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26 Language and Social Meaning in Bilingual Mexico and the United States

NORMA MENDOZA-DENTON AND BRYAN JAMES GORDON

Y pos allí fue donde yo batallé porque el doctor era gringo y no sabía español, entonces cuando él hablaba él estaba mirando al niño y mi niño tiene doce años. Y yo creo que cuando pasa algo así pos él tiene que buscar a alguien que le traduzca porque yo soy la mamá. Me tenía que haber dicho a mí lo que pasaba y yo me sentí como que ni me tomó en cuenta y ni me explicó nada y pos yo no entendí lo que pasaba.

So at that point I had a hard time because the doctor was Gringo and didn't know any Spanish, so when he talked he would look at my boy, who is twelve years old. And I believe that when something like this happens he needs to look for someone to translate because I am the boy's mother. He was supposed to tell me what was happening and I felt as though he paid no attention to me and didn't explain anything, so I had no idea what was going on.

<div align="right">(Martínez 2008: 360, translation by Mendoza-Denton)</div>

Phenomena of language contact between Spanish and English and Spanish and indigenous languages in the Americas have created a multiplicity of contexts in which social meanings are interactionally negotiated, meanings that carry the weight of historical precedent as well as the synchronic spark of current social issues. This chapter aims to review the rich literature on the negotiation of social meaning, distribution of socially available perspectives, and the crafting of identities through and in the use of language across these zones of contact. We will survey language contact phenomena according to spheres of use, starting with bureaucratic encounters, moving on to mediascapes and elites, considering transnational mobility and bilingual (including indigenous) communities, touching on

issues of language structure and language shift as well as identity formations such as *Chicanidad*.

We back Zentella's (1997) concept of *anthropolitical linguistics*, which she defines as an effort:

> to understand and facilitate a stigmatized group's attempts to construct a positive self within an economic and political context that relegates its members to static and disparaged ethnic, racial, and class identities, and that identifies them with static and disparaged linguistic codes (p. 13).

1 Bureaucracy and the public sphere

One of the main arenas in which social meaning gets negotiated is the public sphere of bureaucratic and institutional encounters. We will take initially examples from the United States' Spanish-speaking population, and later incorporate examples from interactions between indigenous languages and Spanish in Latin America (primarily Mexico). We start with issues of Spanish-English translation in medical contexts, issues that arise immediately in considering everyday institutional interactions of bilingual populations.

In Ginsberg et al's (1995) survey of 85 hospitals in the United States, 11 percent of all patients were found to require the services of an interpreter, the majority of whom required Spanish interpretation. Much of the time the interpreters, guaranteed by US law (though with plenty of exceptions, Martínez 2008), are minimally trained personnel or ad hoc interpreters: nurses, receptionists, and family members (Haffner 1992). Sometimes interpreters are not available (Hunt and de Voogd 2007). Davidson (2000) documents physicians as finding nothing wrong with "saving time" by recruiting bystanders or by having interpreters themselves conduct parts of the initial medical interview, the time at which the chief complaint of the patient is established. In a study of bilingual nurses doubling as Spanish interpreters (Elderkin-Thompson et al. 2001), researchers found that one-half of the encounters had serious communication problems, often affecting the credibility of the patients' concerns, with translations providing a negatively slanted view of the patient. Interpreter omissions reinforced stereotypes of Latino patients as passive, and the most egregious problems arose when patients used cultural metaphors unfamiliar to the nurses and uninterpretable into Western medical discourses.

In the example at the beginning of this chapter, a mother recounts an incident in a hospital emergency room and highlights her feelings of dispossession. Dispossessed of the ability to communicate, she not only judged the interactional premises as inappropriate (having a young child translate for their parent in a medical situation), but also concluded that she herself was invisible, her role as a parent devalued – in this instance, with her son as the main interlocutor for the doctor, she could not control the flow of information to shield the child from upsetting news. In the absence of adequate means of communication in medical

interactions, Martínez (2008) points out (pace Hill 2008) that Spanish is devalued while English is elevated, and that literacy comes to be identified with an English-only space (as Spanish speakers are instructed to take pamphlets written in English to their homes and simply look at the pictures). In a disturbing look at processes of informed consent among Latina patients in genetic counseling clinics, Hunt and de Voogd (2007) outline not only cases of mistranslations that affected patients' decisions of whether or not to submit to an amniocentesis after abnormalities had been found in their bloodwork, but also cases of clinicians assuming that Latina women needed their husbands' permission to undergo any procedure. These clinicians then resorted to using the husbands as interpreters, thereby obliterating any possibility of independent decision-making on the part of the patients (see also Hunt and de Voogd 2005; Preloran, Browner, and Lieber 2005). Further complications arise in dealing with patients who may or may not be insured, may or may not be documented, and may or may not be deportable under current versions of the law (Heyman et al. 2009). Lack of access to services and difficult interactions with bureaucratic authorities in the public sphere are a common feature of communicative encounters of postcolonial populations that are in flux. Language proficiency in these cases may serve as a powerful index of class, vulnerability, and/or deportability, motivating some speakers to adopt identities where they either downplay their language proficiency (Mendoza-Denton 2008) or where they carry on a self-conscious performance of fluency in the dominant language. DuBord (2008), in her study of Mexican day laborers in Tucson, Arizona, found that most of them espouse the ideology that learning English will help them in the job market, a belief that is not borne out by either her or Ullman's (2004: 200–205) examination of remuneration offered to workers at the bottom of the socioeconomic stratum. This contrasts with Heller's study of bilingualism among globalized Euro-Canadian language workers standing at the opposite end of the modes of production: Heller articulates the role of language produced as a commodity, pointing out that within the framework of the globalized economy "we [Canadian bilinguals] used to sell our physical labour; now we sell our intellectual and communicative labour, both as a skill and as a cultural artifact" (Heller 2005: 5). Bilingualism among blue-collar, undocumented Latin American migrants in the Southwest is a form of capital, albeit an indirect one because it doesn't translate into real wages, but rather into wider communication networks and more informal employment contacts. In addition, bilingualism could result in positions of higher visibility where workers were less likely to be abused by employers (DuBord 2008: 110). But as a nexus of power, language itself is a double-edged sword. It intersects with other indices of social capital (i.e. years of education) before taking its ultimate form in any interaction. So it is not the case that we can easily talk about roles such as "oppressor" and "oppressed" and line these up with the "English-speaking community" and the "monolingual Spanish speakers." Although blue collar workers do not get paid more for speaking English, bilingual workers are sometimes viewed by monolingual Spanish workers as "tricksters" – in negotiating wages with monolingual bosses, bilingual day laborers sometimes took subtle economic advantage of the situation, cheating

monolinguals out of small amounts of money or privileges (DuBord 2008: 109). The role of bilingualism in articulating power at the intersection of border zones is multifaceted, and as Freire argues, it turns differential holders of capital into *sub-oppressors* (Freire 1970).

Ullman (2004: 240–249) recounts the story of Juan, a Spanish-dominant and undocumented worker from Jalisco whom she met during her fieldwork in Arizona. Juan's preferred self-presentation was as an elaborately dressed Mexican cowboy (although he could only dress this way for parties and on weekends). However, he had refined a persona of a "cholo" – an English-speaking Chicano – that he deployed in order to avoid detection by the Border Patrol, and this enactment of a persona had a shaved head, wore Chicago Bulls t-shirts and baggy pants, and was completed by emblematic sprinklings of Chicano English. On one occasion, while on a construction job, two border patrol agents rolled up next to him and observed him while he was applying stucco to a wall. Juan looked at them and, trying to seem relaxed, cocked his head back and said "'Sup." They drove away, having been fooled by his performance into thinking that he was a US Latino rather than an undocumented Mexican worker. As Ullman points out, the success of his performance was predicated on an intimate familiarity with the target of his imitation: by drawing on his long-term experiences with Chicano bosses, he could reproduce a credible exemplar of a Chicano persona that could fool the authorities. As Althusser (1971) would have it, he interpellated the police officers as fellow Americans from the (momentarily assumed) subject position of a Chicano. But in calling out "'Sup," Juan also destabilized our theories of language and identity. Part drag, part crossing, this exquisite performance is the inverse of a Bauman/Briggs performance that calls attention to itself. In no way a celebration of Chicano identity (Juan doesn't actually like Chicanos), or an uncritical alignment (as would be implied by LePage and Tabouret-Keller's 1984 Acts of Identity framework), this performance pre-empts interpellation by the police officers.

Identity categories emerge out of situated stances (Bucholtz and Hall 2005), naturalization through repetition (Butler 1990), and emblems linked to culturally salient characterological figures/personae (Agha 2007: 235; Eckert 2005). The fleeting stances and footings out of which identities emerge are historically situated; enregisterment of emblems and naturalization of practice are historical processes. Identities have histories, and key in these histories are identities' dialectic relationships to each other within societies and states. For some national groups such as Scandinavian Americans, the temporal compression of migration results in clear generational time-breaks, where Scandinavian-Americans of a particular migrating generation lived through and recall the same events. The result of such time-compressed migration (upon which most language shift and attrition models are based) is that "each new generation born in the United States after the immigrant generation [has] less contact with a sizeable co-ethnic immigrant population, and thus diminished opportunities to speak the mother-tongue of their immigrant ancestors" (Linton and Jiménez 2009: 971; see also Massey 1995). For US Latinos, continued population replenishment (and in some cases circular

migration due to geographic proximity) has the potential to change the assumptions of our models of language shift.

Spanish has the greatest generational longevity of all the immigrant languages in the United States. Far from being merely a transitional stage, bilingualism in the United States can now be considered one possible endpoint of linguistic assimilation. Here we must note that the variety of Spanish in which a migrant group ends up being bilingual will most likely not be the variety of Spanish that the ancestral group initially brought with it. For example, a third-generation Cuban American in New York City will likely not speak a variety resembling Cuban Spanish, but a new, *koiné* variety of New York City Spanish that draws from the phonologies and syntactic structures of varieties of Dominican, Puerto Rican, and Colombian Spanish (Otheguy, Zentella, and Livert 2008).

Based on a mixed-method study combining ethnography with the analysis of census data, Linton and Jiménez (2009) observe that demographics (size of the Spanish-speaking community), immigrant population replenishment, cosmopolitanism/transnational contacts, and institutional (media and labor-market) contexts for Spanish use are the most important factors in the maintenance of Spanish bilingualism at the community level.

2   Bilingualism in the community: media and elites

Studies such as Dávila (2001) frame the use of language in new Latino media as vacillating between the norms of the sending countries (Mexico, Venezuela), which traditionally controlled media production in Latin America, and new norms of US Latinos which at times promote a *pan-ethnic* vision. Pan-Latinidad as promoted by these media has the curious effect of erasing linguistic variation, rendering bilingualism, ethno-national dialects, and class variation as invisible. For example, in the Spanish-speaking, Miami-based show *Cristina*, code-switching by Puerto Rican and other US Latino guests has been covered with an audible "bleep," or with Cristina (the talk show host)'s insistence that the guests speak only in Spanish: as though code-switching were tantamount to using foul language. Code-switching, far from being understood as a neutral phenomenon that occurs when populations come into contact, is perceived as disorderly, unstructured, and polluted, and strong language ideologies exist that decry its use.

Dávila interprets this regulation of the proper kind of Spanish (the bleeping out of US Latino code-switching) as serving to keep language and people "in their place" and as reinforcing raced and classed structures of Latino privilege in mediascapes. Indeed, the Dominican community in New York City in 1998 protested the *Cristina* show for portraying "Dominican lowlifes," arguing that their selection of guests oversexualized and mocked Dominicans as a whole (Dávila 2000; Atanay 1998). A telling aspect of this complaint is that it originates from an elite positionality that rejects the inclusion of certain kinds of Dominicans as public representatives of the community. This within-Dominican pejoration itself serves to shore up and

constitute an elite position, and can be understood in the context of other examples of within ethnic or national-group discrimination, such as those discussed by Menchaca (2001), Mendoza-Denton (2008), and Potowski and Matts (2008).

From an elite Latino perspective, there are plenty of reasons to draw a line between "correct" and "incorrect" Spanish. As a writer for the Spanish newspaper *El País* (2004) put it, "muere el Spanglish y surge el español globalizado" – there is no place for bad, mixed Spanish in the imagined future, but only space for the global powerhouses of Spanish and English to converse. The Spanish-speaking elite produces and maintains culture-internal boundaries between itself and its internal other, ensuring that those boundaries are visible to non-Latinos too – to the global elite, to the Anglo-American elite, and so on, who see ethnicity as internally undifferentiated, who are uninterested in, and ignorant of, the class, race, and language wars in the wake of Spanish colonialism. For elite Latinos' dealings with the non-Hispanophone elite, ideologies of correct Spanish can refer to a rich history of European philological tradition, and to Spanish's position as a global language of politics and business (see García 1993; Mar-Molinero 2006; see also Mar-Molinero and Darren Paffey this volume). And in that elite's dealings with the internal other, global capitalism provides a rich framework in which to do simultaneously material and symbolic work, resignifying culture as authentically named, traditionally labeled, and globally available (herein the elite Latinos' role as *cultural broker*, Morales and Hanson 2005). Thus "correct" Spanish serves as a marker of a traditional world and a modern world at the same time, while varieties of Spanish designated as "incorrect," "mixed," or "deficient" – along with the people who speak them – are cast to the periphery of the cultural, educational, and economic realms.

There is overwhelming evidence in the United States of *racialization* and *foreignization* of both Spanish and bilingualism (de León 1983; Urciuoli 1996; Torres 1997; García 2009) and negative attitudes among non-Chicanos towards features of Chicano English (Giles 1979). Racialization of bilingualism is subtle, with white bilinguals more positively sanctioned than non-whites (Aparicio 1998). News stories and popular culture reveal the practical life of ideology: for example, a Latino high-school student was suspended for saying, "No problema" (Reid 2005, in Hill 2008). Comedienne Dame Edna (Everage 2003) sparked a furor among activists and language scholars with her mockery of Spanish as a global, literary language, reducing its utility to conversing with "your leaf blower." Commentators have addressed material as well as ideological reality, documenting discrimination against Spanish speakers (Santa Ana 2009; Spicher 1992), policing of Spanish use (Macías 1997), and tracking of Spanish-speaking students and other minority-dialect speakers as "deficient" (Mendoza-Denton 2008; Rymes and Anderson 2004).

Double-voiced discourses on language ideology are not limited to comedy: many have oriented their research directly against this hostile backdrop, focusing on scholarly practices that both document and subvert pejorative meanings (Anzaldúa 1987; Galindo 1987, 1999; Cummings 1991; Limón 1994; Mendoza-Denton 2008; Stavans 2004). Santa Ana's (1999) study of metaphorical animalization

of Latinos in the "liberal" *Los Angeles Times* is an exemplary work. Ideological hostility is seen as forming subjects and identities in the work of Schechter and Bayley (2002) and Suárez-Orozco (2000; 2004).

An illustrative example of media representations of US Latinos in the mainstream is "Meet the Garcías" (Nelson 2009), the first part of host Soledad O'Brien's *Latino in America* series. In this segment, several different individuals surnamed García are interviewed, on the premise that García is poised to become the most common surname in the United States. Chef Lorena García talks of her accent as something she has succeeded *in spite of*, while actor Jesse García sees unaccented, non-"ethnic" roles as indices of the success of escaping Hollywood typecasting. Betty and Bill García's arc of success leads them away from the Dominican barrios of Harlem and into middle-class suburban North Carolina, where their children struggle to find relevance in their ethnicity, and assimilate into surrounding African- and European-American cultures. Perhaps to avoid overromanticizing, the segment has some less "success"-full stories too. Teenager Cindy García resolves to avoid being a "Latina statistic" (in the wording of the producers), but she gets pregnant and does not graduate from high school. Activist Isabel García's segment, while editing out her commentary on the thousands of annual migrant deaths in Arizona (I. García and Torres-Ruiz 2009), features Araceli Torres-Ruiz's struggle against Arizona's move to deport and separate her from her family on identity-theft charges. And Fr. Pedro García lets us hear his English-monolingual parishioners debate their co-worshipers' right to Spanish services.

Despite the purported realism of "Meet the Garcías," the indices of success follow dominant *ideological norms*: movement towards non-Latino and/or Anglophone social networks, towards "modern" family and gender models, towards North American religious institutions and towards English. Note that ideological norms as portrayed by elites and media are stereotypical and do not take into account certain lived realities: for instance, the fact that bilingualism itself can be one of the endpoints of assimilation.

3   Mobility and bilingual communities

Globalization is carving new paths and channels for Spanish in the landscapes of local economies and norms (Niño-Murcia, Goddenzi, and Rothman 2008). New models of social mobility, following from North American models, reroute practices, identities, and resources into dominant linguistic markets. On global and local scales alike, metrics of "success" orient to positions within dominant cultures.

The spatial and material terms of the American Dream and US discourses of high social mobility, meritocracy, and opportunity put the moral onus of success on individuals (Lipset and Bendix 1992; McNamee and Miller 2004). Bilingual practices get meaning within this normative field. Urciuoli (1996) finds a sociolinguistic opposition between middle-class-oriented "good ethnic" identities and a racialized underclass among New York Puerto Ricans.

The success imperative demands the irrealizable goal of *suppression of optional variation* (Milroy and Milroy 2006: 240), and ideologically recasts language choice to fit this paradigm. Most immigrant and indigenous populations in the United States have progressively decoupled language from identity. Attinasi (1979) found this trend in progress for Latinos, but Schechter and Bayley (2002: 98) complicate this matter: they describe diverse ideological stances towards links between Spanish and Latino identity, and between language choice, cognitive development, and success (Schechter and Bayley 2002: 59, 68). Identification with and use of English have been linked in case studies to bilinguals' social mobility (ibid.; Hudson-Edwards, Hernández-Chávez and Bills 1995; Mendoza-Denton 2008); and Fleck (2004) has related assimilated "American" identity to English-only social networks.

As the imagery of *Latino in America* suggests, the success imperative enforces more than just linguistic suppression. Racial and national identities index particular, stereotypic ranges and trajectories on the scale of mobility. Individuals capable of *passing* have a resource which, as Juan from Jalisco discovered when he misled the police, may be used strategically and accrue various social meanings. Commentators have looked upon passing from different vantages:

- Tragic, inauthentic yet fabled heroines and heroes (Johnson 2008 [1912]; Larson 2003 [1929]);
- Proud but oppressed "border" identities (Anzaldúa 1987);
- Multicultural subjects with broader "repertoires" (Mannheim 1997; Coupland 2007: 82–84); and
- Situated agents whose repertoires and practices are inseparable from power (Agha 2007).

The first two capture more attention in literary scholarship; the third is a typical theme in sociolinguistics; and the fourth is receiving attention from "third-wave" variationists (Coupland 2007).

In lands colonized by Spain, three projects jointly work to move people out of indigenous cultures and "dialects," into modern, rationalized citizenship: *castellanización*, a "project of national unity" aimed at "the dissolution of indigenous peasant communities" and "integration of the 'marginalized' into national society and culture" (Hamel and Muñoz 1981: 130); *hispanismo*, or the idea of a world Hispanic culture in which Spain and Spanish are hegemonic, and "Spanish American culture is nothing but Spanish culture transplanted to the New World" (del Valle and Gabriel-Stheeman 2002: 6); and *mestizaje* or "the Mestizo ideology," which by identifying Latin Americans with "two high cultures" (Hamel 2008: 303) sanctions modern nations and hegemonies and casts indigenous resistance as backwards and unintelligible. Hamel (2006), based on his work with the Hñähñú (Otomí) of the Valle del Mezquital and other groups, directs attention to the relationship between resources and *situaciones comunicativas* (roughly, *domains of use*, cf. Hamel 1980a, 1980b; Hamel and Muñoz 1988; Dorian 1980, 1981) on three levels: (1) cultural models and procedures; (2) discourse structures; and (3) linguistic codes and structures. A particular community can shift from an indigenous to a
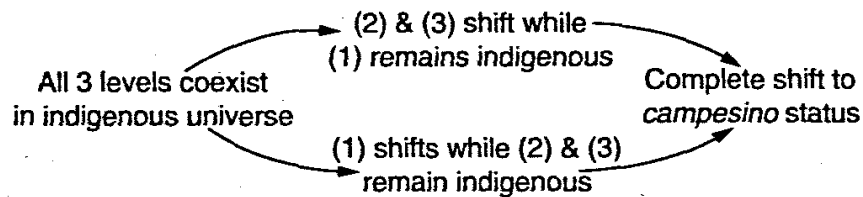
Figure 26.1 Summary schema.
Source: Adapted by authors from Hamel (2006).

Latino identity along two paths. In the first, best-understood case, the community shifts to the dominant language – (2) and (3) – while retaining its cultural separateness (1); in the second, this order is reversed.

Exemplifying the first path, indigenous migrants become visible as urban speakers of *español indígena*. This variety is simultaneously a tool of identity and resistance, and a system under European hegemonic norms, history, and patterns of use and change, bound to the material conditions and resource-distribution of the globalized Mexican economy (Pellicer 1988). Exemplifying the second path, intercultural brokers among the Mexicanos (their name for themselves and for the local Nāhuatl) of the Malinche, middle-aged male laborers who move fluidly between Mexican *campesino* identity and the hispanized "power register" of Mexicano, nonetheless animate *purist language ideologies* (Hill and Hill 1986; cf. Dorian 1994; Kroskrity 1998), which produce an anti-modern, anti-Spanish *legítimo mexicano*. Hill and Hill describe how it is not this (relatively) elite group, but economically vulnerable women with low mobility and little access to power and capital, who speak what might be called the "pure" form with respect to the honorific system. Unsurprisingly, Hill and Hill find these women holding the most negative attitudes towards language maintenance, and this case of purist language ideology turns out to accompany, not oppose, shift-in-progress.

Here are unidirectional flows of symbolic and material resources towards dominant groups, both in the *español indígena* and in the Mexicano cases, even though in the latter case Mexicano is still the everyday language of the community. Such cases, where dominant-language influence arises as *calques* or *modeling* (Weinreich 1974 [1953]: 109), and shift is largely in the area of meaning rather than form (cf. Poplack and Pousada 1981; Otheguy 1993; Silva-Corvalán 1994, 1998, 2008), have been supposed to resist shift, but Hill and Hill's work and research on New York Spanish (Otheguy, O. García, and Fernández 1989), indicate that influence by the dominant language at any level can comprise shift.

Structural-deterministic generalizations about causes and inhibitors of language shift emerge largely from macro-studies linking bilingual practices to demography. They often lead to contradictory findings. Negative correlation of education and Spanish language maintenance in the southwestern United States is a widely cited finding of Hudson-Edwards, Hernández-Chávez, and Bills (1995), but O. García and Cuevas's (1995) found the opposite regarding Nuyoricans.

Macro-distinctions like "stable" and "transitional" bilingualism are difficult to map to specific empirical traits: similar social and material conditions produce

disparate outcomes with respect to community-level (Fasold 1984: 240) or individual shift (cf. Valdés 2004; Mendoza-Denton 2008). Ideologies mediating meaningful practice and interpretation are often self-contradictory. Hill and Hill (1986) and Francis and Navarrete Gómez (2003) find Spanish-monolingual Mexicans evaluating Náhuatl as the language of backwardness, the past, and Mexicanness at once. (As alluded to earlier, there is no place for "bad Spanish" or backward languages in the elite "future.") While conservative, elder, and purist stances are often linked (e.g. Hill 1998), Barrett (2008) finds young Sipakapense Maya (San Marcos department, Guatemala) turning this on its head, rejecting elders' syncretic practice and producing a revitalization-oriented purism. Influenced (by Oxlajuuj Keej Mayab' Ajtz'iib' (OKMA), "Thirteen-Deer Maya Writers," see Pakal B'alam 1994; Lolmay and Pakal B'alam 1997) activists, young Sipakapense avoid SVO word order ideologically linked to Spanish (although both Spanish and Sipakapense permit all argument-verb orderings: Barrett 2008). This is a sign of Maya identity reclamation, but its prospects are uncertain. The government having sold gold rights under the *municipio* to a US company and deployed troops to control protesters, the language-revitalization process and SVO-avoidance have both experienced a crushing blow (Barrett 1999).

4 Linguistic changes during shift

Linguists like Silva-Corvalán (1989, 2008), Poplack and Pousada (1981), Ocampo (1990) and Torres (1997, 2002, 2006) have sought to explore changes to the linguistic system of Spanish in contact with English, showing effects like *estar* gaining ground over *ser*, rising *bilingual discourse marker* systems, and simplification of verbal morphology.

Silva-Corvalán, like Torres (1989) and Otheguy and García (1988; also Otheguy 1993, 1995), is at pains to demonstrate that "grammatical" changes to Spanish in Los Angeles do not represent "borrowings" of English syntax, but rather mappings of American pragmatic and semantic patterns onto extant Spanish forms, accompanied by generalization or reduction of extant Spanish forms. Of course, it is hard to deny that such processes, over time, may change the syntax of the Spanish variety itself. But as Torres points out, the future is uncertain, and it may be likelier that such Spanishes will either shift completely to particular Englishes, or that they will remain in sufficient contact with world Spanishes not to converge syntactically.

Mendoza-Denton (1999) has argued similarly that changes to Chicano Englishes do not necessarily result from borrowing/interference, but from the natural unfolding of stance and identity formation in local contexts. Various features of Chicano Englishes (plural necessary because of the different contact Englishes constituted by local histories and prestige and value systems, cf. Bay Area [noṯɪŋ], New York [noʔn̩] for *nothing*) include distinctive prosody (Penfield 1989), lowering of /ε/ to [æ] before [l], non-reduction of high and low vowels, and non-participation in Anglo-Californian -t/-d deletion (Santa Ana 1991), but participation in Anglo-Californian back-vowel fronting (Fought 1997) (see also García 1984; Galindo 1987).

Torres (2006) considers the role of "the most proficient bilinguals" in providing linguistic resources which can be varyingly taken up by others, a process which recalls Milroy's (1985, 1987) tying innovation to speakers loosely associated with multiple social networks, as well as the process of "bricolage" (Hebdige 1984; also, California Style Collective 1993; Eckert 2003) through which language varieties are composed and reproduced.

As language change is linked to variation, variation to difference, and difference to identity, it is impossible to consider any of the structural changes – or sound changes such as apparent convergence in rhythmic prosody in South Texas (Wolford and Carter 2006) – without reference to identity. The matters of language change discussed here are not of mere academic interest: Morgan (1997) notes the "emancipatory" potential of effective prosody instruction in ESL learners, with the goal of acquiring Hallidayan "register rules" which can be freely obeyed or bent so as to control the perception of one's persona in the social world.

4.1 Structure vs. style

Linguistic anthropology and interactional sociolinguistics have shifted focus towards situated analyses of agents' shifting linguistic behaviors and allegiances. Code-switching is cast as "contextualization cues" (Gumperz 1976; Auer 1984; Li 1998) and related to fleeting situations, contrasts, elaborations, quotations and stances, and bilingual speakers' concerns such as ease, availability, skill, and socialization history (Valdés 1976, 1981), as well as "recreating the social world of the story" and "showing important aspects of the structure of the [spoken] text" (K. Hill 1988: 54).

Code-switching scholars have sought linguistic constraints, but none have proven exceptionless (Poplack 1980; Thomason 2001). Still, Woolard (2008) argues linguistic form is indispensable in framing the possible productions and interpretations of *simultaneity* (Holquist 1990; Woolard 1998) – forms' refusal to be pinned to just one meaning. Form frames rather than determines meaning; even the conventional semantic meanings we interpret as naturally referred to by words get remapped for varieties like Mock Spanish (below), and code-switching rules are more variable still. Codes – languages, dialects, registers, genres, and so on – have a fundamental similarity (Thomason suggests that they differ only in processing load), and so code-switching, stance, shift, and domains of use all share the same field of stylistic variation. Code-switching, like all language use, must be treated with reference to that field. Zentella (1997) calls for us to view code-switching as stylistically mediated practice in which code-switching styles, not individual switches, may be the primary meaningful signs. Indeed, entire arrays of code-switching styles may become so routinized that they acquire naturalized, code-like status themselves: Hill and Hill (1986: 57–58) and Brody (1987) offer the *scale of syncretism*, a "continuum of ways of speaking" (whose poles, interestingly enough, are the ideological constructs of *legítimo mexicano* and *castellano*) as an analytical device for intense, long-term language contact.

5   Indigeneity and the settler state

Relationships between identity and land often contrast in state narratives and local practice. Hill (1996) distinguishes between *distributed* (nomadic, rootless, ideologically foreign) and *localist* (landed, rooted, ideologically domestic) identities. In settler colonialism, this contrast sets up a fundamental tension between indigenous cultures (whose historical tie to the land morally illegitimates the settlers), and the settler culture, which establishes its own local identity that excludes migrant labor and newer immigrants.

Settler states destabilize indigenous claims by recontextualizing indigeneity. Museums and textbooks authenticate and legitimate a primitivized, disappearing noble savage (J. García 1978; Alonso 2004; Smith 2009) to serve as the "prehistoric" heritage of the nation, legitimating localist claims by the state. Contemporary indigeneity is cast in doubt and erased, and Native claims are reframed in settler-cultural terms, leaving them unintelligible and placing Native people in what Freire calls a "culture of silence" (1970). Erasure, doubt, and distorted and unintelligible claims then justify continuing resource expropriation and colonial institutions even in the postcolonial period, and also allow the mainstream to regard them as patronage rather than domination. So dependency and labor-migration are ensured, and *localist* Native identity categories (and their material and symbolic resources) are remade into *distributed*.

Translation of names derived from indigenous languages is twisted to link settler states to land through appreciation of organic relationship with it. The City of Tucson translates its name as "water at the foot of black mountain" (Hill 2008), but Tohono O'odham *Cuk Şon* means "black base," a more descriptive but less romantic image.

Spanish has been similarly appropriated. "Booster Regionalist Anglo Spanish," for Hill (2008: 130–133), is used to promote tourism and settlement, rooting and authenticating a Southwest brand-image via both Spanishness and indigeneity. The "public linguistic landscape" of Santa Fe, New Mexico, and newer streets and subdivisions on Tucson's periphery, are branded in this way. Yet older Tucson neighborhoods, with higher percentages of Spanish speakers, have more English names – relics of a time when Spanish was suppressed rather than "boosted."

"Mock Spanish" (Hill 1995, 2008) practice is tied to stereotypes of a lazy, happy Mexican reveler. Its usage both produces primitive, exotic notions of Spanishness, and peppers American English with extracts of this Spanishness: the easy-going humor of "much-ass grassy-ass," and the pop-reference cosmopolitanism of "Hasta la vista, baby." Mock Spanish and its all-American cachet are available to Anglos and Latinos alike, but the practice colonizes Spanish meanings, subordinating them to pejoration and stereotypes. Often *referentially* (but not connotationally) accurate, and passing as multicultural, it is defended within referentialist and personalist ideologies.

Globalization sets the scene for bilingual practice. The revaluing of local economies and norms, and ascendant consumer-subjectivity, create dominant

producer-consumer relationships. Bishop (2008: v) finds that code-switching enhances "message recall, the perception of advertiser cultural sensitivity and expectations concerning empathy and responsiveness of a service provider." To break this down further, code-switching to English is generally preferred by bilingual consumers; although switching to Spanish is preferred in English-dominant publications, both directions elicit more "negative language thoughts" in such publications than in Spanish-dominant publications (Luna and Peracchio 2005: 53). This is not due to inherent qualities of English or Spanish: in Paraguay, the authors "would expect similar results ..., but with Spanish taking the role of the majority language and Guarani [sic] taking that of the minority language" (p. 54).

Spanish/English-contact research has sometimes avoided questions of language shift. Zentella (1994) explicitly argues that focus on shift or loss disparages local innovations and agency; Briggs (1988) focuses on the ingenuity and creativity of his New Mexican consultants. Where language shift is obvious, writers sometimes skirt awkwardly around it. Alvarez (1989: 386) finds that "while there is innovation in the use of English in this Puerto Rican community, there is also retention of Spanish." Even regarding *español indígena*, Pellicer (1988) describes an "adequate and complete social form," only tangentially referring to the symbolic poverty it represents for migrants' Spanish-dominant children.

Indeed we take it for granted that the interests of the language users themselves are of primary importance, but when those interests and choices draw from a palette designed for subjugation, one does well to raise concern. Taking on the increasingly popular analysis of code-switching as identity-index, Lipski (2008: 55–57) retorts that a given practice may "index" only incomplete shift, and urges distinction between the practices of stable and transitional bilingualism. Furthermore, individuals' "creativity" can hasten *tip* (Schelling 1978; Dorian 1981: 51) into the dominant language, the equilibrium beyond which individual practice regardless of intent generally reinforces the dominant language, as *domains of use* open to it and hybridized practices and ideologies progressively disfavor the indigenous.

5.1   Chicanidad

Spanish-speaking settlers predate US presence from Eureka to Nacogdoches, Aspen to Tucson, with long, diverse histories from place to place, of war and peace with, exploiting and being exploited by, both Native and Anglo neighbors. Unlike indigenous languages ideologically denied access to modernity, Chicanos audibly threaten the link between modern languages and modern states, so the state must situate them either as racialized foreigners or as assimilated (de León 1983; Urciuoli 1996; Torres 1997; O. García 2009), regardless of historical connection to land. This has been accomplished by portraying Chicano Spanishes as deficient, by sealing *chicanidad* on an indigeneity-like museum shelf, and by equating Chicanos with migrants.

Like indigeneity, *chicanidad* has been recast as a disappearing identity. Early Anglo settlement is portrayed as part of a bilingual golden age. California histories downplay the variety of classed, cultural, and linguistic experiences of Anglo, Chicano, and Native people, focusing on the exotic, affluent, and corrupt

Californio, destined for colonial suppression, whose brutality is glossed over (cf. Sánchez 1995; Pitt 1999). New Mexican Chicanos are viewed as traditional and pre-modern (see Briggs 1980, for a rebuttal). Chicano *localist* claims are thus denied in like manner to indigenous claims; and Chicano identity is recast as *distributed* by erasing the distinction between Chicanos and new migrants (an ideological move with linguistic consequences, codified in reference works: Cobos 2003; Bills and Vigil 2008).

The most vivid illegitimation of *chicanidad* is that of the *moral panic* surrounding the "invasion" of the United States by a migrant *folk devil* (Cohen 1972) with a claim to "Aztlán," the mythic Aztec homeland and threat to the legitimacy of settler ideology. They refuse both normative assimilation and the American Dream and must be combated with "English-only" mores and laws, and conceptual dehumanization: Santa Ana (1999) found animal metaphors used to describe Latinos in the *Los Angeles Times*. In moral panic, a bilingual school, or a few words of Spanish in a public address, are threats; Angermeyer (2006) shows how Spanish-speakers gain social capital by refusing a court interpreter.

5.2   *Borderlands and power*

The *pachuco/cholo/*zooter phenomenon emerged out of post-Mexican-Revolution migrations that quickly outgrew Chicano populations already in the Southwestern United States. Its language, *caló*, drew from the *ranchero* style, indigenous Mexicanisms and borrowings from border Spanishes, *zincaló*, Americanized *pochismos*, and complex ties to other marginalized languages tied to the birth of the "cool" in mainstream America's imagination (see Penfield 1989; Cummings 2003; Ramírez 2006).

Scholars seized upon *caló* as a symbol of a degraded Spanish, a population on whose marginality both Mexican and US elites could agree (cf. Ramos 1988 [1934]; Paz 2002 [1950]; Coltharp 1965). Barker (1972 [1947]) applied cutting-edge sociolinguistic technique to *pachucos* in Tucson, and reinforced this view of a language of male criminals – "disaffected veterans," "hoods," the resistant and non-upwardly mobile segments of society. Galindo (1992, 1999) challenges the coarse brushstrokes of these views of *pachuquismo*, and of its gendering: to police or ignore women's use of *caló* is to erase Chicana resistance. Cummings (2003) and Heyman (1991) have worked to rectify the undue emphasis on the northern side of the border, placing *pachuquismo* as a binational phenomenon.

Borderlands theory, which Anzaldúa (1987) reappropriated from the pioneer-expansionism of Turner (2008 [1893]), foregrounds the hybrid subjectivities, ideologies, languages, and styles of borderlands. Deconstructing the geographically and culturally arbitrary convention of bounded national spaces, borderlands theory reveals borders and categories as purifying constructions which violate persons and places they classify as hybrid. Instead, borderlands theory's tone toward difference is celebratory.

Lance (1972) spoke of *joint competence* and Elías-Olivares (1976) of identities built around two languages. Unlike these traditions, and unlike "passing"/"mixture"

narratives, borderlands theory invokes a radical, indecomposable *hybridity* – the polyvocality of the utterance extended to the sociocultural domain, the "privileged marginality" of "the females, the homosexuals of all races, the darkskinned, the outcast, the persecuted, the marginalized, the foreign" (Anzaldúa 1987: 60) – and envisions neither assimilation nor leveling of human difference.

This inversion of "hybrid" and "pure" has cued much work outside borderlands theory. Monolingual practice among polylingual speakers is seen by Myers-Scotton (1993: 119) as "marked," and by Woolard (2004) as demanding explanation. Gardner-Chloros (1995: 71) interprets Myers-Scotton's markedness model cognitive-pragmatically, suggesting that code-switching is a "lowering of mental barriers" in the absence of relevance. Scholarship has come to rest on the normalcy of multiple available "ways of saying the same thing" (Labov 1982: 17–18) and of "bilingual dialects" (Haugen 1953), and has turned towards hybridity, centripetality, heteroglossia and intertextuality. A welcome result has been a move away from traditional anthropological and linguistic preferences for the competence of isolated, monolingual, uneducated elderly male subjects (cf. Chomsky 1965), and towards the airing of liminal, exceptional, unclassified and troublesome "creativities," and the revaluing of derogated bilingual practices.

O. García, Morín, and Rivera (2001) and Zentella (1997) survey the diverse linguistic and cultural resources available to New York Puerto Ricans (see Bailey 2001, for similar work among New York Dominicans), concluding that a stylistic *vaivén* ("coming and going" of Spanish features after shift to English) is a primary identity marker distinguishing New York Puerto Ricans from monolinguals in either language. These communities produce at once shared non-white and non-black identities and significant internal differentiation (see also Galindo 1987; Gonzales 1999; Briggs 1988).

Scholars of "Spanglish" and *caló* have seized upon the positive power of hybridity to deconstruct the natural (cf. Butler 1990), celebrating hybrid identities to resist pejoration and challenge moral panics (see Anzaldúa 1987; Galindo 1992, 1999; Zentella 1997; Galindo and González 1999). Yet as Lipski (2008: 38–74) points out, *hybridity* per se includes on equal footing attrition, stylization, variety-internal developments, local hybrids, and English interference. Coupland (2007: 83) critiques "choice"/"repertoire"-centric sociolinguistics for ignoring power; Bauman and Briggs (2003) argue that *hybridity* and *purification* produce each other dialectically in power.

6 Transcending macro/micro

It is neither the case that bilingual practice is determined by macro-processes, nor vice versa. Some agency- and situation-centric works reveal sites where the macro may have sway over the micro. Work on *repertoires* and enregisterment (see Mannheim 1997; Agha 2007) from a situated analytical locus reveal key dialectics between the two scales.

The most useful macro-models of language endangerment are those designed to interface with micro-levels: interaction and cognition. Several such models, multi-ethnographic programs with political interfaces, have emerged in Mexican sociolinguistics. Hamel's typology of shift (above) is the product of one such program. Coronado has built an ambitious macro/micro typology of *bilingual communicative systems* to examine the ways in which two or more languages are used, reinforced, and distributed across the social life of particular communities. Based on her work (with many collaborators) among speakers of Nahua in the Huastecas; Ngigua (Popoluca), and Chigmecatitlán Mixtec in Puebla; Nahua and Totonac in Cuetzalan and Sierra Norte (Puebla); Nahua in Zacapoaxtla (Puebla); Nāhuatl and Mazatec in La Huacamaya (Puebla); Phorhé (Purépecha) in Chilchota (Michoacán); Ayuuk (Mixe), Mazatec and Chinantec in Oaxaca; and Hñähñú (Otomí) in Ixmiquilpan (Hidalgo), Coronado offers a typology of bilingual community situations (1999: 90–91):

- Each of the following four areas receives a score from I–IV, 1–4, A–D, W–Z, the lowest being predominantly in the indigenous language, the highest predominantly in Spanish:
  – socialization (I–IV) – language teaching and reinforcement;
  – use by social sectors (1–4) – children, adolescents, women, men, elders;
  – communal sociocommunicative domains (~domains of use) – private communal events, community-internal public events, intercommunity events, community-internal national events;
  – national sociocommunicative domains – events that deal with other communities mediated through national discourses, community-external national events, and so on.
- A composite score is assigned to a community such as III3DZ, indicating full shift of domains of use to Spanish but some presence of the indigenous language in socialization and in certain social groups (probably elders).

This typological rubric is then used to compare types of bilingualism and to distinguish between Spanish-predominant and indigenous-language-predominant communities (Coronado, Mota Enríquez, and Ramos 1999a); the variation across regional scales in such linguistic practices (Coronado, Mota Enríquez, and Ramos 1999b); and relationships between stark systems of oppression, racist ideologies, and language maintenance as a resistance strategy in the Huastecas (Briseño and Coronado 1999).

Other macro/micro bridges are worthy of mention: (i) Hill (2001) links code-centric and more materialist or political-economic approaches to shift via Bakhtin's concept of *voice* as a sociopolitical organization of language; (ii) *Communities of practice* (Wenger 1998; Eckert and Wenger 2005) are social, practical frames for the local enactment of macro-meanings (cf. Mendoza-Denton 2008); (iii) Macro-categories and their semblance of naturalness can be seen as *accreting* from stances, emblems and repetition (Butler 1990; Bucholtz and Hall 2005; Agha 2007; see also Bayley and Schechter 2003). These three tools are sorely underrepresented in contact-sociolinguistics.

Changes in language varieties, domains of use, language behavior and identities are linked in studies of *language socialization*. De la Piedra and Roma (2003) investigate language socialization in Mexican-immigrant households, and Muntzel (1994) does the same with respect to shifting Tlahuica (Ocuilteco) networks. The Language Policy Task Force of the Center for Puerto Rican Studies (Attinasi 1979, 1982; Pedraza and Attinasi 1980) used survey-based methodology to longitudinally investigate language-shift behaviors.

Initiates into specific identities are socialized through linguistic practices (exemplary works: Paredes 1968; Limón 1981; Farr 1994; Gonzales 1995; Rymes 1996; Zentella 1997; Baquedano-López 1998). Marjorie Goodwin (1994) describes early emergence of such practices in childhood play. Childhood identities in the United States are framed by stereotypes, nativism, and preferences for light skin and standard speech (Bloom 1991; Armendáriz 2000), and affected children must orient to these conditions, a process Suárez-Orozco (2000, 2004) calls *social mirroring*.

Each individual socializes in many different situations/domains/communities of practice, and each situation is more or less unified with respect to its practical affordances. Variation in socialization often reinforces and is structured by macro-processes of class and race. Schechter and Bayley's (1997, 2002) consultant families vary in the terms (hybrid or essentializing) they label themselves with, in how they view their class and ethnicity, how their practices index class and ethnicity, and how they link language to culture and culture to cognitive development and everyday pressures. They similarly focus on differential identity formation *within* families. Like Hill and Hill (1986) and Briseño and Coronado (1999), they find ambivalent orientation to bilingual education, with most parents favoring schooling in the dominant language. Pease-Alvarez (2003) similarly finds identity and language linked together in quite disparate ways by her consultants.

Contradictions between ideology and reality are played out in language socialization. In working with Mexican-American fourth-graders, Fuller (2007) finds fertile research ground in the tension between static ethnic binaries and lived multiply ethnic identities and repertoires. Variation across types of students, ethnicities, nationalities, boundary-crossing behaviors, structures of friendship and competition, age groups, and so on, are all sites of the expression of this tension.

Language socialization is where culture as an active, unfolding process, brings *doing*, *being*, and *talking about* into alignment. It is thus where new varieties emerge and macro-structures are locally reproduced, mutated, and resignified. It is also where local stances and identities – the affective and the existential/subjective – emerge and acquire meaning. So we may speak of the different voices a speaker takes on (Irvine 1990: 153; Hill 1995), or the different registers in one's repertoire (Mannheim 1997), as results of processes of socialization one has participated in. Social agents' daily "micro-stances," innovations, creations, manipulations, and maneuverings at once react to and incompletely replicate and resist dominant structures. The analytical perspective of language socialization offers a view of a sociological process with devastating repercussions for local symbolic resources unfolding in apparent contradiction to the wishes and

desires of the social actors engaged in it, and reveals the dependence of language and culture survival on local, regional, national and global, cultural, material, political, historical, and sociological forces.

We advocate further extending sociocommunicative and sociopolitical models such as Coronado's and Hamel's by investigating the social life of the stances, voices, personae, genres, registers, styles, practices, and so on, linked to resistance against linguistic and cultural domination and disrupting the structures that perpetuate it. Meaningful bundlings of semiotic resources emerge, are routinized and sedimented, transmitted and changed in creative practice, all amid consensus and conflict. They are the building blocks of shift and maintenance, social meaning, political subjugation and resistance, and of an anthropolitical linguistics.

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