A Sociolinguistics of Diaspora

Latino Practices, Identities, and Ideologies

Edited by
Rosina Márquez Reiter and
Luisa Martín Rojo

Routledge

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This volume brings together scholars in sociolinguistics and the sociology of new media and mobile technologies who are working on different social and communicative aspects of the Latino diaspora. There is new interest in the ways in which migrants negotiate and renegotiate identities through their continued interactions with their own culture back home, in the host country, in similar diaspora elsewhere, and with the various "new" cultures of the receiving country. This collection focuses on two broad political and social contexts: the established Latino communities in urban settings in North America and newer Latin American communities in Europe and the Middle East. It explores the role of migration/diaspora in transforming linguistic practices, ideologies, and identities.

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Introduction
Exploring Latin American Communities across Regions and Communicative Arenas[1]

Luisa Martín Rojo and
Rosina Márquez Reiter

This edited collection brings together for the first time contributions from well-known and emerging scholars in sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology, and the sociology of new media and mobile technologies working on different social and communicative aspects of Latin American diasporas on either side of the Atlantic and across the Mediterranean.

It seeks to open a dialogue between research traditions concerned with the ways in which language and communication, including information communication technologies, influence the social life of members of Latin American communities across the different geographical, cultural, and sociopolitical regions. It is no coincidence that this influence is being exerted at a time in which the patterns and itineraries of external and internal migration are on the increase (Vertovec, 2007) and when accessible channels of communication (i.e., broadband) have transformed the ways in which migrants maintain and develop interpersonal bonds back home and across diasporas (see Vincent, Chapter 10, this volume) and prepare for life in the receiving community (see Kluge, Chapter 11, this volume).

The contributions to the volume show, to varying degrees and from different analytic angles primarily grounded in ethnographic work, the (language) practices Latin American migrants engage in while (re)negotiating their identities through their continued interactions with their own culture, in similar diaspora elsewhere, and with the various "new" cultures of the receiving country.

Focusing on the role of migration in transforming linguistic practices, ideologies, and identities in different national, economic, and sociopolitical contexts, this book makes a contribution to sociolinguistic and linguistic anthropology research. The contributions to the volume also address the extent to which the methods traditionally used to approach the field and gather data can provide us with a window into linguistic practices in transformation and, at the same time, problematize some of the sociolinguistic categories conventionally evoked as a means of understanding and evaluating linguistic practices in diaspora.

Although diaspora has received a great deal of attention in the social sciences, only relatively recently has it surfaced as a topic of interest in general

sociolinguistics as part of what is generally known as the sociolinguistics of globalization (Blommaert, 2010). Up to now, research in this area has primarily concentrated on "dialect contact zones" with English and varieties of English constituting the main focus of attention (see, for example, Hinrichs, 2011; Mair, 2003; Pennycook, 2007; Poplack & Tagliamonte, 2001).[2]

Latin American diasporas and Spanish, on the other hand, have received considerably less explicit attention (see García in the Afterword to this volume). Most of the sociolinguistic research into Latino diaspora has been carried out in the United States and has concentrated on educational environments, as illustrated in seminal works by García, Mendoza-Denton, and Wortham, among others. In view of this, the present volume is one of the first to examine the sociolinguistics of Latino diaspora in diverse economic and geopolitical contexts (see Potowski & Rotham [2011], and García in the Afterword to this volume). Likewise, it is the first to focus on the complexities of contact between different Spanishes and new varieties and new languages beyond English, on the various constructions of ethnolinguistic identities resulting from the different socioeconomic circumstances of local diasporic members, on the way in which identities are (re)constructed, and on the impact that new media and mobile technologies have on these processes.

The volume builds a bridge between the sociolinguistic and linguistic anthropology research carried out principally, though not exclusively, in the United States into Latino linguistic practices, ideologies, and identities and research in Europe and the Middle East that has emerged as a response to the relatively recent Latin American migration either from Latin America or from Latin Americans in other parts of the globe (e.g., regular or authorized Latin Americans living in Spain who have migrated to the UK). The joining of these two bodies of knowledge coupled with sociological research into migrants' use of new media and mobile technologies will broaden the comparative scope of research with local Latin American communities and open a window into the new avenues that are emerging for the investigation of the link between sociolinguistic phenomena emerging in those communities and wider social processes. Indeed, one of our objectives in bringing together this collection of papers is to veer away from the compartmentalization of regional and disciplinary traditions in Latino studies, particularly in the sociolinguistic arena, and to encourage emerging research in Europe and in other parts of the world such as Australia and New Zealand[3] in an attempt to foster cross-fertilization. Thus, the bringing together of different perspectives and traditions will draw our analytic attention to the way particular processes and phenomena have been interpreted across different locales. This, in turn, should contribute to an expansion of interest in Latin@ studies and raise the profile of the communities examined.

In spite of different migration histories and differences in the establishment of the various Latin American communities examined in the volume (e.g., Latinos as the largest ethnic minority group in the United States vis á vis their current invisibility in Israel and Italy) and their sharing of a common language (Spanish), these communities tend, nevertheless, to occupy

marginalized social positions in their receiving communities. Arguably, therefore, there should be no need to structure the contributions into different parts. However, our interest in presenting the diverse landscapes that result from the (re)positioning of these communities in their varying receiving societies, including analyses of how these are influenced by the affordances of modern technologies, has led us to divide the book into three parts: established, emergent, and virtual communities.

Part I deals with established communities in the United States. Potowski and Rosa (Chapters 1 and 2, respectively) show that despite the increasing social, cultural, and linguistic heterogeneity of Latino communities, the coexistence of different Latino groups over time, chiefly Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in Chicago, has led them to construct a shared space in this city. Potowski offers a linguistic analysis of the contact between Mexicans and Puerto Ricans. She discusses how intergroup tensions and criticisms of varieties of Spanish dissipate over time transgenerationally, whereas Rosa identifies a hybrid practice (Agha, 2007; Bahktin, 1986) that results from the contact between these Latino groups: inverted Spanglish—which consists of Spanish lexical items and English phonology—as an emblem of MexicRicanness. He shows how diasporic and linguistic boundaries are jointly reimagined and reconstituted, resulting in the reterritorialization of Mexico and Puerto Rico within Chicago.

De Fina, on the other hand, analyzes a Washington radio station (Chapter 3), that targets primarily recent Latino migration. Her examination of the role of Spanish and English in instances of radio broadcasting illustrates a different side of sharing spaces—in this case, the tensions between the language ideologies promoted by an established Latino community radio, its advertisers, and some of the hosts, and the linguistic realities of the new transnational community the station caters to. These tensions reveal the social value of Spanish as commodity, that is, as a means to reach an audience of potential consumers. De Fina, Potowski, and Rosa show how traditional linguistic ideologies (e.g., an ideology of compartmentalized bilingualism and ideologies of standardization) are still active, even when challenged by existing practices, such as mixing English and Spanish.

The observance of these ideologies is also present in the way in which Spanish varieties are hierarchized according to national and ethnic differences. Thus, Mexican Spanish, or what is perceived as such in diaspora, is more valued than Puerto Rican Spanish. However, similar positions are assigned to these and other Spanish varieties across the Spanish-speaking world and linked to (neo)colonialism (see Márquez Reiter and Martín Rojo, Chapter 5, this volume). These are also evident in the reevaluation of hybrid practices such as the enregisterment (Agha, 2007) identified by Rosa and the ideological dissipation described by Potowski.

Indeed, Cashman (Chapter 4) shows how ideologies of multilingualism are seen as a means of managing LGBTQ identities and belonging in that they open the possibility of critical consciousness and liberation.

She contends that the unequal acceptance of nonheteronormative sexual identities among bilingual Latin@s in Phoenix allows LGBTQ members to navigate different communities. Contingent on this and on their personal histories rests the decision to manage coming out or maintain silence.

The ideological struggles observed by the Latin@s examined in Part I are also evidenced in the efforts that the Latinos in Part II make to develop their lives in the receiving communities, to attain integration and well-being. Thus, Part II concentrates on emergent and newly established communities in Israel, Italy, Spain, and the UK. Márquez Reiter and Martín Rojo (Chapter 5) examine the relationship between language and social mobility of Latin Americans in London and Madrid. Considering some of the linguistic and legal obstacles that these migrants face in their respective receiving societies, they analyze the ways in which they manage their linguistic resources to gain capitals (Bourdieu, 1986) and to integrate. The authors provide an economic portrayal of how ethnolinguistic lines feed into the segmentation of the labor market. They point out that in specific niche markets, Spanish is considered to be an essential resource for (occupational) mobility. They also show how given ethnolinguistic identities cannot be converted into capital in certain fields, although they become an instrument of commodification (Heller, 2003) in others.

Similarly, Patiño-Santos (Chapter 6) analyzes how "Colombian" eateries emerge as places where people recreate practices from their regions of origin while offering "authentic Colombian" products to tourists and the local community in Barcelona. She shows how products, irrespective of the region with which they are normally associated in Colombia, are vested with economic and exchange value within the confines of what is considered to be a legitimate/authentic outlet for them in the Catalan capital. She maintains that an ethicized market of products for locals and tourists entails, rather than an adjustment of the Latino American linguistics varieties and ideologies in the receiving society, their mere reproduction.

The implicit reterritorialization observed in Patiño-Santos is brought to the fore by Calvi (Chapter 7) in her analysis of the representation of (imagined) space through Latino narratives. By examining the recurrence of deictic forms with greater demonstrative and situative value (*here, there*), which reveal a subjective orientation of space and its importance in the construction of identity, the author observes, in these representations, a strong tendency toward a polarization between two spaces: the host society and society back home.

Kelsall's research in a Latin American complementary school in London portrays language proficiency and language choice in Latino families (Chapter 8). She argues that adult Latinos construct a mutually constitutive relationship between language practices and ethnicity (*latinidad*) and that their discourses are shaped by localized language ideologies that (a) inform their understanding of (Latino) community membership and (b) form part of the structuring process that leads to their relative integration. Consistent with Potowski and Rosa, Kelsall finds differing linguistic preferences across generations. Thus, a

child's proficiency in Spanish could be coded morally and become a source of linguistic pride or shame for parents and grandparents.

Paz's chapter (Chapter 9) closes this part of the book with an examination of the ways in which non-Jewish Latinos in Israel understand *educación*—polite interactional personhood—as a diasporic group characteristic. The analysis also considers the role of space in shaping linguistic ideologies and practices. Drawing on the notion of deterritorialization (Appadurai, 1996), he reveals how imaginings of community associated with large-scale social formations (such as articulations of nationhood) do not necessarily occur within the borders of a single state, thus producing discontinuous geographies. Latinos, in contrast to locals, maintain a language ideology that underlines the importance of *educación*. Contrary to previous assumptions that *educación* tied Latino generations together and thus formed the basis of Latino diasporic personhood, this essay shows contradictions within this ideology.

The contributions in the second part of this volume all highlight how linguistic ideologies from a Latin American background remain active in the diaspora despite being delocalized and relocalized in new social contexts. Most refer to the enhanced value that Latino linguistic resources acquire in this context: as symbolic capital, as resources for building authenticity, and as a means to construct a differentiated identity. Similarly, all the chapters implicitly or explicitly touch upon the significance of space as a constitutive dimension of sociolinguistic phenomena and vice versa. As we will argue, new theoretical instruments and methodological tools are needed to move beyond the space-as-container ontology. Space must be understood as a social construction (Pennycook, 2010, pp. 61–62), as a means of illuminating our understanding of processes such as the maintenance and challenge to linguistic ideology. A fruitful way of going about this, we would suggest, is to engage with the value and convertibility of linguistic resources and varieties and the emergence of diasporic identities and practices.

The importance of space is latent in the contributions to Part III, Virtual Communities, an important area of research in information communication technology and sociology that has up to now received limited attention in sociolinguistics and even less in Latino sociolinguistics. Part III thus offers the reader a glimpse of some the mediated practices and identities that are likely to become the focus of (further) research in sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology. This is because virtual communities become important spaces in which identities in diaspora are built and negotiated. In this part, authors discuss how new media and mobile technologies influence migratory trajectories and life in diaspora. Vincent (Chapter 10) shows how the availability and general accessibility of information communication technologies, coupled with the pace of technological development from telephones to ubiquitous wireless Internet and mobile phone coverage, have changed our relationships with technologies and possibilities for connection. She explores communications between migrants and their left-behind family and friends, showing how contemporary technologies influence and affect their emotional

bonds without necessarily becoming a substitute for copresence. She notes, however, that such technologies do not allow for sympathetic silence.

Kluge turns her attention to a Hispanophone blogging community that provides information about migration to Quebec (Chapter 11), where members of this virtual community help each other through the immigration process, giving and receiving crucial emotional support during this difficult transition. She examines the linguistic means used by bloggers and readers to interactively construct themselves as legitimate members of the community and to collaborate on the joint construction of a supranational identity as a Latin American immigrant. She shows how, for most bloggers, a fuzzy supranational identity as a Latin American was likely present even before migration but is now transformed into a "Latino" identity. Notwithstanding this, she points out that national and sometimes regional identities can be shown to persist and interact with the new identity as a "Latino".

The two essays here contained show that social media are not only new communication channels in migration networks, but they actively transform the nature of these networks and thereby facilitate migration. They enhance the possibilities of maintaining strong ties with family and friends and offer a rich source of insider knowledge on migration that is unofficial yet widely useful. As Dekker and Engbersen (2013) maintain, information from these networks makes potential migrants "streetwise" when undertaking migration.

Several themes emerge from the essays in this volume. The first one is the transformation of linguistic practices triggered by globalization and changes in the political economy seen through the prism of time and space. The contributions show that the emergence of hybrid linguistic practices is linked to sociolinguistic emblems in the enactment of identities framed within deterritorialization and reterritorialization processes in urban spaces. Thus, we see how the performance of authenticity in Patiño-Santos's study is constructed not only by employing Colombian personnel with allegedly Colombian communicative practices and adopting Colombian emblems such as music, TV programs, and flags and banners but also by recreating a culturally specific configuration of time and space.

The notions of deterritorialization and reterritorialization are employed to refer to cultural practices that are dislocated from their traditional or original geographies and reterritorialized and reinscribed in new spaces (cf. Deleuze & Guattari, 1980). They thus encompass both spatial and temporal dimensions and, in this sense, they are arguably related to the notion of *chronotope* proposed by Bakhtin (1981), taken up later by Agha (2007) and other scholars to examine current hybridized linguistic practices and the maintenance or transformation of linguistic ideologies, among others. Space becomes meaningful as time becomes endowed with the power to bring change (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 120).

Thus a focus on the spatial and the temporal is helpful in that it provides us with a window from which to observe the changes in practices and ideologies in diaspora. However, spatial and temporal complexities entail a challenge for research. It does not, however, necessarily endow.

As researchers, we are not necessarily endowed with the ability to inhabit the very spaces of cultures that are being transported and reconfigured by the migrants we examine (Bhatia & Ram, 2009).

A second theme is the need to take stock of the type of barriers migrants face to participating in prestigious social fields, constraints to gaining social mobility, integrating in the receiving society, and attaining general well-being. Thus some of the authors in this volume discuss the observed reproduction of linguistic ideologies and challenge them by drawing on how linguistic resources are commodified either as instrument or as product (Heller, 2003; cf. Appadurai, 1996) and the conditions that make capital convertibility possible (Bourdieu, 1986). They thus show what makes a particular variety of Spanish valuable in the receiving society in given fields and within a national context in which Spanish is seen as a language of migration.

To understand how the marginalized social positions these communities occupy in their receiving societies are produced and reproduced on a daily basis requires looking primarily not only at the language varieties and resources in use but also at the values attributed to them and at the social actors who are considered entitled to produce and circulate these socially valued resources (Bourdieu, 1991. p. 331). Thus, it is in the interactions examined by the contributors to this volume that we can observe how participants negotiate the value to be assigned to different language varieties. It is also within these interactions that speakers negotiate their legitimacy as members of a linguistic community in which they live, both from their own point of view and from that of the receiving community (Pujolar, 2011). In this context, to master the language of the receiving community and even the ability to produce it in an "unaccented" way can be seen as a means speakers have of relocating themselves or repositioning themselves within the receiving community and getting access to the symbolic and economic capitals associated with their new language. The mere need of gaining a position within new social contexts could weaken the implicit associations between Latino identity and the use of Spanish.

With respect to the processes of de- and reterritorialization, attested to in the chapters of this volume, that bring migrant labor populations into the lower echelons of relatively wealthy societies, an apposite question is: What becomes indigenized (Appadurai, 1996), hybridized (Bahktin, 1986) or (de)legitimized (Bourdieu, 1991) within a given field, how and why? Indeed, it has been shown that through these semiotic processes, transnational identities are indexed and new local identities shaped (Coupland, 2013) in the diverse Spanish-speaking Latin American communities examined by the authors in this book.

Finally, most of the chapters in this collection discuss the relationship between the values conferred to the different language varieties and linguistic ideologies. The reference to a spatial and temporal dimension is present in Paz's use of "calibration of displacement", through which an ideological association is established between a local variety or discursive practice, and with what appears to be a deterritorialized and an ethereal realm called "Latin America" or with the projected "homeland". The contrasting values

conferred to linguistic varieties and discursive practices across generations could also be explained by recalling/in terms of chronotopes displacement and alignments (Agha, 2007): descendants are not aligned with their parents' requirements (or with parental requirements), and youth generations do not reproduce traditional prejudices against certain language varieties. Through communicative practices, which have immediate impact on the public sphere, speakers are in fact transposing selves across discrete zones of cultural space and time. By using explicit metapragmatic devices within narratives, like deictics, and the discursive opposition among them, migrants situate themselves on a spatial and temporal order, as discussed by Calvi. Furthermore, these narratives produce chronotopic representations which, in Agha's terms, create chronotopic displacements and cross-chronotope alignments between persons here-and-now and persons altogether elsewhere (Agha, 2007, p. 324; see also Dick, 2010).

In sum, the comparative perspective adopted in this book enables us to shed light on the variability and fluidity of identity configurations, linguistic practices, and ideologies in different social and political contexts. It also enables us to explore the processes shaping migrants' different linguistic and migration trajectories. Importantly, it helps us to increase the visibility of the communities examined and encourage interest in interdisciplinary examination. It contends that "Latino" is not just a category created by members of the Latin American diaspora in these studies but is a category emerging from particular social conditions.
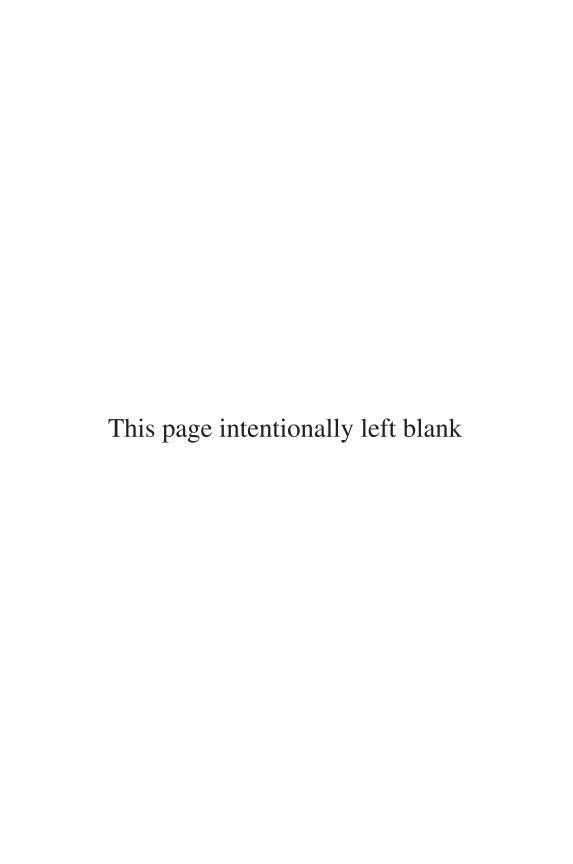
NOTES

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2. Exceptions to this include the research carried out in the educational sphere such as the work of Kleifgen and Bond (2009).
3. Despite having comparatively lower numbers of Latin Americans, both countries have received Latin American migrants in the last 40 years: www.dfat.gov.au, www.stats.govt.nz.

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Part I

Established Communities