies. What |
| 46 | leh pasa? Son | 46 | is wrong with them? They're |
| 47 | bien racihtaØ. EØ como si | 47 | very racist. It's like |
| 48 | vamoØ a vivil la época de | 48 | we're goin to live in the time of |
| 49 | Hitlel de Nuevo. | 49 | Hitler again. |

*Note*. Regular = PR Spanish; **Bold** = PR English; Underline = Discourse marker.

When asked to define what Puerto Rican culture meant for them, most students were likely to provide answers based on food, traditional dances, attire, and places to visit. Less students provided responses that were overtly based on language ideologies. However, despite their avoidance of topics related to language or, for instance, crediting Spanish as an integral part of Puerto Rican culture, many engaged or crossed over onto PR Spanish styles when providing definitions of local life. This was particularly the case for highly skilled or bilingual students, such as those from Rocker CofPs in O'Reilly High and Choir CofPs in Mission High. Therefore, one may suggest that these students had a metapragmatic awareness of the norms of acceptability behind each code. In their definitions of culture many brought up the United States in the interview events as points of comparison.

EXAMPLE 5. IGNACIO, JOCK COFP IN O'REILLY HIGH, CONSTRUCTION OF NATIONAL IDENTITY (US VS. THEM)

| ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 201 Katherine | ¿Qué nos hace dihtintoØ? | 201 Katherine | What makes us different? |
| 202 Ignacio | Todo. Lah cohtumbreØ, | 202 Ignacio | Everything. Our traditions, |
| 203 | todo. CocinamoØ mejol | 203 | everything. We cook better |
| 204 | polque lo- loh gringoØ cocinan | 204 | because *the gringos* cook |
| 205 | ho-horrible! Sin sal! | 205 | ho-horrible! Without salt! |
| 206 | Eso eØ, eso eØ ahco – yo no | 206 | That is, that is gross – I could |
| 207 | lo puedo comel. | 207 | not eat it. |
| 208 Katherine | ¿Cocinan frito? | 208 Katherine | They cook fried (food)? |
| 209 Ignacio | Fo! Cocinan horrible. VehtimoØ | 209 Ignacio | Ew! They cook horrible. We |
| 210 | mejoreØ. Loh gringoØ | 210 | dress better. *The gringos* |
| 211 | no saben vehtil! No:! | 211 | don't know how to dress! No! |
| 212 | No tienen sentido a la | 212 | They don't have a sense of |
| 213 | vehtimentah. | 213 | fashion. |
| 214 Katherine | ¿Y polque no se vihten | 214 Katherine | And why don't they dress |
| 215 | bien? | 215 | well? |
| 216 Ignacio | PoØque vihten como le da la | 216 Ignacio | Because they dress like they |
| 217 | gana! Eh como que: (.) ahora | 217 | want! It's like (.) right |
| 218 | mihmo loh pueltorriqueñoØ van | 218 | now Puerto Ricans go to (.) to |
| 219 | pal *mol* y van bien *filotiao*, elloh | 219 | the mall and they go sharp, |
| 220 | van pa: (.) pal *mol* o paØ | 220 | they go to (.) to the mall or to |
| 221 | un cumpleañoh y elloØ como | 221 | a birthday and they like |
| 222 | que: (.) no leØ impolta nada. | 222 | (.) don't care about anything. |
| 223 | Leh da igual. | 223 | It's all the same to them. |
| 224 | Eso eØ *nolmal*. | 224 | That is normal (to them). |

*Note*. Regular font = PR Spanish.

Like Ignacio, Dánica is quick to draw upon her positive evaluation of food when constructing what she believed to be authentic Puerto Rican culture. Corroborating with her own identity as a dancer, Dánica also credits salsa first, then goes on to cite rice and peas – a staple dish that has become emblematic of both Christmas time and island food among Puerto Ricans alike. She also draws on other aspects, such as clothing and iconic places located in the country's capital, such as the famous 16th century fortress el Morro, one of the most well-preserved fortifications and buildings on the island and a main tourist attraction for the island to date. Through her response is concise and reads more as a check-list rather than one that is personally motivated or showcases intimate connections to the local culture, it is enough to communicate that she is well-aware and familiarized with what makes her culture unique, and does not need to think about it or waver on the same topic. Spanish was noticeably missing from her definition of Puerto Rican culture, yet descriptions are realised in Puerto Rican Spanish – again, for Dánica's case this is largely due to her Spanish dominance, rather than a socially meaningful speech act. She has engaged in a seemingly continous style throughout the entirety of her interview.

EXAMPLE 6. DÁNICA, JOCK COFP IN O'REILLY HIGH,

| ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 120 Katherine | Okay, vamoØ a suponel que tu | 120 Katherine | Okay, let's suppose you are |
| 121 | ehta en un paíØ dihtinto, y | 121 | in a different country, and |
| 122 | alguien te pregunta | 122 | somebody asks you |
| 123 | 'dehcribeme la cultura | 123 | "describe me what is the |
| 124 | puertorriqueña' a alguien que | 124 | Puerto Rican culture" to someone |
| 125 | nunca ha sabido nada de Puerto | 125 | who has never heard of Puerto |
| 126 | Rico, ¿Qué tú le diría? | 126 | Rico, what would you tell them? |
| 127 Dánica | PueØ, la cultura puertorriqueña | 127 Dánica | Well, Puerto Rican culture |
| 128 | e:Ø la: salsa, la música salsa, | 128 | is salsa, the salsa music, |
| 129 | arroØ con gandule:Ø, le digo la | 129 | rice and pigeon peas, I tell them |
| 130 | comida, la vehtimenta, la | 130 | the food, clothing, the |
| 131 | cosaØ típica, no sé, loh baileØ, | 131 | typicalthings, I don't know, the |
| 132 | lo:Ø lugareØ máh visitado, (el) | 132 | dances, the places most visted, |
| 133 | Morro, y cosaØ así. | 133 | the Morro, and stuff like that. |
| 134 Katherine | Y, ¿Cómo eØ diferente a | 134 Katherine | And, how is it different to United |
| 135 | Ehtados UnidoØ? | 135 | States? |
| 140 Dánica | La paga, el cohto de vida eh | 140 Dánica | The payment, the cost of life, is |
| 141 | máh diferente. En loh trabajoØ. | 141 | more different. In jobs. |
| 142 | En el cohto de vida. | 142 | The cost of life. |

*Note.* Regular font = PR Spanish; Underline = Discourse marker.

### 7.3.3. SUMMARY OF ACTS OF ETHNIC IDENTITY

*Elite Settings: Summary*

In alignment with the values imposed by the idea of a bilingual institution and of islander's duty towards bilingualism, students from Mission High constructed ethnic identities that made room for a combination of both American and Puerto Rican practices. From the more English speaking inclined students from the Choir Girl group, to those who belonged to the In-Between Jock community, to those that demonstrated off-beat personalities and gaming practices: the idea of being born outside the island and still 'be' Puerto Rican was not outrageous or unusual, rather, entirely possible and ordinary. Examples drawn from personal narratives of being brought up on the mainland, of living in a bilingual community on the island, and of famous artists with Puerto Rican lineage were brought up. In this way, although English and North American culture index prestige and 'foreign' values under certain circumstances, when directly asked about ethnic alignments and constructions of authentic Puerto Rican practices, a lot of students from elite contexts cited food, television, and other elements as also a part of them. There were certain exceptions, such as Mariela, who drew a difference between the practices of an

ethnic-Them as "more serious" and less friendly, and a collective-Us, bound by tradition and a mutual prioritization of family values.

*Non-elite Settings: Summary*

Non-elite settings demonstrated a wide array of ethnic identities that fluctuated even within single groups. Those most likely to align to elements of outside culture, the Bookworm-Rockers, when directly asked to describe their own culture, drew on locally specific examples such as colloquialisms, stigmatized language, and taboo language to talk about what it meant to be 'Puerto Rican'. In their discussion of taboo language, labels for different types of "Puerto Ricans" or people of color emerged as a locally salient issue. This group rationalized the use of words such as "blanquita" (whitey), "negrita" (blackey), and "goldo" (fat), as arising from a non-refutable truth: Puerto Rico as a mixed culture. "Mixed" does not necessarily draw on American influence, rather, on a collective experience of being a little bit of everything and everywhere. The acceptance and embrace of taboo labels as part of their social reality, could also be reflective of their immediate societal circumstances: an urban high school and a high esteem for the non-standard, stigmatized language forms (see Labov, 1966; Eckert, 1989). Meanwhile, racial labels were less usual in more conservative contexts, such as Mission High (with the exception of the transnational student, Miguel), perhaps due to the restricted nature of students' interactions and amount of policing that took place within school premises. Simultaneously, discourses against the U.S. existed in English-dominant peers in the public school. For instance, David defines Puerto Rican culture through metaphorical language and reference to food, Puerto Ricans having that "spice" element of distinction, that differentiates them from mainlanders who are presumably dry or less tasteful. In addition to drawing on food-persona stereotypes, e.g. the idea of the spicy Latino, David draws on the racial stereotype of "white" as synonymous to "outsider", "foreigner", "deviating", and "not belonging". These oppositional values are bestowed upon his peer, Federico, in a moment of ideological disagreement. Spanish-dominant students from the urban school also make use of the idea of the "diverse" Puerto Rican, Ignacio demonstrates that the Puerto Rican, too, can get to different parts of the world such as Dubai. However, when it comes to describing Puerto Rico culturally to the immediate Other, Ignacio is quick to take an oppositional stance like his other classmates. He draws on emblems of identity, such as food and clothing, as a major source of difference. He draws on local slang to emphasize his point of difference. In this same sense, Ignacio's

friend Dánica talks about a culture of food, dance, and clothing. Collectively, urban contexts construct an image of Puerto Ricans as diverse (but not necessarily in relation to the U.S.), and as possessive of their own distinct ways of being.

## 7.4 Cultural/Subcultural Alignments & Social Identities

### *Overview*

Observing cultural and subcultural alignments was key to being able to tap into the formation of different peer groups or communities of practice in each school environment. Engagement in these was observed directly through note-taking and participating during field work and through ethnographic methods. Observations were then further corroborated or challenged in the interview events, with the speakers and members of different communities of practice. Indeed, while there were some overlaps in terms of cultural and subcultural orientations to different aspects of Puerto Rican and American culture, there were also many differences, which at times simultaneously overlapped with the community of practices' stance on matters of national identity, island politics, and language ideologies. These differences often add to the boundary-construction or acts of sameness and difference across communities of practice.

Mainland popular culture and local cuture were often at odds with each other, and rarely did an identity uptake positive orientations to both, rather that engagement in one necessarily meant disengagement in the other, almost as a prerequisite. For many island youth, popular culture and media practices presented a venue by which they were able to encounter or engage in practices that further foster bilingualism outside of the classroom. In sociological work, global and local subculture movements are often thought as intergral to the adolescent experience, and to the very construction of youth identities, social identities, and eventually individual personal identities. The way adolescents engage with culture is therefore key to understanding who they are, and the complete repertoire of tools at their disposal for their future "acts of identities"(cf. Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985) and social interactions. Research has shown that even relations and ways of speaking that are forged in adolescence may very well carry on to adulthood (cf. Rampton, 2016). It is with this in mind, that I discuss some of the subcultures I

encountered in each high school, and the uptake of identity through languaging styles to these subcultures.

## 7.4.1 MISSION HIGH (ELITE CONTEXTS)

### A) IN-BETWEEN JOCK COFP

While discussing his cultural and subcultural alignments, Emmanuel positions himself as a person who is respectful of different socio-ideological formations and subcultures in the school and beyond. In this sense, he fulfills his own identity as an "in-Betweener" in that he demonstrates a way of viewing social relations and differences among groups as something that should be celebrated. In the conversation below, he presents the argument that the subculture of reggaeton, who many of his classmates orient negatively to (with the exception of the Jock) is *one of the many* (Line 153), like many other cultures that define the Puerto Rican culture. He defines Puerto Rican culture as a conglomerate of different cultures or a *division of people* all who have different *characteristics* and interests (Lines 154 - 155). He then gradually references different styles, types of people, clothing, and vocabulary attached to these subcultures (Lines 164 to 173) so as to argue for an aesthetic description of different practices, all which come in different shapes and colors and form part of the larger picture of island identity. In this sense, Emmanuel positions himself a tolerant and neutral person, free of judgement, unbiased. The fact that he mentions different styles of *clothes* and *vocabulary* attached to different subcultures, such as reggaeton, echoes some of the underlying components of the theory of enregisterment, i.e. when a 'style' or particular way of being comes to be associated with a particular set of practices (linguistic and non-linguistic), such that people become identifiable based on whether they engage in these or not.

After providing what would seem a somewhat polished and impartial assessment of a practice that some of his friends partake in, namely, the Jocks-Jocks (unfeatured in this study), he jokingly mentions the name of someone outside of this group who represents oppositional values, Dave, in line 158: "Well, like, Dave, no?" His girlfriend, Cristina, laughs and suggests that his answer to the topic of popular subculture is more thoughtful than that provided to the previous question regarding local Puerto Rican culture in general, she does so by jumping into her PR Spanish style and an insertional item *deep* (Line 160) to provide assessment. In his second turn he provides examples of different subculture types on the island, beyond reggaeton, and how these "like it or not"

(Line 169) affect your style or the way you "adopt certain characteristics of that subculture" (Lines 170 – 171). In this reply we see how essentialist Emmanuel's assessment of different peer group types and subcultures has become, that he somewhat deems it to be an almost "automatic" relationship: from passively engaging in a particular interest (by listening to specific type of music, reading, etc.), into actively changing your own behavior and inhabiting that enregistered persona. It is a very deterministic point of view, one which essentialisizes human behavior. Nonetheless, these ideological benchmarks serve as ideas or icons to which others orient to in interaction, or negotiate their own acts of identification and difference.

EXAMPLE 1. EMMANUEL, IN-BETWEEN JOCK COFP, SUBCULTURAL ALIGNMENTS AND SOCIAL IDENTITIES

| ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 150 Katherine | Okay, y, ¿Cuâl eh tu opinion | 150 Katherine | Okay, and what is your opinion |
| 151 | de la subcultura del reggeaton? | 151 | about the reggaeton subculture? |
| 152 Emmanuel | Hmmm (.) E: pueØ, eh una | 152 Emmanuel | Hmm (.) well, it is a culture |
| 153 | cultura como la mucha que | 153 | like one of the many that |
| 154 | nosotroØ tenemoh, somoh una | 154 | we have, we are a |
| 155 | división de personah (.) se | 155 | division of people (.) it is |
| 156 | identifica con cierta persona:h, | 156 | identified with certain people, |
| 157 | con cierto ehtilo de x$^{h}$opa:, | 157 | specific styles of clothing, |
| 158 | cierta vocabulario:… Pueh | 158 | certain vocabulary… Well, |
| 159 | como: (.) Dave, ¿no? | 159 | like, Dave, no? |
| 160 Cristina | La contehtación de ehta | 160 Cristina | The answer to this |
| 161 | pregunta eh máh **deep** que la | 161 | question is more **deep** than the |
| 163 | otra ((*laughs*)) | 163 | other ((*laughs*)) |
| 164 Emmanuel | Sí, se identifican pueh | 164 Emmanuel | Yes, you can identify yourself |
| 165 | diferente, eh como: la- la | 165 | differently, umm like the – the |
| 166 | cultura de la salsa, la cultura | 166 | culture of salsa, the culture of |
| 167 | del techno, que Laura le | 167 | techno, the one that Laura |
| 168 | guhta:, reggaetonnn (.) | 168 | likes, reggaeto:n: (.) bachata, |
| 169 | bachata:, de to- cuando tu | 169 | every-thing—when you listen to |
| 170 | ehcucha cielto tipo de música, | 170 | certian types of music, like it |
| 171 | te guhte o no tu vah adoptal | 171 | or not, you will adopt |
| 172 | cielta caraceric-ca- | 172 | certain charac-cha- |
| 173 | caracteristicaØ de ese género. | 173 | characteristics of that culture. |
| 174 Cristina | Caracque cara cara | 174 Cristina | Charac-chara-chara |
| 175 Dave | Cara. | 175 Dave | Chara. |

*Note*. Regular font = PR Spanish; Bold = Standard-like General American English.

In Emmanuel's second turn, Lines 164 to 173, he engages in acts of labelling and essentialising by discussing the youth urban subculture of reggaeton, and how he believes that if you engage in acts of listening in this genre, you simultaneously engage in acts of being, or you become it. This way of thinking is later also observed in Laura's (Pop Culture CofP) assessment of different youth cultures, and those which she believes she stands in direct opposition to. In Line 159, he engages in the teasing of his classmate and

friend, Dave, who is often referred to as an iconic Rocker, or someone who does not abide by the rules, or follow local traditions (see interview with Norman and Dave). Emmanuel acknowledges Dave's social status and heavy dislike for reggaeton, and he goes on to poke fun of it by calling him a person that follows the movement. Dave, who is also present in the interview, laughs during this part but remains silent. In the second part of this interview, featured below, a more accurate assessment is made as to defining Dave's practices, again as an example to reference subculture movements, and how engagers inhabit particular features to do with those practices. Emmanuel goes on to rely on labelling strategies, this time in English, using the lexical description phrase *hardcore, death-metal fan* (Lines 205 to 207), a label that Dave immediately rejected in Line 209, by distancing himself from death-metal and incorporating Spanish phonology onto the lexical phrase, omitting /th/ sound [θ], a sound untraceable in Puerto Rican Spanish phonology, and vowel quality sounds mimicking Spanish vowels in "metal" rather than those involving schwa sound [ə] in /ˈmɛtəl/. In this way, Emmanuel paints a picture that involves two opposing practices: on the one hand there is reggaeton, which in Lines 152 to 153 he describes as part of the Puerto Rican culture, the description of this practice is provided solely in Puerto Rican Spanish. However, in a later part when referencing practices that are nonlocal, he engages in insertional strategies at the noun phrase, constituent level, to refer to peer and friend Dave and his non-traditional way of being.

EXAMPLE 2. EMMANUEL, IN-BETWEEN JOCK COFP, SUBCULTURAL ALIGNMENTS AND SOCIAL OTHERING

| ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 198 Katherine | Y como que, ¿la vehtimenta, | 198 Katherine | And, like, what do you mean in |
| 199 | tambieng ha cambia'o? | 199 | clothing there is a change? |
| 200 Emmanuel | Lo mihmo que yo te dije con lo | 200 Emmanuel | The same thing that I told you |
| 201 | de loh otra música loh, e:, tu te | 201 | With the other music the, that |
| 202 | vihte en base a lo que ti te | 202 | you saw is depending on what |
| 203 | guhta (.) y por ejemplo= | 203 | you like and for example= |
| 204 Dave | Yo no me vihto= | 204 Dave | I don't dress (like them)= |
| 205 Emmanuel | Si tu ere un ***hard col*** ((instead | 205 Emmanuel | You're a **hard core** |
| 206 | of "hardcore")) **death meta fa-** | 206 | **death metal fa-death metal** |
| 207 | **death metal fan=** | 207 | **fan=** |
| 208 Cristina | Como Dave. | 208 Cristina | Like Dave. |
| 209 Dave | Yo no ehcucho **[de] [me'tal]** | 209 Dave | I don't listen to ***death metal***. |
| 210 Emmanuel | Como Dave! Tu no te va a | 210 Emmanuel | Like Dave! You do not dress |
| 211 | vehtil así c@mo alguien que le | 211 | like that like someone who |
| 212 | guhta la bachata. | 212 | likes bachata (music). |
| 213 Cristina | ((laughing)) ¿C@m@ se vihte | 213 Cristina | How does someone who |
| 214 | el que le guhta la bachata? | 214 | Listens to bachata dress? |

*Note*. Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = Standard-like General Ameerican English; Underline = Teen talk discourse marker; @ = laughter.

## B ) GAMER COFP

In the interview excerpt below, Pablo engages in dominant Spanish monolingual talk to refer to practices that are different to his, or those in his inner circle. In this scenario, he is referring to the local Spanish Hip hop underground movement. In his response, Pablo constructs a somewhat neutral disposition. He conveys that while he does not engage in many of these practices, and would not call himself 'a fan' or *fanático* (Line 01), he is able to draw some similarities or parallels between practices that he does engage in and finds interesting, and those that are dominant in the local Puerto Rican sphere. Below Pablo professes a positive alignment to North American rap, and while doing so incorporates English lexical noun *beat* to talk about it's sound and how it could be said to be similar to Spanish reggaeton (Line 04). Consequently, while he constructs a stance that may seem oppositional or in disagreement with the local popular culture, he does not explicitly dismiss it. He then makes an exceptional case for a Puerto Rican rapper who has international reputation and pursued higher education on mainland United States, called Residente[118]. His background in it of itself does not follow the trajectory of the stereotypical Puerto Rican rap artist. In this sense, while Pablo does not completely oppose to the local subculture, he appears to like a specific kind of it, that which is sung by those with knowledge of social issues, and who sing about these from a critical standpoint, in this case, the example provided is of someone not belonging to the working class reggaeton movement.

[118] Residente does not embody the typical reggaeton artist in that he does not dress in similar attire (involving use of jewelry, or athletic pieces), and his lyrics are often politically imbued, rather than targeted at popular themes of mainstream music: love, women, and sex.

EXAMPLE 3. PABLO, GAMER COFP, CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIAL IDENTITY AND SUBCULTURE ALIGNMENT

| | |
|---|---|
| 01 Pablo | Pue:Ø ((*laughs*)) no soy muy fanático del reggaeton, pe:ro:, sí tiene suh |
| 02 | raíceØ máh en el rap, que eh una (.) de mi: (.) música favorita. >Así que eh |
| 03 | bien raro que me guhta el rap, pero no me guhta el reggaeton< pe:ro:, entiendo |
| 04 | la gente que le guhta, tienen un (.) **[bi:t]** bahtante parecido a:l (.) de rap. Si la: |
| 05 | (.) mayoría de lah líricaØ (.) no eh mu:y: (.) a:h sana pol decil-lo así, pe:ro: (.) |
| 06 | si tampoco puedo decil que:: (.) no me guhta el reggaeton, polque: (.) Calle 13, |
| 07 | por ejemplo, a él sí me guhta, y yo siempre lo he considerado reggaeton, |
| 08 | pero la mayoría de loh altihtaØ de reggaeton, pueØ no: (.) no me llaman tanto |
| 09 | la atención, no sé si eh la lírica que usan, o: (.) el |
| 10 | ritmo, pero a mi/ no me llama mucho la atención. Pero no: (.) no eh que si |
| 11 | alguien ehta ehcuchando reggaeton le digo *ca:co:* (.), *cafre*:. Pa' mi (.) eh |
| 12 | nolmal, eh diferente guhto, eh palte de la cultura. |
| | |
| ***Translation*** | |
| 01 Pablo | Well ((*laughs*)) I am not a big fan of reggaeton, but, it does have it's |
| 02 | origins more in rap (music), which is one (.) of my (.) favorite music. >So I |
| 03 | know that it's weird that I like rap, and don't like reggaeton< but, I understand |
| 04 | people who like it, it has a (.) **beat** pretty similar to (.) rap. If the |
| 05 | majority of the lyrics (.) are not very (.) umm innocent to say the least, but |
| 06 | (.) I also cannot say that (.) I don't like reggaeton, because (.) Calle 13, |
| 07 | for example, I do like him, and I have always considered him to be a reggaeton |
| 08 | (artist), but the majority of the artists of the reggaeton genre, well no (.) they |
| 09 | don't appeal to me, I don't know if it's the lyrics that they use, or (.) the |
| 10 | rhythm, but to me it does not call my attention. But no (.) it is not that |
| 11 | somebody listening to reggaeton I call them caco (.), ghetto. To me (.) it is |
| 12 | normal, it is different tastes, it is part of the culture. |

*Note*. Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = Standard-like General American English; Underline = Teen talk discourse marker; Italics = Labelling youth cultures.

Towards the end of this excerpt, Pablo explores the use of Spanish labelling practices regarding the Jock CofP. He portrays himself as an unbiased voice to these practices and claims not to partake in the use of derogatory terms such as *cafre* or "cheap" or *caco* (Line 11) a term which may be used disparagingly according to the context in which it occurs, as it derives from cacophony but has widely been used to refer to followers of the reggaeton subculture. At times, it can also be used to refer to troubled individuals, from poorer backgrounds, with problems of substance abuse or engaging in criminal activity. Despite presenting a somewhat distant and slightly negative assessment of the genre, he then shifts his position back to a neutral stance, labelling it as "normal", "different tastes", and ultimately "a part of the (Puerto Rican) culture" (Line 12), but importantly one that he does not identify with.

## C) Choir Girls CofP

In discussing family relations, and family members to which she orients negatively to, Fiorela signals out listening to reggaeton as one of the characteristics which she finds offensive and oppositional to her own identity and personal values. Fiorela is part of Mission High church, and her family has raised her with the conservative values of the religion. Additionally, Fiorela often goes on spiritual retreats with members of the church and engages in Bible study. She engages in high levels of bilingualism through the interview event, as well as in informal conversations with her friends. She finds interest in many elements of North American popular culture, particularly those with ties to the *Disney Channel* or youth-oriented networks such as *FreeForm* (a young adult-oriented channel, also owned by Disney-ABC Television company). Below she distances herself from her family by engaging in constituent-level bilingual talk *Yeah, they're way different* (Line 107), such as to inhabit her own voice different to that of "Them", and refer to them "at distance", thus inhabiting a we/they dynamic, discussed in Gumperz's (1982) definition of metaphorical code-switching. In this case, *we* is a Puerto Rican girl with strong ties to the *they* culture, but she uses these labels in an inverted manner, such that she calls herself a *we* and those family members who she disagrees with are a *they*. When she goes on to specify the Others' – her step-family's – oppositional practices in Lines 110 to 113, she lists reggaeton and the practice of celebrating Halloween, which goes against her own set of beliefs as a conversative Christian who interprets it as a pagan holiday. When describing the actions of the step-mother and her children, she speaks of them in PR Spanish, such as to inhabit their speech, but when she goes back to her own persona, she shifts back to English, which is authenticated even more by her act of identity in Lines 115 to 116 in *And I don't (.) do that*.

EXAMPLE 4. FIORELA, CHOIR GIRL COFP IN MISSION HIGH, CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIAL IDENTITY AND SUBCULTURE ALIGNMENTS

| ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 105 Katherine | Y ademaØ como que dihtinto, | 105 Katherine | And anyway, like, they're like |
| 106 | ¿Si tu creeØ? | 106 | different, you think? |
| 107 Fiorela | **Yeah. They're way different.** | 107 Fiorela | **Yeah. They're way different**. |
| 108 | ElloØ, **like,** yo no critico por | 108 | They, **like**, I don't criticize of |
| 109 | nada:, de suh guhto, de | 109 | anything, of their tastes, or |
| 110 | nada. Pero la mamá | 110 | anything. But the mom is one |
| 111 | eh de esa: que:, **like,** lo que | 111 | of these that, **like,** that what |
| 112 | ehcucha eh x$^{h}$eggaeton, to' | 112 | she listens to reggaeton, and |
| 113 | eso y **Hallowee:n.** | 113 | all of that and **Halloween.** |
| 114 | **They celebrate** | 114 | **They celebrate** |
| 115 | **Halloween, and all that. And** | 115 | **Halloween, and all that. And** |
| 116 | **I don't (.) do that…** | 116 | **I don't (.) do that…** |

*Note*. Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = Standard-like General American English; Underline = teen talk discourse marker.

## *Pilar*

Pilar's orientation to local urban youth movements was one of indifference, despite her own oppositional practices and values to this movement which valued English speaking culture, North American pop culture, and positive alignments to hybrid language practices on the island 'mixing up everywhere'. In this part of the interview, she demonstrates some initial restraint to providing any evaluation whatsoever of people who engage in that practice that she does not personally engage in herself. Her hesitation is demonstrated in Lines 04 to 06 when she repeatedly states *I don't* and *I don't know what to say*. She then tries to adopt an inclusive standpoint of different subcultures by claiming that *everyone has their own taste* (Lines 11 - 12), all the while providing this evaluation in General American styles with occasional uptalk. I then reframe my question from subculture, to people who engage in the subculture, to which once again Pilar avoids providing an immediate response with an uptalk declarative sentence: *I don't think it changes them, you know?* (Lines 19 - 20). All the while, her construction of subcultural boundaries is mediated through occasional insertions of Spanish discourse markers, such as *pueh* 'well', *como que* 'like', and *so que* 'so that' (Lines 10 and 15). Towards the end of this excerpt she then reasseses her initial position from a definite 'I don't think it changes them' (Lines 19 - 20) to a 'maybe a little bit' (Line 25). Note that Pilar uses third person pronouns such as *them* and *they*, which in it of itself creates boundaries between who she is, where her interests and values lie, and others. Overall, Pilar attempts to construct an alignment that is flexible to change and challenges polarised dynamics of

youth culture, a stance that differs slightly from that provided by her friend Fiorela discussed previously.

EXAMPLE 5. PILAR, CHOIR GIRL COF IN MISSION HIGH, CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIAL IDENTITY AND SUBCULTURE ALIGNMENTS

| ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 01 Katherine | ¿Cuál eh tu opinion sobre la | 01 Katherine | What's your opinion about the |
| 02 | subcultura del reggaeton en Puerto | 02 | local subculture of reggaeton in |
| 03 | Rico? | 03 | Puerto Rico? |
| 04 Pilar | **[Du] I have to answer it now**? **I** | 04 Pilar | **Do I have to answer it now**? **I** |
| 05 | **dunno**… **I don' know** | 05 | **don't know**… **I don' know** |
| 06 | **what tə say↑ I don(t) – I don'** | 06 | **what to say↑ I don't – I don't** |
| 07 | **[li.sen] tu it↑, but [laik], if** | 07 | **listen to it↑, but, like, if** |
| 08 | **other people are listening to** | 08 | **other people are listening to** |
| 09 | **it↑, like, I don mi:nd↑** (.) | 09 | **it↑, like, I don mi:nd↑** (.) |
| 10 | poØque, pueh, como que | 10 | because, well, like |
| 11 | **everyone has their own taste** | 11 | **everyone has their own taste** |
| 12 | **of music↑** (.) **and it's not like I** | 12 | **of music↑** (.) **and it's not like I** |
| 13 | **criticize it,** pe:ro: (.) **dependi:ng** | 13 | **criticize it,** but (.) **dependi:ng** |
| 14 | **o:n,** poØque **they're different** | 14 | **o:n,** because **they're different** |
| 15 | **types**, **so** que: (.) **yeah.** | 15 | **types**, **so** that (.) **yeah.** |
| 16 Katherine | **What do you think about the** | 16 Katherine | **What do you think about the** |
| 17 | **people who listen to that type of** | 17 | **people who listen to that type** |
| 18 | **music?** | 18 | **of music?** |
| 19 Pilar | **I don't think it changes them,** | 19 Pilar | **I don't think it changes them,** |
| 20 | **you know**? **It change(s)*** | 20 | **you know**? **It change(s)*** |
| 21 | **them, but, like, they just like a** | 21 | **them, but, like, they just like a** |
| 22 | **different type of music**. | 22 | **different type of music**. **They** |
| 23 | **They like a type of music**, | 23 | **like a type of music**, **and I like** |
| 24 | **and I like a type of music**. | 24 | **a type of music**. **Maybe a little** |
| 25 | **Maybe a little bit (it changes** | 25 | **bit (it changes you), but not** |
| 26 | **you), but not that much.** | 26 | **that much.** |

*Note*. Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = standardised General American; underline = discourse maker.

## POP ENTHUSIAST COFP

### *Laura*

In constructing her own cultural alignments, Laura is candid about her weak ties to certain aspects of the local culture. As many have done so in interviews and labelling, she is quick to mention reggaeton as a topic related to Puerto Rican culture, particularly youth-oriented culture. Her initial assessment of such subculture and musical genre is somewhat neutral, *puedel sel good* **'**it can be good' in Lines 01 - 02, she claims, leaving an open-ended possibility to positive alignments through use of *can*. She defends this stance by giving examples of what she labels as *old school* reggaeton, in this sense constructing a persona that is knowledgable about music, and the evolution of local

music. Her statements so far, in terms of positive assessments: *fun*, *good*, *old school*, corroborate with the identity she has constructed for herself (described in Chapter 5) as a someone who is knowledgable in music and a D.J., it also showcases her ability of adopting bilingual speech to discuss local matters. Her best friend, Tatiana, jumps in to provide an example of a 'good' artist – *Calle 13* – a Puerto Rican reggaeton singer educated in an American higher education institution; consequently, already in an advantaged position, this artist does not fit the typical urban, working class stereotype of the reggeaton movement. From Line 12 on he assessment of the youth subculture begins to deteriorate, *ahora son cafre* in Lines 12 - 13 ('now they're cheap'). And progressively more and more her English insertional styles take on a negative tone: 'I don't like' (VP, Line 15), 'ahora no eh como que ya *too fun'* (now it's like not too fun, Lines 18 - 19), 'I'm gonna cheat on her and that's okay' (VP, Lines 20 - 22). She provides an alternative scenario, when her alignments would shift, if they were to switch the lyrics (Lines 23 - 25). She then repositions herself, goes in full-circle, and reemphasizes her initial stance of neutrality, it can be good, and she is **'***fine* with it' (VP, line 28), and again positions herself as someone of authority by stating 'they ask me to play it at parties', meaning that she is the music-connoisseur and having been exposed to different music styles and getting paid to play them at parties, she is able to assess the situation objectively. Her knowledge of different music styles is a testament to her *cultural omnivorous* persona (cf. Karademir Hazir, 2017).

EXAMPLE 6. LAURA, POP ENTHUSIAST COFP IN MISSION HIGH, CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIAL IDENTITY AND SUBCULTURE ALIGNMENTS

| ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 01 Laura | El **[rɛgeɪˈtəʊn]** (.) puede sel | 01 Laura | **The[rɛgeɪˈtəʊn]** (.) can be |
| 02 | **[gʊ:d]** (.) polque el | 02 | **[gʊ:d]** (.) because the old |
| 03 | [re.ge.tong] viejo era **[fen].** | 03 | [re.ge.tong] was**[fen].** |
| 04 Cristina | **Old school [oʊl(d)** ˈ**skul].** | 04 Cristina | **Old school [oʊl(d)** ˈ**skul].** |
| 05 Laura | **Old school reggaeton is** (.) **the** | 05 Laura | **Old school reggaeton is** (.) **the** |
| 06 | **best,** polque eh **fun.** Calle… | 06 | **best,** because its **fun.** Calle… |
| 07 | bueno, **I didn't listen to** [Calle | 07 | well, **I didn't listen to** [Calle |
| 08 | Trece. | 08 | Trece. |
| 09 Tatiana | [Calle Trece me guhta. Eh | 09 Tatiana | [Calle Trece I like. He's |
| 10 | **[kj:u:t].** | 10 | **cute.** |
| 11 Laura | Daddy Yankee era lo mejor. | 11 Laura | Daddy Yankee was the best. |
| 12 | Pe:ro: ((*laughs*)) ahora so:n | 12 | Bu:t ((*laughs*)) now they're |
| 13 | cafre. | 13 | cheap. |
| 14 Tatiana | Daddy Yankee era lo mejol. | 14 Tatiana | Daddy Yankee was the best. |
| 15 Laura | **I don't like** el de ahora | 15 Laura | **I don't like** the one from today |
| **16** | (.) porque afecta a lah pelsona: | **16** | (.) because it affects people that |
| **17** | que solo ven a lah pelsona como | **17** | only see people as |
| **18** | un objeto, y no eh como que ya | **18** | an object, and it's not like now |
| **19** | (.) **[tʰú] fun**, ahora eh (.) como pa | **19** | (.) **too fun**, now it's (.) like only |
| **20** | usal-la y ya. **I'm** | **20** | to use her and that's it. **I'm** |
| 21 | **gonna cheat on her and it's** | 21 | **gonna cheat on her and it's** |
| 22 | **oka:y↑,** y:↑ (.) no sé. | 22 | **okay↑**, and↑ (.) I don't know. |
| 23 | Promueve mucho eso. Si | 23 | Promotes too much of that. If |
| 24 | no hablaran tanto de eso, | 24 | they didn't talk so much of that, |
| 25 | **then (.) it would be cool.** | 25 | **then (.) it would be cool.** |
| 26Katherine | **So,** no te guhta **at all**? | 26 Katherine | So, you don't like it at all? |
| 27 Laura | Emm, si sale en un pari, lo a— | 27 Laura | Emm, if I hear it at a party, I – |
| 28 | ehte, **yeah, I'm fine with it.** | 28 | umm, **yeah, I'm fine with it.** |
| 29 | Y tengo cancione también, | 29 | And I have songs also, |
| 30 | porque me dicen pa tocal-lo, | 30 | because they tell me to play it, |
| 31 | pe:ro:, no sé. **I like some of** | 31 | but, I don't know. **I like some of** |
| 32 | **it,** no todo. | 32 | **it,** but not all. |
| 33 Katherine | Okay. | 33 Katherine | Okay. |

*Note*. Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = standardised General American.

## *Tatiana*

Tatiana an active member of the Pop Enthusiast CofP saw American culture as different from the local Puerto Rican culture. In this sense, she oriented positively to a local or *authentic* benchmark. She defined this Puerto Rican benchmark to be everything mainland American culture is not, furthermore, credited this as a reason as to why she did not identify with mainland culture solely. According to Tatiana (Lines 05 to 07), *everything e differente…allá son bien serio* 'over there it's everything is different…they are very serious'. Discussing the formality or *seriousness* of social situations in the U.S. plays well into the stereotype of the Puerto Rican that has been discussed so far: someone who does not take themself seriously, a *party-animal* (see Tatiana 'we start the party

everywhere'), *lazy* (see Erica 'we've gotten lazier'), etc. This tie to U.S. as 'more serious' than P.R. suggests it is simultaneously more organised, concerned with rules, powerful, all the while more 'distant', 'cold', and perhaps 'unwelcoming' or 'unfriendly'.

After the somewhat suprising [119] evaluative remark from Tatiana, as it demonstrates negative aspects of U.S. culture, Tatiana provides a point of reference whereby she aligns positively to American culture – their *food*. It is not surprising to see positive constructions of identity with regards to American food considering the food monopoly and overwhelming presence of North American fast food chains and sit-down restaurants that substantially outnumber the local counterparts (see Fayer, Castro, Díaz, & Plata, 1998).

I question this assessment in Line 9, so as to welcome a longer explication in 'en serio que en comida?'. She reiterates her fascination and liking for American cuisine, and as a distancing strategy, she then follows up with other examples of world foods she enjoys (lines 14 to 19) in *China* and *India*. Her apparent cosmopolitan palate or openness to different kinds of food from other cultures beyond the U.S. is provided in bilingual styles primarily on a constituent level (Lines 10 to 11; Lines 18 to 19). So far, some of her English using strategies have played the metalingual role of providing evaluative stances with regards to 'them' such as 'I like *their* food' and in more enthusiastic blanket statements 'I love *all* foods!'. In this sense, Tatiana detaches herself from overly affiliating to American culture by constructing a more abstract identity of a *foodie*, rather than an American food aficionada. Later, in Line 14 to 19 she provides more detailed explication of her affinity for food in dominant PR Spanish, some lines from before are echoed in Spanish, e.g. *I like all foods* in Lines 10 -11 is then *me guhta la comida de to' lao* (Lines 14 – 15).

[119] Particularly against the backdrop of her linguistic practices, and later points in which she constructs Puerto Rican culture as involving North American popular culture figures, e.g. Bruno Mars.

EXAMPLE 7. TATIANA, POP ENTHUSIAST COFP, NON-LOCAL CULTURAL ORIENTATIONS (PT. I)

| ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 01Katherine | Y de la cultura Americana, | 01 Katherine | And from the American culture, |
| 02 | ¿tú sienteØ que te | 02 | do you feel like you |
| 03 | puede identifical con algo | 03 | can identify with a |
| 04 | un poco? **Or not really?** | 04 | little? **Or not really?** |
| 05 Tatiana | Eh que allá, como que, | 05 Tatiana | It's just that over there, like, |
| 06 | **everything** eØ tan diferente, | 06 | **everything** is so different, |
| 07 | allá son bien serioØ. | 07 | over there they are very serious. |
| 08 | **Like, in some, in food –** | 08 | **Like, in some, in food** |
| 09 | **maybe.** | 09 | **–maybe.** |
| 10 Katherine | ¿En serio en comida? | 10 Katherine | Seriously in food? |
| 11 Tatiana | **I like their food too! I like all** | 11 Tatiana | **I like their food too! I like all** |
| 12 | **foods,** en veldaØ. | 12 | **foods,** honestly. |
| 13 Katherine | Tu ereØ la segunda persona que | 13 Katherine | You are the second person that |
| 14 | me dice comida. | 14 | tells me food. |
| 15 Tatiana | Eh que en veldaØ a mi me guhta | 15 Tatiana | It's just that truly I love |
| 16 | la comida de to' lao, **like, if**— | 16 | food from everywhere, **like, if**— |
| 17 | si voy a China- me guhta to la | 17 | if I go to China, I love all of the |
| 18 | comi'a de allá. Si voy a (2.76) | 18 | food from there. If I go to (2.76) |
| 19 | India también! Eh como que **I** | 19 | India, too! It's like **I** |
| 20 | **like food a lot,** eh como que:… | 20 | **like food a lot,** it's like:… |
| 21 | ((*Laughs*)) Pero:@ ((*laughs*)) | 21 | ((*Laughs*)) Bu:t@ ((*laughs*)) |
| 22 | (1.56) allá eh que (.74) | 22 | (1.56) over there it's that (.74) |
| 23 | no tanto, **I don't really**… | 23 | not so much, **I don't really**… |
| 24 | ((*trails off*)) En la música | 24 | ((*trails off*)) In music, |
| 25 | también. En la música sí, *bie:n* | 25 | too. In music yes, super |
| 26 | *brutal*, **yeah**. Pero: (0.40) | 26 | completely, **yeah**. Bu:t (0.40) |
| 27 | **other than dat** (1.17) para | 27 | **other than dat** (1.17) for |
| 28 | na:da: me siento identificada | 28 | nothing I feel identified with |
| 29 | allá. | 29 | over there. |

*Note*. Regular font = PR Spanish; Bold = ideological standard English.

## 7.4.2 O'REILLY HIGH (NON-ELITE CONTEXTS)

### A) BOOKWORM-ROCKER COFP

In O'Reilly High, acts of identity with regards to subculture affiliation fed into the wider concept of different language practices and social dynamics. Indeed, the Bookworm-Rockers were known for their academic inclination, particularly in English class, and engagements in American youth culture, in particular in the reading of YA novels and listening to rock and popular music as suggested by the name of their CofP, as well as the Othering practices by Jocks who also saw them as different. In their displays of positive orientations to some of thes aspects Bookworm-Rockers engage in various acts of bilingual practices. Some are more likely to incorporate Spanish-dominant speech,

while others discuss their preferences in Spanish dominant speech with occasional insertions, while others engage in truly hybrid styles. Below, I demonstrate excerpts that showcase all three styles, starting with Bianca who engages in hybrid practices, Pepe who talks in Spanish dominant turns with high levels of English insertions, and Luis who led in the amount of English dominant turns. I then demonstrate how they use their respective styles to communicate their positive or negative alignments to different subcultures.

*Bianca*

Bianca, always seen alongside Sara, presented a somewhat different approach to her positioning and identity construction strategies. She presented herself in a similar light to Sara, in that she described investing in cultures that were non-local, she also expressed a desire to live abroad, and not on the island. Her positioning and non-local cultural and subcultural alignments, however, were realised through dominant English using strategies.

The topic under discussion below is her trips to Chicago to visit family, and how she could see herself living there. Her positive assessment of mainland life is coupled with a negative evaluation to local culture and island life. Her negative assessment of Puerto Rico is introduced with discourse marker *like* in Line 73, 'not here, as you can see' (Lines 73 – 74), to refer to 'the taste of the town' where she could see herself living. She is particularly condemning to *loh del lobby* or people who hang out the lobby area of O'Reilly High School. These are the Jocks of the school who others refer to as *los Cacos* at several points during this study. Bianca's conceptualisation of local culture, or 'the taste of' Mayagüez, is personified by the *Cacos* from the school lobby, or the rap subculture in Puerto Rico in general. In this sense, we are able to see that Bianca has weak ties to island life, the local culture, and to the local youth subculture. Her ambitions lie beyond island life, and this is also corroborated by her deviating linguistic practices which are highly translingual, such that at times it is difficult to determine whether her dominant conversational style, thus suggesting a more hybrid speaking style. Note that when she starts describing *loh Caco* or *loh del lobby* she crosses into PR Spanish, to continue her evaluation of *their* practices in lines 76 - 77: *may mucha gente como que bien cafre* 'There's many people that are like really cheap'. In Lines 78 to 80 provide a point of comparison to the culture Bianca so defiantly stands against – the parent Hip Hop movement from the United States: *Even though allá afuera, sí hay gente, like, from like the hood* 'Even though out there yes there are people, like, from like, the hood'. Thus,

she is futher equating the *lobby* culture, or her classmates that orient to local island practices, as 'cafre', undesirable or of impoverished backgrounds. By contrasting their culture to what she believes to be the American equivalent – people 'from the hood', minorities from impoverished neighborhoods, therefore, 'ghetto' – she further belittles her own heritage culture and minority status, and privileges the white middle class standard (line 81). Her adoration of middle class mainland practices is seen in Lines 84 to 92, when references her disdain for local television (Line 88) and disaffiliation to the local vernacular Spanish (Lines 85 – 87).

EXAMPLE 1. BIANCA'S, ROCKER COFP IN O'REILLY HIGH, SOCIOCULTURAL ALIGNMENTS AND RACIOLINGUISTIC IDEOLOGIES

| ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 70 Bianca | Sí, sí, me guhto. **I think it's** | 70 Bianca | Yes, yes, I like it. **I think it's** |
| 71 | **more li:ke (.) probably has** | 71 | **More li:ke (.) probably has** |
| 72 | **the taste more of a town** | 72 | **the taste more of a town** |
| 73 | **that I want to live.** | 73 | **that I want to live.** |
| 74 | **Like, not here, like, as you** | 74 | **Like, not here, like, as you** |
| 75 | **can see,** *loh del lobby* | 75 | **can see,** the *ones from the lobby* |
| 76 | ((*laughs*)), o cosah así. | 76 | ((*laughs*)), or stuff like that. |
| 77 | Polque siempre:, aquí en | 77 | Because always, here in |
| 78 | Puelto Rico siempre hay | 78 | Puerto Rico there are |
| 79 | mucho:, hay mucha gente | 79 | a lot, there are a lot of people |
| 80 | como que bie:n (.) *cafre*. | 80 | that like (.) are *tacky*. |
| 81 | **Even though** allá fuera, sí: | 81 | **Even though** over there, yes there |
| 82 | hay gente**, like, from like** | 82 | are people, **like,** from like the |
| 83 | **the hood,** así bien ***ghetto*****,** | 83 | hood, like that very ***ghetto***, |
| 84 | pe:ro:, **I – I still rather** | 84 | but, **I – I still rather** |
| 85 | **more, like, talk in English,** | 85 | **more, like, talk in English,** |
| 86 | **express myself better,** | 86 | **express myself better**, |
| 87 | **American [ti:] [vi:], I** | 87 | **American TV, I** |
| 88 | **don't like the local TV** | 88 | **don't like the local TV** |
| 89 | **here**, **I hate it. And, their** | 89 | **here, I hate it. And, their** |
| 90 | **music, a:nd, uh, the events** | 90 | **music, and, uh, the events** |
| 91 | **they have there, and not** | 91 | **they have there, and not** |
| 92 | **here, which pisses me off.** | 92 | **here, which pisses me off.** |
| 93 Katherine | ¿Pol qué? | 93 Katherine | Why? |
| 94 Bianca | **I don't like the events** | 94 Bianca | **I don't like the events** |
| 95 | **here, they're too: -- I** | 95 | **here, they're too: -- I** |
| 96 | **rather go to Warped Tour** | 96 | **rather go to Warped Tour** |
| 97 | **in California.** | 97 | **in California.** |

*Note*. Regular = PR Spanish; **Bold** = ideological General American; Underline = discourse marker; *Italics* = labelling.

## *Pepe*

In his practices, Pepe had a bit more freedom to dictate what he wanted to do when he was not in school. His upbringing had been with his grandmother and sister, and in his

interview he described having endured many difficult moments growing up, with a mother who struggled with substance abuse, a father who was absent from their lives, and described having to grow up quickly in relation to his classmates. Having an almost adult-mindset to life, Pepe's practices were different from his peers in the Rocker CofPs and Marketing CofPs. He engaged in underaged drinking, and would sometimes spend nights out en *la Calle Bohque* ('the Bosque Street'), the colloquial name for a set of streets in Mayaguez Town Centre that were full of pubs and restaurants by which many university students and professionals frequented. In this sense, Pepe constructed an identity similar to that found in the Jock CofP, whose mutual practices involved engaging in adult-oriented experiences.

Like his peers, his other interests included reading books in English, some of these were assigned to them by the Advanced English teacher, Miss Aponte, such as *The Fault in Our Stars* by John Green. While Pepe himself was not enrolled in this Advanced class, many of his friends were, and thus whenever they were all assigned a book to read, Pepe would keep up and read alongside his friends out of his own self-interest, rather than out of duty. In addition to reading fiction, Pepe also admitted to reading literature of adult content, or *high content,* in English. The identity he constructs for himself and for his friends is one that is literate and reading-inclined, as opposed to others in the school landscape that were perhaps not as well-read, or into stereotypically oppositional interests, such as "sports." In line 12 – 13 he describes his friends as the type of people who don't really engage in those actions, but that they are "always reading" (Line 14). He positions himself as slightly different from his friends, by stating that while he would call himself a "Bookworm" to some extent, he would not call himself a "complete" one at that.

EXAMPLE 2. PEPE'S, ROCKER COFP IN O'REILLY HIGH, SOCIOCULTURAL ALIGNMENTS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 01 Katherine | ¿Cuando tú saleø con tuh | 01 Katherine | When you go out with your |
| 02 | amihtadeø—a dónde uhtedeø | 02 | friends – where do you |
| 03 | salen? | 03 | go out? |
| 04 Pepe | Yo voy pal cine, pa' *lah* | 04 Pepe | I go to the movies,to *the Streets*. |
| 05 Katherine | *Calle:*ø. | 05 Katherine | Okay, do you play any sports? |
| 06 Pepe | Oke:i:, ¿Tú juega algun depolte? | 06 Pepe | **Noʊ** ((*laughs*)). |
| 07 Katherine | **Noʊ** ((*laughs*)). | 07 Katherine | Are you anti-athletic? |
| 08 Pepe | ¿Ereh anti-depoltivo? | 08 Pepe | I am not anti, but since I wasn't |
| 09 | No soy anti, pero como no me | 09 | raised with sports, **<u>like,</u>** |
| 10 | críe con loh depolteø, **<u>like,</u>** | 10 | now everyone in the world |
| 11 | ahora todo el mundo | 11 | knows a lot, and I am <u>like</u>… |
| 12 | sabe bien brutal, yo soy <u>como</u> | 12 | good. I would play it, |
| 13 | <u>que</u>… bueno. Yo lo jugaría, | 13 | but I don't, **<u>like,</u>** know how to |
| 14 | pero no, **<u>like,</u>** sé como | 14 | play it. I don't have where to |
| 15 | jugal-lo. No tengo a donde | 15 | play it, my friends don't, |
| 16 | jugal-lo, mih amihtade no: son | 16 | <u>like,</u> play sports, if not |
| 17 | <u>como que</u> juegan depolte, sino | 17 | spend their time reading books, |
| 18 | *se pasan leyendo li:bro:*ø, | 18 | stuff like that. |
| 19 Katherine | cosah así. | 19 Katherine | Are they ***bookworms***? |
| 20 Pepe | ¿Son ***bookworms***? | 20 Pepe | Yup, exactly. |
| 21 Katherine | Aja, exacto. | 21 Katherine | Are you also that way? |
| 22 Pepe | ¿Tú ere así también? | 22 Pepe | I am half, but not **complete.** |
| 23 Katherine | Soy medio, pero no **complete.** | 23 Katherine | What do you read? |
| 24 Pepe | ¿Qué tu lee? | 24 Pepe | I read ***The Fault* in *Our*** |
| 25 | Leo **[de] [folt] [ɪn] [aur]** | 25 | **Stars,** I read (.) the saga of |
| 26 | **[stars],** le:í: (.) la de la saga de | 26 | **Twilight,** I read lot of **Wattpad** |
| 27 | [**tuai lai],** leo mucho **[wat]** | 27 | but**, <u>like,</u>** that's very **high** |
| 28 | **[pæd**] pero**, <u>like,</u>** eso son **[hai]** | 28 | **contenent – high content.** |
| 29 Katherine | **[kənˈtenent] – [hai] [kənˈtɛnt].** | 29 Katherine | What's that, **sorry**? Is that |
| 30 | ¿Qué es eso, **sorry**? ¿Eso e | 30 | Japanese? |
| 31 Pepe | japone? | 31 Pepe | No R, they are rated-R. **Boy on** |
| 32 | No /erre/, son libro /erre/. **Boy** | 32 | **boy** <u>and stuff like that.</u> But it's |
| 33 | **on boy** <u>y cosah así.</u> Pero e culpa | 33 | all SALI'S fault, she introduced |
| 34 | de SALI, ella me metió | 34 | me to that world. |
| 35 Katherine | en ese mundo. | 35 Katherine | She reads that? |
| 36 Pepe | ¿Ella lee eso? | 36 Pepe | Yes. She reads a lot of stuff on |
| 37 | Sí. Le guhta leel mucha cosa de | 37 | **boy on boy**, I don't know why. |
| 38 Katherine | **boy on boy**, no sé polque. | 38 Katherine | Is she bisexual? |
| 39 Pepe | ¿Es bisexual? | 39 Pepe | **I don't know.** |
| | **I don't know.** | | |

*Note*. Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = PR English; *Italics* = labelling; <u>underline</u> = discourse marker.

For Pepe, a lot of his ethnic and cultural inclinations were influenced by the fact that he was both raised on the mainland for some of his earlier childhood years, and then on the mainland. Because of this unique vision of "the Puerto Rican", and still pursuing ties on the mainland, his identity straddled upon two lands, two selves, and the best way he could pursue this mainland "self" and be Puerto Rican at the same was by engaging in practices with the Rocker CofP. He informed me that he often felt torn as to where he saw himself, and whether he should leave or stay on the island and make his life. When I asked him why he felt that way, he was quick to use *loh del lobby* as a point of contrast,

and reason to stay to actively fight them and what they represented. Recall, that many of the students in Mission that oriented negatively to those from 'el lobby', branded them as *cacos* or *cafre*, and representative of the authentic Puerto Rican, or Puerto Rico's future. This same antagonistic, critical, sentiment was argued by mutual CofP member Bianca when declaring her reasons for liking 'the taste' of Chicago, over the 'taste of' Puerto Rico, as she felt that she could simply not identifying with what represented youth culture or the modern, urban subculture: los cacos and reggaeton. In this same sense, Pepe took subcultural alignments seriously. Even at one point before holding this interview he begged me to sit elsewhere was we were sitting in "their" region. In Lines 200 to 205 we see this struggle to align positively to one aspect of local culture. Below we see some sense of ownership and duty over staying and fighting for the country, thus aligning positively for his own ethnic identity, but simultaneously distancing himself from some cultural aspects. A key point in this exchange is Line 203 to 204 *si tol mundo se fuese, no quedaría nadie aquí* ' If everyone left, there would be no one left here', which refers to the well-known Puerto Rico brain drain, or the movement of Puerto Ricans to other countries due to the dire economic climate and lack of financial progress of the island (Abel & Deitz, 2014). *Loh del lobby* (Line 205) as the example of those who would be left behind carries a lot of social weight as a negative assessment towards those that identify with local culture, echoing the tonality of Bianca in an earlier discussion, where she equates *loh del lobby* with 'ghetto'culture or *cafre*, and in opposition to non-local culture which is more broad, exciting, cosmopolitan and full of desirable opportunities. Pepe below suggests that people from the lobby would 'not move the country forward' (Line 202), are therefore 'lazy', and representative of poverty or a stagnant and complascent lifestyles that would rely on government aid.

EXAMPLE 3. PEPE'S, ROCKER COFP IN O'REILLY HIGH, NON-LOCAL ORIENTATION

| ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 200 Pepe | Polque:, **<u>like,</u>** polque ehte e mi | 200 Pepe | Because**, <u>like,</u>** because this is my |
| 201 | paí:Ø, **<u>like,</u>** y: yo quiero que mi | 201 | country**, <u>like,</u>** and I want that my |
| 202 | paíØ heche pa'lante conmigo | 202 | country to move forward with me |
| 203 | <u>como tal.</u> Y si tol mundo se | 203 | as such. And if everyone left, there |
| 204 | fuese, no quedaría nadie aquí. | 204 | would be no one here. There would |
| 205 | Quedan *loh del lobby*. | 205 | be the people *from the lobby*. |

*Note*. Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = Standard-like General American English; <u>Underline</u> = Spanish & English discourse markers; *Italics* = spatial identity labels.

This same stereotype of these individuals was referred to previously as *gente como que bien cafre* (Lines 71 to 72) (' people that are like really ghetto') by Bianca from the Rocker CofP, and in the speech of certain private school students as well – i. e. Erica (Choir Girl CofP) describes the modern Puerto Rican as downgrading in quality *hemoØ bajado, like, hard-working people. We got lazier, en cielta folma* ('we have downgraded, like, hard-working people. We got lazier, in a certain way').

For many, this opposing subculture is not just a musical genre, rather, its emblematic, and indexes a specific type of people: working class, residential living, Spanish-monolingual (socioeconomically restricted), living off the government or dependent of welfare ('lazy', dependent), uneducated, such that they would promote culture that is illogical (See later interview with *Gamer CofP Kevin*), and denigrating to women (i.e. a chauvinistic culture and objectifying). *Pablo, from the Mission High private school*, and simultaneous Gamer CofP member, was careful to assess people who engaged in this culture, and evaluated them as "different" but not *cafre*. In Pepe's Othering of cacos or *los del lobby* (Lines 200 to 205 above), he is positioning himself as someone of a higher standing or superior position, someone who would fight for his country, someone who is not lazy, someone who is not *cafre* or cheap.

These negative discourses against these people are representative of the stereotypes against the marginalized communities on the island. They are representative of not just a gap of social and wealth inequality, but as well as ideological struggles: between the lower class and the upper middle class or the elite class, between the local and the cosmopolitan or prestigious culture, between English and Spanish, and, finally, between Puerto Rico and the United States. While Puerto Rico is made up a wide array of different movements and characteristics, rather than essentialised, *charicatured* vision of "lazy" individuals who have a fixed set of negative characteristics, these essentialising and demonising practices serve as evidence of an underlying issue in the uptaking of Puerto Rican identity, the shamefulness, or sense of embarrassement of possessing ties to a culture that is not as powerful, weathy, hard-working, or semiotically "prestigious" and cosmopolitan as those values attached to mainland United States.

*Luis*

Luis was the second most English-dominant speaker in the Rocker CofP and O'Reilly High. He engaged in English matrices a total of 77 times in the interview event.

Moreover, many of his engagements were done in long narratives and complex constructions, most in recognisably English-dominant turns.When I asked him about his aligments and personal identifications to the local culture, he constructs a negative assessment or disalignment to the local music, with a simple "no" in Line 02. In further turns, he reassesses his initial position to a more open disposition to local culture and its different musical styles. Her demonstrates positive orientations to salsa (in Line 04), to *trio music* or traditional Puerto Rican music (Lines 10 – 16), and, finally, to North American rock music. In the interaction below he constructs the persona of a music connoisseur, or in his own words a *mediocre musician* (Lines 12 - 13) who is able to appreciate *the subdivisions* (Line 16) or different genres of music, simply for the love of the art. While constructing this persona, somewhat expectedly, he references reggaeton as a subculture he orients negatively to simply because in his view it does not meet his standards of music as a form of artistic expression: "when you notice that this music, it takes a lot of work, not like reggaeton which is just a guy singing about sex and drugs" (Lines 18 - 21). In this assessment, Luis' appears to suggest that anyone can engage in reggaeton, and that it lacks the depth, work, and meaning that other more 'desirable' genres have. He refers to the stereotypes tied to the reggaeton listener, that of chauvinistic behaviour, substance abuse, and explicit language. An interesting point of contrast is provided towards the end of the excerpt, when Luis references *Guns and Roses* as engaging in similar practices to singers of reggaeton, but ultimately being able to 'pull it off' and sounding *cooler* (Line 26). Cooler or the act of sounding cool is demonstrative of Luis' personal subjectivities to English music (and, subsequently, English language), despite that is metapragmatically aware of similarity of lyrical content. In this sense, particularly within the Puerto Rican landscape, English is perceived by some as sounding cool, desirable, and prestigious -- an ideology also found in Perez Casas' (2008) study of elite professionals in San Juan. Again, it is worth noting Luis' communicative style versus that exhibited by his peers or his immediate school context, and just how deviating or out-of-the-ordinary his linguistic behaviour is.

EXAMPLE 4. LUIS, BOOKWORM-ROCKER COFP IN O'REILLY HIGH, SOCIAL IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION

| ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 01Katherine | ¿Te guhta la música de PuertoRico? | 01 Katherine | Do you like Puerto Ricanmusic? |
| 02 Luis | Noh. | 02 Luis | No. |
| 03Katherine | ¿Y salsa? | 03 Katherine | And salsa? |
| 04 Luis | **I like it, I didn't like it when I** | 04 Luis | **I like it, I didn't like it when I** |
| 05 | **was a kid, 'cause my dad** | 05 | **was a kid, 'cause my dad** |
| 06 | **listened to it all the time. It was** | 06 | **listened to it all the time. Itwas** |
| 07 | **really annoying, but NOW that I** | 07 | **really annoying, but NOW** |
| 08 | **understood*…** | 08 | **that I understood…** |
| 09Katherine | ¿Sí? Y ¿música de trio? | 09 Katherine | Yes? And music of Trio? |
| 10 Luis | **My grandfather listens to it,** | 10 Luis | **My grandfather listens to it,** |
| 11 | **a:n:d (.) >the thing is when** | 11 | **a:n:d (.) >the thing is when** |
| 12 | **you're a musician< I'm a** | 12 | **you're a musician< I'm a** |
| 13 | **mediocre musician, but when** | 13 | **mediocre musician, but when** |
| 14 | **you want to be a musician and** | 14 | **you want to be a musician and** |
| 15 | **you like music, you learn to** | 15 | **you like music, you learn to** |
| 16 | **love <u>u:h</u>, if you just listen to** | 16 | **love u:h, if you just listen to** |
| 17 | **the subdivisions, you learn to** | 17 | **the subdivisions, you learn to** |
| 18 | **love all the parts of it. And** | 18 | **love all the parts of it. And** |
| 19 | **when you notice that this** | 19 | **when you notice that this** |
| 20 | **music, it takes a lot of work, not** | 20 | **music, it takes a lot of work,** |
| 21 | **like reggaeton which is just** | 21 | **notlike reggaeton which is just** |
| 22 | **a guy (.) singing about sex and** | 22 | **a guy(.) singing about sex and** |
| 23 | **drugs, and (.) woman*. Sex** | 23 | **drugs, and (.) woman*. Sex** |
| 24 | **and drugs and woman*. Rock** | 24 | **and drugs and woman*. Rock** |
| 25 | **did the same thing, in the** | 25 | **did the same thing, in the** |
| 26 | **eighties it was <u>like</u> Guns and** | 26 | **eighties it was <u>like</u> Guns and** |
| 27 | **Roses. They said all that too, but** | 27 | **Roses. They said all that too,** |
| 28 | **they sounded cooler.** | 28 | **but they sounded cooler.** |

*Note.* Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = Standard-like General American English.

Indeed, this apparent affiliation to the rock subculture and simultaneous orientation to English using practices is not something that is specific to the Puerto Rican community, rather Norma Mendoza-Denton (2008) found a similar narrative in her ethnography on Latina Youth Gangs in California. In it, she observed how a group of girls semiotically positioned themselves positively to rock music through the use of specific attire: jeans, a white t-shirt, belts with spikes, black vests, etc. (Mendoza-Denton, 2008, p. 22). In this way, the engagement in particular music movements played an intergral role in students' acts of identities or self- and other- labelling. In O'Reilly High, your musical and cultural engagements determined whether you were deemed a *Rocker* (Gamers and Bookworms) with non-local inclinations and spatial orientations to the closed-down food store (*la Cooperativa*) or a *Caco* (here labelled as Jocks) those that showed positive alignment to local Spanish Hip Hop.

When prompted about whether he would consider moving to the United States or elsewhere, Pepe positions himself against other groups within the microcosm of the

school, e.g. *the Cacos*, who stand in opposition to his ideologies, peers, linguistic and behavioral practices, and other stylistic choices. It should be noted that this is not the first time in which Pepe voices disdain or discontent with those from the lobby region who partake in behavioral practices associated with the Caco movement. Indeed, in one of my first attempts at gathering linguistic data from Pepe through an interview we walked through the lobby region and I sat down with my recorder and he looked at me with a look of disgust and said "ew, no, the Lobby people sit here" (Fieldnotes, February 2016).

## B) JOCK COFP

In the interview sample below, Josue and Bobi discuss fashion items that were an intergral part of their identity as Jocks. They refer to their use of branded items such as Air Jordans in the interview excerpt below. While discussing a classmate's integrity and authenticity of sports shoes, they use minor elements of bilingual styles, such as the occasional adjective "fake" in Lines 32, 35, and 37. Fake here is referred to using a Spanish vowel-like quality to diphthong /ei/. In this way, they establish boundaries of who has the right to claim a 'true' identity as jock, by using evaluative language in a nonlocal variety. In other parts of their interview, Josue and Bobi use insertional strategies, in the single word form, to partake in labelling practices – recall, their uses of "emo" to refer to the Bookworm-Rocker group. Again, their use of bilingual styles is primarily restricted to this, as well as the occasional discourse marker.

Socially noteworthy in this interaction is the *value* Josue and Bobi place on the realness of this sports item, or lack thereof in this case. Indeed, in the most iconic definitions of those who engage in the Caco subculture is the topic of sports accessories, which, while expensive and perhaps out-of-reach for many who show an interest in the reggaeton subculture and belong to lower working classes, is an opportunity that is available to Josue and Bobi as middle class youth and simultaneous members of the Jock CofP. Thus, they possess a prestigious social standing in their own CofP as being able to access one of the desirable objects of athleticism culture and the reggaeton subculture (recall that branded sportswear, golden jewelry, and baseball caps are emblematic items of this subculture). What may be expected for most cases of people who engage in these practices and demonstrate an interest in local practices is that many come to own these items second hand, or imitation alternatives. Variable phonological forms are also employed by Bobi and Josue when referencing these clothing items. Josue refers to Air

Jordans in a more standard-like form, whereas Bobi refers to this item in a more locally-leaning linguistic form, producing word-final nasals as velar nasals (a feature of Puerto Rican Spanish), Spanish [o] vowel sound for the /ɔ/ in Jordans, and even non-standard features such as /r/ lateralization in pre-consonantal position, turning /Jord-/ to /Jol-/.

EXAMPLE 5. JOCK COFP IN O'REILLY HIGH, ORIENTATION TO LOCAL SUBCULTURES

| ***Original*** | | ***English Translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 30 Katherine | ¿Son Jordans? | 30 Katherine | Are they Jordans? |
| 31 Josue | Loh teniØ? Son | 31 Josue | The tennis (shoes)? They are |
| 32 | **<[feɨk]>.** | 32 | **fake.** |
| 33 Katherine | Ehtan *nice*. Son | 33 Katherine | They are *nice*. They are |
| 34 | caro. | 34 | expensive. |
| 35 Josue | Yo creo que son **<[feik]>,** polque | 35 Josue | I think that they are **fake**, |
| 36 | ese colol no hay. | 36 | because that color is not sold. |
| 37 Bobi | No parecen sel **<[feik]>.** | 37 Bobi | They do not look **fake.** |
| 38 Katherine | ¿Cómo uhtedeØ saben si | 38 Katherine | How do you guys know if they |
| 39 | son **fake** o reales? | 39 | are **fake** or real? |
| 40 Bobi | Depende. | 40 Bobi | Depends. |
| 41 Josue | Depe:nde:. | 41 Josue | Depends. |
| 42 Bobi | ((*Laughs*)) Tiene que vel | 42 Bobi | ((*Laughs*)) (You) have to look |
| 43 | el teni bien, | 43 | at the tennis (shoe) well, |
| 44 | polque son dehtallito que son | 44 | because it's some detail that is |
| 45 | bien… (pequeño). | 45 | very...(small) |
| 46 Katherine | ¿Cómo en donde ehtan lo logo? | 46 Katherine | Like where the logo is located? |
| 47 Josue | Mira ehto son once ((*Josue* | 47 Josue | Look, these are eleven ((*Josue* |
| 48 | *shows Katherine*)). | 48 | *shows Katherine*)). |
| 49 Katherine | Ah, ¿Eso son Jordan? | 49 Katherine | Ah, are those Jordan? |
| 50 Josue | Sí. Son **[Rɛd] [dʒɔrdənz].** | 50 Josue | Yes. They are **Red Jordans.** |
| 51 Bobi | Pue, aquelloh son **[dʒoldang]** | 51 Bobi | *Well*, those are **Jordans** |
| 52 | también. | 52 | as well. |
| 53 Josue | Loh de Kobe. | 53 Josue | The ones from Kobe. |
| 54 Katherine | A:h, que cool. Pero eso ayuda | 54 Katherine | Aw, how cool. But that helps |
| 55 | jugal baloncehto, ¿Sí o no? | 55 | play basketball, yes or no? |
| 56 Bobi | Sí, son para jugal | 56 Bobi | Yes, they are for playing |
| 57 | baloncehto. | 57 | basketball. |
| 58 Josue | Sí. Sí, son para jugal | 58 Josue | Yes, yes, they are for playing |
| 59 | baloncehto. | 59 | basketball. |

*Note*. Regular font = PR Spanish; Bold = Standard-like General American English.

In other parts of their interview, Josue and Bobi engaged in 'Othering' practices when referencing peer groups who they perceived as directly oppositional to them. In this case these were the students that hung around the Cooperativa region, whom they referred to as diabolical and Satanic, and during the interview confirmed these ideologies by suggesting their behavior as "abnormal" (Lines 11 to 12). Furthermore, also highlighting that in their view one of the general, common characteristics of the ideological "Other", or the group in complete opposition to their values, was their investment in North American rock culture and that they "all spoke English". When I asked them to expand

on their evaluation of these practices, they presented their views in the local vernacular, Spanish, with the occasional English reference to the Rock subculture through the use of label "emo" in Line 16. In this excerpt they also refer to the iconic clothing practices of the ideological 'Other' who they claimed made an *ehpectáculo* "spectacle" by wearing dark make-up and spikes, practices that are referred to as not being normal but other-worldly, nonlocal in Lines 8 to 14 by Bobi. Josue goes as far as to call them "ridiculous" (Line 21), thus demonstrating their disapproval of practices that deviate from the accepted norm in Puerto Rico, particularly of their own subculture which they deem as normal.

EXAMPLE 6. JOSUE AND BOBI, JOCK COFP IN O'REILY HIGH, CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIAL IDENTITIES

| ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 01 Bobi | EN MI OPINION, NO ME | 01 Bobi | IN MY OPINION, I DON'T |
| 02 | GUHTA, pero allá elloØ. | 02 | LIKE IT, but that's up to them. |
| 03 Josue | Yo no dihcrimino. Eh como loh | 03 Josue | I don't discriminate. But it's like |
| 04 | homosexual, yo no dichcrimino | 04 | homosexuals, I don'tdiscriminate |
| 05 | su: *nada*. O loh rockero, | 05 | their *nothing*. And the rockers, as |
| 06 | dehpueØ que elloh rehpeten, | 06 | long as they respect us, |
| 07 | uno rehpe:ta:, ehte:= | 07 | we respect them, umm.= |
| 08 Bobi | Hay una diferencia, polque | 08 Bobi | There is a difference, because |
| 09 | muchoh rockero, pueden sel que | 09 | many rockers, it can be that they |
| 10 | le guhten la música, <u>como tal</u> el | 10 | like music, <u>such as</u> |
| 11 | rock. Pero no que hagan | 11 | rock. But not that they make |
| 12 | ehpectáculo que elloh haceng, | 12 | the scene that they do, |
| 13 | no que se maqui-lle:n, no | 13 | not that they put make-up, not |
| 14 | <u>como que</u> ehten con pulla. | 14 | <u>like</u> they dress with spikes. |
| 15 Josue | Exacto. Si, un s*how*. | 15 Josue | Exactly. Yes, a *show*. |
| 16 Bobi | Que se creen **[i:mou]** | 16 Bobi | That they think that are **emo** |
| 17 | <u>como tal</u>, bien ARGH! | 17 | <u>as such,</u> very ARGH! |
| 18 Josue | O góticos. | 18 Josue | Or goths. |
| 19 Bobi | Como "mi vida e la peol". | 19 Bobi | Like "my life is the worst". |
| 20 Josue | Exacto. Eso eØ como se ven | 20 Josue | Exactly. That's how they look |
| 21 | bien ridículo. Esa clase de | 21 | very ridiculous. Those type of |
| 22 | gente son bien ridículo | 22 | people are very ridiculous |
| 23 | ((*points at the group of people* | 23 | ((*points to students sitting in the* |
| 24 | *sitting down playing Yu* | 24 | *Cooperative región playing Yu-* |
| 25 | *-Gi-Oh!*)) | 25 | *Gi-Oh!*)) |
| 26 Katherine | Yo no sé si ello son **emo,** yo | 26 Katherine | I don't know if they are **emo**, I |
| 27 | creo que elloh juegan cosa | 27 | think they play with Japanese |
| 28 | japonesa. | 28 | things. |
| 29 Bobi | Elloh son rockeroØ. | 29 Bobi | They are rockers. |
| 30 Josue | Con una pinta uno lo ve. | 30 Josue | One glance and you see it. |

*Note*. Regular font = PR Spanish; *Italics* = PR Youth Speech; **Bold** = Standard-like General American English; <u>Underline</u> = Youth Speech Discourse Markers.

## C) GAMER COFP

### *Kevin*

A lot of Kevin's subcultural practices and alignments were tied to the punk rock and gaming communities, both of which had Anglo-origins. He stood in opposition to the local urban subcultures. In his assessment of the rap subculture, he criticizes it from "logical" standpoint, demonstrated in Lines 11 – 13 "it doesn't make sense" "they speak…incoherent(ly), then socially, in lines 17 to 19 "it denigrates women". His negative assessment of the local youth subculture is constructed in PR Spanish with occasional Spanish teen talk features, such as DM features like *o sea* ("I mean") and *como que* ("like"), tools often used in narrative styles or expression of opinion. Despite having negative ties to the subculture, he admits having positive social ties to people who follow this practice at a later point in this interview, but when it comes to defining himself, like some of his peers near to his spatial orientations, he cites being influenced by North American rock subculture, in Lines 23 – 24 he uses loanword labelling strategies to define himself and his interests, but does this by incorporating them unto the local vernacular PR Spanish: *[metál]* "metal", *[altelnativ]* "alternative", and *[ponk] [rɑk]* "punk rock". In this way, Kevin engages in minor acts of bilingualism, through reference paid to concepts or names originating from English language culture. This is a relatively passive way to engage in the English language, and one that is not as socially marked as that demonstrated by other peers in the immediate landscape like the Bookworm-Rockers, or even other mutual members of his peer group, such as Puma, who engaged in some instances of constituent level bilingual speech. What is also noteworthy are his acts of translating product names, such as a band name, unto Spanish. For instance, in Line 27 to 28 he refers to the 1990s American rock band Blink 182 as *Blink Ciento Ochenti-Doh*. Also familiar with the band, it took a while for me to recognise what Kevin referred to, he then explained that he had once looked them up online in Wikipedia in Spanish and had read it in the form, and since then has referred to them as such. In this way, Kevin's own explanation as to how he came to familiarise himself with particular elements of the target culture are non-standard, in that he came to learn of specific names of figures in lesser used Spanish equivalents. This example provides an alternative narrative to dominant discourses of globalisation of English in youth, in that it demonstrates that youth as still capable of engaging and looking up information of said interest in their vernacular, as the Internet permits it. Kevin continues to refer to other band names from

North American culture through PR Spanish styles, in particular: Lines 37 – 38, Lines 42- 43. Another interesting insertional strategy is that of "classic rock" to refer to music subgenres Kevin orients positively to. However, in this instance, he produces this nonlocal item intergrated onto the word structure of the vernacular: noun + adjective or *rock classic*.

EXAMPLE 2. KEVIN, GAMER COFP IN O'REILLY HIGH, CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIAL IDENTITY

Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = Standard General American English;
Underline = Discourse Marker; [] Impressionistic phonetic transcription

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ***Original*** | | |
| 01 Katherine | Okay, y ¿Cuál eh tu tipo de música preferida? | ( |
| 02 Kevin | DigamoØ así que yo ehcucho de todo, menoØ reggaeton, eh | ( |
| 03 | lo único que a mi no me guhta. | ( |
| 04 Katherine | ¿No te identifica con él? | ( |
| 05 Kevin | No, para na:da:. Yo te digo que absolutamente nada. Ehte: no me guhta, | ( |
| 06 | o sea, no eh como que: (.) la música de elloØ habla | ( |
| 07 | incoherencia, lah cosaØ pueØ no tienen sentido | ( |
| 08 | tan siquiera. No eh que me da velguenza, | ( |
| 09 | eh como que: la música de elloØ no tiene sentido, | ( |
| 10 | denigran mucho a la mujel, y pueØ no me guhta […] | |
| 11 | Yo de preferencia pueØ me guhta el rock. Me identifico mucho con el | |
| 12 | [metál] y con e:l *[altelnativ] – [ponk] [rɑk]* | |
| 13 Katherine | ¿Como qué? | |
| 14 Kevin | Como *[e] [dei] [tu] rimember]*, [blink] [ciento-ochenti-doh]= | |
| 15 Katherine | Blink Ciento-Ochenti-Doh? ((*laughs*)). Nunca lo he ehcuchado así. | |
| 16 Kevin | Sí. Lo que pasa eh que yo ehtaba buhcando infolmación de elloØ | |
| 17 | y ehtaba en ehpañol, ehtaba en ehpañol y se me quedo eso, | |
| 18 | y me quede con *Blink Ciento-Ochenti-Doh*. | |
| 19 | PueØ así como que me guhta máh el metal, como: *[slipɪŋ] [wɪθ]* | |
| 20 | *[sajrens]* también. Ehte: me guhta mucho el *[rɑk] [klasik]* como Bon | ) |
| 21 | Jovi, Journeys, con eso fue que lo que me (.) así. | ) |
| 22 | ***Alternative [tri] [di] [greis]*** que eh mi banda preferida. | ) |

*Puma*

In his acts of identity, Puma also references similar engagements to music and gaming culture as demonstrated by his friend, Kevin, above. When discussing his favorite musical genre, Rock, he refers to by incorporating non-standard fricativization features that turn rhotic sounds to χ in /rock/, here produced as [x$^{h}$o]. Much like his peers in the Gamer CofP and acquaintances from nearby regions, such as the Bookworm-Rocker CofPs, Puma disaligns to the local urban subculture.

EXAMPLE 3. PUMA, GAMER COFP IN O'REILLY HIGH, CULTURAL ALIGNMENTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Puma | Pe:ro:, ¿x$^{h}$eggeaton? No. Yo *no lo paso*.<br>Yo anteh lo ehcuchaba, yo lo admito, yo anteh lo ehcuchaba, pe:ro:, de un tiempo pa aca eh <u>como que</u>: me dejo de guhtal, ya no eh lo mío. |
| ***Translation*** | |
| Puma | But reggaeton? No. I *do not stand it*.<br>Before I used to listen to it, I'll admit, I used to listen to it, but, from some time until now it's <u>like</u> I stopped liking it, it's not my thing. |

*Note*. Regular font = PR Spanish; *Italics* = PR Youth speech; <u>Underline</u> = Discourse marker.

## D) MARKETING COFP

In terms of cultural orientations, the Marketing CofP in O'Reilly High was most likely to engage in local practices: listen to urban music, watch Spanish-speaking news and online celebrities, and engage in local events and politics. Dalia and Saul were active in local competitions for the Marketing club, and held positive rapport with teachers as well as local small-business owners because the nature of their program required them to comply with a certain number of working hours. Penelope, by association, was also well-acquainted with local business owners and – with Dalia – would spend her lunch time at a nearby smoothie place were both knew the owner. Penelope was also friends with a mechanic, and her aspirations were to work in a similar technical vocation. Esteban's (not featured prominently in this thesis) father was a career politician affiliated to the Statehood party on the island, on account of this Esteban was well-read and knowledgable about local affairs and often helped out his father in running his campain. Most of them spent their free time and after school hours in neighboring food joints and gaming locales, rather than on campus. When on campus, they participated in card gaming activities

affiliated with Japanese popular culture near the Cooperativa region and Marketing classrooms.

## *Penelope*

The following section discusses Penelope's cultural alignments and construction of social identity. From a working class family, her cultural identity may be conceptualised as the outcome of practices outside of her household (social identities), as well as her inherited social circumstances or *socioeconomic access*. In the excerpt below, Penelope withholds from identifying with local youth cultures, although she recognises they play an important role to who she is and what she does – i.e. her world, her neighbourhood. She is quick to emphasize that that 'what she knows' is because it is 'within her reach', but that she would not describe herself as someone belonging to the local urban movement or other local movements. Penelope had vocational aspirations, lived in a residential area, and reported watching Latino YouTube celebrities, however, in later parts of her interview Penelope suggests that her local aspirations and interests are in part due to her lack of competence in English as a second language, which inhibits her from succeeding academically in English class and gaining access to other worlds beyond her immediate one.

In the example below, I try to arrive at a sense of Penelope's social identity, but she seems hesitant in providing a description to her practices. She presents herself as neither participant in athletics, the local urban movement, or any locally-construed group on campus. Her first turns are realised in short answer style, and she does little to offer information of herself. When her best friend attempts to define her as a *reggaetonera* (a label offered by me in Line 35, and suggested by others), Penelope takes a defensive stance and in Line 40 presents an explanation as to why she passively (rather than actively) engages in reggeaton (urban music*):* "I listen to reggaetón because it is almost always what is heard in my home and in my surroundings, but for me to look, for example, YouTube and that stuff, it's not what I look for" (Lines 40 - 45).

In a later turn, I suggest that music is not an important theme to her self identification, at this point Dalia jumps in with additional information related to her best friend's out-of-school practices – i.e. she listens to reggaetón music in her car (Lines 52 - 53). Penelope adopts an aggressive stance then and silences Dalia, suggesting that she is incapable of providing accurate assessments of her practices because she comes from a

more priviledged household: “If you lived where I live, then you would understand, but since you don’t understand, and this is not your interview, do not interrupt please – I am telling you seriously ” (Lines 57 - 64). At this point, class becomes an important part of how Penelope constructs herself in relation to others, including those in her immediate community of practice: she sees herself as the outcome of her surroundings – public school, working class, and residential upbringing – rather than the outcome of voluntary practices. “If you lived where I live” serves as an indication that Penelope feels misunderstood by many on account of her background, including those closest to her. Further, that she associates reggaetón culture with negative values and sees it as a source of shame, therefore, there is a desire for her to distance herself from those values.

No further explanation in terms of what she thinks of the youth subculture is provided. However, other interviews by members of other CofPs (and schools) brand the urban youth culture as ‘ghetto’, ‘cafre’, vulgar, and demeaning towards women (this is particularly the case for Mission High). It may be that she does not desire to be associated with working class youth. In this way, while it was previously suggested that Penelope possesses local ties, it is also important to take into consideration this new intersubjective construction of identity whereby Penelope describes herself as the outcome of her socioeconomic situation, a situation she is not in control of and wishes she could change. Ultimately, Penelope aligns herself with socially ‘safer’ practices akin to those by the Gamer CofP: watching YouTube videos in Spanish to do with gaming and reviews (Lines 45 – 46).

EXAMPLE 4. PENELOPE, MARKETING COFP IN O'REILLY HIGH, CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIAL IDENTITY AND YOUTH CULTURE ORIENTATIONS

| ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 23Katherine | ¿JuegaØ algun depolte? | 23 Katherine | Do you play any sports? |
| 24 Penelope | Nah. | 24 Penelope | Nah. |
| 25 Katherine | ¿Baloncehto? | 25 Katherine | Basketball? |
| 26 Penelope | Sí, pero soy mala. | 26 Penelope | Yes, but I am bad. |
| 27 Katherine | Pero, ¿Tú pertenece al equipo de | 27 Katherine | But do you belong to the |
| 28 | baloncehto de la O'Reilly? | 28 | basketball team from O'Reilly? |
| 29 Penelope | ((*laughs*)) No@@, no. | 29 Penelope | ((*laughs*)) No@@, no. |
| 30 Katherine | Y de música, ¿Qué tú | 30 Katherine | And of music, what do you |
| 31 | ehcucha? | 31 | listen to? |
| 32 Penelope | De todo, pero ehcucho | 32 Penelope | A little bit of everything, but |
| 33 | máh reggaeton. | 33 | mostly reggaeton. |
| 34 Katherine | ¿Te considera: | 34 Katherine | So do you consider yourself |
| 35 | *reggaetonera* entonceØ? | 35 | reggaetonera then? |
| 36 Penelope | No. | 36 Penelope | No. |
| 37 Dalia | ((*makes face*)) | 37 Dalia | ((*makes face*)). |
| 38 Penelope | ¡No:! | 38 Penelope | No:! |
| 39 Katherine | ¿Pol qué no? | 39 Katherine | Why not? |
| | | | |
| 40 Penelope | Ehcucho Reggaetón poØque | 40 Penelope | I listen to reggaeton because |
| 40 | casi siempre eh lo máh que se | 40 | almost always it's what is |
| 41 | ehcucha en casa y en loh | 41 | heard in my house and in my |
| 42 | alrededoreØ, pero yo de | 42 | surroundings, but in terms of |
| 43 | buhcal, por ejemplo, | 43 | me looking, for example, |
| 44 | ***[dʒ͡u:'tub]*** y esa cosa, no eh lo que | 44 | ***YouTube*** and stuff, I don't |
| 45 | buhco. Por ejemplo, | 45 | look for it. For example, |
| 46 | siempre buhco videoØ, n | 46 | I always look for videos, I |
| 47 | o ehcucho música, si | 47 | don't listen to music, if they |
| 48 | no me la ponen, ¿EntiendeØ? | 48 | don't put it on, understand? |
| 49 Katherine | Entonce, ¿música no eh algo | 49 Katherine | So music is something that is |
| 50 | impoltante para ti? | 50 | unimportant to you? |
| 51 Dalia | No, polque si tu vah a su carro y | 51 Dalia | No, because if you go to her car |
| 52 | veh toda la música | 52 | and you see all the music that |
| 53 | que tiene= | 53 | she has= |
| 54 Penelope | Si mi helmana la tiene todo el | 54 Penelope | If my sister has it on all of the |
| 55 | tiempo, eso eh lo que tu ehcucha | 55 | time, that is what you hear |
| 56 | alrededor, pueØ me | 56 | in my surroundings, well I |
| 57 | la sé:. Si tú vivieraØ donde yo | 57 | know them. If you lived where |
| 58 | vivo, pueØ entendería, | 58 | I lived, well you would |
| 59 | pero como tú no | 59 | understand, but since you don't |
| 60 | entiende, y como ehta no eh | 60 | understand, and since it is not |
| 61 | tu entrevihta, no vuelva a | 61 | your interview, do not |
| 62 | interrumpil pol favol. Te lo ehtoy | 62 | interrupt again please. I am |
| 63 | diciendo en serio. Te lo | 63 | telling you seriously. I am |
| 64 | ehtoy diciendo en serio. | 64 | telling you seriously. |

*Note*. Regular font = PR Spanish; ***Bold & Italics*** = Puerto Rican English (borrows appropriated to local vernacular grammar).

When asked about other practices and activities she did in her free time, she cites watching famous YouTube online from other Latin American countries. Their content is linguistically accessible to Penelope in that the main language of communication takes place in recognisable Spanish, such that she is able to understand what is being said and

actively engage in discussions related to these. She cites watching YouTubers such as *Fernanfloo* and *SoyGerman* from "Hola Soy German". The first YouTuber is from el Salvador and reports on gaming, according to online statistics his channel is the 10th most subscribed YouTube channel with a total of 6.1 billion views and 26.3 million subscribers. The latter is a Chilean YouTube star and comedian, whose videos are also captioned underneath in English to make them available for other non-Spanish-speaking audiences.

EXAMPLE 5. PENELOPE, MARKETING COFP IN O'REILLY HIGH, CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIAL IDENTITY AND YOUTH CULTURE ORIENTATIONS (PT. II)

| ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 120 Katherine | Sei. Okay. Ehte:, ¿tu veh | 120 Katherine | Yes. Okay. Umm, do you |
| 121 | canaleØ localeØ? | 121 | watch local channels? |
| 122 Penelope | Noh. | 122 Penelope | No. |
| 123 Katherine | Y, ¿qué veh de | 123 Katherine | And what do you watch for |
| 124 | televisión? | 124 | television? |
| 125 Penelope | Fernan Flo o la Soy Gelma:n, y | 125 Penelope | Fernanfloo and Soy German, |
| 126 | esaØ cosaØ. | 126 | and that stuff. |
| 127 Katherine | Qué eh eso? | 127 Katherine | What's that? |
| 128 Penelope | ***[dʒu:tubel],*** elloh son en | 128 Penelope | A ***YouTuber,*** they are the ones |
| 129 | video de: por ejemplo, de: | 129 | in videos of, for example, of |
| 130 | juego: o que se yo y yo pueØ | 130 | gaming or don't know and |
| 132 | yo lo veo. | 131 | well I watch them. |

*Note*. Regular font = PR Spanish; Underline = Teen talk discourse marker; ***Bold and Italics*** = PR English.

Penelope aligns positively to the "viral" culture of Latin America and the Spanish gaming culture, as opposed to some of her peer counterparts, who engage in Japanese culture practices, or even North American rock practices. This serves as a nice complementary example to the idea that there are other languages, besides English, that are bringing people of the world together online, or having this "viral" effect on groups of people or on a particular demographic, in this case, the vernacular language is reinforced. This further corroborates Penelope's deep roots and attachments in her Hispanic heritage, in that, out of circumstance or affordance, most of her engagements have been with experiences that promote her mother tongue.

### 7.4.3 Summary of Subcultural Acts of Identity

*Elite Settings: Summary*

Elite settings exhibited a tendency towards nonlocal subcultural practices. These, in turn, influenced and shaped acts of differentiation and the establishment of peer group social dynamics. Labels such as "gamers", "chill girls", "cacos", drew on indexical values of local and nonlocal, the Puerto Rican and anglo. Emmanuel from the Gamer CofP drew on local benchmarks and labels of the urban youth culture 'reggaeton' and hinting at their behavioral characteristics - that included dress and vocabulary. He hinted at an undesirable quality to aligning to this group through through the use of the phrase "like it or not" (Line 169). Some alignments to the local urban movement are made, particularly by Pablo of the Gamer CofP, and his approval of local reggaeton artist Residente. In relation to the rest of his community, Residente's style stands out for its socially conscious and left-wing lyrical content. Pablo alludes to his lyrical content, thus positioning himself as someone who is also a follower of contemporary liberal ideologies that build on issues of social justice and equality. There is a collective sense of disapproval, however, for mainstream urban practices and their indexical values. Fiorela in her religious conservatism, groups the practice of 'reggaeton' alongside other social evils such as 'celebrating Halloween' (pg. 459). The lyrical disapproval is also alluded to in Laura' and Christina's interview. While most groups construct their identities and values in opposition to local youth practices, there were cases in which students resisted from aligning to non-local values completely: Pilar, for instance, is quite resistant of sharing her opinion on the local culture, this discomfort is visible in her "I don't know what to say", despite her interview performance being almost entirely in English. Another example of labelling resistance and "taking sides" is exhibited by Dave, when his friends accuse him of being a "rocker" or "hipster", for being offbeat and alternative in both behavioral and linguistic style. Nonetheless, there is an overall sense of positive alignment to outside subcultural practices over local ones.

*Non-Elite Settings: Summary*

Peer group dynamics in non-elite settings exhibit a host of socially charged undertones of what it means to speak English on the island. The way students construct their identities intersubjectively throughout the interview allows us to arrive at an understanding of the underlying indexical values of English for those who use it as part

of their daily repertoire. Those who posses confidence in their English speaking abilities, as well as those whose everyday practices are shaped by their bilingualism, outwardly construct an oppositional stance to local subcultural practices. By deploying labels such as "Cafre" and "ghetto", students are hinting at a 'backwards' lifestyle characteristic of local teen culture. Furthermore, labels like 'ghetto' and 'lazy' build on discriminatory ideologies of the Puerto Rican working class, further distancing themselves from their immediate urban contexts, an 'Impoverished Puerto Rico', and constructing an identity of 'difference' or standing out, of wanting 'more' than their institution and immediate surroundings offered. These ideologies are further cemented by their marked styles of speaking. It appears that students that have access to English competence and Advanced English education desire to be upwardly mobile, and use English as a source of symbolic capital in relation to the island language marketplace, where English holds a prestigious position as the door to middle class employment and higher education and Spanish is seen as the emblem of tradition and local culture.

In contrast, those least likely to use English in their speaking styles, coincidentally orient more to locally-inclined practices, such as the local youth genre: reggeaton. They were their identity with pride, purchase emblematic sports shoes (Air Jordans for males) and others sports attire. They are also those most likely to dress following school uniform rules (with the exception of Dánica), with minor use of accessories. Whilst, "Rockers" or English users are easily distinguishable for their usage of black, hoodies, eyeliner, and piercings. "They are a spectacle", as Josue and Bobi suggested. Nonetheless, Penelope (from the Marketing CofP), shows us that there may be cases where students desire to have similar access to nonlocal practices, but their immediate societal contexts have impeded them from developing other linguistic forms of communication, as well as from engaging in external practices, becoming upwardly mobile. There is a hint of helplessness in Penelope's descriptions of her own practices, which become evident in her resistance to being identified as part of the local culture and in her stating "if you lived where I live, then you would know" to the accusations of her best friend Dalia (who tries to label her as 'caca', or belonging to the urban youth culture).

# 7.5 CONSTRUCTION OF CLASS IDENTITIES

## 7.5.1. CONSTRUCTION OF CLASS IDENTITIES IN MISSION HIGH

In Mission High, class emerged as a relevant issue in terms of how students defined themselves in relation to the outside world, or non-private school contexts. In particular, public schooling was brought up as an social Other to which private school students defined their academic competence, self worth, and aspirations. Often private school students would also attach values to the public school student – that is, they attached practices, beliefs and personas to public school students.

Some communicated a stance of superiority or privilege when compared against others in public school education, and distanced themselves from them by using negative labels that alluded to their "tendency towards violence", "lack of intelligence" or education, manner of dressing, interests, and substance abuse. Central to this othering of public school students was the use of the label *caco,* a Puerto Rican term thought to derive from the word "cacophony", a Latin-origin word[120] meaning "the quality of having an ill sound; the use of harsh-sounding words or phrases" (OED). This label is used on the island to refer to people who belong to, or self-identify with, the reggaeton subculture movement.

### GAMERS (FOCUS GROUP AT MISSION HIGH)

In the excerpt below this "othering" and distancing from public school students is visible in the negotiation of identities of gamers in the private school. The focus group interview below showcases some of the stereotypes tied to youth enrolled in public education. For instance, Miguel draws on to the assumption that public schools are mostly working-class families and youths who affiliate to the local urban scene (Line 06, 09 - 10) in his one-worded answer *reggeaton* (Line 06) followed by characterisation *hay máh hazard* 'there is more danger' (Line 09). This stereotyping and harsh characterisation of the "Other" is in character for Miguel, who is known for his strong opinions on his classmates and people he deems "enemies". Within classroom settings, he is outspoken and known for his controversial and at times out-of-place statements, which he frequently uses for comedic effect. Miguel is often perceived as the class clown and is known to

[120] *Cacophonia* is the original Latinized form.

interrupt class to voice his controversial stances. His nonchallant attitude towards rules, taboo topics, including class struggles, is further demonstrated below.

**EXAMPLE 1. "CONSTRUCTING 'THE OTHER": PERCEPTIONS OF CLASS IN PUBLIC V. PRIVATE DIVIDE**

| ***Original*** | | ***English translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 01 Katherine | Dave, vamoØ a hablar sobre | 01Katherine | Dave, we're going to talk about |
| 02 | lo que uhtede piensang que eh la | 02 | what you (guys) think the |
| 03 | diferencia entre la ehcuela pública | 03 | difference between public and |
| 04 | y privada. | 04 | private schools is. |
| 05 Daniel | Ummm. | 05 Daniel | Ummm. |
| 06 Miguel | *Reggaeton.* | 06 Miguel | *Reggaeton.* |
| 07 Katherine | Yo sé que eh un **boring** | 07 Katherine | I know that is is a **boring** |
| 08 | **question.** | 08 | **question.** |
| 09 Miguel | Hay máh **hazard.** Allá | 09 Miguel | There's more **hazard.** Over there |
| 10 | te matan, aquí:= | 10 | they kill you, here= |
| 11 Roberto | NO. (1.78) PoØque | 11 Roberto | NO. (1.78) Because that has |
| 12 | no tiene que ver poØque yo ehtuve | 12 | nothing to do because I was in a |
| 13 | en pública y era casi | 13 | public school and it was almost |
| 14 | lo mihmo= | 14 | the same= |
| 15 Miguel | **And look at you.** | 15 Miguel | **And look at you.** |
| 16 Roberto | ¿Y?! | 16 Roberto | And?! |
| 17 Miguel | Cabrón, tu ereØ un **WALKING** | 17 Miguel | Fucker, you are a **WALKING** |
| 18 | **TANK** *que te jode*. | 18 | **TANK** that can fuck you up. |
| 19 | ((*Dave laughs*)) | 19 | ((*Dave laughs*)) |
| 20 Roberto | Pero yo no le doy a nadie, yo no | 20 Roberto | But I don't hit anyone, I'm not |
| 21 | soy un <[***buli***]> ((*light l*)) | 21 | a **bully.** |
| 22 Miguel | ¿Okei? ¿Y:? Sabe lo que | 22 Miguel | Okay? And? Do you know what |
| 23 | eh un **tank**$^{h}$?! ¿ÆH? | 23 | is a **tank**? Ah?! |
| 24 Daniel | Empe- empezo ehto. | 24 Daniel | Here we go. |
| 25 Roberto | >Sí.< ((*said in a quick and firm* | 25 Roberto | Yes. ((*said in a quick and firm* |
| 26 | *voice*)). | 26 | *voice*)). |

*Note.* Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = Standard-like General American English; ***Bold & Italics*** = Puerto Rican English; [] = impressionistic phonetic transcription.

His statement is challenged by a student who previously went to a public school. Roberto positions himself as a voice of knowledge and authority in Lines 12 to 13 when he expresses disapproval of Miguel's evaluation, followed by a presentation of himself as someone of experience *yo ehtuve en una pública* 'I was in a public school' (Lines 12 – 13). This is then followed by a new assessment that challenges indexical associations of difference: *y era casi lo mihmo* 'and it was almost the same' (Lines 13 – 14). Roberto, in this sense, positions himself as a *trans*-student or a student with identities, ties, and upbringings in 'different' scholastic environments, with different sets of norms, rules, classes, and student demographics. Because of his socialisations in different environments, Roberto may feel that he is in a more objective position to provide an truthful opinion, and that he is most likely to adopt a neutral stance as an impartial figure.

In Miguel's third turn, in Line 15, he provokes Roberto further in an accusatory fashion, suggestion Roberto's demeanor or appearance is problematic: *and look at you* in standard-like English. Roberto pursues his turns in Spanish and invites Miguel to respond: *Y?!* 'and?' In mixed speech, Miguel characterises Roberto as someone to be feared, a person of strength with expletive *cabrón* 'motherfucker', *ere un walking tank* 'you are a walking tank', *que te jode* 'that can fuck a person up' (Lines 17 – 18). Roberto defending himself, as well as the idea he stands for – as a public school kid – argues that he is not aggressive, not a *bully* (Line 21), therefore, public school students are not bullies. Not disagreeing with Roberto's self-description, Miguel pursues to label him as a *tank* in English, and ask him whether he knew what it meant. At this stage, we see a linguistic struggle as Miguel momentarily challenges Roberto's competence in English for disagreeing with the content of his evaluation. It may also be that Miguel legitimately believes that because of Roberto's schooling, he does not know what 'tank' means metaphorically.

As the conversation continues, Dave jumps in to lessen the tension building up between Roberto and Miguel. He pushes Miguel to clarify his position and asks him to explain what he means by *tank*. I reinforce this question and also ask Miguel to clarify.

EXAMPLE 2. GAMER COFP IN MISSION HIGH, CONSTRUCTION OF CLASS IDENTITY (PT. II)

| ***Original*** | | ***English translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 27 Dave | ¿Quéj (es) un **tank**? | 27 Dave | What is a **tank**? |
| 28 Katherine | ¿Como qué? | 28 Katherine | Like what? |
| 29 Miguel | Un [**fo king] [tæŋk],** un | 29 Miguel | A **fucking tank**, a mother- |
| 30 | *jodón*. | 30 | fucker. |
| 31 Roberto | No tiene gran diferencia | 31 Roberto | It makes no big difference |
| 32 | <[poØke]> <u>en velda:</u> (.) lo que | 32 | because <u>honestly</u> (.) what they |
| 33 | hacen aquí, lo hacen allá. En | 33 | do here, they do over there. In |
| 34 | lo doh la'o lo <[a seng]>. | 34 | both places they do it. |
| 35 Miguel | **[das] [tʃɹu:]** | 35 Miguel | **That's true.** |
| 36 Dave | La – Lah priva= | 36 Dave | The—the priva= |
| 37 Roberto | Allá, solo eh que allá | 37 Roberto | Over there, only that over there they |
| 38 | tiene máh libertad que aquí. | 38 | have more freedom than here. |
| 39 Dave | Lah privadaØ son un poquito | 39 Dave | The private (schools) are a little bit |
| 40 | máh estricta en su(s) **rules.** | 40 | more strict in their **rules.** |
| 41 Roberto | <[PoØke]> aquí siemp(r)e te | 41 Roberto | Because here they are always |
| 42 | e?tang velando:: y:: = | 42 | vigilant and= |
| 43 Daniel | Aquí no puede* salil. | 43 Daniel | Here you can't go out. |
| 44 Roberto | No puedeØ salil, no puede | 44 Roberto | You cannot go out, you cannot |
| 45 | hacer practicamente nada:: | 45 | do practically anything |
| 46 | (3.92) que no y allá | 46 | ((3.92)) that you cannot and over there |
| 47 | hacen algo= | 47 | you do something= |
| 48 Daniel | Puede salil. | 48 Daniel | They can go out. |
| 49 Roberto | Y: no leh dicen nada. Loh | 49 Roberto | And (2.04) they don't tell them |
| 50 | dejan que se vayan a la casa. | 50 | anything. They let them go home. |
| 51 Fausto | Y en lo de droga eh igual | 51 Fausto | In the drug sense it's the same |
| 52 | <[polke]> yo ehtaba en una | 52 | because I was in a |
| 53 | pu- ehte – privada anteØ de | 53 | pu- umm—private (school) before this |
| 54 | aquí:. | 54 | one= |

*Note*. Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = Standard-like General American English.

In Lines 29 to 30 Miguel continues with his provocative discourse by including expletive English phrase *un fucking tank*, followed by an act of *translanguaging* (or translation) *un jodón* 'a motherfucker' so as to facilitate understanding of his characterisation in Spanish. Miguel realises his comedic persona through bilingual styles, note that he is most likely to engage in insertions and alternations in the negotiation of identity: *hazard* (Line 09), *walking talk* (Lines 17 - 18), *and look at you* (Line 15), and *that's true* (Line 35).

It is unclear why Miguel insistently calls Roberto a *tank*, Roberto is not taller than the rest of his peers, nor is he particularly large (nor overweight). Roberto is darker skinned than the rest of his peers and possesses facial hair, he is also known for his dry and sarcastic wit. Combined, these two factors – personality and dark skin appearance – may contribute to a type of racial profiling or ideology of Roberto as a figure of aggression, i.e. a public school kid. When pushed to explain his categorisation of Roberto, Miguel offers little explanation as to why he views Roberto as complying with the public-

school persona, maintaining his joking stance rather than adopting one of sincerity. In Lines 31 to 34 Roberto takes the opportunity to minimise the difference between the public and private school student, maintaining that both places have troublemakers: 'what they do here, they do there' (Line 31 – 34). Backing away, Miguel agrees in his following turn. Dave and Daniel later join in the charactertisations of the private schooling, adding that their behaviors and socialisation practices are 'always watched' or microscopically scrutinised such that they are rarely granted the freedom to act (Lines 39- 40; 41 – 42; 43; 44 – 47) -- *no puede salil* 'You can't get out' (Line 43) – and acts of misbehaviour go noticed. In contrast, Roberto and Daniel contend that for public school students misbehaviour goes unpunished and students rarely face repercussions (Lines 44 - 48), Roberto then adds *Y no leh dicen nada, loh dejan que se vayan a la casa* 'and they don't tell them anything, they let them go home'(Lines 49 -50). A mutual CofP member, Fausto, corroborates Roberto's initial account by providing a personal anecdote of his experience in another private school– *en lo de droga eh igual* 'in drugs it is the same' (Line 51) – implicitly indicating that public schools have a drug problem, despite not having first-hand experience (and, thus, relying on stereotypes and hear-say).

This negotiation of class identity is important as it provides an insight to the stereotypes of the public school student in Puerto Rico – with a tendency for violence, substance abuse, and independence. Having Roberto as a figure of authority and first hand experience allows students to re-assess their initial positionings and adopt more flexible stances to the private-public divide. Nonetheless, in elite settings it is common to hear these negative values attached to public school students as well as the quality of education.

Linguistically, the communicative styles implemented on both samples appear continuous and uniform across each turn. The matrix language, following Myers-Scotton's (1997, 1998, 2001) typology of bilingual behavior, is Puerto Rican Spanish: including variation in some hallmark features of Puerto Rican Spanish, such as /r/ lateralization (specifically in the word "porque" *because* which is found in both lateral realization [polke] and omitted form [poØke]), elision or aspiration of sibilant /s/ is also present, though no seemingly predictable variation can be suggested in this excerpt. Miguel stands out as the leader of codemixing or higher level English using strategies – his speech is both peppered with alternational and insertional strategies.

### 7.5.2 Construction of Class Identities in O'Reilly High

The subject of class and the island private-public school divisions emerged from discussing matters pertaining to special programmes offered by O'Reilly. I asked students why they enrolled in vocational and non-vocational programs – i.e. for instance, I asked General Program students why they opted out from specialised vocational programs (e.g. hospitality, tourism, marketing, secretarial, etc.). In their assessments of other programs and opportunities for academic development, the issue of class and upward mobility became prominent.

For private school students, the decision to enroll in English-only or bilingual schooling is one determined by the parent or legal guardian, and is often motivated by the prestige attached to English language and bilingual vocations (e.g. law, medicine). For public school students, the decision is made locally by students in terms of their choice of programme, and the implications a particular programme at secondary-school level has for professional and social development (i.e. upward mobility). That is, public school students interpret course offerings in terms of the opportunities they bring after graduation (job-wise, higher education wise), and whether these could open doors for a desired field of study, college entrance exame score, university, vocation, etc.

This section discusses the negotiations of class apparent in the most stylistically bilingual students in O'Reilly High. Most of the students featured in this section are enrolled in General programs and in the Advanced English classroom. This means that everyone taking a part of this interaction is considered, by O'Reilly High standards, to have fluent proficiency of English. Also participating in this interview is the Advanced English teacher, Ms. Aponte. In the interaction below some conclusions may be drawn in terms of her own alignments to issues of the private-public school divide and public perceptions of public school education.

#### Bookworm-Rocker CofP (Focus Group at O'Reilly High)

In the discussion below, I adopt a hybrid style to match the linguistic demands of the English-dominant Rocker CofP. The theme that triggered class negotiations was related to subject school affordances. In an act of distancing, Federico (Rocker CofP) is quick to construct a negative evaluation of classmates affiliated to the vocational programmes in O'Reilly High. He is implicitly suggestive of their lack of academic

aspirations, and explicitly defines anyone affiliated to the General Program (he, his friends) in O'Reilly High as holding superior academic aspirations, this is demonstrated in his exclamatory declaration: *Because we want to go to College!* (Lines 03 to 04). The declaration is affirmed by Marco, also in the English language, in Line 05. The English teacher later cuts them off, by affording her own insider knowledge, accumulated through years of experience in a faculty position as a teacher: *because it is cheaper!*, she suggests in Line 07. While all programs are free, Ms. Aponte refers to the add-ons: field trips, uniforms, software and text materials required for vocational programs.

Marco confirms the teacher's assessment with *true* (Line 08), followed by non-standard construction *more cheaper* (Lines 08), which involves the use of a comparative adverb *more* 'más' together with adjective /*cheap-*/ conjugated with comparative morpheme *-er* — converting an adjective to a greater degree of that adjective, resulting in: *more cheaper**. In Lines 9 to 15, Suli *also* engages in non-standard English, through use of *on* instead of *in*, a common instance of language transfer in many Hispanic speakers of English, as Spanish carries no differentiation between these in its grammatical system (see Whitley, 2002). Suli aligns with Federico's oppositional stance to classmates enrolled in vocational programmes, in mixed speech: *Well, if you are going to study like engineering or something else, you're not going to be on* freakin' Comercio, o Melcadeo, tiene que buhcal algo que ehte de acueldo*. Vocational programmes are introduced by euphemism for *freakin'* (in place of taboo expletive *fucking*), to mark disdain and absurdity of those who enroll in programmes that do not instruct core subjects, such as hard sciences (e.g. Physics, Chemistry) or mathematics (e.g. Precalculus, Calculus), over technical courses on data entry, secretarial, and hospitality. Somewhat ironically, Suli alludes to engineering as an occupation that would not benefit of vocational or technical training. Her reference to engineering is most likely an allusion to the local university (approximately 2.5 km away from O'Reilly High), whose most notable and reputable programmes are related to engineering (e.g. Civil Engineeering, Mechanical Engineering, Industrial Engineering, etc.); the University of Puerto Rico at Mayagüez is often hailed as 'one of the best' on the island and in the Caribbean, it also self-identifies as a bilingual institution. Note that in her listing of vocational programmes, she switches to Puerto Rican Spanish, perhaps due to the immediacy of the subject which triggers reliance on the local vernacular. She suggests that in order to enter these prestigious programmes students must – at a high school level – make informed choices that will facilitate their entry to prestigious local programmes. This academic mentality

differs to that found in private school students who, already enrolled in private schooling by caretakers, rarely think about how their subject choices at high school level will affect their ability to succeed in higher education.

The conversation reaches a point of conflict when Federico continues on his tirade against the public school: he moves from denouncing vocational programmes to denouncing the school as a whole. In Line 19 he playfully mascarades his denouncement with epistemic hedge *just sayin',* alleviating the tonality of his evaluation, suggesting it is a non-threatening statement: *just sayin' que O'Reilly no prepara academicamente* 'just sayin' that O'Reilly does not prepare (students) academically' (Lines 19 - 20). Note that Ms. Aponte, a faculty member of O'Reilly High, is an active participant in this interaction, such that Federico's negative assessment is taken as a face-threatening act because it questions the school's collective ability – and, by default, Ms. Aponte's ability – to educate, and to perform successfully as a teacher. Ms. Aponte responds in several ways to Federico's oppositional demeanor: (1) avoidance (Lines 21 - 22), followed by (2) questioning and discrediting Federico's 'right to speak' and authority based on his physical appearance as a White Caucasian male (Line 31).

In response to Ms. Aponte's avoidance, Federico reiterates his polarising stance in a later turn so as to achieve a reaction: 'Fernandez School prepares more' (Line 23 - 24). This time, referring to a local rival public school whose subject affordances are solely technical and vocational. Loli denounces Federico in defense of her own public school education, and in aggression cries: 'kick him out of O'Reilly' (Lines 25 - 27). In an act of ideological and racial 'Othering', and in defense of the 'local' and Puerto Rican, Marco condemns Federico as an outsider in name-calling him as *mayonnaise* for both his extra-ordinary appearance (as blonde, White) and offbeat and ideologically controversial stances: 'This does not prepare academically, says *Mayonnaise'* (Line 29 to 30). The labelling of Federico as 'Mayonnaise' was common practice among the Bookworm-Rocker CofP – he had earned his title in an Advanced English class, for speaking out of turn during class hours. Following the disparaging tonality of 'mayonnaise' by Marco, Ms. Aponte further cements this idea that Federico's opinion is worthless: *not him, he's mayonnaise* (Line 31). It should be noted that Federico's evaluation was also informed by his previous schooling experiences, as a private school student, this is later an issue in Lines 34 to 39, when he continues to devalue public school education.

Other acts of Othering are prominent in this interaction, name calling and discrediting Federico's persona: *pothead* (Line 32) and *girl* (Line 40). In a final act of

defense, Ms. Aponte weighs in her expert opinion, in response to Federico's preference to private schooling, discredits private schools and speaks of cases where private school students have abandoned their schools because *realmente… la ehcuela privada no te preparan como para la universidad* 'truly… private schools do not prepare for you university!' (Lines 42 - 47). Her assessment is packaged at first in 'pretend restraint', consisting of strategic hedges 'well' and 'umm' (both enunciated by lengthening Spanish vowels in *pue:* and *ehte:*), followed by a harsher enunciations achieved changes in sentence stress and a raise in tonality 'truly the ones that leave private school and go to public school do so because they don't prepare you for university!' In this sense, despite her position as an English teacher, Ms. Aponte also positions herself as an advocate of the public school system and ultimately the local identity – despite its Spanish-instruction offerings, often a point of criticism and identified gap in wider discourses or political discourses. In this way, the public-private school dichotomy and the White and non-White binary is construed as a battle between the local and the non-local, the elite and the non-elite, the bilingual and the monolingual.

EXAMPLE 3. ROCKER COFP IN O'REILLY HIGH, CONSTRUCTION OF CLASS IDENTITY

| ***Original*** | | ***English translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 01 Katherine | PueØ mira, **why are you in** | 01 Katherine | Well look, **why are you in** |
| 02 | **General?** | 02 | **General?** |
| 03 Federico | **Because we want to go to** | 03 Federico | **Because we want to go to** |
| 04 | **College!** | 04 | **College!** |
| 05 Marco | **Well, that, that=** | 05 Marco | **Well, that, that=** |
| 06 Ms. Aponte | **Because it's cheaper!** | 06 Ms. Aponte | **Because it's cheaper!** |
| 07 | **Because it's cheaper!** | 07 | **Because it's cheaper!** |
| 08 Marco | **True – it's more cheaper!*** | 08 Marco | **True – it's more cheaper!*** |
| 09 Suli | **Well, if you are going to** | 09 Suli | **Well, if you are going** |
| 10 | **study like engineering or** | 10 | **to study like engineering or** |
| 11 | **something else, you're not** | 11 | **something else, you're not** |
| 12 | **going to be on* freakin'** | 12 | **going to be on* freakin'** |
| 13 | Comercio, o Melcadeo, tiene | 13 | Commerce, or Marketing, you |
| 14 | que buhcal algo que ehte | 14 | have to look for something that is |
| 15 | de acueldo= | 15 | in accordance= |
| 16 Ms. Aponte | **I have a cellphone** –de quié e? | 16 Ms. Aponte | **I have a cellphone –** whose is it? |
| 17 Marco | **Huh?** | 17 Marco | **Huh?** |
| 18 Suli | **What?** | 18 Suli | **What?** |
| 19 Federico | No, **just sayin'** que O'Reilly | 19 Federico | No, **just sayin'** that O'Reilly |
| 20 | no prepara academicamente. | 20 | does not prepare academically. |
| 21 Ms. Aponte | ¿Aquí alguien quiere ehtudial | 21 Ms. Aponte | Does someone here want to study |
| 22 | algo de medicina? | 22 | anything to do with medicine? |
| 23 Federico | Yo creo que la Escuela | 23 Federico | I think that the Fernandez |
| 24 | Fernandez prepara máh. | 24 | (school) prepares more. |
| 25 Loli | Bótenlo de O'Reilly | 25 Loli | Throw him out of O'Reilly and |
| 26 | y pónganlo en la voca- | 26 | put him in the vocational |
| 27 | cional! | 27 | (school)! |
| 28 Marco | PFT! Ehto no prepara | 28 Marco | PFT! This does not prepare you |
| 29 | académicamente, dice | 29 | academically, says |
| 30 | **mayonnaise.** | 30 | **mayonnaise.** |
| 31 Ms. Aponte | **Not him – he's mayonnaise.** | 31 Ms. Aponte | **Not him – he' mayonnaise.** |
| 32 Suli | **Maybe you're a pothead,** | 32 Suli | **Maybe you're a pothead,** |
| 33 | **and didn't* know it.** | 33 | **and didn't* know it.** |
| 34 Federico | No, pero, comparado a | 34 Federico | No but, compared to |
| 35 | otraØ ehcuelaØ, O'Reilly | 35 | other schools, O'Reilly |
| 36 | no te prepara pa:ra: la | 36 | does not prepare you for |
| 37 | universidaØ de la manera que | 37 | university the way |
| 38 | te prepara en | 38 | you are prepared by |
| 39 | ehcuelaØ privadaØ. | 39 | private schools. |
| 40 Loli | [Al revé. **No girl,** | 40 Loli | The opposite. **No girl,** |
| 41 | al revé. | 41 | the opposite. |
| 42 Ms. Aponte | Pue:Ø, ehte:, realmente que se | 42 Ms. Aponte | Well, umm, truly |
| 43 | salen de lah ehcuelah privadaØ | 43 | the ones thatget out of private |
| 44 | polque en lah ehcuelah | 44 | schools are because in the |
| 45 | privadaØ no te | 45 | private schools they don't |
| 46 | preparan como para la | 46 | prepare you to go to |
| 47 | universidad! | 47 | university! |

*Note*. Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = Standard-like General American English; Underline = Teen talk discourse marker.

### 7.5.3. Summary of Constructions of Class and Local Culture

In the construction of class, students from elite and non-elite contexts pursue oppositional aligments to one another. As demonstrated by focus group interview 1, ideologies of the public school student involve ideas of violence, drug and substance abuse culture, hip hop practices, and reckless behavior. These ideologies are later contested by a former public school student, Roberto, who only attests to a difference in discipline and imposition of rules. Roberto's evaluation is not easily accepted, but fiercely contested by Miguel who describes Roberto as unusual, a *tank* or 'tough', therefore complying with the stereotype of violence and aggression in public schools. Reference to his outward appearance is made, suggesting a tough physical appearance (e.g. big build), although this is largely unelaborated. Roberto is not taller or bigger than the rest of the Gamer CofP, but his outward appearance consists of facial hair and he is darker skinned, this appearance may play a contributing factor in Miguel's assessment of Roberto as a 'motherfucker'. Miguel's characterisation of Roberto as someone 'to be feared' may be informed by discriminatory stereotypes of race present in North America (see, for instance, Bonilla & Rosa, 2015) – recall that Miguel is also darker skinned, and lived in mainland America during his childhood (as a Hispanic minority).

In the second focus group interview, we see class divides constructed within public school settings, whereby choice of subject (or interest programme) is indicative of your academic and professional potential: science and mathematic-oriented subjects are highly esteemed, and more vocational technical subjects possess low prestige among students with highest levels of English bilingualism. A second construction of class is later brought by former private school student Federico, who challenges the overall quality of public school education in favor of private school education. Internal riffs are formed, as most students oppose Federico's shocking and polarising stance. Among the outraged is a voice of authority, the English teacher, who cements Federico's status as an outsider to both the public school and Puerto Rico, *mayonnaise* (i.e. White) by default and incapable of serving as a legitimate source of information. Once again, physical appearance is used to discriminate against those who have a right 'to be heard' versus those that do not. In this case, Federico's 'white priviledge' or Caucasian-like appearance serves as a source of stereotyping and indication of Federico as not 'one of us', therefore,

incapable of evaluating local education in favor of the elite (which impliticitly stand for non-local minority practices and values).

## 7.6 CONSTRUCTING THE 'COMPETENT BILINGUAL'

This section discusses the ideologies behind what constitutes an 'English speaker' or competent bilingual in Puerto Rico, and whether participants in this study considered themselves competent bilinguals and legitimate owners of English.

The question of bilingual self-report is important for the context of Puerto Rico, as it shapes Census statistics used to describe the linguistic capacity of the islanders. Results, in turn, may influence government efforts to promote bilingual education and/or bills that encourage island bilingualism (Schmidt-Nieto, 2002). Census statistics measure bilingual capacity by categorising linguistic competence in two: speaking English 'well' versus 'not very well' (see Puerto Rico Community Survey[121], 2017). What counts as 'well' or 'not very well' is ill defined, and, so, every ten years the American Community Survey provides a picture of a monolingual Spanish-speaking society, whereby most islanders claim to not possess a solid or 'good' foundation in the English language. Key to observing Puerto Ricans self-descriptions as bilinguals is Bonny Norton's (cf. Norton, 1997; Pavlenko & Norton, 2007; Norton & Gao, 2008) scholarship on ownership of the English language and L2 learner identity. Scholarship on English ownership attempts to arrive at an understanding of covert ideologies of the 'native' English speaker, and the question of 'who is a legitimate speaker of English' versus who is not – that is, "the central question addressed is the extent to which English *belongs* to White native speakers of standard English or to all the people who speak it, irrespective of linguistic and sociocultural history" (Norton, 1997, p. 409).

The competent bilingual on the island of Puerto Rico is described by linguist Alicia Pousada in her 2000 article. Among her characterisations of different levels of bilingualism, she suggests that those most likely to arrive at a desired 'balanced bilingual' status are the island elite. That is, those with access to private school education, tutoring, travel opportunities, and other language learning advantages. These hegemonic ideologies of 'the balanced bilingual' on the island are unintentionally reproduced by

[121] https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/acs/about/puerto-rico-community-survey.html

scholarship that fail to account for non-elite contexts in favor of elite, middle class, and university descriptions (e.g. Perez Casas, 2008 for professionals in San Juan; Mazak & Carroll, 2017 in higher education). Consequently, island scholarship define English as belonging to the elite, those in higher education, and in other white collar professions. English as the language of the elite is also a common indexical association in island settings, as suggested in Chapter 3, and later confirmed in Chapter 7 when discussing ideologies of English by private and public school students. Furthermore, participants in Perez Casas' (2008) study of San Juan professionals report identifying bilinguals on the basis of their shared "life experiences" (such as private schools), repertoires, values, and other unique language socializations experiences (pg. 123)[122].

Findings in this section shed light on notions of ownership of English and the anxious bilingual, such that at times even a relatively fluent bilingual may restrain from claiming full competence or ownership. At the same time, participants who use English on a daily basis in their social practices and investments may feel more comfortable than others in claiming English ownership, regardless of sociocultural background.

In public school settings there was much variation in terms of whether students uptook this "expert user" identity. Those that engaged in the Rocker CofP were among those most likely to admit to the importance of English in their lives, as well as its role in constructing and maintaining social relationships. Many were familiar with English, could read and understand the language, as well as succeed in the English classroom, but when asked to specifically describe how they felt about their own abilities of speaking in English, they were most likely to provide conservative assessments of their abilities producing English talk.

In this sense, while it is true that adolescents are increasingly coming into contact with the English language through developments of the Internet and globalisation, this does not grant them with unlimited abilities to incorporate what they hear, nor does it necessarily grant them the confidence to self-identify as a "competent speaker" of English. In many cases, as we will see in this discussion, students who fell under "advanced" and "competent" labels by school standards, and who engaged in complex bilingual styles refrained from calling themselves 'legitimate', 'authentic', or 'good' speakers of English (cf. Pousada, 2000), in other words, distancing themselves from

[122] In this study, English is continuously flagged as the "cool" language, or the desirable prestigious code (pg. 123).

claiming any sort of *ownership* over the English language (see Norton, 1997), despite the scholastic requirement of English as a subject in schools from ages five onwards, its obvious presence on the island as the language of government documents and officialdom, and despite Puerto Rican's so-called American nationality. Many times the native-speaker benchmark was brought up as an ideological unit of comparison, or 'the right to claim' English competence, this is best evidenced by the use of the informal ethnic label – at times used for offensive purposes – of *gringo*.

### 7.6.1 THE COMPETENT BILINGUAL IN MISSION HIGH

In Mission High the question of bilingualism or construction of a bilingual persona was one that was welcomed for the most part with open arms. Many individuals had no problem providing assessments that they felt more comfortable in their second language than first, or felt like their social identities were more dependent on their second language, consequently, they felt it came natural to them. Below I discuss *some* of the findings with regards to members of the Gamer CofP, Choir Girls CofP, and Outsiders CofP. I measure these against those assessments provided by members of O'Reilly High and later draw on their similarities and differences.

#### A) GAMER COFP

*Pablo*

Despite treating the interview event as one which requires PR Spanish, Pablo admits to engaging in different practices with friends and outside of school. He claims in lines 01 – 03 that the majority of the time when he is with friends he talks in English. He credits his bilingual styles to the fact that the majority of his friends also speak in a similar way (Lines 01 - 03), the second factor he pays tribute to is his educational experiences (06 - 07), or being schooled in bilingual settings where a majority of the subjects are taught in English (07 - 08). He hints at a language socialization or language learning experience in which English played a central role, thus forming an intergral part of his everyday *habitus* or ways of being (cf. Bourdieu, 1991). The role of English to his personal identification is referred to in Lines 03 to 11. In this sense, Pablo constructs himself in a positive alignment to English through the use of PR Spanish matrices. He then goes on to describe an almost diglossic (cf. Ferguson, 1959) way of being in lines 12 to 14, where he refers to Spanish as the variety that he deploys exclusively when

speaking to his family. In this sense, one may be tempted to label 'English' and 'Spanish' with 'High' and 'Low' labels, following Ferguson's (1959) typology, where 'High' as a metapragmatic value indicates the prestige, social power, and formality of a code, and 'Low' refers to the colloquialism, informality, and intimacy of a code. But, these static labels of Pablo's own practices are then challenged by Pablo himself when he says in Lines 14 to 20 that it does not make a difference in the end whether you speak Spanish or English, but the most obvious signifier of Puerto Rican identity is being brought up on the island, and being exposed to other elements (presumably non-linguistic) of culture on the island.

EXAMPLE 1. PABLO, GAMER COFP IN MISSION HIGH, CONSTRUCTION OF THE COMPETENT BILINGUAL IN P.R.

| ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 01 Pablo | Yo, por ejemplo, la mayoría | 01 Pablo | Me, for example, the majority |
| 02 | del tiempo cuando ehtoy con | 02 | of the time when I am with |
| 03 | mih amigo hablo ingléh. Eh ya | 03 | friends I speak English. What's |
| 04 | má:h la situación, cuando yo | 04 | more the situation, when I go |
| 05 | salgo con elloh, eh mayolmente | 05 | out with them, the majority |
| 06 | la película, o: nosotro que | 06 | of the movies, or when we |
| 07 | ehtamo en una ehcuela bilingüe, | 07 | are in a bilingual school, |
| 08 | casi toda lah clase son en | 08 | almost all classrooms are in |
| 09 | ingléh, así que: (.) noh | 09 | English, so (.) we |
| 10 | acohtumbramo a: habla:l en | 10 | get used to speaking in |
| 11 | inglé:h, ehcucha: inglé:h. | 11 | English, listening to English. |
| 12 | Ahora, pero cuando yo ehtoy | 12 | Now, but when I am with my |
| 13 | con mi familia:/, hablo ehpañol | 13 | family:, I speak Spanish |
| 14 | solamente. Pero si alguien se | 14 | alone. But if someone |
| 15 | comunica totalmente en | 15 | communicates completely in |
| 16 | ingléh con la familia, | 16 | English with the family, |
| 17 | con loh amigo:, aunque viva en | 17 | friends, even if they live in |
| 18 | Puerto Rico, ahí yo no creo que | 18 | Puerto Rico, there I don't think |
| 19 | haya mucha diferencia | 19 | it makes much difference |
| 20 | cultural, [po:Øke] siguen | 20 | culturally, because they keep |
| 21 | viviendo aquí, lah fiehta, la:- | 21 | living here, the parties, the- |
| 22 | la atmohfera, la cultura, todo | 22 | the atmosphere, the culture, all |
| 23 | en ehpañol, casi todo, aquí en | 23 | in Spanish, almost all, here in |
| 24 | Puerto Rico. Aunque hable en | 24 | Puerto Rico. Even if he speaks |
| 25 | ingléh con la familia, no creo | 25 | English with his family, I don't |
| 26 | que haiga mucha (.) mucho | 26 | think it makes much of a |
| 27 | cambio. | 27 | difference. |

*Note*. Regular font = PR Spanish.

## B) POP ENTHUSIAST COFP

*Fernando*

Fernando held ties in both Outsider and Pop Enthusiasts CofP: the former affiliation was born out of shared circumstance – moving from one private school to a new private school (alongside Zuriel and Daniel), the latter was a genuine shared interest or practice in North American pop music and popular culture with Laura and Tatiana. It is not surprising, then, that considering Fernando's schooling history and current practices and affiliations, he builds a comfortable stance with regards to his bilingual competence. However, as demonstrated in lines 14 through 32 below, Fernando considers English to be his preferred communicative style or form of expression. He constructs his childhood and home language as dominantly Spanish: *al principio* 'in the beginning' (of me) (Lines 22 - 23), *cuando chiquito* 'when I was little' (Lines 23 - 24), *siempre veía todo en ehpañol* 'I always saw everything in Spanish' (Lines 24 - 25). In this sense, he acknowledges Spanish's ultimate role to who his infant and home formation. He is also able to identify a shift in his being or his overall communicative style, which he credits to have taken place around age 9 or 10, using school Grades (Line 26) as units of lifetime measurement: i.e. 'when I was in forth or fifth grade'. It is unclear what changed schooling wise during this period, as Fernando's change of school came to happen in 10th grade (high school), but he persistently constructs his ability and claim to English as dependent on what 'he sees' and what finds easiest to interpret on the basis of 'watching' (i.e. television) (Lines 24 – 25; 27 - 28). In this case, he reinforces his identity as someone who is media-sensitive and whose linguistic practices are consciously oriented to North American culture. Like other members of Mission High, he construes of English as *way easier (Line 17)* than Spanish, but is unable to pinpoint why he feels this way: *no sé por qué* 'I don't know why' (Line 30). However, it is clear that given his fascination for media and television, an increase in English exposure and investment may have resulted in his overall preference and shift in language and interest practices. It is also not surprising to find this result among an elite teen, given the presence of English in these domains on the island.

EXAMPLE 3. FERNANDO, THE OUTSIDERS COFP IN MISSION HIGH, PERCEIVED PRESTIGE AND INSTRUMENTALITY OF ENGLISH (PT. 2)

| ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 14 Fernando | Yo prefiero el ingléh, que el | 14 Fernando | I prefer English, over |
| 15 | ehpañol. | 15 | Spanish. |
| 16 Katherine | ¿En serio? | 16 Katherine | Really? |
| 17 Fernando | **Yeah, it's [wei:] easier.** | 17 Fernando | **Yeah, it's way easier**. |
| 18 | Yo me – **I express myself** | 18 | I – **I express myself** |
| 19 | **better** en ingléh que el | 19 | **better** in English than in |
| 20 | ehpañol. Yo llevo toda mi | 20 | Spanish. I have lived all of my |
| 21 | vida acohtumbrado a hablal | 21 | life used to speaking in |
| 22 | ingléh. Eh que al | 22 | English. It's just that in the |
| 23 | principio, cuando yo era | 23 | beginning, when I was |
| 24 | chiquito, yo siempre veía | 24 | young, I always watched |
| 25 | todo en ehpañol, como | 25 | everything in Spanish, like up |
| 26 | hahta quinto o cualto grado | 26 | until fith of fourth grade, |
| 27 | que fue cuando empece a vel | 27 | when I started to learn |
| 28 | lah cosa en ingléh, y como que: | 28 | things in English, and like |
| 29 | (.) lo vi mah fácil que el | 29 | (.) I saw it easier in |
| 30 | ehpañol, no se polque, | 30 | Spanish, I don't know why, |
| 31 | **so**, y: (.) empece con el | 31 | **so**, and (.) I started with |
| 32 | ingléh. | 32 | English. |

*Note*. Regular = PR Spanish; **Bold** = standard General American; underline = discourse marker.

## C) CHOIR GIRLS COFP

*Pilar*

It is of little surprise that when asking members of the Choir Girls CofP to rate their own comfort and abilities in the English language, most responses were straight-forward, positive, and sometimes expressed in English-only strategies. Recall that the interview event was organised so as to increase attention paid to speech, thus questions overtly to do with ideologies of language and competence were positioned towards the end of the interview event. The fact that Pilar did little to shift her overall style when discussing matters of language suggests that she is aware of her unique style, is proud of it, and feels no need to alter her speech when discussing language-specific issues and project a PR Spanish norm. In the interview below I ask her to rate her English-speaking abilities, to which she discloses to me that she feels more competent in English than in Spanish in speaking and in writing in Line 06, she constructs an epistemological stance of English confidence through use of intensifier *really* in *really confident* (Line 02). In her second turn, she constructs the competent English learner as dominating the language *speakin-wise* and w*ritin* (Line 06), competences she has acquired through the years in school. She makes clear, however, that she feels that English is more a part of her life in

terms of her communicative style than Spanish (Line 04). This adopted style (or linguistic way of being) is reinforced and encouraged in the private school system which emphasizes the prestige and opportunities brought by learning a second language, at times in expense of the first. Note that, as a teen, Pilar also flaunts her ability to engage in target language teen features: e.g. /in/ instead of /ing/ in present progressive verbs and narrative discourse strategies through 'like'.

EXAMPLE 2. PILAR, CHOIR GIRL COFP, CONSTRUCTION OF THE COMPETENT BILINGUAL (PT. I)

| | |
|---|---|
| 01 Katherine | **How do you feel about your English-speaking abilities?** |
| 02 Pilar | **Really confident.** |
| 03 Katherine | ¿Máh **confident** que el ehpañol? |
| 04 Pilar | **Yeah.** |
| 05 Katherine | **Do you feel like** (.) tu domina máh el ingléh que el ehpañol? |
| 06 Pilar | **Yeah. And speakin'-wise and, <u>like</u>, in writin'? Yeah, a lot more.** |

*Note*. Regular font = PR Spanish; Bold = Standard-like General American English.

In the the second part of this interview question, I ask her what her family thinks about her linguistic strategies, and whether they find it odd that she incorporates so much English into her daily repertoire, despite dominant Spanish surroundings. Pilar describes her mom, a figure of authority, as 'supportive' of her unusual English-dominant styles, as she believes English to be a fundamental tool and gatekeeper to studying opportunities and *if you go to the United States* (Lines 15 - 16). Once again, Pilar constructs English knowledge or competence as not only desirable, but also the language of Puerto Rico's immediate partner– the United States. Furthermore, contributing to the idea that rarely if ever English can be separated from denoting a specific group of people, or nation. For Puerto Rico, English is uniquely constructed as belonging to the gringos, or the mainland American – despite true hybrid reality of the mainland, and despite the different packaging (varieties) of English.

Pilar momentarily inserts PR Spanish when talking about her mom's support, in her use of /porque/ or [poØke] here (Line 13). She also shifts into PR English when using the word *bases* to refer to the fundamental importance of English and Spanish for opportunities. It should be noted, that 'bases' is used here to refer to fundamental language knowledge, having a 'knowledge base' is grammatically correct, yet having 'bases', or two languages, as used here is an uncommon expression in standardized General American. 'Bases' in this case is not necessarily a mismatch in *semantic range*

(see Dayton and Blau, 1999), rather, reflective of locally specific language use or language learning ideologies among the elite and those who desire to be upwardly mobile in Puerto Rico and 'go to the United States' (Lines 15 - 16).

EXAMPLE 2. PILAR, CHOIR GIRL COFP, CONSTRUCTION OF THE COMPETENT BILINGUAL (PT. II)

| | |
|---|---|
| 07 Katherine | ¿Y tu mamá:, tu familia eh así, hablan como tu o tu ereØ la única? |
| 08 Pilar | **I'm not the only [wa:n]↑, but my mo:m (.) speaks Spanish, <u>like,</u> *really*** |
| 09 | **good, she's *really* good in Spanish, and <u>like</u> writing and speaking and** |
| 10 | **everything else. In English she's <u>like</u> (.) [ge:wd], but, <u>like</u>, she could get** |
| 11 | **better.** |
| 12 Katherine | ¿Tu mamá no te regaña pol hablal mucho ingléh a veceØ? |
| 13 Pilar | **Nou:. She actually, <u>like,</u> umm, supports it,** poØque: (.) **<u>you know</u> <u>like</u> no:w** |
| **14** | **you need to lea:rn (.) English and Spanish, <u>you know</u>, they're <u>like</u> (.) [$t^h$ú]** |
| **15** | **really good bases*↑, fo:r (.) studying (.) and if you go to the United** |
| **16** | **States↑ <u>Sou:,</u> she really supports it.** |

*Note*. Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = Standard-like General American English; <u>Underline</u> = teen talk discourse marker.

*Erica*

Erica constructs a native identity of the 'bilingual self'. She proudly recounts events in which native speakers from the mainland – the ultimate voices of English authority – have confused her for being one of them, or 'from the United States', because of the natural ease in which she communicates in English. This sense of linguistic security is demonstrated in Lines 105 to 110: *when I go to the United States, people used to ask me if I was American*. She accounts this fluency to her practices and social engagements in Line 101 to 103 when she crosses into English uptalk style in *I already had a lot of friends that knew English* ↑. Uptalk here serves an evidentiary role, as it showcases Erica's ability to participate in the finer details of talk that characterise regional (Valley speech) and age-based (teen talk) varieties of English. *Already* indicates prolonged presence of English, such that her claim to English is further justified based on length of time: 'I *already* had a lot of friends…', so I speak it natively.

After citing language 'authority' figures that have mistaken her for 'one of them', and socialization experiences shaped by English, her third claim to English involves a personal journey: *I grew into it* (Lines 103 to 104), she says, as if referring to a personal object (e.g. a clothing item) that was always a part of her life. *Grew* performs identity work related to childhood, upbringing, and, ultimately, ownership – such that no one can refute her native-like quality. This sense of comfort is further authenticated through her

language style of dominant standard-like General American practices, as well as her ability to intergrate this knowledge with the local vernacular in code-mixed speech, e.g. *so que* or 'so that' in Line 103. Against the macro-social norm (Spanish), Erica and her peers construct a micro-linguistic world or speech community, in which it is acceptable and encouraged to engage in English or code-mixed speech (as demonstrated in Chapter 5, 6). Their social styles are different to those in their immediate reality (Mayagüez) – if taken outside of school grounds, their island identities may be put at risk following their 'American-like quality'. Consequently, their Hispanic authenticity and quality of 'belonging' may be challenged.

While Erica asserts her ownership and naturalness of English by resorting to her upbringing, she also demonstrates her ability to belong to the local identity through momentary instances of Spanish. Towards the end of this exchange, she shifts to a PR Hispanic persona when uttering *a veceh piesang que soy Americana* or 'sometimes *they* think I am American' (Lines 110 - 112). In this statement, Erica removes all accountability for being mistaken as an outsider through use of third person pronoun '*they* think', but supplies no explanation as to why this may be the case, nor whether she feels American. If we drew on Gumperz's (1982) idea of we/they from a stance-taking perspective, we would be able to see how at the beginning of this discourse, Erica starts out defending her claim to English by referring to how it shaped her intimate relations, growth, and even the way she was viewed by people from the U.S. as being a part of them, as belonging. However, while reflecting on this idea once more, she shifts stance to one in accordance to Puerto Rican values 'that's what *they* think I am' she says in Puerto Rican Spanish. Thus, negotiating two identities in conflict, despite one may come at the price of losing the other.

EXAMPLE 3. ERICA, CHOIR GIRL COFP, CONSTRUCTION OF THE COMPETENT BILINGUAL (PT. I)

| ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 100 Erica | Como ehtaba en la bilingue:, | 100 Erica | Since I was in the bilingual |
| 101 | **I already had a lot of** | 101 | (school), **I already had a lot of** |
| 102 | **friends that already knew** | 102 | **friends that already knew** |
| 103 | **English↑**, <u>so que</u>:, **I grew into** | 103 | **English↑**, <u>so that</u>, **I grew into** |
| 104 | **it** y se me hace bien facil (.) | 104 | **it** and well it is easier for me (.) |
| 105 | hablalo. **People, when I go to** | 105 | to speak it. **People when I go to** |
| 106 | **the United States, people** | 106 | **the United States, people** |
| 107 | **used to ask me if I was** | 107 | **used to ask me if I was** |
| 108 | **American↑, because (.) they** | 108 | **American↑, because (.) they tell** |
| 109 | **tell me that I speak it *so* well** | 109 | **me that I speak it so well** |
| 110 | **and *so* naturally** que (.) a | 110 | **and so naturally** that (.) |
| 111 | veceh piensang que soy | 111 | sometimes they think that I am |
| 112 | Americana. | 112 | American. |
| 113 Katherine | Di:to:. **That's good though.** | 113 Katherine | Aw. **That's good though.** |

*Note*. Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = Standard-like General American English; <u>Underline</u> = teen talk discourse marker; ***bold & italics*** = teen talk intensifier.

In my turn, I reassure her that it is a positive skill to be able to speak so naturally (Line 113). I also engage in bilingual speech when I provide this evaluation, demonstrated in Line 113 through *dito, that's good though* ('awe, that's good though'). Accommodating to new information – my positive evaluation to her offbeat style – she pursues her bilingual style more comfortably and expresses being proud of her 'native-like' competence (and the fact that she is often confused for being a White American, the desired learner benchmark) in *aja, I like it* 'yeah, I like it' (Line 112). She later offers information as to her investment practices (i.e. how she engages with language outside of school), which further cement the central role of English to her lifestyle: *Me guhta máh lah cosaØ en ingléh que en ehpañol. No sé, me guhta máh* 'I like things more in English than in Spanish. I don't know, I like them more' (Lines 112 - 114). She reports finding the language *easier* in a later utterance Line 114), echoing the sentiments of her best friend Pilar, who also reports feeling more confident and fluent in English than in their native tongue.

In her last turn, Lines 116 to 126, Erica addresses the issue of the role of Spanish in her life. Despite expressing personal ties and flunt competence in English, Erica co-constructs an identity that is <u>dual</u> and projects herself as *undeniably* Spanish-speaking, as demonstrated by her 'native' (from birth) ownership to the language: *El ehpañol pueh obviamente eh como que: (.) mi lenguaje principal polque nací aquí y to'a esa cosa* 'Spanish, well, *obviously* it's like (.) my principal language because I was born here and all of that'. In her claim to Spanish, Erica corroborates the indexical tie of being 'born

here' (on the island) and speaking Spanish – making Spanish the emblem of island identity. However, from an outsider's perspective Erica's claim to Spanish is perhaps not as obvious as she desires it to be, considering her offbeat language style and the fact that she is often mistaken for being from elsewhere.

Towards the end, she describes finding it easier to communicate and express herself academically in English, given the numerous orthographic rules that are involved in Spanish writing. She also cites difficulty understanding Spanish in more informal domains, such as watching a movie, where she suggests that actors sound *supel rara* 'super weird' (Lines 123 – 126). Her language socialisation (immersion-style education), social practices, and transnational experiences may contribute to her overall tendency for English-dominant styles or mixed speech, yet despite this Erica is insistent that she too is authentically Puerto Rican through a native claim to the 'Puerto Rican language'.

EXAMPLE 3. ERICA, CHOIR GIRL COFP, CONSTRUCTION OF THE COMPETENT BILINGUAL (PT. II)

| ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** |
|---|---|---|
| 112 Erica | Aja, **I like it.** Me guhta máh lah | Yeah, **I like it.** I like more things in |
| 113 | cosaØ en ingléh que en ehpañol. | English than in Spanish. |
| 114 | No sé, me guhta máh. **It's easier.** | I don't know, I like it more. **It's easier.** |
| 115 Katherine | ¿Y el ehpañol? | And Spanish? |
| 116 Erica | El ehpañol pueh obviamente eh | Spanish, well, obviously it's |
| 117 | como que: (.) mi lenguaje | like (.) my principal |
| 118 | principal polque: >nací aquí | language because >I was born here |
| 119 | y to'a esa cosa<, pero: cuando**:-** | and all that<, but when – |
| 120 | **like** tiene loh acengto: (.) eh como | **like** it has the accents (.) it's like |
| 121 | que **a lot more complicated than** | **a lot more complicated than** |
| 122 | **the English stuff**, y en Ehpa- sabe | **the English stuff**, and in Spa- you know |
| 123 | que cuando traducen lah película | when you translate movies from |
| 124 | del ingléh al ehpañol, que se | English to Spanish, that it |
| 125 | ehcuchan supel rara y tu te queda | sounds super weird and then you stay |
| 126 | como que… | like… |

*Note*. Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = Standard-like General American English; Underline = teen talk discourse marker.

## D) OUTSIDERS COFP

*Zuriel*

Zuriel was very critical of his own competences of English as a second language, despite his informal bilingual speech style and his investments in outside cosmopolitan cultures, such as world fashion and architecture. He claimed that he attended private school his entire life, Spanish was his preferred mode of communication, as he was most fluent in it as his mother tongue. Constructing his linguistic self he identifies Spanish as the language of his childhood, *con el que practicamente nací* 'the one I was practically born with', and the one that he uses on a day to day basis and thus an intergral part of who he is (Line 05). In contrast to English, which he says *no le doy uso diario* 'I don't use it on a daily basis'. He then goes on to list his limited uses of English outside of school: the alphabet he says in English (Line 06) as well as *loh months* 'the months' (Lines 07), in the latter example he uses insertional noun *months* onto a Spanish matrix, in an almost iconic move.

A potential reason behind his particular competence in these areas (e.g. months, alphabets, etc.) may be the fact that a large amount of the textbook supply that private schools aquire for their students come from American publishing companies such as *McGraw-Hill*, or even the fact that major stationary shops on the island are from the United States, such as *Office Max* (cf. Carroll & Mazak, 2017). In this way, it is not particularly exceptional that Zuriel would know these, or know how to say them over their Spanish equivalent. Rather, it is reflective of the colonial consumer culture on the island, whereby most goods and products are nonlocal and island businesses and start-ups lack the proper financial support to establish themselves permanently or successfully (see Clachar, 1997, p. 462 - 463).

EXAMPLE 4. ZURIEL, OUTSIDER COFP, CONSTRUCTION OF THE COMPETENT BILINGUAL (PT. I)

| | |
|---|---|
| 01 Katherine | ¿Cómo te siente sobre tuh abilidadeØ del ingléh y el ehpañol? ¿Cuál tu cree que |
| 02 | dominaØ mejol? |
| 03 Zuriel | Ehpañol. |
| 04 Katherine | ¿Pol qué? |
| 05 Zuriel | Polque:, fue con el (.) practicamente crecí, y: e: el que yo realmente le doy uso. |
| 06 | El ingléh yo no: (.) le doy el uso diario. […] El abecedario yo lo digo en ingléh. |
| 07 | Y loh **months,** todo eso, lo digo en ingléh. |
| | |
| ***Translation*** | |
| 01 Katherine | And how do you feel about your own abilities with English and Spanish? Which one |
| 02 | do you think you are most competent in? |
| 03 Zuriel | Spanish. |
| 04 Katherine | Why? |
| 05 Zuriel | Because, it's the one (.) I was practically raised with, and the one that I truly use. |
| 06 | English I don't (.) I don't give it much daily use […] The alphabet I say in English. |
| 07 | And the **months**, all of that, I say in English. |

*Note*. Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = Standard-like General American English.

In Part II, Zuriel speaks of his childhood memories learning English, despite having most of his family members be Spanish-monolinguals. His brother, who lives in Miami, speaks English to him from time to time, but Zuriel assures that *no eh gran cosa* 'it's not a big deal' (Line 11). In this way, Zuriel detaches himself from expectations of competent bilingualism on the basis of a native source advantage, and further positions himself as someone in a position of linguistic disadvatange with no ownership to English, or personal ties to the language, despite his unique language socialisation in a private bilingual school.

EXAMPLE 4. ZURIEL, OUTSIDER COFP, CONSTRUCTION OF COMPETENT BILINGUAL (PT. II)

| | |
|---|---|
| 08 Katherine | ¿Y de tu familia? |
| 09 Zuriel | El ingléh de mi familia yo:… Ademáh de mi primo en Ehtados Unido con nadie. |
| 10 | A vece con mi primo, que el vivió en Miami, pues sí hablo en ingléh |
| 11 | con él, pero no: (.) no eh todo el tiempo hablando ingléh, no eh gran cosa. |
| | |
| **Translation** | |
| 08 Katherine | And your family? |
| 09 Zuriel. | My family's English I… Other than my cousin in United States with nobody. |
| 10 | Sometimes with my cousin, the one that lived in Miami, well yes I speak English |
| 11 | with him, but no: (.) not all the time speaking English, it is not a big deal. |

*Note*. Regular font = PR Spanish.

Finally, in Part III Zuriel discusses the point at which he believes he started learning English. Like many others in his school (e.g. Pablo, Erica), he credits his external investment in the language as responsible for his ability, however limited he perceives it to be. Specifically, he cites a popular children's television series, known as *Spongebob Squarepants,* broadcasted by children's television network Nickelodeon (1999) (Line 15). He cites this borrowing through PR Spanish phonology, i.e. [eh-spondʒ-bob], following the phonological norms of Spanish that prohibit a combination of a fricative followed by a stop in initial position. He credits this practice as 'embarrassing' (Line 15), afraid of coming across as infantile, but I demonstrate approval of his show choice, which results in his construction of a bashful response in English *I know* (Line 17), cementing the idea that for popular culture themes it is not uncommon to hear islanders engage in acts of bilingualism given "the (environmental) presence of English use in these domains" which "is the inevitable outcome of mainland cultural imperialism exercised over local culture, and the colonial socioeconomic relationship between the US and PR" (Morales, forthcoming).

EXAMPLE 4. ZURIEL, OUTSIDER COFP, CONSTRUCTION OF COMPETENT BILINGUAL (PT. III)

| | |
|---|---|
| 12 Katherine | Y, ¿Cuándo tu considerá que empezahte a hablal ingléh? |
| 13 Zuriel | ¿El inglés? |
| 14 Katherine | Sí. |
| 15 Zuriel | Ehto eh un poco vergonsozo, pero yo aprendí inglés con ***[eh'spondʒ.bob].*** |
| 16 Katherine | Why is that embarrassing? Eso ehta cool. |
| 17 Zuriel | Sí, **I know/,** yo todavía lo veo:/, pero… pero sí, empece (.) con la |
| 18 | televisión. |
| | |
| ***Translation*** | |
| 12 Katherine | And, when do you think you started speaking English? |
| 13 Zuriel | English? |
| 14 Katherine | Yes. |
| 15 Zuriel | Umm this will be a bit embarrassing, but I learned English with **Spongebob.** |
| 16 Katherine | Why is that embarrassing? That is cool. |
| 17 Zuriel | Yeah, **I know,** I still watch it, but... as such, I started (.) with |
| 18 | television. |

*Note*. Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = Standard-like General American English.

### 7.6.2. Construction of the Competent Bilingual in O'Reilly High

The performance of a *competent bilingual* in O'Reilly High was variable. Some students oriented to Spanish-English bilingualism more comfortably than others. Others, anxiously separated themselves from claims to English ownership and balanced bilingualism. In their linguistic self-assessment, participants from English-inclined groups demonstrated more confidence in claiming ownership to English; whereas, those from more monolingual groups restrained themselves from claiming full ownership of English, communicated linguistic frustrations and were specific as to the circumstances in which they would feel uncomfortable speaking English. Thus, ultimately painting a picture that when it comes to constructing an outward stylistic persona in relation to bilingualism, it is likely a matter of 'who you are'in the social landscape, rather than solely the outcome of personal social circumstances (e.g. financial, parental occupation).

As we will see throughout this section, the extent by which one is able to engage in these practices is in turn subject to *educational experiences* (or previous educational experiences) and *language* and *socioeconomic affordances*. Those most likely to engage in English stick together, while those that lean towards Spanish-dominant styles are most likely to belong to the same social group.

#### A) Jock CofP

Within the Jock CofP, Ignacio constructs a competent bilingual that is 'functional' and whose performance is satisfactory and 'good'. He discusses his communicative abilities in relation to ideological percentages, where 100% would fall as 'fully competent' in the ideological standard English. When I ask him to provide further explanation as why he believes he speaks an 80% (suggested in Line 122), Ignacio conceives of a vision of the 'perfect bilingual' as one being able to understand fast speech in English, which he suggests in Lines 126 to 127 he is not able to do. Yet slow, teacher-speech is more intelligible for Ignacio (Lines 128 – 129). In addition to this conversational setback, Ignacio reports possessing linguistic anxiety, in that he feels ashamed of his own linguistic abilities, despite them being better than average (e.g. 80%) and that this shame results in laughter and inability to express himself confidently in a second language.

If one were apply Pousada's (2000) of the competent bilingual in this case, we would find that the style of bilingualism Ignacio is self-defining as sounds similar to

receptive bilingualism, which is defined as the ability to passively understand speech in a second language, but experience trouble producing it. Ignacio also claims that fast-speech is difficult for him, perhaps because most island conversations take place in Puerto Rican Spanish rather than English, such that he would not experience many opportunities in which he is exposed to naturalistic fast-pace speech.

Ignacio's own assessment of English serves as a reminder that while the global youth may be indeed exposed to English through different sources, outside of academic settings, there are still individuals who report communicative difficulties and anxieties in a second language. Recall that Ignacio's bilingualism in Chapter 6 was also found conservative (limited to few English borrows and instances of discourse marker 'so'), in comparison to those used by peers in the Rocker CofP who have simultaneously reported comfort and confidence in English as a second language.

EXAMPLE 1. JOCK COFP IN O'REILLY HIGH, CONSTRUCTION OF THE COMPETENT BILINGUAL

(Regular font = PR Spanish)

| ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 120 Katherine | ¿Cómo tu me dehcribiriía tuh | 120 Katherine | How would you describe your |
| 121 | habilidadeØ en el ingléh? | 121 | abilities in English? |
| 122 Ignacio | Con un ochenta polciento. | 122 Ignacio | With an eighty percent. |
| 123 Katherine | ¿Pol qué ochenta? | 123 Katherine | Why eighty? |
| 124 Ignacio | Polque: (.) sé hablal: | 124 Ignacio | Because (.) I know how to talk (.) |
| 125 | (.) y entiendo un poco, polque: | 125 | and I understand a little, because if |
| 126 | si me hablan χápido | 126 | they speak to me fast in English, I |
| 127 | ingléh, pueØ no entiendo, pero | 127 | cannot understand, but if they |
| 128 | si me hablan pausado, así con | 128 | speak to me paused, at a steadier |
| 129 | calma, pueØ te voy a | 129 | manner, well then I will |
| 130 | entendel pero (.) y tampoco | 130 | understand you (.) and I also don't |
| 131 | sé- me da velguenza | 131 | know – it's embarrassing for me to |
| 132 | hablal ingléh, no puedo lleval | 132 | speak in English, I cannot carry a |
| 133 | una convelsación con alguien, | 133 | conversation with somebody, |
| 134 | me empiezo a reil, y me da | 134 | I start to laugh, and then become |
| 135 | velguenza. | 135 | embarrassed. |

I ask him at a later point whether he feels most comfortable speaking English with friends, to which he relies on PR youth speech evaluative term *normal* or 'cool' (Line 141). While mixing was not particularly prevalent in Ignacio's interview style, his positive positioning to English in a friends-based question suggests that he may be open to the possibility of using bilingual speech under more intimate circumstances. In Chapter 6, it was demonstrated that a majority of his friends used English when discussing music, parties, and drawing on popularised fixed expressions or idioms. Thus, it is likely that the English

use in this instance is related to the trend in his CofP, of speaking in dominant PR Spanish turns, with colloquialisms from PR Spanish Youth Speech, and occasional insertions of discourse marker *so* in their narrative styles.

EXAMPLE 2. IGNACIO, JOCK COFP IN O'REILLY HIGH, CONSTRUCTION OF THE COMPETENT BILINGUAL (PT. II)

| ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 136 Katherine | ¿Y en la clase te da | 136 Katherine | And in the classroom is it |
| 137 | velguenza? | 137 | embarrassing for you? |
| 138 Ignacio | No puedo. | 138 Ignacio | I can't. |
| 139 Katherine | Pero, ¿con tuh amihtade | 139 Katherine | But with your friends |
| 140 | no, velda? | 140 | not, right? |
| 141 Ignacio | No:. *Nolmal*. | 141 Ignacio | No:. *Nolmal*. |

*Note*. Regular font = PR Spanish; *Italics* = PR Teen talk.

Ignacio exemplifies the classic case of the anxious bilingual, unsure of his/her own English speaking abilities, such that it inhibits him from partaking in English using practices in public. Ignacio's account of his own linguistic anxieties provide an example as to why, even within the repertoire approach to language use, which interprets a bilingual's competence in terms of the outcome of lived experiences, is still not an accurate portrayal of a person's linguistic abilities or linguistic competence. In order to arrive at a more accurate understanding of a person's linguistic abilities, a *root*-based approach could be taken, such as those that incorporate the use of self-recordings or long-term ethnography, so as to reduce this English-speaking anxiety. At the time of the recording, Ignacio had had several conversations with me in the English classroom, had seen me sitting around, and walking around the hallways. I also made the effort to dress as a young student, and present myself as a student and not a professional, by often referring to having to study, carrying a notebook and pencil around, and interacting in the local vernacular (PR Spanish). As such, though I was not able to get a fuller grasp of how Ignacio did interact in English, as I did not observe his home interactions, my understanding of his English using styles are limited to school and peer group identity interactions.

*Josue & Bobi*

When asked to rate their own linguistic competence, both Josue and Bobi represented the more comfortable side of the spectrum within their own peer group.

*Josue*

Josue's initial response is neutral and relaxed *meh*, an informal way of "expressing a lack of interest or enthusiasm"[123] (OED), which has come into popular use through social media and Netspeak. Through this act of indifference, Josue positions himself as someone who is unenthusiastic or unconcerned in discussing his own relationship to English, or perhaps confident in his linguistic abilities to not regard it as a source of worry. He then corroborates the latter, by providing the following self-assessment: *personalmente siento que lo domino a diferencia de otras personas* 'Personally, I feel like I am fluent in it, in difference to *other* people' (108 - 111). Immediately drawing on his own insider's knowledge on language distribution on the island, and the *ideological* monoglot in Puerto Rico who speaks nor knows no English (though, recall, that most islanders are *at least* passive or receptive bilinguals[124]). In his second turn, following Bobi's self-assessment, Josue repositions himself and his claim to English: *Obviamente, no lo domino cien porciento como si fuese un Americano* 'Obviously, I am not skilled in it one hundred percent, as if I was an American' (Lines 123 - 124). In his follow up self-assessment, Josue lessens his grip on English competence, by suggesting that although he may be fluent he is not '100%', and then draws on his personification of what 100% competence and ownership to English looks like – *un Americano* 'an American' – someone he is not. Thus, not only does Josue equate English competence to *being American* or a specific kind of American, but he draws a difference on 'being Puerto Rican' from 'being American'. Simultaneously, he engages in what Rosa and Flores (2015) call *racializing discourses* or the delegitimization of his own linguistic practices due to his minority ethnolinguistic roots, he promotes the dominant ideology of 'white middle-class norms' or the *white gaze* a "perspective that priviledges white perspectives

[123] Oxford Dictionaries online credits the popularisation of this response to popular North American television show the Simpsons in the 1990s (OED, 2018).

[124] This is following the classification of bilingualism suggested by island linguist, Alicia Pousada (2000, 2007).

on linguistic and cultural practices of racialized communities" (Flores & Rosa, 2015, p. 150). Thus, while he claims linguistic fluency and priviledge in comparison to his immediate others, he simultaneously evaluates himself as someone in a position of linguistic disadvantage, due to his ethnic identity and upbringing in Spanish-dominant surroundings.

*Bobi*

Bobi's construction of linguistic self is the outcome of a dialogic negotiation with his friend Josue. Following my question, Bobi attempts to respond with a formulaic *authentic* utterance that begins with 'Well, honestly=' (Line 107), but is immediately cut off by his best friend Josue who nonchalantly responds with a 'meh!' Because of this, Bobi's construction of *linguistic competence* can be interpreted in relation to Josue's but not necessarily as one that is his own. In Line 116, Bobi positively aligns to his friend's linguistic self-evaluation by claiming that he, too, feels the same way in 'Exactly'. He then echoes some of his friend's speech by providing alternative language use that indicates indifference and unconcernedness, with local youth speech *normal* (PR Youth Spanish for 'it's cool'), and, at a later stage AAVE loanword *chillin'* (Line 118) a popular anglicism among younger cohorts on the island. He goes as far as to suggest that you may address him in either language (Lines 119 – 120), a self-evaluation that hints at *balanced bilingualism* or the ability to communicate meaningfully in two languages.

Towards the end of this exchange, I ask them about their linguistic confidence in public scenarios. Both of them construct joint identities of 'confidence', rather than linguistic insecurity when speaking of their English abilities: *en velda no* 'not really' (Line 127) Josue declares confidently when answering the question of whether he felt nervous speaking in public. Bobi agrees with a declaration of indifference *me da igual* (Line 128) or 'to me, it is the same' and colloquial *normal* so as to indicate 'it's cool'. Bobi then provides an alternative scenario of when he would feel uncomfortable in Line 129, introduced through 'unless' or *a menos* he speaks to someone from *allá* or *gente de allá* 'people from over there'. In this sense, both Bobi complies with the idea that despite comfortable competence in a second language – constructed through evaluative item *normal* – when compared to the mythical 'native speaker benchmark', conceived as belonging *allá* or spatially 'over there', Bobi feels he has no ownership to bilingualism or English competence in potentially discriminatory settings, e.g. *los Estados Unidos* (Lines 134 - 135). He reports conditional linguistic anxiety, dependent upon Space, and

the hegemonic ideological conditions of that interactional Space. Therefore, corroborating the idea that Mainland Americans represent the ultimate source of the ideological standard. Josue considers his friends line, and provides a conditional stance "maybe" – in this sense, Josue appears to be somewhat hesitant in adopting negative linguistic evaluation of his English performance, irregardless of national Space. In this sense, he implicitly demonstrates his greater confidence and claim to bilingualism. Upon greater reflection, he provides a more socioculturally-dettached scenario whereby he would display linguistic anxiety: when speaking at an important event, to a large group of people (136 - 140). Downplaying the role of culture, Josue positions himself in a position of greater linguistic advantage than his best friend, Bob, across different cultural settings.

EXAMPLE 3. JOSUE AND BOBI, JOCK COFP IN O'REILLY HIGH, CONSTRUCTION OF THE COMPETENT BILINGUAL

| ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 101 Katherine | Y ehte, y: uhtede: háblenme: | 101 Katherine | And umm, a:nd you talk to |
| 102 | ¿Cómo uhtede se sienten sobre | 102 | me how do you feel about |
| 103 | suh propia abilidade del | 103 | your own abilities in |
| 104 | Ingléh? | 104 | English. |
| 105 Bobi | ¿Del ingléh? | 105 Bobi | Of English? |
| 106 Katherine | Sip. | 106 Katherine | Yup. |
| 107 Bobi | Pue, en velda:= | 107 Bobi | Well, honestly= |
| 108 Josue | **Meh**. Pelsonalmente ((*someone* | 108 Josue | **Meh.** Personally ((*someone* |
| 109 | *yells*)), siento que lo | 109 | *yells*)), I feel that I am |
| 110 | domino, a diferencia | 110 | competent in it, in |
| 111 | a otrah pelsona, obviamete. | 111 | difference to other people, |
| 112 | Y me siento bien polque | 112 | obviously. And I feel well |
| 113 | cuando uno va a un si:tio:, pue | 113 | because when I go to a |
| 114 | se puede defende:l, puede | 114 | place, well I can defend |
| 115 | hablal-lo:. | 115 | myself, I can speak it. |
| 116 Bobi | Exacto. Y eh *nolmal,* | 116 Bobi | Exactly. And it's *normal,* |
| 117 | polque lo entiendo y | 117 | because I understand it and |
| 118 | eso, y e <u>como que</u> *chilling* | 118 | that, and it's <u>like</u> ***chilling*** |
| 119 | polque: me puede hablal | 119 | because you can speak to |
| 120 | en ingléh o ehpañol. | 120 | me in English or Spanish. |
| 121 Josue | Obviamente no lo | 121 Josue | Obviously I am not |
| 122 | domino cien pol | 122 | competent in it one hundred |
| 123 | ciento, pelfecto, como si fuese | 123 | percent, perfect, as if I was |
| 124 | *un Americano*, pero sí. | 124 | an American, but yeah. |
| 125 Katherine | ¿Para repolte orale uhtede se | 125 Katherine | For oral reports do you guys |
| 126 | ponen nervioso? | 126 | get nervous? |
| 127 Josue | [Noh, en velda no. | 127 Josue | [No, honestly no. |
| 128 Bobi | [Me da igual. | 128 Bobi | [It's the same to me. |
| 129 | *Nolmal*. A MENO que ehte | 129 | *Normal*. UNLESS I am |
| 130 | hablando con gente de | 130 | talking to someone from |
| 131 | allá. | 131 | over there. |
| 132 Josue | Qui- sí. Pero eh | 132 Josue | Maybe-- yes. But it's just |
| 133 | que= | 133 | that= |
| 134 Bobi | Hablando allá, en Ehtados | 134 Bobi | Speaking there, in the |
| 135 | Unido, <u>como tal</u>= | 135 | United States <u>as such</u>= |
| 136 Josue | Obviamente. Frente a un | 136 Josue | Obviously. In front of a |
| 137 | público grande, que sea para | 137 | big audience, if it's for |
| 138 | algo:-- pero en el | 138 | something – but in the |
| 139 | salón no, vel a lah mihma | 139 | classroom no. Seeing the |
| 140 | pelsona todoh loh día. | 140 | same people everyday. |

*Note.* Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = Standard-like; <u>Underline</u> = Teen talk discourse marker

*Dánica*

Dánica constructs herself as a Spanish monolingual with no ties to English as a second language. She construes the competent bilingual as someone who possesses *speaking abilities* in two languages above all else. It is unclear why Dánica emphasizes spoken behaviour above writing in her first turn – she is perhaps relying on the linguistic benchmark on the island, where most islanders are receptive to English to a basic extent,

and able to understand key phrases or words in written form, due to the overwhelming distribution of English texts across social domains on the island (Pousada, 2000). In this sense, she is confirming islanders self-report on Census statistics that display the general linguistic anxiety and sentiment that islanders 'speak' English 'not well', rather than *super* (Line 104) (note that Dánica makes use of the evaluation 'super' alongside 'speak').

*Super* as an evaluative descriptor suggests that, for Dánica, neither basic nor intermediate-level competence merits ownership of the 'bilingualism' label. She detaches herself from bilingualism in Line 113 with a simple *no*, despite her friends' conditional definitions of bilingualism and the competent English speaker – dependent on addressee and Space. It is particularly revealing that as part of the Late Modern youth, subject to English globalisation, Dánica projects herself in a negative linguistic light, particularly within island contexts, where the linguistic ideological stakes are lowest (due to an older Spanish-dominant population).

She later adds that a competent bilingual must also understand both languages 'well' in *entendelo supel bien* 'understands it super well' (Line 109). *Entendelo* here refers to the cognitive and receptive abilities of hearing and reading, now including receptive skills to her definition of bilingualism. She later depoliticises the definition of bilingualism by adding *en cualquiel idioma* 'in whatever language' (Line 110), ultimately challenging local meanings of what it means to be bilingual in Puerto Rico – to speak the English language. In this sense, it appears almost as if she is creating an objective or unbiased definition of bilingualism, that these two metrics should not just count for the immediate situation, but whichever *world* language. *En cuaquiel idioma* as a definition may also serve as an act of defiance and distancing from the prestige and 'importance' that English has been given on the island.

Note how in this section of the interview, her replies are somewhat shorter than in previous sections. The shortness of her responses may indicate lack of interest in the matter, or discomfort in the topic. In later lines, she provides linguistic assessments to those closest to her, here we find that she conceives of her immediate group of friends as linguistically homogenous.

EXAMPLE 4. DÁNICA, JOCK COFP IN O'REILLY HIGH, CONSTRUCTION OF THE COMPETENT BILINGUAL

| ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 100 Katherine | ¿Quién e alguien bilingüe en | 100 Katherine | Who is someone bilingual in |
| 101 | tuh ojo? | 101 | your eyes? |
| 102 Dánica | ¿Bilingüe? | 102 Dánica | Someone bilingual? |
| 103 Katherine | Aja. | 103 Katherine | Yeah. |
| 104 Dánica | Hablal loh do idioma supel | 104 Dánica | Speaking both languages |
| 105 | bien. | 105 | super good. |
| 106 Katherine | Supel bien, ¿como que | 106 Katherine | Super well? What do you |
| 107 | supel bien? | 107 | mean by super good? |
| 108 Dánica | Aja. >como que no supel bien, | 108 Dánica | Yeah. >like not super good, if |
| 109 | sino entendelo supel | 109 | not being able to understand it |
| 110 | bien<. Cualquier idioma. | 110 | good.< Whichever language. |
| 111 Katherine | Y, ¿Tu te considera | 111 Katherine | And do you consider yourself |
| 112 | bilingüe? | 112 | bilingual? |
| 113 Dánica | Noh. | 113 Dánica | No. |
| 114 Katherine | ¿Y tuh amihtade? | 114 Katherine | And your Friends? |
| 115 Dánica | Alguna. | 115 Dánica | Some. |
| 116 Katherine | ¿Samantha? | 116 Katherine | Samantha? |
| 117 Dánica | No, ella no. | 117 Dánica | No, not her. |
| 118 Katherine | ¿Y quién? | 118 Katherine | And who? |
| 119 Dánica | Pue:, no sé, Bobi quizáh. | 119 Dánica | Well, I don't know, maybe |
| 120 | No sé. Eh que nosotro | 120 | Bobi. I don't know. It's just |
| 121 | no hablamo en ingléh. | 121 | that we don't speak in English. |

*Note.* Regular font = PR Spanish; Underline = teen talk discourse marker.

Following this self-assesment of her own linguistic competence and somewhat uncomfortable conversation, I ask her to rate to me the most important subjects or which subjects she studies the most for, or deems as most important for her academic development. She informs me that she does not study every day, and when she does she normally dedicates twenty minutes to half an hour of studying for her classes. Most of this time when she is studying, she is investing in Physics or Mathematics class. In terms of academic investment and orientation to subjects, she deems Spanish as the least important class because *eh como que la maehtra, no sé, no hace nah* 'it's just that the teacher doesn't do anything'. After rating these two classes as most important – she is rating them from most important to least important – she struggles to recall other classes that she invests in during her home time: *déjame vel que clase yo tengo…Ingléh, y dehpué de Ingléh, ehte: Cooperativihmo y dehpue Ehpañol* 'let me see which other classes do I have… English, and after English, umm Cooperativism, and after that Spanish.' Thus, it appears that in itself Dánica may just be indifferent to the subject of languages academically, or not as interested in learning them in school. Although her assessment of English class is mid-list, her actions of missing assignments, skipping class, and frequent

confrontations with the teacher may be interpreted as a negative alignment to English language (Fieldnotes, March 2016).

## B) GAMER COFP

### *Puma*

Puma's orientation to the English language, and his own visualization as a second language speaker was positive. In his interview, Puma positions himself as a 'competent enough' bilingual speaker, he credits this success to his upbringing where English was encouraged in his family life, as his dad was a veteran who practiced his English speaking abilities with his brother, thus claiming familial ties to the language and childhood memories. Puma goes as far as to claim that English class is his favorite class because he finds it easiest, whereas other subjects such as History he orients negatively against as he finds it irrelevant to present times: *no componen nada con lo actual* or 'it doesn't involve anything current' (Lines 63 - 64). He positons himself as negatively oriented to scholastic matters, suggesting that he hates all classes (Lines 42 - 44) but when it truly comes down to it his favorite class is *English*. And, his engagement of translingual styles in this particular part of the interview corroborates it. In his negative assessment of History, he uses insertional strategies to make his inner voice, or his personal opinion known, *I just hate it* (VP) (Line 52), *they're* just history* (VP) (Line 57 - 58) to emphasize his previously made argument in Spanish, and *they just made something* (VP) (Line 58 - 59) to provide further explanation as he then drifts off in thought in Spansh with a *No, ya no* "no, not anymore" (Line 61). In his second turn he then clarifies his position with regards to school and his positive alignments to English class, he introduces the subject of English class by offering a positive assessment that is realised primarily in PR Spanish with a single instance of English insertion*: Entonce, como tal, si te vengo a decil una clase favorita, como tal, polque eh que con esa clase no tengo mucho complain pol el…* or "Then, as such, if I go on to tell you my favorite class, as such, because it is the only class in which I do not have much complain for it…" (Lines 64 - 67). Once more, English here is used as a strategy to voice Puma's own personal thoughts on a matter by referring to the act of not complaining over a class, or feeling rather content with regards to English class.

EXAMPLE 5. PUMA, GAMER COFP IN O'REILLY HIGH, CONSTRUCTION OF COMPETENT BILINGUAL (PT. I)

| ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 40 Katherine | ¿Cuál eh tu clase preferida de la | 40 Katherine | What's your favorite class in |
| 41 | ehcuela, si tiene alguna? | 41 | school, if you have one? |
| 42 Puma | Hahta ahora, pue:, eh que | 42 Puma | Up to now, well, it's just that |
| 43 | clase preferida de velda yo te | 43 | favorite class truly I |
| 44 | puedo decil que lah detehto | 44 | can tell you I hate them |
| 45 | toda@@ ((*laughs*)). Okay, eh | 45 | all ((*laughs*)). Okay, it's |
| 46 | como que hay alguna cosa | 46 | like there are some things |
| 47 | que pue: uno: (.) como lah | 47 | that well one (.) like |
| 48 | matemá:tica:, lah física:, | 48 | mathematics, physics, |
| 49 | y: Ciencia, cosa así, que | 49 | and Science, stuff like that, that |
| 50 | uno: no la:, no lah entiende, | 50 | one doesn't,doesn't understand, |
| 51 | pero son obvia, pe:ro: (.) | 51 | but they're obvious, but (.) |
| 52 | lah hihtoria, la clase de Hihtoria, **I** | 52 | history class, History class, **I** |
| 53 | **just hate it.** No, no | 53 | **just hate it.** I don't, I don't |
| 54 | comprendo pa que | 54 | understand why you should |
| 55 | sabel la infolmació:n, como que**:** | 55 | know that information, like |
| 56 | sabel de la hihtoria de lah | 56 | to know of the history of a |
| 57 | pelsona, a vece que ni | 57 | person, sometimes they are not |
| 58 | componen na, que | 58 | made up of anything, that |
| 59 | actualmente **they're just history,** | 59 | actually **they're just history,** |
| 60 | **they just made something and** | 60 | **they just made something and** |
| 61 | (.) eh como que ya: como que | 61 | (.) it's like already like |
| 62 | **they're just a history.** | 62 | **they're just a history.** |
| 63 | No:, ya no. | 63 | No, not anymore. |
| 64 Katherine | ¿Ya paso? | 64 Katherine | It's in the past? |
| 65 Puma | Aja, no componen | 65 Puma | Yeah, it doesn't involve |
| 66 | nada con lo actual. Entonce, como | 66 | anything current. Then, like, |
| 67 | tal, si te vengo a decil una | 67 | if I go to tell you my favorite |
| 68 | clase favorita como tal, polque eh | 68 | class as such, because it's |
| 69 | que con esa clase no tengo | 69 | that with that class I don't have |
| 70 | mucho **complain** pol e:l | 70 | much **complain** because of the |
| 71 | (.) no eh lo fa:ci:l, sino: que: | 71 | (.) not that it's easy, if not that I |
| 72 | nunca me quedo ehtancao. Sí, eh | 72 | have never been stuck. Yes, it |
| 73 | facil, pero en el sentido de que: | 73 | is easy, but in the sense that |
| 74 | se me: (.) logro hacel-lo como máh | 74 | I am (.) able to do it much |
| 75 | rápido. Tengo que admitil-lo, lo | 75 | faster. I have to admit it, I |
| 76 | encuentro máh facil, que eh la | 76 | find it easier, which is |
| 77 | clase de ingléh. | 77 | English class. |

*Note.* Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = General American; Underline = Discourse marker.

In his third turn of this conversation, he then provides the familial or personal tie he has to the language, and how he remembers specific movies he used to watch in his childhood, growing up, and his father's efforts at showing them English movies, *like Lion King* (Line 82 to 83) as well as speaking to his brother in English. Having these unique memories and ties to the language provide us with a sense that Puma perceives English to be a part of him: he has intimate experiences growing up with that language such that it is has presently become one of his favorite subjects in school. Much of his positive

alignments to the topic of English are provided in PR Spanish matrices, thus maintaining his overall style of dominant PR Spanish speech peppered with some insertional and alternational strategies. His assessment of his own abilities can be considered to be constructed in a somewhat humble and conservative stance, by not out-right claiming native ownership of the language, but suggesting it as a gradual process, that 'little by little' or *poquito a poquito* (Lines 96 to 97) he has attained a level of competence that he is satisfied with. He casually describes his own abilities as *le cogí el truco…he ido cogiendole máh el truco* 'I got the hang of it… [presently] I have been getting the hang of it more' (Lines 94 to 98).

EXAMPLE 5. PUMA, GAMER COFP IN O'REILLY HIGH, CONSTRUCTION OF COMPETENT BILINGUAL (PT. II)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 80 Katherine | ¿Sí? | 80 Katherine | Yeah? |
| 81 Puma | Polque yo cuando chiquito | 81 Puma | Because since I was little I used to |
| 82 | veía mucha película en ingléh, | 82 | watch many movies in English, |
| 83 | **like [ljon] [kɪ:ng],** película así mi | 83 | **like Lion King**, movies like that |
| 84 | padre me ponía muchah película | 84 | my dad used to put many movies |
| 85 | en ingléh. Y: yo cuando chiquito | 85 | in English. And when I was little I |
| 86 | yo veía mucho a mi padre y a mi | 86 | saw my dad a lot and my brother |
| 87 | helmano hablal ingléh. | 87 | speak in English. |
| 88 Katherine | ¿Tu papá sabe hablal ingléh? | 88 Katherine | Does your dad speak English? |
| 89 Puma | Tsí. Entonceh, yo loh veía mucho | 89 Puma | Yes. So, I used to watch him a lot |
| 90 | hablal ingléh y entonce me | 90 | speaking in English and then I took |
| 91 | interesaba y yo cogí y me ponía | 91 | an interest and I started speaking |
| 92 | hablal pa' atrá y eventualmente, | 92 | back to him, and eventually |
| 93 | durante el tranculso, pue | 93 | through the course of time, well, |
| 94 | como que le cogí el truco un | 94 | like, I got the hang of it a |
| 95 | poco. Y pue: ahora en la | 95 | little. And, well, now in |
| 96 | ehcuela, aprendiendo poquito a | 96 | school, learning little by |
| 97 | poquito a poquito, he ido | 97 | little by little, I have |
| 98 | cogiendole máh el truco. | 98 | gotten the hang of it more. |

*Note.* Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = General American; Underline = Discourse marker.

## *Martin*

Like Puma, Martin constructed an identity of a language *learner,* rather than someone who had native claims to English. He specified the type of skills he possesed in English using descriptions like *yo la interpreto* or 'I interpret it' to talk about English class. This assessment suggests that English does not come naturally to him, such that he would outright say 'I understand it', rather, that it is still a skill that takes effort, but that he is able to grasp through deduction. His construction of self as a language learner co-occurs alongside a positive assessment of English class as *llevadera* or 'easy-going', in this way he also follows Martin's footsteps in that they both have little "complaint" over

the teacher or the subject as it is currently taught in O'Reilly High, and they both position themselves as learners-in-progress. Like Puma he also credits television and movies as responsible for some of his initial interest and exposure to the English language, he then stresses how being able to hear and see actions being conducted in children's television programs, such as cartoons, aided him in understanding what certain words or phrases meant. His final claim to English is provided through a brief reference to his singing abilities. Martin is a part of the school choir and often enjoys singing, as such, he claims he has learned English as a second language through music and singing in both formal settings (choir events) but also in a joking manner or *a vacilón* (Line 111). And, indeed, an intergral part of his identity, and to the identity of many who situate themselves along the Cooperativa region is the subject of music, hence their label by others as 'the Rockers'. Thus, in this way English finds its way to Martin through engagement of these practices, yet not to much extent in his social communicative practices, as demonstrated in Chapter 6 (with 12 tokens of English insertion, primarily on the single-word level).

EXAMPLE 6. MARTIN, GAMER COFP IN O'REILLY HIGH, CONSTRUCTION OF THE COMPETENT BILINGUAL ENGLISH SPEAKER

| | |
|---|---|
| 100 Martin | Polque ha sido <u>como que</u> una clase llevadera. Yo la interpret:to:, no eh que yo |
| 101 | sea un *gringo,* como digo yo, yo no hablo ingléh mucho ni na de eso, ni |
| 102 | tampoco me paso hablando ingléh como mucho por ahí que tienen bahto |
| 103 | conocimiento en ingléh. Pero:, pue:, que sé yo, lo veo (.) lo veo |
| 104 | algo sencillo, llevadero, polque eh <u>como que:</u> (.) mi padrahtro: dehde chiquito |
| 105 | el me inculca el ingléh, el ingléh, y pro-Americano y eso, y pue <u>como que</u> me |
| 106 | acohtrumbre. Siempre me ehtaba hablando una que otra palabra en |
| 107 | ingléh y <u>como que</u> se me fue. Y también veía muñequito en |
| 108 | ingléh a vece, <u>como que</u> para tenel ehta: (.) imagen y entendimiento. Por |
| 109 | ejemplo, entiendo lo que dice, pero según lo que veo lo puedo |
| 110 | captal, pue:, así. Y así fue co:mo: y el ingléh |
| | obviamente polque me paso cantando a vacilón. |
| | |
| 100 Martin | Because it has been like a easy going class. I interpret it, not that I |
| 101 | am a *gringo* as I say, nor because I speak in English much nor any of that, nor |
| 102 | do I spend time talking in English like many do over there, who have plentiful |
| 103 | understanding of English. But, well, I don't know, I see (.) I see it as |
| 104 | something simple, easy-going, it is like (.) my step-father since I was little he |
| 105 | would teach me English, English, he was pro-American and that, and well like |
| 106 | I got used to it. Always he would speak to me in one word or another in |
| 107 | English and like that kind of left me. I also watched a lot of cartoons in |
| 108 | English sometimes, like, to have this (.) image and understanding. For |
| 109 | example, I understand what they say, but according to what I see I am able to |
| 110 | comprehend, well, that way. And that was how (it happened) and English well |
| | obviously because I spend time singing it frivolously. |

*Note*. Regular font = Puerto Rican Spanish; <u>Underline</u> = Spanish discourse marker/ filler.

## C) BOOKWORM-ROCKER COFP

### *David*

David was among the highest employers of mixed styles in the O'Reilly High corpus. When asked how he would position himself with regards to the issue of language competence and his bilingual identity, David surprisingly positioned himself as a Spanish dominant speaker. In this particular moment of the interview, he realises his own assessment in Puerto Rican Spanish – an oddity, considering thus far his form of communication had involved highly mixed styles and complex bilingual constructions. He inserts an occasional 'but I—' in Line 301, but then pauses, reassesses and produces a reflexive utterance in Spanish *me guhtaría que fuera máh el ingléh* or 'I would like for it to be English more' (Lines 301 - 302). A surprising evaluation to say the least, considering he is among the highest producers of bilingual talk. In this instance, David appears to have *paid attention to his speech* (cf. Labov, 1963), particularly the stigma that comes with pursuing a divergent speaking style in Spanish-dominant Puerto Rico, 'repaired' his utterance following conversation analysis labelling (see Sidnell, 2009), and repositioned himself as a legitimate Spanish speaker, such that he claims ownership of Spanish over English, rather than producing a persona that embraces both languages as being a part of him.

I should note that, out of all users of English in O'Reilly High, David not only engages in some of the most translingual or bilingual acts, but he does so in a way that transcends local English styles, Hispanic English, or the English benchmark taught in schools and textbooks (i.e. the ideological standard General American). He produces high rising terminals in declarative utterances, a phenomenon known as 'uptalk' or high rising terminals (HRT), a style found in women's speech, teen talk, and in the speech of gay professionals in English speaking contexts, particularly in the United States (Podesva, 2011). Sociolinguistic literature has found that HRTs can be used stylistically to indicate speaker stance (e.g uncertainty, openness, solidarity), as a politeness strategy, or to sustain talk in interaction (Lakoff, 1973; McConnell-Ginet, 1983; Podesva, 2011). Awareness of this practice and the ability to produce it accordingly requires a particular type of competence beyond 'proficiency in Standard English', and towards a type of intonational 'crossing' to an *enregistered* variety of English.

As such, it is surprising that David targets his own pronunciation as a subject to

be criticized. He then shifts position by evaluating his bilingual self as "normal" (Line 308), yet, again attempts to discredit his own English speaking abilities. In Lines 316 onwards he clarifies his own standpoint, that is, in relation to who or what ideology he is constructing his own identity as English-speaking. It is then made known that like many of his classmates he is using the native speaker benchmark, of "the American" as point of comparison. David refers to the benchmark in his usual English- bilingual strategies by using the English noun *American* and the definition NP *people that know English*. Meanwhile, other members of his own school community refer to the native speaker benchmark with terms of deference and simultaneous acts of Puerto Rican identity, using ethnic labels like "gringo" to refer to the White Europeans and their ways of speaking. David admits to getting nervous to speaking English to native speakers, a reaction also seen in Josue and Bobi's construction of bilingual identity. It is noteworthy to see that his insecurity in terms of labelling himself as an English speaker or his apparent hesitation to it, as he was among the highest grades in Advanced English and his speech possessed standard like qualities. His evauluation of hesitance to adopting this label stands in an interesting constrast to other speakers from Mission High, for instance, those from Choir CofP, who are unafraid to own up to their English strategies, and construct identities of ambilingualism or balanced bilingualism.

Towards the end of the interview, however, David goes on to gradually inhabit the identity of a speaker that is more comfortable in English than in Spanish, thus, the direct opposite to his first construction of linguistic self. This is exemplified in Lines 336 to 337 when David goes on to seemingly contradict himself: *English is more easy for me*. There are many ways one may interpret David's identity, some which could have to do with a change of topic: (1) ownership of English versus the right to claim ownership of English due to a native-speaker status, and (2) ownership of English in written, more anonymous mediums like online or texting. The latter is less threatening than the first for David, a fluent bilingual. Other bilinguals across the spectrum –have expressed similar sentiments, this is even more so the case for beginning language learners, or lesser confident speakers. Towards the end of this section David repositions himself as someone who can express himself well in English – in fact *better* than in Spanish (Lines 337 - 338). His initial hesitance to owning up to his competence or bilingual self suggests a type of 'impostor's syndrome', or native speaker syndrome, as Allan Davies' (2003) once said 'the myth of the native speaker'": the prevelant ideology that the native speaker is most skilled in a particular language than a bilingual speaker, or person who has come to learn

it later on in life. Such is the case that several bilinguals will never fully perceive themselves as 'good enough' to be considered competent speakers or rightful owners of English.

EXAMPLE 7. DAVID, ROCKER-BOOKWORM COFP, CONSTRUCTION OF THE COMPETENT BILINGUAL ENGLISH SPEAKER

| ***Original*** | | | ***Translation*** | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 300 | David | Yo pienso que eh el ehpañol, | 300 | David | I think its Spanish, but I – I |
| 301 | | **but I**-- me guhtaría que fuera | 301 | | wish it was |
| 302 | | máh el ingléh. | 302 | | more English. |
| 303 | Katherine | ¿Y pol qué tu dice que eh el | 303 | Katherine | And why do you say it is |
| 304 | | ehpañol? | 304 | | Spanish? |
| 305 | David | Polque, **how do I**…? Mi | 305 | David | **Because, how do I**…? My |
| 306 | | pronunciación **it's not like (.)** | 306 | | pronunciation **is not like** (.) |
| 307 | | **the *best*.** Ay, **it is like** | 307 | | **the *best***. Ay, **it is like** |
| 308 | | **normal**? Pero, **how do you** | 308 | | **normal**? But, **how do you** |
| 309 | | **say?** La pronunciación como | 309 | | **say?** The pronunciation like |
| 310 | | el tiempo de hablal, son como | 310 | | the rate of speech, is like |
| 311 | | que **some words, like, just** | 311 | | **some words, like, just** |
| 312 | | **don't get out**. **O:r, I get like** | 312 | | **don't get out**. **O:r, I get like** |
| 313 | | **really nervous** como que, **I** | 313 | | **really nervous** like, **I** |
| 314 | | **think I: told you this?** Como | 314 | | **think I:? told you this.** |
| 315 | | que:, hablando con | 315 | | Like speaking with |
| 316 | | **Americans, people that** | 316 | | **Americans, people that** |
| 317 | | **know English that**…**Yah.** | 317 | | **know English that…Yah.** |
| 318 | | En ehcrito **I'm, like, always** | 318 | | In writing **I'm like always** |
| 319 | | **texting English**, **maybe I** | 319 | | **texting English, maybe I** |
| 320 | | **can write in Spanish, but** (.) | 320 | | **can write in Spanish, but** (.) |
| 322 | | **yeah everything is English** | 322 | | **yeah everything is English** |
| 333 | | polque no tenemo que | 333 | | because we don't have to put |
| 334 | | ponel acengto, coma:! **Like,** | 334 | | the accents, the comas**! Like,** |
| 335 | | **English is more easy for me,** | 335 | | **English is more easy for** |
| 336 | | **and I like it more, I feel like** | 336 | | **me, and I like it more, I feel** |
| 337 | | **I can express myself better.** | 337 | | **like I can express myself** |
| 338 | | **And, again, with Spanish I** | 338 | | **better. And, again, with** |
| 339 | | **always give it like this** | 339 | | **Spanish, I always give it** |
| 340 | | **spi:ce!** Tu como que adobo, | 340 | | **like this spi:ce!** You're like |
| 341 | | adobo, adobo **to everything.** | 341 | | adobo, adobo, adobo **to** |
| 342 | | **Yeah.** | 342 | | **everything. Yeah.** |

*Note.* Regular font = PR Spanish; **Bold** = Standardized General American; *Italics* = emphasis; Underline = discourse marker.

## D) MARKETING COFP

Chapter 6 demonstrated that the Marketing CofP was among those least likely to participate in bilingual practices. When it came to self-evaluating their linguistic competence in English, all members of this community claimed Spanish proficiency over English in their interviews. Below I discussed one of the most disadvantaged students in this group, Penelope, whose sole parent was unemployed, and she lived in a project

community with her sibling. Penelope narrates an interesting linguistic self-assessment that projects the story of many of the island's disadvantage, and the stories we still hear on the island.

## *Penelope*

Penelope participated in bilingual styles to a limited extent, which did not surpass monosyllabic English discourse insertions, such as the lexical item *so* as a storytelling strategy. In the second part of her interview event, she provided further insight into her language situation and competence.

In the example below, Penelope discusses her ambitions for the future which, like many of the adolescents her age, involve moving to the United States. She cites common themes that serve as motivations to move by the average *Puerto Rican on the move* (see Duany, 2003), such as: finding a job (career) (Lines 3 -4), starting out fresh or escaping her current circumstances (new life) (Lines 5 – 6), making her own life (independence) (Line 2, Lines 6 - 7), and make a living in a better economy (upward mobility) (Lines 8 - 9). What is particularly unique of this account is the *first* reason Penelope wishes to move: 'to learn English' (Line 2).

EXAMPLE 8. PENELOPE, MARKETING COFP, CONSTRUCTION OF THE COMPETENT BILINGUAL ENGLISH SPEAKER (PT. I)

**Translation**[125]

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 Katherine | Do you envision yourself in Puerto Rico or moving elsewhere? |
| 2 Penelope | Well, I would like to go to the United States *to learn English*, to make my life, |
| 3 | umm, to find a job. I don't know if in mechanics, I don't know if I can find |
| 4 | a job there in mechanics, but if I can start-up my own thing, well (.) |
| 5 | awesome. But to find a job, umm, to find a job i:n i:n whatever thing, and to |
| 6 | start from zero, and to be able to get away from my family, and to make my |
| 7 | own life... In whatever place, in whatever place. To start from zero, to start |
| 8 | from zero. That's where I have more opportunities than here. For the job |
| 9 | market, the economy, umm, I know that there I will be able to charge much |
| 10 | more and >being alone< (.) I will be fine, and well… I know I won't be lazy |
| 11 | because here they give you everything in hand and there I will not even have – |
| 12 | I will have to work hard to have it. I won't have my mom, even though here |
| 13 | she does not give me anything. Everything I have I will have it because of |
| 14 | me. That's what I want. |

The position of 'learning English', in relation to her other reasons for wanting to move suggest that Penelope interprets English as the gatekeeper to her own personal and

[125] Original versiom in Appendix.

professional growth, her independence, her success and ultimate happiness. Her orientation to the United States defers from others' in that she does not specify an affinity for a particular aspect of their culture or way of living, rather, her desires relate to her disatisfaction with her current social circumstances, and her desire to be upwardly mobile.

The exchange also is indicative of a language gap apparent within the public school, whereby some students claim to feel comfortable in their English speaking skills, whilst others (like Penelope) do not. At 17 years of age, Penelope has gone through 13 years of public school education, which presupposes at least one English subject class from first grade (Age 5) all the way to twelfth grade (Age 17-18). Penelope is also native to Puerto Rico, where day to day communicative interactions require at least some basic knowledge of English literacy. Penelope's self-assessment and deficient performance in English class may be surprising but not unusual, indeed many recent literature has cited a continual gap in language competence (see Hermina, 2014). Her self-assessment is likely the outcome of a genuine disadvantage in bilingual education, coupled with a level of linguistic anxiety, showcased in her restrained behaviour during English class.

EXAMPLE 9. PENELOPE, MARKETING COFP, CONSTRUCTION OF THE COMPETENT BILINGUAL ENGLISH SPEAKER (PT. II)

| **Original** | | **Transcription** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 100 Katherine | Y: pol qué tu dice aprendel | 100 Katherine | And why do you say "learn |
| 101 | ingléh, allá? O sea, | 101 | English" there? I mean= |
| 102 Penelope | No sé na:da:, no sé | 102 Penelope | I don't know, I don't know |
| 103 | nada. En lo absoluto | 103 | anything. Absolutely |
| 104 | no se nada. Me encan- | 104 | nothing I know. I would |
| 105 | taría aprendel, pero no | 105 | love to learn, but I don't |
| 106 | sé nada, nada. | 106 | know anything, anything. |

In the first part of this interaction above, Penelope constructs a language identity that is completely disengaged to English language and its culture. She insists that she would want to learn, but that she would not know where to start. This lack of confidence in English as a second language is comparable to that of her peer, Ignacio from the Jock CofP. Through repetition she emphasizes her state of helplessness and linguistic anxiety: *no sé nada, no sé nada* (Lines 105 - 106).

In her second turn, Lines 110 to 121 she provides a picture of her disadvantaged educational upbringing where there were many shifts in language teachers, at times no teachers were appointed at all to teach the language, such that her learning experience

was very disruptive. This experience paints a different picture than that provided by Resnick (1993) which assured the up-to-date standards and infrastructure of public schools. Penelope references her classmates, who had public school experiences in other schools, but unlike her they are more comfortable speaking English. However, this she accounts do to having access to subscription cable television, an accessory that her family cannot afford. Here we see once more as elements of class and socioeconomic access are also referenced as playing a role in a students' upbringing and access to a prestigious code, corroborating previous work by Hermina (2014) on 'two speech communities' maintained by socioeconomic and educational disparities. However, as we have seen in other cases, such is not the case for everyone in O'Reilly High, and a view of two distinct communities on the basis of socioeconomic background is highly reductionist, as students' have agency.

EXAMPLE 10. PENELOPE, MARKETING COFP, CONSTRUCTION OF THE COMPETENT BILINGUAL ENGLISH SPEAKER (PT. III)

| **Original** | | **Transcription** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 107 Katherine | ¿Así que tu piensa que la | 107 Katherine | So do you think that public |
| 108 | ehcuela pública no te ha | 108 | schools have not prepared |
| 109 | preparado? | 109 | you? |
| 110 Penelope | No me a preparado | 110 Penelope | No, it has not prepared me |
| 111 | polque: yo: ehte:, ehte: yo: e:n | 111 | because I umm umm when I was |
| 112 | ehcuela de elemental no tenía | 112 | in elementary school I didn't |
| 113 | maehtra de ingléh, | 113 | have an English teacher, |
| 114 | e:n e:n ehcuela intelmedia | 114 | in in intermediate |
| 115 | tampoco, y aquí pol primera | 115 | neither, and here for the first time |
| 116 | veh en doce. No, pero: en otrah | 116 | in twelfth. No, but in the other |
| 117 | ehcuela-- todo mih compañeroh | 117 | schools – all of my classmates |
| 118 | saben, pero porque todo elloh | 118 | know, but because all of them |
| 119 | tienen cable, y ven otrah | 119 | have cable, and they watch other |
| 120 | cosa, pero yo no. | 120 | stuff, but I don't. |

In the second part of this excerpt, she discusses the unjust way by which she is perceived at school as being lazy, stupid, and incapable of producing work in the English classroom. She emphasizes the irony is being told 'lee', 'entiende ehto', 'define ehto', Lines 129 to 131 when she feels in complete disadvantage to others in the classroom as her did not have the strong foundation or any type of stable or continuous foundation in her language learning experiences. She even goes as far as to say that 12$^{th}$ grade marks one of the few instances in which she has always had an English teacher, and has been gradually learning little by little.

She does not position herself in opposition to English culture, simply as someone who is unable to enjoy the benefits of being bilingual. She defends her own academic worth and fights negative stereotypes by which she is comfronted with on a daily basis in Lines 141 to 144: *tu no puede decil que polque alguien no sepa hacel algo, que eh bago, que eh un ehtúpido, simplemente polque no sabe hacel algo* 'you cannot tell someone that because they do not know how to do something, that they are lazy, that they are stupid, simply because they do not know how to do something.' Thus, while for some, globalisation has provided a venue of English language encounters never-before experienced, others still stand in positions of disadvantage, engaging in local vernaculars, as they do not feel competent enough to invest in their second language.

EXAMPLE 11. PENELOPE, MARKETING COFP, CONSTRUCTION OF THE COMPETENT BILINGUAL ENGLISH SPEAKER (PT. IV)

| **Original** | | **Transcription** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 122 Katherine | Tu ehta con… Mrs. Cruz, | 122 Katherine | You are with…Mrs. Cruz, |
| 123 | ¿cómo te va en esa clase? | 123 | how's it going in that class? |
| | | | |
| 124 Penelope | Pue:, Mrs. Cruz eh… | 124 Penelope | Well, Mrs. Cruz she's… |
| 125 | a vece piensa que uno | 125 | sometimes she thinks that one |
| 126 | hace lah cosa pol hace:la, pero | 126 | does things on purpose, but |
| 127 | ella quiere que uno lea sin uno | 127 | she wants one to read without |
| 128 | sabel na:da: de ingléh. Ella no | 128 | knowing any English. She can't |
| 129 | me puede decil, "lee:" | 129 | tell me "read", |
| 130 | "entiende: ehto", "define | 130 | "understand this", "define |
| 131 | ehto", cuando yo no sé hacel | 131 | this", when I don't know how to |
| 132 | na:da:. Y no sé hace:lo, ella no | 132 | do anything. I don't know, she |
| 133 | me puede decil a mi que eh yo | 133 | can't tell me that it's that I don't |
| 134 | no quiero hacel el trabajo. Y | 134 | want to do the job. And |
| 135 | ella no se lleva conmigo | 135 | she doesn't get along with me |
| 136 | pueh polque piensa que yo soy | 136 | well because she thinks I'm |
| 137 | baga, que ehto y que lo otro. | 137 | lazy, that this and that. |
| 138 | Pero:, ella no me puede decil | 138 | But, she can't tell me |
| 139 | eso, simplemente po0que yo | 139 | that, simply because I |
| 140 | no sepa ingléh. Polque | 140 | don't know Engish. Because |
| 141 | tu no puede decil que polque | 141 | you can't tell that because |
| 142 | alguien no sepa | 142 | someone who doesn't know |
| 143 | hacel algo, que eh | 143 | how to do something, that |
| 144 | bago, que eh un ehtúpido, | 144 | they're lazy, they're stupid, |
| 145 | simplemente polque no | 145 | simply because they don't |
| 146 | sabe hacel algo. | 146 | know how to do something. |

### 7.6.3 Summary of the Construction of the Competent Bilingual

For the discussion of elite and non-elite schools, Bonny Norton's (1997) idea of ownership of English, serves as a telling construct to describe Puerto Rican bilingualism. It alludes to ideologies of performance and *right to claim* a second language identity, and this whole idea that they will never fully be "a native speaker" – a *second language speaker imposter syndrome*. This construct often related to notions of self-confidence, self-assessment and self-identification. It is especially interesting to consider elite contexts whereby students' entire socialization is shaped by bilingual practices (Spanish and English), and yet students who are brought in these linguistic circumstances still restrain themselves from claiming *native speaker status* or fluency in bilingualism. For instance, Zuriel (an Outsider) demonstrated that despite a priviledged upbringing and elite education, he feels at linguistic disadvantage, linguistically anxious, and he describes his 'competence' as restricted to vocabulary types (e.g., English months, the alphabet, etc.). Those that feel more at ease with their English, such as Erica (born and raised in Boston), struggle to lay claims to Spanish –her childhood was shaped by Spanish, but her current life stage was characterised by heavy English use. Others born on the island with English-dominant styles, Fernando (Pop culture) and Pilar (Choir) this section, describe feeling more ownership to English as it shapes their daily lifestyles and identities. Pablo (Gamer CofP) claims ownership to both languages. He does not see one coming at cost of the other, rather, describes a diglossic-type of situation for his languaging uses, where he practices seperateness of 'codes': (1) Spanish-dominant with family, (2) English-dominant (or mixed) with friends. In this sense, even metalinguistic statements of self and language practices project differences in how students see themselves in relation to English ownership, despite having similar educational socialisation.

For students in non-elite contexts the linguistic insecurity is greater. While certain students laid claim to English-speaking competency, such as Josue (from Jock CofP), Puma (Gamer CofP), most are hesistant to label themselves fully fledged competent speakers. This is particularly the case for students on the Spanish-monolingual style of the spectrum (according to Chapter 6's findings). Hesitation in English ownership is even visible among the highest of English users, David from the Bookworm-Rocker CofP

when he communicates feeling linguistically anxious speaking in native-speaker English settings. Others lay receptive and functional claims to English, such as Martin's self-assessment "lo interpreto" (I can interpret it), or Ignacio's "I am 80% competent". The latter, communicate a stage of complete helplessness and linguistic disadvantage, such is the case with Dánica (Jock CofP) and Penelope (Marketing CofP).

## 7.7 CHAPTER SUMMARY

### *Overview*

The present chapter has set out to discuss the *ideological* component of Silverstein's total linguistic fact, and the role of macro ideologies in the construction of *local* meaning in interaction. That is, the present Chapter has set out to uncover how ideologies or social meanings are constructed and challenged in interaction, and how youth engage in acts of identity through variable language use and orientations to subjects of local relevance to their identities in school, and broader identities as Puerto Ricans. Language practices were measured against these existing ideologies and those discussed in initial chapters on the historical roles of languages in Puerto Rico (Chapter 3), as well as emerging ideologies discussed in initial sections of this Chapter: for instance, the ideology that those who speak English in O'Reilly High are necessarily labelled as being a part of the Rocker CofP, and those who are Spanish-dominant are necessarily Jock or Caco leaning, or more positively oriented to elements of the local Spanish culture. With these ideologies as strating points to this Chapter, acts of identities were later observed alongside stated local ideologies and macroideologies discussed in Chapter 3. Themes of national and ethnic identity, cultural alignments (local versus nonlocal), and construction fo bilingual identities were discussed. These were featured alongside emerging themes throughout the ethnography, such as the issue of class and race, and how the Puerto Rican youth oriented to these ideas. Ultimately, this chapter served to observe identity as it is constructed in interaction through language use, thus following 3rd wave post-structuralists approaches to the role of language in society.

*Identity as flexible and dependent on speaker*

The way language was used to construct alignments or disalignments to these themes was also discussed, following the framework set-forth by Michael Silverstein

(2001) on meaning making and indexicality that emphasizes the dynamic, fluid, and multiple nature of meaning in language, such that it is not restricted to people's ideologies of language, rather that it is intersubjectively created in interation; furthermore, for a definition of meaning based on previous uses of language form as well as present uses, such that meaning like identity is never static but open to change across interactions. In this way, I spoke about how Puerto Rican adolescents aligned to certain metapragmatic, or enregistered ideologies of language and society, and how they disaligned to them through language practices. Here we saw how communities of practice in Mission High were more likely to aligned positively to incorporating English onto their definitions of what it means to be Puerto Rican, and consequently many had little trouble also viewing mainland culture or people as having the right to claim Puerto Rican identity. Recall Tatiana's (Pop Culture enthusiast) definition of Puerto Rican culture, one which included celebrity figures with ethnic and cultural ties to officially recognised places in the United States (such as Hawaii). In this way, members of Mission High were able to challenge traditional views or conceptualisations of what it means to be an *authentic* islander, and the set of characteristics one must necessarily possess - traditionally, lineage by two parents, and to be brought up on the island, rather than in mainland settings, and preferably with the Spanish language – to an islander who is able to engage in two cultures without neither necessarily threatening the other.

*Identity as multivalent*

The theory of indexicality suggests that no language form can be directly traced to a single meaning, rather that the meaning of language is dynamic, ever-chaging, dependent on context, user, speaker, addressee, and so forth. In this same way, we observed how Tatiana and Erica engaged in bilingual styles when discussing Puerto Rican culture, and orienting to the culture, while others such as Emmanuel were more likely to cross onto Spanish dominant styles to talk about Puerto Rico. Furthermore, we saw Miguel's strategic use of AAVE features such as to index his own personal style and experiences as a mainland bilingual, but at the same time, we saw him engage in PR Spanish insertional styles when discussing place names, or family members in Puerto Rico. In O'Reilly High we saw how a group of students that were inclined to partake in English-dominant practices, such as those from the Bookworm CofP and Advanced English, defended the public school system and their experiences in O'Reilly as not necessarily deficient or less than private school education. In this way, students actively

fought negative stereotypes tied to their schools and social backgrounds, all the while engaging in creative bilingual styles that many accounts of language use on the island have overlooked (pg. 451). In this same way, Roberto from Mission High private school defended public schools against negative stereotypes and labelling strategies imposed upon by In-Between Jock Miguel. Miguel providing negative assessments through English insertional labels, and Roberto fighting back with Spanish-dominant language, a languaging act that is unusual for Mission where insertional and bilingual styles are prevalent, furthermore, an ideological stance that is unusual to find in private school settings were discourses of English, class, and prestige are dominant.

*Identity as changing*

The approach adopted in this chapter is also compatible with other iterations or similar theories, such as those to do with speaker positionality or variable stance-taking or identity-building in interaction (cf. Goffman, 1979). As such, representation of discourse by observing variable alignments or potential indexical moves was deemed accurate, as it highlighted that even within a single speaker no value or social meaning of language remains static, but a speaker may contradict himself, or shift positions through talk such that it is not possible to capture their identities or social meanings by incorporating one explanation or a single label. For instance, momentary acts of identity or position-making strategies did not necessarily corroborate with a speaker's overall linguistic behaviour, or to their linguistic behaviour in a particular point in time when discussing a different matter to a different addresse. I suggest that this in it of itself captures the controversy, or the metapragmatic awareness, that students' posses in terms of being aware of what it means to speak English on the island. For English users, the strife was admitting to their salient English practices in face of mainstream discourses of cultural hegemony and inequality imposed upon by a prestigious culture and powerful country, this was particularly the case for members of the Choir CofPs in Mission High and the Bookworm-Rocker CofPs in O'Reilly High, who led in the incorporation of English turns or matrices. Recall Pilar's assessment of English as not important to survive in Puerto Rico, furthermore, her evaluation later during the interview when discussing her own style, she shifts from her original standpoint such as to defend her own bilingual practices, as 'languages are mixing up everywhere', thus Spanish and English are two good *bases* to have (pg. 464). In the Pop Culture Enthusiast CofP we witnessed Tatiana provide a surprising alignment to American culture by labelling as different when I asked

whether she would be able to identify with American culture: *eh que allá…everything e tan diferente* "it's that over there…everything is so different" (pg. 445). Her stance was unexpected considering her high engagements in bilingual practices, as well as American pop culture. Yet, later on, when describing Puerto Rican culture, she goes on to include Bruno Mars to her definition of what is Puerto Rican – a celebrity figure born and raised in Hawaii, with a Puerto Rican mother. In this case, it appears that her initial assessment of American culture is somewhat not as strong as she states in "very different", particularly if she uses elements of that culture to define Puerto Rican culture. In this way, we are able to appreciate the unstable nature of identity, as well as language use in interaction.

In this similar way, we saw David and Luis from Bookworm CofPs switch back and forth in admitting to their own English and bilingual practices. A a clear example to this was Luis' variable stance-taking in relation to English use on the island: from 'I am one of those English dominant speakers' to 'People who use English all the time to seem fancy with no good reason', thus criticizing others who use English because they want to act superior to others. The stances present an ideological dilemma, perfectly encapsulated by a stated provided by Valdez (2016): 'To be or not to be bilingual in Puerto Rico'. That is to say, despite Luis' obvious ties to the English language as well as obvious interests in things that take place in that language, he fought against his inner self to project someone who belonged to the island, someone with a legimate claim to being Puerto Rican, such that he is also able to partake in the local demonising or ostrocizing of cultural traitors, or English-speaking Puerto Ricans. David attempted to paint himself as a bilingual speaker most dominant in Spanish with ambitions of being able to have native-like competence in English. However, at a later stage during the interview, he goes on to state that he feels that he can express himself better in English than in Spanish, particularly when interacting with friends.

*Identity as Relational*

The relational nature by which identity is constructed intersubjectively is something that is visible across all individual interview interactions and my presence in the two school communities. As, indeed, it has been well established in sociolinguistics research that while certain elements of participants' speech remain the same throughout interactions, others are altered so as to accommodate to addresse, in this sense identity is always constructed dialogically in interaction. For instance, in cases when Zuriel felt shy about

his own language competences and knowledge of English, when I gave him the positive evaluative statement of "that's cool", his next turn was realised in English as well with an "I know", whereas during the rest of the interview event, Zuriel primarily incorporated PR Spanish dominant turns. Other cases, particularly between focus group interviews and individual interviews could be observed. While many of Luis' turns to me were in English dominant matrices during his ethnographic interview, when partaking in acts of Othering in front of company – in this case, Pedro – Luis suddenly switches to PR Spanish styles so as to authenticate his position as an islander and also appeal to his friend Pedro, a Spanish-dominant speaker, who demonstrated some level of English insertions.

Perhaps a more interesting display of relational construction of identities took place in Othering practices in focus group interviews, as members of Mission High negotiated what it meant for someone to be from public school, Roberto went from being labelled as tough and potentially a bully by Miguel, to eventually coming to an agreement that people are the same no matter where you go and engage in similar practices.

*Identity as a Local Construct*

Some, as we mentioned, fought the notion of "you are what you do", such as Dave who listens to rock, plays video games, and has other investments in taget language, but still wishes to not be labelled and still criticizes the English-speaking Puerto Rican. Dave, admired by his peers across different CofPs for his unique persona, lived up to his social engagements, practices, and interests by partaking in high levels of English insertions (40+) in his own CofP. Ideologically, this Chapter has painted a more complicated picture of him, as someone who actively fights against the extreme side of the bilingualism spectrum, when people use English all the time: "they get cocky…Tiffany!" in this sense he shifts in identity positions according to the local context or topic being discussed. During this part of the interview, for instance, he tried to legitimize himself as an authentic islander by providing a point of contrast, an extreme Other, who he assures us that is in complete opposition to who he is, and why he uses English. At the same time, he is quick to defend his own practices with a "Why stop learning… new things?" This seemingly contradictory stance staking of pro-English and anti-English identities also work for his own projection of self presented in Chapter 5 and 7: as someone who cannot and will not be labelled.

For Erica of the Choir Girl CofP, her style and practices tied well with her assessment of the United States: "A lot of people say… that they take away from our

culture… but it makes us richer (culturally)". Like Tatiana, Erica presents two indivisible cultures, already intergrated, with a lot of back and forth influence. She then goes on to list television shows, movies, and books that cross over to the island from the mainland, thus highlighting the presence and influence of the United States, which transcends government and political ties but affect the every day lives of Puerto Ricans. This *hybridity* or embrace of multiculurality and multiple selves is also exhibited in Pilar's assessment of bilingual talk on the island "Language mixing up everywhere, English is mixing with Spanish here… Spanish is mixing with English there". Furthermore, in terms of being able to observe the construction of social identities together with these ideologies, interesting subcultural oppositions were brought to view: the Caco-Jock versus Rocker-Pop divide, ultimately representative of local versus mainland engagements and practices.

*Identity as Informed by Macrosociological Ideologies on Ways of Speaking and Being*

Identity is informed by macrosociological ideologies on ways of speaking and being. This is particularly the case for the Rocker versus Caco divide essential to identity acts among the Puerto Rican youth. Emmanuel from the In-Between CofP in Mission High provided the following assessment "when you listen to specific type of music… you inevitably inherit a certain set of characteristics." In a way, both of these perspective feed onto what we know of identity theory: participants are quick to detect and partake in essentialising of others, or labelling practices, such as the ostracization of *Rockers* or *Cacos*, but are more likely to paint a complicated picture of themselves or those immediate to them, leading us to the following interpretaton 'I am different', 'I cannot be labelled', 'I am not like them'.

The private-public school divide tapped into something that was previously unobserved in studies of Puerto Rican youth, but had prominence in current studies of elite islanders or professional adults (cf. Perez Casas, 2008; Hermina, 2014). When directly asked to asses the private-public school divide during interviews, Mission High Gamer CofPs pulled out the following blanket statement: 'they are cacos', 'they get into fights', 'the education there is not as strong', etc. Beyond school dynamics, these ideologies of Educational-Other provide us with a greater insight of a class divide elite versus non-elite, and furthermore, locally inclined and by default 'ignorant' versus the prestigious, cosmopolitan and well-educated. The role of this type of socializing and way of thinking in the high school 'hot house' has its repercussions later on in life in terms of

island social dynamics, the extent to which these ideologies carry on into adulthood and the professional and social relations thereafter, remains a subject of inquiry. The role English language education plays in facilitating career opportunities on the island is also a subject that merits further inspection, although popular opinion contends that English is important for the workplace as many job advertisements include it in their requirement descriptions.

*Calls for Ethnography*

The findings in this chapter support the calls for ethnography or the inclusion of anthropological methods in sociolinguistics that has been prominent in the latest installment of language and identity research (cf. Blommaert, 2007; Copland & Creese, 2015; Eckert, 1997; Rampton, Maybin, Roberts, 2015; Rampton, 2007, 2010; Sealey, 2007; Woolard, 2008; and others). They demonstrate that while numbers can inform us about practices and repertoires across communities, the answer as to how, why, and for what purposes and social ends still remains unclear. Having ethnographic insight to context, social dynamics in a communities, and the local costruction of meaning, allows us to observe in a more authentic and accurate way the role of identity in interaction, and, ultimately, the role of language in society – in a way that goes beyond traditionally established top-down labels. In this sense we view how English can be used to talk about aspects of education, business, pop culture, television, and the United States, but simultaneously they can be used to talk about friendships, self-identity and social identity (through labelling) and family dynamics – a subject thought to be realised in the local vernacular due to its intimate ideological attachments.

# CHAPTER 8

## CONCLUSION

*Review*

Throughout this thesis I have constructed a descriptive picture of the social role of English in adolescent communities of practice in Puerto Rico. As a country in the middle of an economic crisis, for many in this present study, English represents a way out of this situation and towards self-improvement as it broadens their horizons in the workforce as well as regionally, in terms of whether they wish to pursue their careers abroad. Thus, the role and status of the English language is quite essential for the fate and lives of many Puerto Ricans' as it is often the linguistic gatekeeper to upward mobility. Three overarching aims motivated this thesis, these all revolved around being able to discern the total linguistic fact (or TLF) of English on the island:

(1) **Contextualised use of language (s):** Do Puerto Rican adolescents use bilingual strategies towards their construction of identities (or construction of meaning in interaction)? If so, to what extent? (Chapter 6)
(2) **Structure and language:** Do adolescents social histories (e.g. education, class, communities of practice) constraint or encourage their likelihood to adopt bilingual styles in their speech? How so? (Chapter 5, 6).
(3) **Ideologies of speaking:** What role do ideologies of language play, if any, in the orientation and use of English in interaction? (e.g. Chapter 7).

These different aspects of social meaning in language were observed in the youth of Puerto Rico, subject to all the latest developments of Late Modernity, interconnectivity, increase in social media forms of communication, and mobility. Indeed, the study of globalisation has a lot of interest sociological and behavioral implications for remote regions of the role, or places that would traditionally be observed under a more homogenous and linguistically conservative lens, such is the case with many postcolonial contexts (see Bhatt, 2008; Canagarajah, 2009; Kasanga, 2010, 2012; and others). Thus,

*the global youth* – and Puerto Rican youth included – are finding different viable pathways whereby they can become exposed to a wide array of linguistic practices, engage in them, and achieve some level of competence outside of formal educational settings (see Canagarajah, 2013; James, 2009; Rampton, Arnaut, & Spotti, 2015). These linguistic trends inspired by global movements and current developments, were certainly visible throughout the triangulation process, or the bringing together of different sources of linguistic data: from the distribution of official documents, to the agentive acts of identity in the construction of event flyers or formulation of graffiting (Chapter 5); to the audible languaging practices that made up the voices behind this study (Chapter 6); to the observable and more nuanced acts of identities, that playfully drew on an array of existing languaging resources beyond current existing typologies of bilingualism (Chapter 7).

**Contextualised use of language(s)**

- *Do Puerto Rican adolescents use bilingual strategies towards their construction of social identities? If so to what extent?*

The first facet of this research aimed to observe the contextual roles of English and Spanish in each school environment. Following ethnographic fashion, the role of *context* - or having insider knowledge to the social meaning behind certain ways of speaking - in natural settings was considered as indispensable for the analysis of language to take place. In this way, I conducted 6 months of semi-structured observations in two school environments of the coastal town of Mayaguez, Puerto Rico. Through processes of "contextualization" or understanding of context I was able to trace how specific language choices or styles obtained meaning as "they index(ed) relevant aspects of the context" (Wortham, 2008). That is, the social and symbolic currency of English and Spanish in public and private school settings was deduced based on these observations, particularly from an administrative and instructional standpoint. These social roles were also observed in terms of how they were instructed upon the students. While education is not unquestionably the sole source of language, it is the institution in which certain practices are encouraged. And, as Eckert (2000) contends, education also plays an integral role in a person's life, as it is where individuals grow up with relative stability and social interactions, such that social bonds forged here an intensified and form a "social hothouse". Education by Eckert's definition provides the circumstances by which communities of practice are forged and social meanings of language are negotiated and

created. By Bourdieu's (1979) standards education is an important social institution by which power dynamics are forged, maintained, and enforced to future generations. Thus, education plays an important role in indoctrinating language ideologies of what is prestigious, desirable, and powerful. They are potential grounds for symbolic violence to take place, or the "imposition on subordinated groups by the dominant class of an ideology which legimates and naturalizes the status quo" (Oxford Reference, 2011). Ideologies that may have sociological repurcussions in cases were marginalized communities are involved, as well as postcolonial and colonial settings like Puerto Rico. Within the context of Puerto Rico, education represents the 'battleground' (Mazak, 2007) where the war of languages and national identities is fought. As such, my ethnographic observations allowed me to tap into these language dynamics from an official standpoint (top-down), involving teachers and members of administration, as well as from a grassroots bottom-up standpoint. In these observations diverse and unexpected language currencies were detected. For instance, the principal of Mission High encouraged the purity of the Spanish language, claimed that the school followed a "half a day in Spanish and half a day in English" policy, but was actually found were hybrid bilingual practices dependent on teacher and their language competences. For instance, STEM subjects (to do with hard sciences) which are usually thought of to be conducted in English, such as Mathematics, were taught in spoken Puerto Rican Spanish, all the while some of the slides and materials were in English. For classes like Physics, again the majority of the content and negotiation of meaning took place in Puerto Rican Spanish, but the textbook, tests, and assignments were realized in English, and specific terminology was discussed in English. In official signages from the principal's office, text was reproduced in Puerto Rican Spanish. For classroom practices of signage it depended on the teacher, but there was a high preference for incorporating English signs that discussed subject-specific concepts. For O'Reilly High we saw more continuous roles of Spanish, as even Math and Science textbooks were provided in the Spanish language – the local vernacular. In terms of student-created signage, however, we saw a grassroots movement to challenging the status quo and what was traditionally expected from public school students. Interestingly, many English and translanguaging signs were found around areas where Bookworm, Gamer and Marketing CofPs interacted during lunch time (Cooperativa region).

**Structure of language**

- Do adolescents social histories constraint or encourage their likelihood to adopt bilingual styles in interaction? How?

In Chapter 6 I demonstrated how well-defined groups within the public school system, with shared interests, characteristics, behaviors, and repertoires, were able to behave beyond what was expected from them, and take agency over the way they expressed themselves in their social interactions, and in their own constructions of social identities. They served as counterexamples to the established norm and language policies, as well as the dominant academic discourses that depict the public school student as *unknowing* or *unengaging* in bilingual styles (cf. Pousada, 2000; Perez Casas, 2008; Hermina, 2014). This was certainly the case for David, Pepe, Luis, Bianca, and Federico, members from the Rocker CofPs and simultaneous innovators and leaders in bilingual practices. Furthermore, I also demonstrated that those with financial stability, or higher in the economic ladder, such as Sara (Rocker CofP), Bobi (Jock CofP), and Esteban (Marketing CofP) did not engage in bilingual styles to a greater extent than their peers. In Mission High, I demonstrated the different manifestations of bilingualism across social groups, such that students did not collectively use English frequently in their social styles as expected, and some groups were more Spanish-prone than others. For elite settings, communicative style was considerably contingent on peer group affiliation (i.e. community of practice). For instance, the Pop Enthusiasts Group had an overall preference for Spanish turns, coupled with constituent and lexical level insertions; the Gamers CofP were least likely to engage in acts of bilingualism, favoring minimal single-word insertions (or English borrows) based on gaming practices; and, lastly, the Choir Girls CofP represented those most likely to adopt English and hybrid styles, at times at expense of the ideological Spanish norm. In this way, while some ethnographic studies on the island allude to overall bilingualism on the island elite (cf. Perez Casas, 2008; Mazak, 2007), this study demonstrates the different styles and preferences one may find in elite settings. I have attempted to present in this study a sample of different youth communities and their sociolccultural practices, language use, and belief systems (or language ideologies). I did not choose *competence* (i.e. advanced proficiency) or *elitism* as prerequisites to who could take part of my study (cf. Torruellas, 1990); my participant criteria was open to Spanish dominant speakers, English dominant speakers, and bilinguals all across the languaging spectrum. The nature of which I made my 'call for

participants' was in hopes of being able to grasp a fuller picture of the different communicative styles present on the island of Puerto Rico (Pousada, 2000; 2007), rather than eliciting a select sample of pariticipants with particular linguistic skill sets. Having this insight on a wide range of styles allowed me to arrive at a more accurate interpretation of case-by-case, individual, speech styles and the full range of repertoires that made up the worlds of private school students and public school students. In order to truly assess the current state of a language, not only is insight to the macro-sociological distributions and norms needed, but an insight the micro-sociological, case-by-case distributions and meaning makings. This is fueled my rationale and decision to incorporate a community of practice approach (Lave and Wegner, 1991) coupled with ethnography-style participant observations (cf. Hymes, 1964; 2003; Copland & Creese, 2015; Eckert, 2000, 2004). In order to provide an updated account of the contemporary role of English on the island, I chose youths as my primary sample demographic.

**Ideologies of speaking**

- What role(s)do ideologies of language play, if any, in the orientation and use of English in interaction?

In Chapter 7 I demonstrated how subjects intersubjectively and dialogically negotiated aspects of their identities in interaction, such that their ways of speaking and identifications were not static, rather often fluid and dependent on interactional circumstance – e.g. the addressee, question (or subject) under discussion, the space and time, participants in interaction, and their own shifting ideological stances. Variable alignments or acts of identities were demonstrates across themes of language, national identity, culture, ethnicity, subculture, class, and competence. Several trends were detected in acts of identity, such as the essentialising of social Others – particularly the case for O'Reilly High – as well as the essentialising of the linguistic extreme versus "me" – the case for many skilled and creative bilinguals, who insisted at various times during their interviews that there were others that used English more than them, and that they did it purposefully such as to flaunt their superiority or elite status to others. All the while, those that did not engage in English-dominant practices, were most likely to restrain from providing negative evaluations of English speakers, such as Bobi and Josue with their *que se queden hablando inglés* ("let them stay speaking English") and evaluative phrase *normal* or ("it's cool"). Others, like Dalia, provided the more usual

assessments, compatible with dominant island rhetoric "it's unnecessary" or "sometimes they cross the line".

***Implications***

This thesis offers a small contribution to the larger existing body of work that observes language variation and change in sociolinguistics. It joins other existing efforts of intergrating post-structuralists approaches (cf. Rampton, Maybin, & Roberts, 2014; Woolard, 2008; Wortham, 2008; Mendoza-Denton, 2008; Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Hymes, 2003; Silverstein, 2003; Eckert, 2000; and others) to the study of language in society, or to our descriptions of languages across peoples, cultures, and societies. Thus understanding that language does not operate in a theoretical vacuum, nor is it solely descriptable through the observation of a linguistic form or a set of "universal" rules, nor through prescription of a fixed set of social characteristics prescribed by a researcher. Rather, that language is best described as a *social action* that occurs in ordinary day-to-day interactions, and thus should be explored from a phenomenological and naturalistic perspective, incorporating observational and ethnographic methods.

The present research yielded an interesting emerging picture: one that suggests that not all communities behave the same with regards to the English language, nor do they orient the same way or in expected ways to language use and issues of social identities. Such diversity and complexity in social relations in public school settings has remained relatively unexplored in research to do with bilingualism in Puerto Rico, in favor of a more trend-driven approach that looks at the overall, in expense of the micro, in vivo interactions, dependent on intersubjective relations and identities. Furthermore, most studies have assumed public school students to be unengaging, monolingual individuals, in positions of disadvantage. While these sweeping generalisations possess some element of truth, as we saw in several participants from lower socioeconomic backgrounds in Jock, Marketing and Gamer CofPs in O'Reilly High, we have also seen that these do not necessarily hold on an individual, case-by-case basis, and that peer group dynamics provide additional insight that allow a researcher to understand the distribution of language in a way Census statistics or self-report questionnaires would not allow. For instance, Pepe's creative and salient insertional strategies, despite his disadvantaged position as a member of a lower socioeconomic group.

Other implications brought upon this study is the problematic nature of labelling someone as bilingual, or even in partaking "translanguaging" practices, when little reference is made to the specific practices that are involved in such acts. That is, despite the move towards more repertoire-driven definitions of language, many researchers still virtually describe bilinguals in terms of engaging in one language or another, rather than the specific styles and registers called upon in interaction. This study has attempted to provide finer details of talk, such as phonological and suprasegmental details, as well as structural details of talk, to define the practices found in Puerto Ricans. The present type of analysis, to my knowledge, has never been done before on island Puerto Ricans.

Other implications involve translating current discourses in sociolinguistics of globalization, superdiversity, and translanguaging to a neocolonial settings that still actively battles against its political uncertainty, or being able to decipher what it is in relation to the United States and the world. Such intense ideological attachments encouraged interesting acts of identity that are not necessarily found in the narratives of mobility, superdiversity, and cosmopolitanism of bilinguals in Europe, for instance.

A fifth implication is that the present research provides an account of the stylistic strategies in regards to English of island Puerto Ricans, also U.S. citizens. Indeed, most studies that have observed Hispanic Englishes or Spanish-English bilingualism in Latinos have been conducted in mainland settings, where the influence of English is undeniable and constant, but the influence of Spanish is variable. The present study provides the reverse narrative to this scenario, and consequently presents its own repertoire of languaging opportunities as well as social meanings accomplished through acts of bilingualism.

### *Limitations*

Despite the implications and contributions that ethnography allows for, there are also a number of limitations and setbacks. One of them was the methodological trade-off of being unable to spend more time with a particular school community or peer group. Indeed, attempting to balance my time between schools proved to be a demanding task, and at times I regretted being unable to continue my observations on a particular group or school on a certain day. And, ultimately, garner representative sample sizes for each peer group that was detected. For instance, only 4 out of 8 members of the Jock CofP were reached, and the Bookworm-Rocker CofP surpassed any group in terms of participation and demonstrations of interest in this research. This limitation or constraint

was also brought upon time constraints, or only being able to conduct research for a period of 6 months.

In this same way, had I chosen to conduct ethnographic research on one school I would have been able to garner a more representative sample of that school. Moreover, I would have been able to provide a richer qualitative and observational account of a particular community and a greater sense of understanding of their practices. However, given the deep class divides that are apparent in each school community, I would have not been able to arrive at an understanding of the role of class in linguistic affordances and educational opportunities. Ultimately, I would have had an incomplete view of the linguistic situation in Puerto Rico, given the deep economic rifts that exist in each school, where an overwhelming percentage of working class background students attend public school institutions, and more economically settled middle class and upper middle class families send their children to more prestigious schools.

Other potential disadvantages are the nature of ethnography and my role as an active participant in each community. While it is often considered one of the main advantages to ethnography – being able to achieve insider status – it is also one of limitation, as not every community or individual will welcome the idea of a foreigner, researcher, and outsider to remain in a school community for a considerable amount of time. While generally I was able to establish positive rapport with most students and faculty members, others remained suspicious of my interactions and time there throughout the course of my research. Conducting alternative methods to garner naturalistic data, such as the incorporation of self-recordings, may seem as a viable alternative as not only does it seem less invasive, but it also means that the researcher will have less of an active role, or opportunity to taint or influence the data, ultimately garnering more representative speech. However, the act of incorporating self-recordings alone would also mean that I will not necessarily be able to follow or obtain the contextualization knowledge needed to understand the social role of language. Therefore, a dual approach that incorporates both is perhaps most desirable.

### *Future Directions*

In future research perhaps a more in depth view into public school language dynamics should be incorporated. Another worthwhile strategy would be to incorporate self-recorded methods to complement ethnographic observations. A third potential direction would involve multivariate analysis of the different social and linguistic factors

that encourage or inhibit bilingual talk. A comparative ethnography involving a study of the U.S. mainland setting may yield interesting dynamics with regards to language and identity that could corroborate or challenge findings in island contexts.

# APPENDIX I

## Excluded Speakers

A total number of 53 students and 3 teachers were interviewed for this study. Out of those interviewed, 18 interviews were transcribed for linguistic inspection from the private school and 23 interviews from the public school. Thus, a total of 41 ethnographic interviews were conducted and transcribed – one of these was a 2-person interview (Josue and Bobi, from O'Reilly High Public School). 2 group interviews were transcribed (1 conducted in the public school with members of the Bookworm community of practice; the other conducted with members from the Rockers community of practice at O'Reilly High).

Below I include a table with information of the 12 interviewees that were not analyzed for the present study. The reasons for this are as for any other linguistic study: time and budget constraints. However, my intention is to incorporate the data gathered from these interviews in further studies.

*Table 48* Demographic profiles of excluded participants from O'Reilly High.

| Pseud. | Sex | Socioeconomic Background | Council State | English Proficiency | Community of Practice |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Juan | Male | MC | N | Intermediate | BW |
| Layla | Female | LMC | N | Advanced | BW |
| Marco | Male | UWC | N | Advanced | BW |
| Mauricio | Male | LWC | Y | Basic | AC |
| Flor | Female | LWC | N | Basic | AC |
| Lily | Female | UWC | N | Intermediate | AC |
| Sofía | Female | WC | N | I don't speak English | AC |

Note: Where BW stands for "Bookworm" community of practice, and AC stands for "Academic" in that the members from this community of practice belonged to the student graduating class committee and hung out in the Spanish classroom. This community of practice was excluded altogether from the study due to time constraints and also lack of cross-over with Mission High.

Table 49. Excluded participants from Mission High Private School.

| Pseud. | Sex | Socioeconomic Background | Council Estate | English Proficiency | Community of Practice |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Edi | MALE | UM | N | ADV. | CHOIR BOY |
| Lorenzo | MALE | UM | N | ADV. | CHOIR BOY |

## APPENDIX II

# Letter to Gatekeeper[126]

***Katherine Morales, Principal Investigator***
Language Use in Adolescent Communities in Mayaguez; School of Linguistic, Speech and Communication Sciences; University of Dublin– Trinity College;□
Telephone: (787) 360 – 0061 * E-Mail: moralesk@tcd.ie;
Web: https://tcd.academia.edu/KatherineMorales□

21 October 2015

Dear School Administrator,

My name is Katherine Morales, and I am a doctoral candidate in the Faculty of Linguistic, Speech, and Communication Sciences at the University of Dublin – Trinity College. I am writing this letter to request permission to conduct research in your school, as part of my doctoral investigation on language use in adolescent communities in Mayaguez, Puerto Rico.

The purpose of this research is to examine language use in adolescent communities (ages 16 – 18) in school contexts. In particular, I am interested in observing language use in naturalistic settings (during lunch time, after school), although a large part of my study will involve observations inside the classrooms, if granted permission from the teacher. The primary aim behind this study is to observe the role both Spanish and English play in the lives of adolescents in Puerto Rico today.

It is anticipated that this study will contribute to the existing scholarship of languages in Puerto Rico, especially because there is little that is known about the Puerto Rican dialect, particularly that which is spoken by the adolescent community. It is also expected that this study will contribute greatly to existing knowledge of bilingualism on the island.

Note that I am not evaluating the school nor the students' academic (or linguistic) ability in any manner. Both the identity of the school and participants will remain anonymous at all times (during and after the study). Student participation will be entirely voluntary, and the consent of the student's parent or guardian would be required if the student is willing to participate.

Student participation will comprise of being audio-recorded for 30 – 45 minutes after school or during lunch time in informal contexts, whilst socializing with friends. A second part of the study will involve an interview part, in which the student will be asked on their sociodemographic details (regarding age, gender, place of birth, parental occupation), interests, upbringing, friends, and their opinions on Spanish and English on the island. Students are free to answer whatever questions they like, and they may end the interview at any time. A third and large part of this study will involve note-taking and observations in classrooms and outside of classrooms for a maximum duration of 3 – 4 months.

I take this opportunity to stress the confidentiality of the study. I will not, at any point, be using student's real names, nor any identifiable information associated with the student. All data will be treated with the strictest of confidence, and will be stored in a password-protected location to which only I, as the principal researcher, would have access. As previously stated, students are free to withdraw their consent at any time during the study at which point their data will be permanently disposed of. The data will be stored and treated in accordance with Ireland's Data Protection Act (1988, 2003), and the research will conform to Trinity College's ethical guidelines (see www.tcd.ie/slscs/research/ethics for more details). Note that this research has passed approval by the school's ethics committee (see link above for further

[126] The gatekeepers of the two school communities included in this study where different: for the public school, I first had to approach the regional Secretary of Education with this letter and sample instruments (interview topics)

details of this process) and has also been approved by the Department of Education in Puerto Rico (in effect since October 2015).

Unfortunately, due to the nature of the project I am unable to provide financial remuneration for participants. The students' participation, however, will significantly contribute to the existing body of knowledge in the area, and the results could be published in academic journals or presented at conference. Again, I would stress that the identity of the school and students will not be mentioned in any future research. It is also hoped that student's participation in the research may inspire some students to pursue college-level education themselves.

As part of the study, I would like to volunteer for three months as an after- school tutor and/or other school-related activities. In this way, I would be able to give something back to the school, but also build rapport and trust with the students before collecting any data.

I hope that this is something in which your school would consider participating. I would very much welcome the opportunity to discuss the project with you at a time that's convenient, and have listed my contact details at the footer of this letter. I have also attached proposed information leaflets, which provide further details of the study, and which I would distribute to students, parents and school administrators. I have also attached a copy of the proposed consent form for your perusal.

I look forward to hearing from you at your earliest available opportunity, and thank you in advance for considering my request and for reading this letter.

Yours sincerely,

Katherine Morales

Attachments: - Information leaflet + Consent Form (Parent-Student) -Information leafleft + Consent Form (Teacher) -Ethics Approval Letter from the Department of Linguistic, Speech and Communication Sciences -Letter from the supervisor
CONTACT INFORMATION: If you have any questions, concerns or complaints about this research study, its procedures, risks and benefits, you can contact me directly at (787) 833 – 6069 or moralesk@tcd.ie. You are also free to contact my supervisor, Prof. Jeffrey Kallen at jkallen@tcd.ie .

## APPENDIX III

# Participant Information Leaflet

**Language Use in Adolescent Communities in Mayaguez, Puerto Rico**
**Katherine Morales, Doctoral Researcher**
**moralesk@tcd.ie**

You are invited to participate in this research project on the languages of young adolescents in Puerto Rico. This research is important because little is known about the language(s) and dialects of Puerto Rico, especially the language of adolescents. Note that your participation in this research is *voluntary* and *confidential*. Before you decide to participate, it is important that you take time to read this participant information leaflet. If you have any questions or concerns, please feel free to ask me in person, through telephone (787 – 360 - 0061) or email (moralesk@tcd.ie). You may also contact my supervisor Dr. Jeffrey Kallen at jkallen@tcd.ie if you have any further questions.

1. **What is this research about?**

This research aims to understand how adolescents speak among each other in schools in Mayaguez, Puerto Rico.

2. **Why have I been chosen?**

You have been chosen because you are part of the 12th Grade class at Southwestern Educational Society, where this research is taking place. You are suitable for this research because you are an adolescent studying in Mayaguez.

3. **Do I have to participate?**

Whether or not you choose to participate is entirely up to you. You have the right to not participate without there being any repercussions. Note that your participation in this study will be voluntary at all times and you have the right to withdraw your consent or discontinue participation at any time. If you wish to participate, I will give you a consent form to which you are to read carefully and ask any questions if necessary. You will need consent of your guardian or parent if under 18 years of age. Note that in order to partake in this investigation you need the signature of your parent or legal guardian. This form should be returned signed to the principal investigator, and/or academic staff in S.E.S.O.

4. **What will happen if I decide to participate?**

Your participation will involve being audio-recorded for 30-45 minutes during lunchtime and/or after school, while socializing with your friends. A second part of this research will involve a one-on-one interview, where you will be asked on your general background or sociodemographic details (gender, age, place of birth, places lived, parental occupation), interests, hobbies, your opinions about Puerto Rico and the United States and on your opinions on Spanish and English. You are free to answer whatever questions you like, and you may end the interview at any time.

**5. Confidentiality**

Your individual privacy will be maintained in all published and written data resulting from the study. Any information or data obtained from you during this study will be treated confidentially. Your real name will not be stored with any of your data. No other researchers will have access to these records except for my project supervisor and myself. All recordings will be kept on a single personal computer, in a password-protected environment.

**6. Rewards**

You will not be paid for your participation. However, the principal investigator is willing to provide tutoring services, or academic support, in the area of English language. It is anticipated that your participation will contribute to the existing body of knowledge in this area, as the *first* ethnographic study conducted in adolescents in Puerto Rico. The results from this study could be used in academic presentations and/or published in scientific articles. A copy of your interview is also available at your request.

**7. Are there any foreseeable risks?**

There are no foreseeable risks involved with this research.

**8. What will happen after the investigation is completed?**

If you agree to participate, I may play short clips of the recordings as examples in academic conference presentations. A number of sentences from audio recordings may also be transcribed and appear in my thesis. In addition, these phrases may be used in future publications and conferences. However, as previously stressed, your name or other personal information will not be stored with your data, and will not appear in any presentations or publications. Any sensitive materials will be kept in a secure location in the School, which will be locked when the researcher are not present.

**9. Who has ethically reviewed this project?**

This research have been approved by ethics committee of the University of Dublin – Trinity College, Ireland (in effect June 2015), and its methods are in accordance with Ireland's Data Protection Act (1988, 2003) and Trinity College's ethical guidelines. The research has also been approved by the Department of Education in Puerto Rico (in affect since October 2015).

**10. Contact for further information**

**If you have any questions, concerns or complaints about this research study, its procedures, risks and benefits, you can contact me directly at (787) 833 – 6069 or moralesk@tcd.ie. You are also free to contact my supervisor, Prof. Jeffrey Kallen at jkallen@tcd.ie .**

**APPENDIX IV**

# Participant Consent Form

Title of Research Project: Language Use in Adolescents in Puerto Rico

Name of Researcher: Katherine Morales (moralesk@tcd.ie)

Participant Identification Number for this Project:

I confirm that I have read and understood the participant information sheet explaining the research aims of this project, and that I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project. ☐

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without any negative consequences. Additionally, I understand that I am free to decline to answer a question, if I am uncomfortable with answering that question. ☐

I understand that my responses and recordings will be kept strictly confidential by the researcher, in a password-protected environment, and will not be accessed by any other researcher. I also understand that my name will not be linked to the research materials, and that I will not be identified during the duration of the study, or in any further reports that result from the study. ☐

I agree for the data collected from me (transcripts, audio recordings) to be used in future research. ☐

I agree to take part of this research project.

Name of participant (IN PRINT) Participant Signature

Name of parent/legal guardian (IN PRINT) Parental Signature

Date

## APPENDIX V

# A Complete Interview Topic List

GENERAL INFORMATION:

The following are a list of *examples* of potential topics and questions to discuss with research participants. 4-randomly selected questions will be asked to participants' (4 from each section) and participants have the right to accepted or decline to answer a particular question, in which case the analyst will select another question. These questions will be asked in the preferred language of the speaker, the speaker is free to speak whatever way he likes at any time. The principal research will do her best to accommodate to the speech of the speaker, and provide a safe and honest environment with informant. Note that some of these questions might be brought up in focus group recordings.

**General Information: Autobiographical Information**

- Where were your parents born?
- What kind of work do your parents/ grandparents do?
- Where were you raised?
- Do you have any brothers or sisters? Do you get along with them?
- Do you come from a big family?
- Do any of your family members live in the rural regions of Puerto Rico (outside of the city)?
- Do you go to church? If so, where do you go?
- Have you (or your parents) ever lived for a long time outside of Puerto Rico?
  Have you ever visited other places outside of Puerto Rico? Which?

**General Interests**

- What do you do for fun with your friends?
- Where do you go when you want to hang out with you friends?
- Do you like your school?
- Do you have a favourite subject at school? Why is that your favourite subject?
- Do you play any sports? Which?
- Do you like to read? What kind of books do you read?
- What's your favourite type of music?
- Do you watch any television shows? Which are your favourite? Why do you like them?
- Do you use social media? What kind of social media do you use and for what purposes?
- What do you like about using social media and/or the internet? What don't you like?

**(Interest in) Local Culture**

- Do you think that your parents had a different experience from you growing up in Puerto Rico? If so, how?
- What's your favourite city in the West of Puerto Rico?
- What is/are your favourite cities in Puerto Rico? Why?
- Do you like going to the beach? Which beach is your favourite?
- What's your favourite type of Puerto Rican food? Why?
- How often do you watch Puerto Rican television? What kind of shows do you watch?
- How do you feel about the Puerto Rican culture? Are you proud of being Puerto Rican?
- What do you think Puerto Rico is known for by other people from different countries?
- How do you feel about people who live in the metropolitan area of Puerto Rico (e.g. San Juan)?

**(Interest in) Target Culture**

- Do you shop at any American stores on the island? Do you buy more from American stores than local stores? Why?
- Do you watch any television in English or from the United States? How much do you watch?
- Do you watch any television in other languages, from other countries?

- Do you listen to any music in English? Is this music from the United States that you know of, or is it from other countries?
- When you go to the movies, do you watch the movies in English or in Spanish? Why?
- How do you feel about food from the U.S.?

**Future Ambitions**

- What would you like to do after high school?
- Do you see yourself living in Puerto Rico in for a long time?
- Would you ever consider going to university abroad in an English speaking environment?
- Do you see yourself eventually with a family, living in Puerto Rico?
- What job would you like to have in the future?
- Do you see yourself travelling a lot when you grow up?

**Motivations for Acquiring English as a Second Language (Note that these might coincide with answers from previous section)**

- Are you interested in learning English as a second language?
- Do you think it's important to speak it fluently in Puerto Rico? Why or why not?
- Do you think it's important to speak English outside of Puerto Rico?
- Do your parents encourage you to speak/learn English? If yes, in what ways?
- Do you see yourself living abroad in an English-speaking setting?

**Ideologies of Spanish and English**

- How do you think that to be "Puerto Rican" you must speak Spanish? Why or why not?
- How do you feel about Puerto Ricans who speak English all of the time?
- If you see someone at the mall speaking English, what are your first thoughts about her/him?
- How do you feel about the "jibaro" countryside dialect? How do you feel about people who speak the "jibaro" dialect from the country side?
- How do you feel about Spanish Hip Hop slang? How do you feel about people who speak in Spanish Hip Hop slang?
- How do you feel about people who switch between Spanish and English in one sentence?
- How do you feel about people who use Spanish and English online or while texting?
- How do you feel about the signs (road signs, advertisements, etc.) in Puerto Rico that are in English?
- Do you think all Puerto Ricans should be fully bilingual?
- If yes, do you think Puerto Ricans should speak Spanish and English outside of their profession when talking to their friends?
- Do you think the Internet affects the way you speak Spanish/English? If so, how?
- If you had to give up one language for the rest of your life, which one would it be and why?

**Beliefs of English/Spanish language competence**

- Do you feel comfortable around native English speakers when you speak to them in English?
- Do you feel comfortable presenting in English in school (for a school project)?
- Do you feel like your Spanish is better than your English? In which ways?
- Reverse situation: Do you feel like your English is better than your Spanish? In which ways?
- Are you better at writing in English or speaking in English?
- Are you better at writing in Spanish in speaking in Spanish?
- What does being "bilingual" mean to you?

**APPENDIX VII**

# Template for Field Notes

**A set of properties or characteristics in all activities:**

1) The physical setting of the event.
2) The system/procedure followed in this event (s).
3) The people who take part in the events.
4) The practices (including language) visible/observed in events.

**Details about the event:**

1) Type of event.
2) Date and time.
3) Community members involved; degree of participation.
4) Location of event; a physical description of the built environment.
5) Languages used (if you are studying a multilingual community).
   a. By teachers (among each other, to students, to me).
   b. By students (among each other, to teachers, to me).
6) Notable linguistic characteristics of the event.
   a. Topics.
   b. Perceived linguistic features.
   c. Languages in the linguistic landscape (if any).
7) Notable social characteristics of event
   a. Clothing.
   b. Behavior.
   c. Emotional response.

**Other important details to observed/make note of:**

- Social groupings: e.g. the places students choose to eat their lunch.
- Record thinking processes (of researcher): misapprehension & feelings of vulnerability, insight, and breakthrough.
- Record on clothing attire of researcher.
- Reflect on ideas, beliefs, and interpretations.

**Relevant questions to answer while reporting ethnographic findings:**

- How did you arrive at your overall point of view?
- What did you leave behind + what did you leave in?
- What was your rationale for selection?
- From the universe of behavior available to you, how much did you monitor?
- Why did you monitor behavior in some situations and not in others?
- What grounds do you have for determining meaning from the actor's PoV?

**Things to be "on the lookout":**

- Non-finite list:
    - Elements of adornment, style, people's whereabouts and activities in different parts of school and at different times.
    - Eckert (2000: 77): "I recorded some observations of elements of clothing that looked differentiated to me but that eventually turned out not to be salient to the students. But I recorded some that turned out to be salient as well."
- Making sure the process of networking does not lead to focusing on smaller subsets.
- The quality of the analysis depends on the 1) ability to see everyone, 2) the ability to see beyond categories (Eckert, 2000: 77).

**Participant-observations as a way of establishing rapport before conducting interviews:**

- "I made sure that interviews were never my first interaction with an individual, but took place after we knew each other." (Eckert, 2000: 79).
- Construct a random sample of the graduating class in advance, & consult this sample on a regular basis:
    - "I constructed a random sample of the graduating class in advance, and consulted this sample on a regular basis in order to make sure that each person in that sample was – or became – a point of departure for my networking, and to ensure that there weren't groups that I neglected for a long time because they weren't "important enough" to have come onto my radar screen." (Eckert, 2000: 77).

**REFERENCES**

Eckert, P. (2000). *Linguistic variation as social practice*. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers.

Erickson, F. (1984). What Makes School Ethnography 'Ethnographic'?. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, *15*(1), 51-66. http://dx.doi.org/10.1525/aeq.1984.15.1.05x1472p

Levon, E. (2013). Ethnography and recording interaction. In R. Podesva & D. Sharma, *Research Methods in Linguistics* (1st ed., pp. 195 - 215). New York: Cambridge University Press.

**APPENDIX VIII**

# Sample Interviews with English-Dominant Bilinguals

*Sample Excerpt 1: Mission High Public School*
*Transcription conventions description: In bold are the utterances in GenAm. English.*

| | |
|---|---|
| 01 Fiorela | **Hello! Today is December seventeen.** |
| 02 Katherine | Hoy e0 **seventeen**?! Hoy e el cumpleañoh de una amiga mía. |
| 03 Fiorela | ((*laughs*)) **Great friend** ((*laughs*)) |
| 04 Katherine | Sí:, pero eso era cuando yo ehtaba en la Adventihta, **second grade, my** |
| 05 | **[bi: ef ef]**, yo me acueldo que en diciembre dieci-siete era su |
| 06 | cumpleaño, porque eso era como que **finals week,** siempre caía, **and** |
| 07 | **even though we're not friends now, I still remember her birthday.** |
| 08 Fiorela | **There's a girl, Darialy0, I don't know if you know who she is, her** |
| 09 | **birthday is December twenty-fifth.** |
| 10 Katherine | Di:to:, **so she doesn't get twice presents.** |
| 11 Fiorela | **She only gets once presents.** |
| 12 Katherine | pue, **at least that present has to be big**, velda? |
| 13 Fiorela | **Not really** ((*laughs*)). **Mine sucks also because <u>n:one</u> of my birthdays** |
| 14 | **get celebrated in school, I've always wanted, you know, to come one** |
| 15 | **day and be like "surprise!" but no, because my birthday is August two** |
| 16 | **– second.** |
| 17 Katherine | pero es e como que: (.) **that's good and bad,** era **good,** porque, vamo a |
| 18 | decil que mih friends, como que, **I could do my birthday** en la ehcuela |
| **19** | **and nobody would forget**, dehpue de la ehcuela **a lot of people would** |
| **20** | **show up.** Pero, a la mihma veh habia mucha ocacione que habian |
| 21 | examene0 palciale0 dificile0 **on the day of my birthday, so in that** |
| **22** | **sense (.) didn't like that.** |
| 23 Fiorela | Pero un problema eh que a vece quiero ir a un campamento, o quiero |
| 24 | ser voluntaria en ehto o ehto, pero tiene que ser un **[s:erten]> age, and** |
| 25 | **since it's a summer camp, and my birthday is at the end of summer,** |
| 26 | **I'm not that age, I have to wait <u><[w:uan]></u> more year. That (.) {kind of** |
| 27 | **sucks}** ((*creaky voice*)). **But, it's good! You can travel in your birthday.** |
| 29 Katherine | E velda. |
| 30 Fiorela | **That's a good one, 'cause I was last year – last year was it? I think I** |
| 31 | **was in Venice the day of my birthday.** |
| 32 Katherine | Eso le pasó a mi hermana! Te cantaron **'Happy birthday'** en la |
| 33 | gondola? |
| 34 Fiorela | Sí. Polque el guía, ehte, tu sabe que ponen e: (.) una gondola que canta |
| 35 | (.) cada sei0 gondola. El guia me la: **arrange it for birthday present.** |
| 36 | **the funny thing is que en la guagua, I don't remember where we were** |
| 37 | **going,** pero en la guagua—**the group decided to buy me a cupcake, and** |
| 38 | **sing me happy birthday but I was sleeping and they- my mom told me.** |
| 39 | **They started singing, and when on singing, I was still sleeping, I couldn't** |
| 40 | **hear anything, and my mom had to shake me and everyone's singing and** |
| 41 | **when I wake up everyone's like 'happy birthday, here, take it and eat it,** |
| 42 | **we're not gonna sing anymore'.** |
| 43 Katherine | Di:to:! |
| 44 Fiorela | 'Cause cuando yo duermo, yo duermo **like a rock.** Yo me he levantado |
| 45 | llora:ndo:. Ehte:, **one time my mom said she found me, like, kind of** |
| 46 | **digging in the bed, just sitting and trying to dig, and** 'ALEJANDRA!' **and** |
| 47 | **I was like 'WHAT?!'. I sleep walk,** soy sonanbula. **One time at a camp, I:** – |
| 48 | sabe lo que son lah litera? |

## APPENDIX IX

# SAMPLE EXCERPTS WITH SPANISH-MONOLINGUAL STYLES

1) Chapter 7, Penelope, Construction of Class

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 20 Katherine | ¿Qué te gustaría hacer | 20 Katherine | What would you like to be |
| 21 | dentro de diez, año? | 21 | doing in ten years? |
| 22 | Ademáh de sel mecánica? | 22 | Besides being a mechanic? |
| 23 Penelope | Sei. | 23 Penelope | Yes. |
| 24 Katherine | ¿Te veh viviendo en | 24 Katherine | Do you envision yourself in |
| 25 | Puelto Rico o mudándote a | 25 | Puerto Rico or moving |
| 26 | otro paí? | 26 | elsewhere? |
| 27 Penelope | Pue:, me guhtaría ilme a | 27 Penelope | Well, I would like to go to |
| 28 | loh Ehtado Unido a aprendel | 28 | the United States to learn |
| 29 | ingléh, a hacel mi vida, | 29 | English, to make my life, |
| 30 | ehte: conseguil trabajo. No | 30 | umm, to find a job. I don't |
| 31 | sé si mecánica, | 31 | know if in mechanics, |
| 32 | no sé si puedo conseguil | 32 | I don't know if I can find |
| 33 | trabajo ahí en mecánica, | 33 | a job there in mechanics, |
| 34 | pero si puedo montal mi propio | 34 | but if I can start-up my own |
| 35 | *d'eso*, pue (.) brutal. | 35 | thing, well (.) awesome. |
| 36 | Pero: conseguil trabajo, ehte, | 36 | But to find a job, umm, to |
| 37 | conseguil trabajo: e:n e:n | 37 | find a job i:n i:n |
| 38 | cualquiel cosa, y: | 38 | whatever thing, and to |
| 39 | empezal de cero:, y: | 39 | start from zero, and |
| 40 | podel alejalme de | 40 | to be able to get away from |
| 41 | mi familia, y hacel mi | 41 | my family, and to make my |
| 42 | propia vida… Cualquiel | 42 | own life... In whatever |
| 43 | lado, cualquiel lado. | 43 | place, in whatever place. |
| 44 | Empezal de cero, empezal | 44 | To start from zero, to start |
| 45 | de cero. Allí yo tengo | 45 | from zero. That's where I |
| 46 | mucho máh ventaja | 46 | have more opportunities |
| 47 | que acá. Pol el traba:jo:/, | 47 | than here. For the job |
| 48 | la economía:/, | 48 | market, the economy, umm, |
| 49 | ehte sé que allá yo | 49 | I know that there I will be |
| 50 | voy a cobral mucho máh | 50 | able to charge much more |
| 51 | y >ehtando sola< (.) me va il | 51 | and >being alone< (.) I will |
| 52 | bie:n/, y pue... Y no voy a ehtal | 52 | be fine, and well… I know I |
| 53 | vagueando: po0que | 53 | won't be lazy because here |
| 54 | aquí to' te lo dan | 54 | they give you everything |
| 55 | en la mano:, y | 55 | in hand and |
| 56 | allá ni siquiera lo tendré que – | 56 | there I will not even have – |
| 57 | voy a tenel que fajalme pa' yo | 57 | I will have to work hard to |
| 58 | tenel-lo. No voy a tenel a | 58 | have it. I won't have my |
| 59 | ma:mi:/, aunque aquí | 59 | mom, even though here |
| 60 | no me da | 60 | she does not give me |
| 61 | nada. Todo lo que tenga | 61 | anything. Everything I have |
| 62 | lo voy a tenel pol | 62 | I will have it because of |
| 63 | mi. Eso lo que yo quiero. | 63 | me. That's what I want. |

2) Chapter 7, Zuriel, Black Souls CofP, Construction of Bilingual Self

| ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| I. | | I. | |
| 01 Katherine | Cómo te siente sobre tuh | 01 Katherine | And how do you feel about your |
| 02 | abilidade0 del ingléh y el | 02 | own abilities with English and |
| 03 | ehpañol? Cuál tu cree que | 03 | Spanish? Which one do you think |
| 04 | domina0 mejol? | 04 | you are most competent in? |
| 05 Zuriel | Ehpañol. | 05 Zuriel | Spanish. |
| 06 Katherine | Pol qué? | 06 Katherine | Why? |
| 07 Zuriel | Polque:, fue con el (.) | 07 Zuriel | Because, it's the one (.) I was |
| 08 | practicamente crecí, y: e: el que | 08 | practically raised with, and the |
| 09 | yo realmente le doy uso. | 09 | one that I truly used the most. |
| 10 | El ingléh yo no: (.) le doy el | 10 | English I don't (.) I don't give it |
| 11 | uso diario. […] El abecedario | 11 | much daily use […] The alphabet |
| 12 | yo lo digo en ingléh. Y loh | 12 | I say in English. And the |
| 13 | **months,** todo eso, lo digo en | 13 | **months**, all of that, I say in |
| 14 | ingléh. | 14 | English. |
| 15 Katherine | Yo digo el abecedario en | 15 Katherine | I say the alphabet in |
| 16 | ehpañol, polque la vece0 que | 16 | Spanish, because the times I was |
| 17 | me enseñaron la canción esa… | 17 | taught that song… |
| 18 Zuriel | 'a:, b:, c:' Yo lo sé, pero máh | 18 Zuriel | 'a, b, c' I know it but I get more |
| 19 | que en ehpañol me | 19 | than in Spanish where I get |
| 20 | confundo. | 20 | confused. |
| 21 Katherine | Y de tu familia? | 21 Katherine | And of your family? |
| 22 Zuriel | El ingléh de mi familia yo:… | 22 Zuriel | The English from my family I…. |
| 23 | Ademáh de mi primo en | 23 | Besides my cousin from the |
| 24 | Ehtados Unido con nadie. A | 24 | United States with nobody. |
| 25 | vece con mi primo, que el vivió | 25 | Sometimes my cousin, the one |
| 26 | en Miami, pues sí hablo en | 26 | that lived in Miami, well yes I |
| 27 | ingléh con él, pero no: (.) no eh | 27 | talk English with him, but not (.) |
| 28 | todo el tiempo hablando ingléh, | 28 | not all the time speaking English, |
| 29 | no eh gran cosa. | 29 | it's not a big deal. |
| 30 Katherine | Y, cuando tu considerá que | 30 Katherine | And, when do you think you |
| 31 | empezahte a hablal ingléh? | 31 | started speaking English? |
| 32 Zuriel | El inglés? | 32 Zuriel | English? |
| 33 Katherine | Sí. | 33 Katherine | Yes. |
| 34 Zuriel | Ehto eh un poco | 34 Zuriel | Umm this will be a bit |
| 35 | vergonsozo, pero yo aprendí | 35 | embarrassing, but I learned |
| 36 | inglés con ***[eh'spondʒ.bob].*** | 36 | English with **Spongebob.** |
| 37 Katherine | Why is that embarrassing? Eso | 37 Katherine | Why is that embarrassing? That |
| 38 | ehta cool. | 38 | is cool. |
| 39 Zuriel | Sí, **I know/,** yo todavía lo veo:/, | 39 Zuriel | Yeah, **I know,** I still watch it, |
| 40 | pero… pero sí, empece (.) con | 40 | but... as such, I started (.) with |
| 41 | la televisión. | 41 | television. |

3) Chapter 7, Penelope, Marketing CofP, Construction of Bilingual Self

| ***Original*** | | ***Translation*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| I. | | I. | |
| 100 Katherine | Y: pol qué tu dice aprendel | 100 Katherine | And why do you say "learn |
| 101 | ingléh, allá? O sea, | 101 | English" there? I mean= |
| 102 Penelope | No sé na:da:, no sé | 102 Penelope | I don't know, I don't know |
| 103 | nada. En lo absoluto no | 103 | anything. Absolutely nothing I |
| 104 | se nada. Me encantaría | 104 | know. I would love to learn, but |
| 105 | aprendel, pero no sé nada, | 105 | I don't know anything, |
| 106 | nada. | 106 | anything. |
| 107 Katherine | Asi que tu piensa que la | 107 Katherine | So do you think that public |
| 108 | ehcuela publica no te ha | 108 | schools have not |
| 109 | preparado? | 109 | prepared you? |
| 110 Penelope | No me a preparado | 110 Penelope | No, it has not prepared me |
| 111 | polque: yo: ehte:, ehte: yo: e:n | 111 | because I umm umm when I |
| 112 | ehcuela de elemental no tenía | 112 | was in elementary school I |
| 113 | maehtra de ingléh, | 113 | didn't have an English teacher, |
| 114 | e:n e:n ehcuela intelmedia | 114 | in in intermediate |
| 115 | tampoco, y aquí pol primera | 115 | neither, and here for the first |
| 116 | veh en doce. No, pero: en otrah | 116 | time in twelfth. No, but |
| 117 | ehcuela-- todo mih | 117 | in the other schools – all of my |
| 118 | compañeroh saben, pero | 118 | classmates know, but |
| 119 | porque todo elloh tienen cable, | 119 | because all of them have cable, |
| 120 | y ven otrah cosa, | 120 | and they watch other stuff, |
| 121 | pero yo no. | 121 | but I don't. |
| II. | | II. | |
| 122 Katherine | Tu ehta con… Mrs. Cruz, | 122 Katherine | You are with…Mrs. Cruz, |
| 123 | como te va en esa clase? | 123 | how's it going in that class? |
| 124 Penelope | Pue:, Mrs. Cruz eh… a vece | 124 Penelope | Well, Mrs. Cruz she's… |
| 125 | piensa que uno hace lah cosa | 125 | sometimes she thinks that one |
| 126 | pol hacel-la, pero ella quiere | 126 | does things on purpose, like she |
| 127 | que uno lea sin uno sabel | 127 | wants one to read without |
| 128 | na:da: de ingléh. Ella no me | 128 | knowing any English. She can't |
| 129 | puede decil, "lee:" "entiende: | 129 | tell me "read", "understand |
| 130 | ehto", "define ehto", cuando | 130 | this", "define this", when I |
| 131 | yo no sé hacel na:da:. | 131 | don't know how to do anything. |
| 132 | Y no sé hacel-lo, ella no me | 132 | I don't know, she can't tell me |
| 133 | puede decil a mi que eh yo no | 133 | that it's that I don't |
| 134 | quiero hacel el trabajo. Y ella | 134 | want to do the job. And she |
| 135 | no se lleva conmigo pueh | 135 | doesn't get along with me well |
| 136 | polque piensa que yo soy baga, | 136 | because she thinks I'm lazy, |
| 137 | que ehto y que lo otro. Pero: | 137 | that this and that. But, |
| 138 | ella no me puede decil eso, | 138 | she can't tell me that, |
| 139 | simplemente po0que yo no | 139 | simply because I don't |
| 140 | sepa ingléh. Polque tu no | 140 | know Engish. Because you |
| 141 | puede decil que polque | 141 | can't tell someone who doesn't |
| 142 | alguien no sepa hacel algo, que | 142 | know how to do something, that |
| 143 | eh bago, que eh un ehtupido, | 143 | they're lazy, they're stupid, |
| 144 | simplemente polque no | 144 | simply because they don't know |
| 145 | sabe hacel algo. | 145 | how to do something. |

# REFERENCES

Abel, J. R., & Deitz, R. (2014). The causes and consequences of Puerto Rico's declining population. *Current issues in Economics and Finance*, 20 (4).

Acevedo, J. (2016). "Puerto Ricans leaving island for U.S. in record numbers." CNN. 2016.

Agha, A. (2002). Honorific registers. *Culture, interaction and language*, 21 – 63.

_____ (2003). The social life of cultural value. Language and Communication, 23: 231 – 73.

_____ (2005). Voice, footing, enregisterment. Journal of Linguistic Anthropology, 15 (38). pp. 38 – 59.

American Dialect Society. (2014). "Because" is the 2013 Word of the Year. Retrieved from: https://www.americandialect.org/because-is-the-2013-word-of-the-year

Allen, G. (2000). Intertextuality, 2nd edition. Routledge.

Alvarez-Caccamo, C. (1998). From 'Switching Code' to 'Code-Switching'. In P. Auer, *Code-switching in Conversation* (1st ed., pp. 29 - 48). London and New York: Routledge.

Anderson, B. (1983). Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism. London.

Angrist, J., Chin, A., & Godoy, R. (2008). Is Spanish-only schooling responsible for the Puerto Rican language gap? Journal of Developmental Economics, 85. pp. 105 – 128.

Ash, S. (2004). Social Class. In *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change*, ed. J.K. Chambers, Peter Trudgill, and Natalie Schilling-Estes, 402-22. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Associated Press (2012). *Puerto Rico aims to become fully bilingual by 2022. Fox News*. Retrieved from http://www.foxnews.com/world/2012/05/08/puerto-rico-aims-to-become-fully-bilingual-by-2022/

Auer, P. (1984). Bilingual Conversation. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

_____(1990). A discussion paper on code alternation. In *Workshop on concepts, methodology and data*, p. 69 – 89.

_____(1988). A conversation analytic approach to code-switching and transfer. *Codeswitching: Anthropological and sociolinguistic perspectives*, 48, pp. 187 – 213.

_____ (1991). Bilingualism in/as social action: A sequential approach to code switching. In European Science Foundation *Papers for Symposium on Code-Switching in Bilingual Studies*, (2). pp. 319 – 52.

_____(1995). The pragmatics of code-switching: A sequential approach. *One speaker, two languages: Cross-disciplinary perspectives on code-switching*, p. 115 – 135.

_____(1998). *Bilingual Conversation Revisited*. Routledge, pp. 1 – 24.

_____(2013). *Code-switching in conversation: Language, interaction and identity*. Routledge.

Bailey, B. (1999). Switching. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, 9 (1-2), p. 241 – 243.

_____ (2000). Language and negotiation of ethnic/racial identity among Dominican Americans. *Language in Society*, 29. pp. 555 – 582.

_____ (2007). Heteroglossia and boundaries. *Bilingualism: A Social*

*Approach*. pp. 257 – 274.
Bakhtin, M. and Holquist, M. (1981). *The dialogic imagination*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
_____ & Holquist, M., McGee, V. and Emerson, C. (1986). *Speech genres and other late essays*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
Barreto, A. A. (2000). Speaking English in Puerto Rico: the impact of affluence, education and return migration. *Centro Journal*, 12 (1).
Barry, A. (2008). *The Form, Function and Distribution of High Rising Intonation in Southern California and Southern British English*. Saarbrucken, Germany: VDM Verlag Dr Muller.
Bhatt, R. M. (2008). In other words: Language mixing, identity representations, and third space. *Journal of sociolinguistics*, 12 (2), pp. 177 – 200.
Becker, K. (2009). /r/ and the construction of place identity on New York City's Lower East Side 1. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 13(5), 634-658.
_____ (2014). Linguistic repertoire and ethnic identity in New York City. *Language & Communication*, 35, 43-54.
Becker, K. R. (1997). Spanish/English bilingual codeswitching: A syncretic model. *Bilingual Review/ La Revista Bilingüe*, 22 (1), pp. 3- 30.
Beebe, L. (1980). Sociolinguistic Variation and Style Shifting in Second Language Acquisition. Language Learning, 30 (2). pp. 433 – 445.
Bell, A. (1984). Language style as audience design. *Lang. Soc. Language in Society*, 13(02),
Benor, S.B. (2010). Ethnolinguistic repertoire: Shifting the analytic focus in language and ethnicity 1. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 14(2), 159-183.
Bhatt, R. (2008). In other words: Language mixing, identity representations, and third space. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 12(2), pp.177-200.
Blau, E., & Dayton, E. (1997). Puerto Rico as an English-using society. Linguistic Studies in Honor of Bohdan Saciuk, 137 – 148.
Blom, J.P., & Gumperz, J. J. (1972). Social meaning in linguistic structures: Code-switching in Norway. In J. J. Gumperz & D. Hymes (Eds) Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication, New York: Basil Blackwell, 407 – 34.
Blommaert, J. (2000). Language and negotiation of ethnic/racial identity among Dominican Americans. *Language in Society*, 29. pp. 555 – 582.
_____ (2007). Sociolinguistics and discourse analysis: Orders of indexicality and polycentricity. *Journal of Multicultural Discourses*, 2 (2), pp. 115 – 130.
_____ (2008). Sociolinguistics and Discourse Analysis: Orders of Indexicality and Polycentricity. Journal of Multicultural Discourses, 2 (2). pp. 115 – 130.
_____& Rampton, B. (2012). Language and Superdiversity. *MMG Working Paper*, 12 (09).
_____& Backus. (2013). Superdiverse repertoires and the individual. *Multilingualism and multimodality*. Sensepublishers, Rotterdam.
_____(2015). Meaning as a nonlinear effect : the birth of cool. *AILA Review*, 28. pp. 7 – 27.
Bloomfield, L. (1927). Literate and iliterate speech. *American Speech*, 2 (10), p. 432 – 439.
Blyth, C. (2004). Sociolinguistic Competence. In M. Byram (Ed.), Routledge Encyclopedia of Language Teaching and Learning. London and New York: Routledge. pp. 553 – 555.

Bonilla, Y., & Rosa, J. (2015). #Ferguson: Digital protest, hashtag ethnography, and the racial politics of social media in the United States. *American Ethnologist*, 42 (1).

Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Equisse D'une Théorie de la Pratique*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

_____(1979). Symbolic power. *Critique of anthropology*, 4 (13 – 14), pp. 77 – 85.

_____& Thompson, J.B. (1991). *Language and symbolic power*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 145-204.

_____(2000). *Pascalian meditations*. Stanford University Press.

_____(2017). Chapter 2: Habitus. In E. Rooksby (ed.) *Habitus: A Sense of Place*. Routledge.

Bradley, H. (1996). *Fractured Identities: Changing Patterns of Inequality*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Büscher, K., D'hondt, S. & Meeuwis, M. (2013). Recruiting a nonlocal language for performing local identity: Indexical appropriations of Lingala in the Congolese border town Goma. *Lang. Soc. Language in Society*, 42(05), 527-556.

Bucholtz, M., & Hall, K. (2004). Language and identity. In A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology, A. Duranti (Ed.), 369 – 394. Malden MA: Blackwell.

Bucholtz, M. (1999). "Why be normal?": Language and identity practices in a community of nerd girls. Language in society, 28 (2), p. 203 – 223.

_____ (2005). Identity and interaction: a sociocultural linguistic approach. *Discourse Studies*, 7(4-5), 585-614.

_____(2009). From Stance to Style: Gender, Interaction, and Indexicality in Mexican Immigrant Youth Slang. In A. Jaffe (ed.) *Stance: Sociolinguistic Perspectives*. Oxford University Press.

_____ (2011). *White Kids: Language, Race, and Styles of Youth Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cameron, D. (1990). De-mythologizing sociolinguistics: Why language does not reflect society. In J. Joseph & T. Taylor (eds.) *Ideologies of language*. London: Routledge, p. 79 – 93.

Canagarajah, S. (2009). The plurilingual tradition and the English language in South Asia. *AILA Review*.

_____(2013). Negotiating translingual literacy: An enactment. *Research in the Teaching of English*.

Caribbean Business. (2015). *Population loss reaches all corners of PR - Caribbean Business*. *Caribbeanbusiness.pr*. Retrieved 24 August 2015, from http://caribbeanbusiness.pr/news/population-loss-reaches-all-corners-of-pr-82196.html.

Carroll, K.S. (2009). *Language maintenance in Aruba and Puerto Rico: understanding perceptions of language threat*.

_____ & Mazak, C. 2017. *Translanguaging in Higher Education*. Bristol, UK: Multilingualism Matters.

Carter, P. (2007). Phonetic Variation and Speaker Agency: Mexicana Identity in a North Carolina Middle School. *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics*, 2, 1-14.

_____& Lynch, A. (2015). Multilingual Miami: Current trends in sociolinguistic research. *Language and Linguistics Compass*, 9 (9), 369 – 385.

Cashman, H.R. (2005). Identities at play: language preference and group membership in bilingual talk in interaction. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 37(3), 301-315.

Chambers, J.K. (2003). *Sociolinguistic Theory*. Oxford, England: Blackwell. pp. 195 – 199.

Chen, Hoi Ying. (2008). Bilinguals in Style: Linguistic Practices and Ideologies of Cantonese-English Codemixers in Hong Kong. Dissertation Georgetown University (Unpublished).

Chouliaraki, L., & Fairclough, N. (1999). *Discourse in Late Modernity: Rethinking Critical Discourse Analysis*. Edinburgh University Press.

Clachar, A. (1997a). Resistance to the English language in Puerto Rico: Toward a theory of language and intergroup distinctiveness. *Linguistics and Education*, 9(1), 69-98.

_____ (1997b). Students' Reflections on the Social, Political, and Ideological Role of English in Puerto Rico. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences,* 19. pp. 461 – 478.

_____(1999). It's not just cognition: The effect of emotion on multiple-level discourse processing in second-language writing. *Language Sciences*, 21 (1), 31 – 60.

Clyne, Michael, G. (2003). *Dynamics of Language Contact: English and Immigrant Languages*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Cohn, D., Patten, E., & Lopez, M. (2014). *Puerto Rican Population Declines on Island, Grows on U.S. Mainland. Pew Research Center's Hispanic Trends Project*. Retrieved 24 August 2015, from http://www.pewhispanic.org/2014/08/11/puerto-rican-population-declines-on-island-grows-on-u-s-mainland/.

Cordero-Guzman, H.R. (2014). A demographic analysis of poverty in Puerto Rico. In Nazario (ed.) *Poverty in Puerto Rico: A Socioeconomic and demographic analysis with data from the Puerto Rico Community Survey*. Department of Health and Human Resources, USA.

Cook, V. (2003). Introduction: The Changing L1 in the L2 User's Mind. *In*: V.J. Cook, ed. *Effects of the Second Language on the First*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters Ltd, 1–18.

Copland, F., Creese, A, Rock, F, & Shaw, S. (2015). Linguistic Ethnography: Collecting, Analysing and Presenting Data. Los Angeles: Sage.

Cortes, I., Ramirez, J., Rivera, M., Viada, M., Fayer, J. (2005). Dame un hamburger plain con ketchup y papitas: English/Spanish contact in Puerto Rico. English Today, 82 (21). pp. 35 – 42.

Coupland, N. (2001). Dialect stylization in radio talk. *Language in Society*, 30 (3), pp. 345 – 375.

_____ (2002). Language, situation, and the relational self: theorizing dialect-style in sociolinguistics. *Style and Sociolinguistic Variation*, 185-210.

Creese, A., & Blackledge, A. (2010). Translanguaging in the bilingual classroom: A pedagogy for learning and teaching? *The Modern Language Journal*, 94 (1).

_____& Blackledge, A. (2013). Language, superdiversity and education. In *Multilingualism and Modality*. SensePublishers, Rotterdam.

_____& Blackledge, A. (2014). Heteroglossia as practice and pedagogy. In *Heteroglossia as practice and pedagogy*. Springer, Dordrecht.

Croom, A. M. (2015). Slurs, stereotypes, and in-equality: A critical review of "How Epithets and Stereotypes are Racially Unequal." *Language Sciences*, 52, p. 139-154.

Crystal, David. (2006). Language and the Internet. 2nd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

_____ (2010). Internet language. In Louise Commings (ed.), *The Pragmatics Encyclopedia*. London: Routledge. pp. 234 – 6.

D'Arcy, A. (2005). Like: Syntax and development. Unpublished PhD dissertation, *University of Toronto*.

Davies, A. (2003). *The myth of the native speaker: Myth and reality*. Multilingual Matters.

Dayton, E., & Blau, E. (1999). Puerto Rican English: An acceptable non-native variety?

Deuchar, M., Muysken, P., & Wang, S. L. (2007). Structured variation in codeswitching: towards an empirically based typology of bilingual speech patterns. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 10 (3), pp. 298 – 340.

Dornyei, Z. (1990). Conceptualizing motivation in foreign-language learning. *Language learning*, 40 (1), pp. 45 – 78.

Duany, J. (2002). *The Puerto Rican Nation on the Move: Identities on the Island and in the United States*. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press.

Eckert, P. (1989). Jocks and burnouts: Social categories and identity in the high school. Teachers College Press.

_____& Mcconnell-Ginet, S. (1992). Think Practically and Look Locally: Language and Gender as Community-Based Practice. *Annu. Rev. Anthropol. Annual Review of Anthropology*, 21(1), 461-488.

_____ (2000). *Linguistic variation as social practice: the linguistic construction of identity in Belten High*, Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers.

_____& Rickford, J. (2001) Style and sociolinguistic variation. Cambridge University Press.

_____ (2003). Language and Adolescent Peer Groups. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 22 (1). pp. 112 – 118.

_____ (2008a). Variation and the indexical field. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 12(4), 453-476.

_____ (2008b). Where do ethnolects stop?. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 12(1-2), 25-42.

_____ (2012). Three Waves of Variation Study: The Emergence of Meaning in the Study of Sociolinguistic Variation. *Annu. Rev. Anthropol. Annual Review of Anthropology*, 41(1), 87-100.

Edwards, John. (2006). Foundations of Bilingualism. In T. K. Bhatia & W.C. Ritchie's *The Handbook of Bilingualism*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing.

Elster, J. (1983). Reply to comments. Theory and Society, 12 (1), p. 111 – 120.

Ennis, S.R. & Albert, N.G. (2012). The Hispanic Population: 2010 Census Briefs. *Encyclopedia of the U.S. Census* [Online]. Available from: http://www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/briefs/c2010br-04.pdf.

Epstein, E. (1970). *Politics and Education in Puerto Rico*. Metuchen, New Jersey: Scarecrow Press.

Erickson, F. (1984). What Makes School Ethnography 'Ethnographic'? *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, 15. pp. 51 – 66.

Erman, B. (2001). Pragmatic markers revisited with a focus on you know in adult and adolescent talk. *Journal of Pragmatics,* 33 (9), pp. 1337 – 1359.

Estado Libre Asociado de Puerto Rico Departamento de Educación (2015). *Estudio Socioeconómico 2015 – 2016*. Mayagüez: Departamento de Educación de Puerto Rico.

Fayer, J.M. (2000). Functions of English in Puerto Rico. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 142(1).

_____ & Castro, J., Diaz, M., Plata, M. (1998). English in Puerto Rico. *English Today*, 14(53), 39-44.
Fegurson, C. A. (1959). Diglossia. *Word*, 15 (2), 325 – 340.
Ferré-Sadurní, J. (2017). For Many on Puerto Rico, the Most Coveted Item is a Plane Ticket Out. [online] Nytimes.com Available at: https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/05/us/puerto-rico-exodus-maria-florida.html [Accessed 17 Oct. 2017].
Fishman, J. (1965). The Status and Prospects of Bilingualism in the United States. *The Modern Language Journal*, 49 (3).
_____ (1968). Nationality-Nationalism. In Language Problems of Developing Nations, J.A. Fishman, C.A. Ferguson, & J. Oas Gupta (Eds.), John Wiley & Sons. pp. 39 – 51.
Fina, A.D. (2007). Code-switching and the construction of ethnic identity in a community of practice. *Lang. Soc. Language in Society*, 36(03), 371-392.
Flores, N., & Rosa, J. (2015). Undoing Appropriateness: Raciolinguistic Ideologies and Language Diversity in Education. *Harvard Educational Review*, 85 (2).
Fought, C. (1997). *The English and Spanish of young adult Chicanos* (Ph.D. Dissertation). University of Pennsylvania.
_____ (1999). A majority sound change in a minority community: /u/-fronting in Chicano English. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 3(1), 5-23.
_____ (2006). *Language and ethnicity*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
_____ (2003). *Chicano English in Context*. Basingstoke, U.K.: Palgrave.
_____ (2010). Ethnic Identity and Linguistic Contact. In R. Hickey (Ed.), *The Handbook of Language Contact*. Sussex, UK: Wiley-Blackwell.
Foulkes, P., Scobbie, J. M., & Watt, D. (2010). Sociophonetics. In *The Handbook of Phonetic Sciences*, pp. 703 – 754.
Frazer, T. (1996). Chicano English and Spanish Interference in the Midwestern United States. American Speech, 71 (1). pp. 72 – 85.
Fuller, J.M. (2007). Language Choice as a Means of Shaping Identity. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, 17(1), 105-129.
Gafaranga, J. (2000). Medium repair vs. other-language repair: Telling the medium of a bilingual conversation. *International Journal of Bilingualism,* 4 (3), 327 – 350.
_____ (2001). Linguistic identities in talk-in-interaction: Order in bilingual conversation. *Journal of Pragmatics,* 33 (12), p. 1901 – 1925.
_____ (2005). Demythologising language alternation studies: Conversational structure vs. social structure in bilingual interaction. Journal of Pragmatics, 37 (3), pp. 281 – 300.
_____& Torras, M. C. (2002). Interactional otherness: Towards a redefinition of codjoseswitching. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 6 (1), 1 – 22.
García, O., Lopez, D., & Mazak, C. (2010). Latin America. In The Handbook of Language and Ethnic Identity, J. Fishman & O. Garcia (eds.), pp. 353 – 373, NY, NY: Oxford University Press.
García, O., & Wei, L. (2014). *Translanguaging: Language, Bilingualism and Education*. Palgrave Macmillan.
Gardner-Chloros, P. (2009). Code-switching. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Giles, H., Coupland, N., & Coupland, J. (1991). Accommodation Theory: Communication, Context, and Consequence. Contexts of Accomodation: Developments in Applied Sociolinguistics. pp. 1 – 68.
Gleason, J. B. (1978). The acquisition and dissolution of the English inflectional system. *Language acquisition and language breakdown: Parallels and divergences*, *109*, 120.

Gotttlieb, H. (2005). Anglicisms and Translation. In G. Anderman & M. Rogers' (Eds.) *In and Out of English: For Better, for Worse?* Clevedon, UK: Multilingualism Matters. pp. 161 – 184.

Gumperz, J. (1982). *Discourse Strategies*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Gumperz, J., & Hernandez-Chavez, E. (1972). Bilingualism, bidialectalism, and classroom interaction. *Functions of language in the classroom*, 1.

Hall-Lew, L. (2009). *Ethnicity and phonetic variation in a San Francisco neighborhood*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Stanford University, California.

Hazir, I. K. (2017). Wearing class: A study on clothes, bodies and emotions in Turkey. *Journal of Consumer Culture,* 17 (2), 413 – 432.

Hermina, Y. L. (2014). Etnografía de las familias élites y las familias no élites puertorriqueñas: un studio de niños aprendiendo inglés en las escuelas de Puerto Rico. In *Producción y Reproducción de las Élites*, pp. 29 – 36.

Holmes, J., & Meyerhoff, M. (1999). The Community of Practice: Theories and methodologies in language and gender research. Language in Society, 28. pp. 173 – 183.

Holmquist, J. (2008). Gender in Context: Features and Factors in Men's and Women's Speech in Rural Puerto Rico. *Proceedings of the 4th Workshop on Spanish Sociolinguistics*, 17-35.

Hymes, D. (1971). Sociolinguistics and Ethnography of Speaking. In E. Ardener's (Ed.) Social Anthropology and Language. NY, NY: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group.

_____ (2003). *Ethnography, linguistics, narrative inequality: Toward and understanding of voices*. Taylor & Francis.

Irvine, J. T. (1990). Registering affect: Heteroglossia in the linguistic expression of emotion. *Language and the Politics of Emotion*, 126 – 161.Irvine, J. and Gal, S. (2000). Language Ideology and Linguistic Differentiation. In: P. Kroskrity, ed., *Regimes of Language*, 1st ed. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press, pp.35 - 84.

Irvine, J.T. (2002). "Style" as distinctiveness: the culture and ideology of linguistic differentiation. *Style and Sociolinguistic Variation*, 21-43.

Jaffe, A. (Ed.). (2009). *Stance: sociolinguistic perspectives*. Oxford University Press.Johnstone, B. (2006). Mobility, Indexicality, and the Enregisterment of "Pittsburghese". *Journal of English Linguistics*, 34(2), 77-104.

_____(2008). Discourse analysis. John Wiley & Sons.

_____ & Kiesling, S.F. (2008). Indexicality and experience: Exploring the meanings of /aw/-monophthongization in Pittsburgh. *Journal of Sociolinguistics J Sociolinguistics*, 12(1), 5-33.

Joseph, J.E. (2004). Language and identity. London: Palgrave.

Kachru, Braj, B. (1997). World Englishes and English-using communities. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 17. pp. 66 – 87.

Kallen, J. L. (2005). Silence and mitigation in Irish English discourse. *The Pragmatics of Irish English*, 164, p. 47.

_____ (2009). Tourism and representation in the Irish linguistic landscape. In *Linguistic landscape: Expanding the scenery*. London, UK: Routledge London.

Kasanga, L. A. (2010). Streetwise English and French advertising in Multilingual DR Congo: Symbolism, modernity, and cosmopolitan identity. *International Journal*

*of the Sociology of Language*, pp. 181 – 205.
_____ (2012) English in the Democratic of the Congo. *World Englishes*, 31 (1), pp. 48 – 69.
Kirkham, S., & Moore, E. (2013) Adolescence. In J. Chambers, P. Trudgill, & N. Schilling (Eds.), *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change* (pgs. 277 – 296). Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing.
Kirkham, S. (2013). *Ethnicity, social practice and phonetic variation in a Sheffield secondary school* (PhD). University of Sheffield.
Krogstad, J., Lopez, M., DeSilver, D., Krogstad, J., Lopez, M., & DeSilver, D. (2015). *Puerto Rico's losses are not just economic, but in people, too. Pew Research Center*. Retrieved 24 August 2015, from http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/07/01/puerto-ricos-losses-are-not-just-economic-but-in-people-too/.
Labov, W. (1963). The social motivation of a sound change. *Word*, 19. 273 - 309.
_____ (1966). The social stratification of English in New York City. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics.
_____ (1967). Some sources of reading problems for Negro speakers of non-standard English. In A. Frazier (ed.), *New directions in elementary*.
_____ (1972a). The isolation of contextual styles. In William Labov, Sociolinguistic Patterns. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 70 – 109.
_____ (1972b). Some principles of linguistic methodology. *Language in Society*, 1 (1). pp. 97 – 120.
_____(2001). *Principles of linguistic change: Vol. 2 Social factors*. Blackwell Publishers.
Lakoff, R. (1973). Language and woman's place. *Language in Society*, 2. 45 – 79.
Lambert, W. E., Hodgson, R. C., Gardner, R. C., & Fillenbaum, S. (1960). Evaluational reactions to spoken languages. *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 60 (1), 44.
Lave, J., & Wegner, E. (1991). *Situated learning: legitimate Peripheral Participation*. Cambridge University Press.
Le Page, R.B., & Tabouret-Keller, A. (1985). Acts of Identity : Creole-Based Approaches to Language and Ethnicity. Cambridge: CUP.
Leimgruber, J. R. E. (2011). Singapore English. *Language and Linguistics Compass*, 5 (1), p. 47 – 62.
Levinson, P., Brown, P., & Levinson, S. C. (1987). *Politeness: Some universals in language usage*. Cambridge University Press.
Levon, E. (2013). Ethnographt and recording interaction. In *Research methods in linguistics*. Cambridge University Press.
Li, W. (1993). Mother tongue maintenance in a Chinese community school in Newcastle upon Tyne: Developing a social network perspective. *Language and Education*, 7 (3), p. 199 – 215.
____& Milroy, L. (1995). A social approach to code-switching. *Cambridge University Press*.
____ (1998). The 'Why' and 'How' Questions in the Analysis of Conversational Code-Switching. In: P. Auer, ed., *Code-Switching in Conversation*, 1st ed. London & New York: Routledge, pp.156 - 176.
____(2011). Moment analysis and translanguaging space: Discursive construction of identities by multilingual Chinese youth in Britain. Journal of Pragmatics, 43, p. 1222 – 35.
_____(2017). Translanguaging as a Practical Theory of Language. *Applied Linguistics*, 39 (1), p. 9 -30.

Linde, C. (1987). Explanatory systems in oral life stories. *Cultural models in language and thought*, p. 343 – 366.

_____(1988). The quantitative study of communicative success: Politeness and accidents in aviation discourse. *Language in Society*, 17 (3), p. 375 – 399.

Lippi-Green, R. (2012). English with an Accent: Language, Ideology and Discrimination in the United States. Routledge.

Lipski, J. (2001). From Bozal to Boricua: Implications of Afro-Puerto Rican Language in Literature. *Hispania*, *84*(4), 850 - 859.

_____ (2014). Spanish-English code-switching among low-fluency bilinguals: Towards an expanded typology. *Sociolinguistic Studies*, 8 (1). pp. 23 – 55.

Long, C. (2017). Developing: Puerto Rico Enters Bankruptcy on May 3: Faithful to PROMESA and Congressional Intent? *American Bankruptcy Institute Journal*, 36 (6), 12.

Lopez Morales, H. (1983). Estratificación social del español de San Juan de Puerto Rico. México: Univeridad Nacional Autónoma de México.

_____ (2004). El influjo del ingles en el espanol de Puerto Rico. *El Espanol En El Mundo*. Retrieved from: http://cvc.cervantes.es/lengua/anuario/anuario_04/lopez/p07.htm#np15n.

Jackson, J. E.(1995). "Deja Entendu": The Liminal Qualities of Anthropological Fieldnotes. In J. Van Maanen (ed.) *Representation in Ethnography*. SAGE Publications.

Jaffe, A. (2007). Codeswitching and stance: issues in interpretation. *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education,* 6 (1), p. 53 – 77.

James, A. (2009). Theorising English and globalization: Semiodiversity and linguistic structure in global English, world Englishes and lingua franca English. *Apples-Journal of Applied Language Studies*.

Johnstone, B., Andres, J., & Danielson, A. (2006). Mobility, indexicality, and the enregisterment of 'Pittsburghese.' *Journal of English Linguistics*, 34 (2). Pp. 77 – 104.

Johnstone, B. (2008). *Discourse Analysis*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing.

Joseph, J. E. (2004). Language and identity: national, ethnic, religious. Palgrave Macmillan.

Macaulay, R. (2013). Discourse variation. In J.K. Chambers & N. Schilling (Eds.) *The Hanbook of Language Variation and Change*. Wiley-Blackwell.

Makalela, Leketi. 2017. Translanguaging Practices in a South African Institution of Higher Learning. In Mazak & Carroll (Eds) Translanguaging in Higher Education.

Mannheim, B. (1997) Cross-talk. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, 7 (2), pp. 216 – 220.

Mazak, C. (2007). Appropriation and Resistance in the (English) Literacy Practices of Puerto Rican Farmers. In Cultural Practices of Literacy: Case Studies of Language, Literacy, Social Practice, and Power, ed. V. Purcell-Gates. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

_____& Carroll, K. (2017). Language Policy in Puerto Rico's Higher Education: Opening the Door for Translanguaging Practices. Anthropology & Education Quarterly, 48 (1). pp. 4 – 22.

_____& Herbas-Donoso, C. (2015). Translanguaging practices at a bilingual university: A case study of a science classroom. *International Journal of Billingual Education and Bilingualism*, 18 (6), pp. 698 – 714.

McCroskey, J., Fayer, J., and Richmond, V. (1985). Don't speak to me in English: Communication apprehension in Puerto Rico. Communication Quaterly, 33 (3). pp. 185 – 197.

McConnell-Ginet, S. (1983). Intonation in a man's world. In Barrie Thorne, Cheris Kramarae, & Nancy Henley (Eds.), *Language, gender, and society*, 69 – 88. Boston, MA: Heinle & Heinle.

Milroy, L. (1980). *Language and Social Networks*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

_____& Muysken, P. (1995). Introduction: Code-switching and Bilingualism Research. In L. Milroy & P. Muysken, *One Speaker, Two Languages* (1st ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

_____ & Gordon, M. (2003). *Sociolinguistics: Method and Interpretation*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

Melendez Garcia, L. (2016). "Menos estudiantes en escuelas privadas en últimos 10 años". *Metro*. Retrieved from: https://www.metro.pr/pr/noticias/2016/09/21/menos-estudiantes-en-escuelas-privadas-en-ultimos-10-anos.html.

Mendoza-Denton, N. (2002, 2013). Language and identity. In J.K. Chambers, P. Trudgill, & N. Schilling-Estes (eds.), *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change*, Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing, 475 – 499.

_____(2004). The anguish of normative gender. In M. Bucholtz (ed.) Language and Woman's Place II: Text and Commentaries. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

(2008). Home girls. Language and cultural practice among Latina youth gangs. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Meuwis, M., & Blommaert, J. (1994). The "markedness model" and the absence of society. Multilingua, 13. pp. 387 – 423.

_____, Blommaert, J., Serra, C. O., & Maschler, Y. (1998). Code-switching among Zairians in Belgium. In P. Auer's (Ed.) *Codeswitching in conversation: Language, interaction, and identity*. Routledge, p. 76 – 100.

Meyerhoff, M. (2002). Communities of Practice. In J.K. Chambers, P. Trudgill, & N. Schilling-Estes (eds.), *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change*, Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing, 526 -548.

& Schleef, E. (2012). Variation, contact and social indexicality in the acquisition of (ing) by teenage migrants1. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 16(3), 398-416.

Moller, J. S., & Jorgensen, J. N. (2011). Linguistic norms and adult roles in play and serious frames. *Linguistics and Education*, 22 (1), 68 – 78.

Mora, M. T., Dávila, A., Rodríguez, H. (2017). Education, migration, and earnings of Puerto Ricans on the island and US mainland: Impact, outcomes, and consequences of an economic crisis. *Migration Studies*, 5 (2), 168 – 189.

Morales, E. (2015). Puerto Rico's soaring cost of living, from giant electric bills to $5 cornflakes. The Guardian. Retrieved 12 July 2015, from https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/ jul/12/puerto-rico-cost-of-living.

Morales, A. (1986). *Léxico básico del español de Puerto Rico*. Academia puertorriqueña de la lengua Española.

Morales Lugo, K. (2012). *Is it 'Language Resistance'? Second Language Production and 'Boricua' Identity in Puerto Rican Students from Monolingual and Bilingual Programs*. MSc. Dissertation, the University of Edinburgh.

_____ (2019). Reimagining Bilingualism in Late Modern Puerto Rico: The 'Ordinariness of English Language Use among Latino Adolescents. To appear

in J. Won Lee and S. Dovchin (Eds.) *Translinguistics: Negotiating Innovation and Ordinariness*. London: Routledge.

Moreno-Fernández, F. (2007). Anglicismos en el léxico disponible de los adolescentes hispanos de Chicago. In por Kim Potowski, & Richard Cameron (Eds.), Spanish in contact: Policy, social and linguistic inquiries (pp. 41.- 60). Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Co.

Morris, N. (1996). Language and Identity in Twentieth Century Puerto Rico. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 17(1), 17-32.

Moyer, M. (1998). Bilingual Conversation Strategies in Gibraltar. In: P. Auer, ed., *Code-switching in Conversation: Language, Interaction and Identity*, 1st ed. London and New York: Routledge, pp.215 - 234.

Muysken, Pieter. *Bilingual Speech: A Typology of Code-Mixing*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Myers-Scotton, C. (1983). The negotiation of identities in conversation: A theory of markedness and code choice. *International Journal of Sociology of Language*, 44 (44), p. 115 – 136.

_____(1988). Codeswitching as indexical of social negotiations. In M. Heller (ed.) Codeswitching: Anthropological and Sociolinguistic Perspectives, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. 151 – 86.

_____ (1993). *Duelling languages: Grammatical structure in codeswitching*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

_____(1997). *Duelling Languages: Grammatical Structure in Codeswitching*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

_____(1998). A way to dusty death: the Matrix Language turnover hypothesis. In Grenoble, L.A., & L.J. Whaley (eds.) Endangered Languages: Current issues and future prospects. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

_____& Bolonyai, A. (2001). Calculating speakers: Codeswitching in a rational choice model. *Lang. Soc*., 30(1), pp.1-28.

_____ (2001). The matrix language frame model: Development and responses. *Trends in Linguistics: Codeswitching Worldwide II*. Berlin, Germany: Mouton de Gruyter.

_____(2007). The grammatical profile of L1 speakers on the stairs of potential language shift. *Language attrition: Theoretical perspectives,* 69 – 82.

Nash, R. (1970). Language contact in Puerto Rico. *American Speech*, 45. pp. 223 – 233.

_____ (1971). Englanol: More Language Contact in Puerto Rico. *American Speech*, 46(1/2), 106.

_____ (1976). Phantom cognates and other curiosities in Puerto Rico Englanol. *La Monda Lingvo Problemo* (Esperanto). pp. 157 – 167.

_____ (1979). Cognate transfer in Puerto Rican English. In The Acquisition and Use of Spanish and English as First and Second Languages. Edited by R. Andersen. Washington: Georgetown University Press TESOL. pp. 33 – 42.

Navarro, Tomás. (1948). El español en Puerto Rico. Río Piedras: Editorial Universitaria, Universidad de Puerto Rico.

Negrón, R. (2014). New York City's Latino ethnolinguistic repertoire and the negotiation of latinidad in conversation. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 18 (1), 87 – 118.

'nexus'. (2016) In *Oxford English Dictionary*. Retrieved from

Nilep, Chad. (2006). "Code Switching" in Sociocultural Linguistics. *Colorado Research in Linguistics*, 19, 1-22.

Nortier, J., & Svendsen, B. A. (2015). *Language, youth and identity in the 21st century:*

*Linguistric practices across urban spaces*. Cambridge University Press.
Norton, B. (1997). Language, Identity, and the Ownership of English. *TESOL Quarterly*, 31(3), 409-429.
_____ (2000). Identity and language learning: gender, ethnicity, and educational change. London: Longman/ Pearson Education.
(2001). Non – participation, imagined communities and the language classroom. In M. Breen (Ed.), Leaner contributions to language learning: New directions in research (pp. 159 – 171). Longman/Pearson Education.
_____& Gao, Y. (2008). Identity, investment, and Chinese learners of English. *Journal of Asian Pacific Communication*, 18 (1), p. 109 – 120.
Pavlenko, A., & Blackledge, A. (2004). Introduction: New Theoretical Approaches to the Study of Negotiation of Identities in Multilingual Contexts. In A. Pavlenko & A. Blackledge (eds.*), Negotiation of Identities in Multilingual Contexts*. Clevedon, England: Multilingualism Matters, pp. 1 – 33.

Peirce, C. (1902). Logic as semiotic: The theory of signs. *Philosophical writings of Peirce,* 100.
Pennycook, A. (2003). Global Englishes, Rip Slyme, and performativity. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 7(4), pp.513-533.
Perez Casas, M. (2008). *Codeswitching and Identity Among Island Puerto Rican Bilinguals* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Georgetown University.
Pierluisi, P. (2015). *Statehood Is the Only Antidote for What Ails Puerto Rico*. *Nytimes.com*. Retrieved 13 July 2015, from http://www.nytimes.com/2015/07/11/opinion/statehood-is-the-only-antidote-for-what-ails-puerto-rico.html?_r=0.
Podesva, R. J. (2011). Salience and the social meaning of declarative contours: Three case studies of gay professionals. *Journal of English Linguistics*, 39 (3), 233 – 264.
Poplack, S. (1980). Sometimes I'll start a sentence in Spanish y temrino en Español: toward a typology of code-switching. *Linguistics*, 18 (7 – 8). pp. 581 – 618.
_____ (1988). Contrasting patterns of code-switching in two communities. *Codeswitching: Anthropological and Sociolinguistic Perspectives*, 215. pp. 44.
_____ (2001). Code switching (linguistic*). International encyclopedia of the social and behavioral sciences*, 2062 – 2065.
_____ (2012). What does the Nonce Borrowing Hypothesis hypothesize? *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition,* 15 (3). pp. 644 – 648.
_____ (2015). Codeswitching (linguistic). In *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 2nd Edition, 918 – 925. Elsevier Science Ltd.
Pousada, A. (1996). Puerto Rico: On the Horns of a Language Planning Dilemma. *TESOL Quarterly* , 30(3), 499-510.
_____ (1999). The singularly strange story of the English language in Puerto Rico. Milenio, 3: 33 – 60.
_____ (2000). The competent bilingual in Puerto Rico. International Journal of the Sociology of Language, 142 (3). pp. 103 – 118.
_____ (2008). The Mandatory Use of English in the Federal Court of Puerto Rico. *Milenio*, 3, 33 – 60.
_____ (2010, March). *English-speaking Enclaves in Puerto Rico*. Paper presented at College English Association Conference, University of Puerto Rico. Retrieved From:http://aliciapousada.weebly.com/uploads/1/0/0/2/10020146/college_english_association_paper.pdf.

Preston, D. R. (1996). Variationist Perspectives on Second Language Acquisition. In R. Bayley & D.R. Preston (eds.), *Second Language Acquisition and Linguistic Variation*. Amsterdam, The Netherlands: John Benjamins, pp. 1 – 43.

Primera Hora. (2009). *Se unen en defensa del idioma*. Retrieved from http://www.primerahora.com/noticias/puertorico/nota/seunenendefensadelidioma-292821/

Rampton, B. (2007). Neo-Hymesian linguistic ethnography in the United Kingdom. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 11 (5), 584 – 607.

_____ & Maybin, J., & Roberts, C. (2014). Methodological Foundations in Linguistic Ethnography. In J. Snell, S. Shaw, & F. Copland (eds) *Linguistic Ethnography: Interdisciplinary Explorations*. Palgrave Advances Series.

_____(Eds.) (2015). Language and superdiversity. Routledge.

REAL ACADEMIA ESPAÑOLA: Banco de datos (CORDE) [en línea]. Corpus diacrónico del español. <http://www.rae.es> [22 June 2017].

Reed, K. , Conli, R. (Producers), & Hall, D., Williams, C. (Directors). (2014). Big Hero 6 [Motion picture]. United States: Walt Disney Animation Studios.

Resnick, M.M. (1993). ESL and language planning in Puerto Rico. *TESOL Quarterly* , 27, 259-273.

Rivera, R. Z., Marshall, W., & Pacini Hernández, D. (2009). Reggaeton. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Rodriguez, D.C. (1993). Bilingualism among eastern professionals in Puerto Rico. University of Puerto Rico.

Ronjat, J. (1913). *Le développement du langage observé chez un enfant bilingue*. H. Champion.

Rosa, J. D. (2016). Standardization, racialization, languagelessness: Raciolinguistic ideologies across communicative contexts. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology,* 26 (2), 162 – 183.

Sankoff, D. (1993). Focus on Tok Pisin. In F. Byrne & D. Winford (Eds.) *Focus and grammatical relations in creole languages*. John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Sankoff, D., & Poplack, S. (1981). A formal grammar for code-switching. *Papers in Linguistics: International Journal of Human Communication*, 14 (1). pp. 3 – 46.

Sapir, E. (1921). *Language*. New York: Harcourt, Brace.

_____(1929). The Status of Linguistics as a Science. In Selected Writings. David Mandelbaum, ed. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Saraceni, M. (2009). Relocating English: towards a new paradigm for English in the world. *Language and Intercultural Communication*, 9 (3), p. 175 – 186.

Schilling-Estes, N. (2004). Constructing ethnicity in interaction. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 8 (2). pp. 163 – 195.

_____(2013). Surveys and Interviews. In *Research Methods in Linguistics*. Ed. Robert J. Podesva and Devyani Sharma. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schmidt-Nieto, J. R. (2002). The Political Side of Bilingual Education: The Undesirable Becomes Useful. *Arachne@Rutgers: Journal of Iberian and Latin American Literary and Cultural Studies*, 2 (2).

Schweers, J. William, C., and Velez, J. A. (1992). To Be or Not To Be Bilingual in Puerto Rico. TESOL Journal, 2 (1). pp. 13 - 6.

_____ & Hudders, M. (2000). The reformation of democratization of English Education in Puerto Rico. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language: Language Spread Policy*, 142, 63-68.

Sealey, A. (2007). Linguistic ethnography in realist perspective1. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 11(5), pp.641-660.

Sebba, M. and Wootton, T. (1998). We, They and Identity. In: P. Auer, ed., *Code-Switching in Conversation: Language, interaction and identity*, 1st ed. London and New York: Routledge, pp.262 - 286.

Sharma, D. (2011). Style repertoire and social change in British Asian English. *Journal Of Sociolinguistics*, *15*(4), 464-492. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9841.2011.00503.x

Shin, S.J. 2013. Bilingualism in Schools and Society: Language, Identity, and Policy. New York: Routledge.

_____ & Bruno, R.R. (2003). *Language use and English-speaking ability, 2000*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Economics and Statistics Administration, U.S. Census Bureau.

Sidnell, J. (2017). Action in interaction is conduct under description. *Language in Society*, 46 (3), p. 313 – 337.

_____(2009). Conversation Analysis: Comparative Perspectives. Cambridge University Press.

Sierra, S. (2016). Playing out loud: Videogame references as resources in friend interaction for managing frames, epistemics, and group identity. *Language in Society*, 45 (2), p. 217 – 245.

Silva-Corvalán, C. (1989). Past and present perspectives on language change in US Spanish. *International journal of the sociology of language,* 79, p. 53 – 66.

Silverstein, M. (1985). Language and the culture of gender: At the intersection of structure, usage, and ideology. *Semiotic mediation*. pp. 219 – 259.

_____ (1992). The uses and utility of ideology: some reflections. *International Pragmatics Association*, 2 (3). pp. 311 – 323.

_____(1996). Monoglot 'standard' in America: Standardization and metaphors of linguistic hegemony. In D. Brenneis & R. H. S. Macaulay (Eds.) *The matrix language: Contemporary linguistic anthropology*. Westview Press.

_____ (2003). Indexical order and the dialectics of sociolinguistic life. *Language & Communication*, 23(3-4), 193-229.

_____ (2010). "Direct" and "indirect" communicative acts in semiotic perspective. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 42(2), 337-353.

Singleton, D. (2003). Critical Period or General Age Factor(s)? (G. M. Pilar & G. L. Luisa, Eds.). In *Age and the acquisition of English as a foreign language* (pp. 3-18). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

_____(2016). *Language and the lexicon: An introduction*. Routledge.

Shin, Sarah J. 2013. Bilingualism in Schools and Society. New York, NY: Routledge.

Squires, Lauren. (2010). Enregistering Internet language. *Language in Society*, 39. pp. 457 – 492.

Stæhr, Andreas. (2015). Reflexivity in Facebook interaction – Enregisterment across written and spoken language practices. *Discourse, Context and Media,* 8. pp. 30 – 45.

Stroud, C. (1992). The problem of intention and meaning in code-switching. *Text-Interdisciplinary journal for the Study of Discourse*, 12 (1), p. 127 – 155.

Tajel, H., & Turner, J.C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In W.G. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.) *The social psychology of intergroup relations*. Brooks/Cole Publishing.

Tagg, Caroline. (2016). Heteroglossia in text-messaging: Performing identity and negotiating relationships in a digital space. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 20 (1). pp. 59 – 85.

Tagliamonte, S. Hudson, R. (1999). Be like et al. beyond America: The quotative system in British and Canadian youth. *Journal of Sociolinguistics,* 3 (2), p. 147 – 172.

Tagliamonte, S. A., & Poplack, S. (2000). *The grammaticization of going to in (African American) English*. Language Variation & Change, 11. Pp. 315 – 342.

_____(2006). *Analysing sociolinguistic variation*. Cambridge University Press.

_____ & D'Arcy, A. (2007). Frequency and variation in the community grammar: Tracking a new change through generations. *Language Variation and Change*, 19 (2), p. 199 – 217.

_____ & Denis, D. (2008). Linguistic ruin? LOL! Instant messaging and teen language. *American speech*, 83 (1), p. 3 – 34.

_____& D'Arcy, A. (2009). Peaks Beyond Phonology: Adolescence, Incrementation, and Language Change. *Language*, 85 (1). pp. 58 – 108.

_____(2016). *Teen Talk: The Language of Adolescents*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Tarone, E. (1979). Interlanguage as Chameleon. Language Learning, 29 (1). pp. 181 – 191.

Thibault, P., & Daveluy, M. (1989). Quelques traces du passage du temps dans le parler des Montréalais, 1971 – 1984. *Language variation and change*, 1 (1), p. 19 – 45.

Torres, Lourdes. (2002). Bilingual discourse markers in Puerto Rican Spanish. *Language in Society*, 31. pp. 65 – 83.

Torres, Lourdes. (2015). Spanish in the United States: Bilingual Discourse Markers. In M. Diaz-Campos (Ed.) *The Handbook of Hispanic Sociolinguistics* (493 - 503). Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing.

Torruellas, R. M. (1991). Learning English in three private schools in Puerto Rico: Issues of class, identity, and ideology (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation).

Tracy, S. I. (2013). *Qualitative Research Methods*. Oxford, UK; Wiley-Blackwell.

Trudgill, P. (1974). *The Social Differentiation of English in Norwich*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Urciuoli, Bonnie. (1996). *Exposing Prejudice: Puerto Rican Experiences of Language, Race, and Class*. Long Grove, Illinois: Waveland Press.

U.S. Census Bureau (2015). *US Census Bureau, median household income by state 2014*. [online] Census.gov. Available at: https://www.census.gov/library/publications/2016/acs/acsbr15-02.html [Accessed 24 May 2019]

_____(2016). *U.S. Census Bureau Quickfacts: Mayagüez Municipio, Puerto Rico' Mayaguez zona urbana, Puerto Rico*. [online]. Available at: https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/mayaguezmunicipiopuertorico,mayaguezzonaurbanapuertorico/PST045218

_____ (2018). *Selected population profile in Puerto Rico: 2017 American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates*. Retrieved from: [https://centropr.hunter.cuny.edu/sites/default/files/data_sheets/ACS_17_1YR_Population_Profile_for_Puerto_Rico.pdf]

Valdez, J. R. (2016). The battleground of metaphors: language debates and symbolic violence in Puerto Rico. *Journal of Historical Sociolinguistics,* 2 (1), p. 1 – 25.

Velez, J. (2000). Understanding Spanish-language Maintenance in Puerto Rico: Political Will Meets the Demographic Imperative. International Journal of the Sociology of Languages, 142 (3). pp. 5 - 24.

Velez, J. A. (2000). Understanding Spanish-language maintenance in Puerto Rico: politicial will meets the demographic imperative. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 142 (1).

Vervotec, S. (2007). Super-diversity and its implications. Ethnic and Racial Studies. 30 (6). pp. 1024 – 1054.

Walsh, M. (1994). Towards a Puerto Rican Variety of English: An Ethnographic Study with Implications for the English Curriculum in Puerto Rico. Ed. D. dissertation, University of Puerto Rico.

Weinreich, U. (1953). *Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems*. The Hague: Mouton.

Wenger, E. (1998), Communities of Practice: Learning, meaning, and identity. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

Whitley, M.S. (2002). *Spanish/English contrasts: A course in Spanish linguistics*. Georgetown University Press.

Whitman, N. (2010). Prime Time for "Imma". Visual Thesaurus.com. Retrieved from: https://www.visualthesaurus.com/cm/dictionary/prime-time-for-imma/

Wolfram, W. (1969) A sociolinguistic study of Detroit Negro speech. *Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics*.

_____ & Fasold, R. (1974). *The study of social dialects in American English*. Prentice Hall.

_____& Carter, P. & Moriello, B. (2004). Emerging Hispanic English: New dialect formation in the American South. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 8(3), 339-358.

_____ (2008). Linguistic Anthropology of Education. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 37 (1), pp. 37 – 51.

Won Lee, J. (2017). *The politics of translingualism: After Englishes*. Routledge.

Wood, A. E. (2009). El Reguetón: Análisis Del Léxico De La Música De Los Reguetoneros Puertorriqueños. MA Thesis Georgia State University.

Woolard, Kathryn, A. (2004). Codeswitching. *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing.

Woolard, K. A. (2005). Codeswitching. In Alessandro Duranti (ed). A companion to linguistic anthropology. Blackwell Publishing. Blackwell Reference Online.

_____(2008). Why dat now?: Linguistic-anthropological contributions to the explanation of sociolinguistic icons and change1. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 12(4), 432-452.

Wortham, S. (2008). Linguistic Anthropology of Education. *The Annual Review of Anthropology*, 37 (3).

Yuhas, A. (2015). *Economic exodus means two-thirds of Puerto Ricans may soon live in states. the Guardian*. Retrieved 24 August 2015, from http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jul/02/puerto-rico-economy-exodus-us-mainland.

Zentella, A.C. (1981). Hablamos los dos. We speak both: growing up bilingual in El Barrio. Ph.D Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.

_____(1997). *Growing up bilingual: Puerto Rican children in New* York. Blackwell Malden, MA.