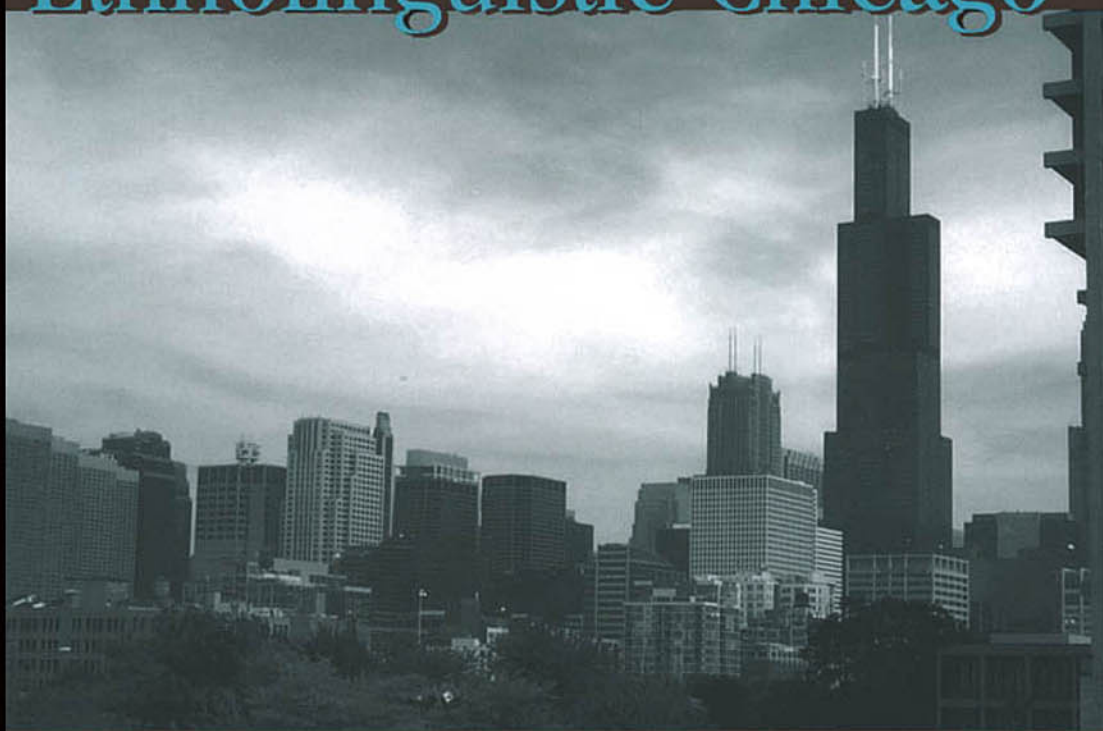


Latino Language and Literacy in Ethnolinguistic Chicago



Edited by

Marcia Farr

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Preface

Marcia Farr

This book, along with its companion, *Ethnolinguistic Chicago: Language and Literacy in the City's Neighborhoods* (Farr, 2004), fills an important gap in research on Chicago and, more generally, on language use in globalized metropolitan areas. Although Chicago has been fairly well studied by scholars interested in ethnicity, including sociologists (Massey & Denton, 1993; Wilson, 1987) and historians (Holli & Jones 1977/1984/1995), few studies have focused on language and ethnicity in Chicago. This is so despite the well-known fact that Chicago, one of the most linguistically and ethnically diverse cities in the United States, often is cited as an archetypical American city. Certainly, Chicago is, and always has been, a city of immigrants (and migrants arriving from other parts of the United States). Moreover, language is unquestionably central to social identity because how we talk constructs for ourselves and others who we are.

The dearth of studies on Spanish-speaking populations in Chicago matches the overall lack of studies focusing on language and ethnicity in this city despite the fact that Chicago is a unique context for Spanish speakers, given its multicultural and multilingual history and the significant numbers of both Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in the city, as well as other Caribbean and Central and South American Spanish-speaking populations. Although Mexicans in the U.S. Southwest (Galindo & Gonzales, 1999; González, 2001; Schecter & Bayley, 2002; Valdés, 1996) and Puerto Ricans in the Northeast (Urciuoli, 1996; Zentella, 1997) have been studied, neither of these populations has been much studied in the Midwest or Chicago until recently. Recent language-oriented studies of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in Chicago (Cintron, 1997; Del Valle, 2002; Farr, forthcoming; and Guerra, 1998) grew out of the same overall research project, described in the following discussion.

Arriving in Chicago in August of 1982, I was fascinated by its mosaic of ethnic neighborhoods, although the often neat separation of populations into neighborhoods or community areas illustrated the results of segregation and racism as much as ethnic vitality. Discovering that sociologists in Chicago had provided abundant demographic profiles based on census data for each community area of the city in a periodically published *Local Community Fact Book* (Chicago Fact Book Consortium, 1995), I began to plan a research program investigating language use in local neighborhoods all over the metropolitan area that could rely on these demographic profiles. This program formed an important part of the Language, Literacy, and Rhetoric specialization in the Department of English at the University of Illinois at Chicago, where I taught from 1982 to 2002. My own research on language and literacy practices within transnational Mexican families in several community areas on the south side of the city is one part of this program (Farr, 1993; 1994a, 1994b, 1994c, 1998, 2000a, 2000b, forthcoming). Other contributions to the larger program were made by graduate students whose dissertations I directed. This volume, then, like its companion, contains many chapters by these former graduate students, many of whom have published books based on their dissertations (Cintron, 1997; Del Valle, 2002; Guerra, 1998; Lindquist, 2002; Mahiri, 1998; Moss, 2001; Nardini, 1999). This book, like its companion volume, however, also contains chapters by colleagues carrying out similar studies in Chicago.

Most of the chapters in this book are based on, or are compatible with, ethnographic studies of language as called for by Hymes (1974). Because an ethnographic perspective requires attention to local-level “insider” meanings rather than those imposed from the outside by researchers, the chapters as a whole provide a richly diverse set of portraits whose central themes emerged inductively from the research process and the communities themselves. Despite this diversity of themes, however, all the chapters nevertheless emphasize language use, both oral and written, in specific sociocultural contexts. Language use is explored for the way it constructs ethnic, class, gender, or other (e.g., religious or school) identity-ties (see Introduction). As such, this volume should be of interest to anthropologists, sociologists, rhetoricians, linguists, historians, educators, and educational researchers, as well as others whose concerns require an understanding of “ground-level” phenomena among Spanish-speaking populations relevant to contemporary social issues.

OVERVIEW

This book is structured into four parts. Part I contains an Introduction to the volume by myself and Elías Domínguez Barajas. Part II of the book contains studies carried out Within the Family Circle. These studies, based in home settings, focus either on ways of speaking (Farr on direct speech among *ranchero* Mexicans and Domínguez Barajas on Mexican proverb use) or on literacy practices (Del Valle on contrasting literacy practices in two Puerto Rican families). Part III comprises chapters that explore either oral language use or literacy practices in school contexts. Two chapters investigate oral language use in a dual-immersion school (Olmedo on children as language mediators and Potowski on identity investments in the use of Spanish or English), and two others investigate literacy, either in Internet chat rooms (Cohen on identity development among high school girls via the Internet) or in college composition classes (Spicer-Escalante on rhetoric and identity in college essays). Part IV of the book includes studies based in Community Spaces in various neighborhoods. Two chapters in this part of the book focus on adults in community literacy groups (Hurtig on Mexican immigrant mothers as writers and Colomb on Mexican immigrant mothers reading literature in Spanish). Two other chapters deal with religious literacy (Farr on a Mexican Charismatic Catholic woman and Gelb on a Puerto Rican *Santería* practitioner and store owner). Finally, two chapters are based in work settings (Gelb again and Herrick on intraethnic communication in a factory). Finally, an Afterword by Ralph Cintron situates these studies within the larger context of Latinos in Chicago.

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I acknowledge a number of people whose support made this book possible. I thank the Spencer Foundation for providing me with Mentor Network funds that enabled many graduate students to carry out their dissertation studies. I especially thank the late Rebecca Barr, who supported my work over the years not only administratively, but also substantively, and Catherine Lacey, who creatively directed the Mentor Network during the years that I participated. I also thank Robert Bayley for his thoughtful and supportive review of the manuscript.

It seems equally appropriate to thank my wonderful graduate students over the years, from whom I have learned so much. Together we made a reality of research plans hatched in innumerable conversations during graduate seminars and over dissertations and coauthored articles (Farr & Domínguez Barajas, in press; Farr & Guerra, 1995; Farr & Nardini, 1996; Farr & Reynolds, 2004; Guerra & Farr, 2002). I am particularly grateful to Rachel Reynolds, who not only contributed a chapter to the earlier volume and coauthored the Introduction in that volume, but also provided invaluable help as a research assistant for the Ethnolinguistic Chicago Project, which included tirelessly seeking potential contributors to fill in population gaps and communicating with authors during the initial development of the two manuscripts. I am similarly most grateful to JuYoung Song, my graduate assistant at Ohio State University, who speeded both this and the earlier volume to press by spending countless hours on myriad details, including subject and author indices.

I also thank my editor at Erlbaum, Naomi Silverman (who grew up in Chicago), for her vision of the importance of this project. Finally, *mil gracias a mi familia*, especially to my husband Michael Maltz and my daughter Julianna Whiteman, for providing the kind of emotional support that can come only from a loving family.

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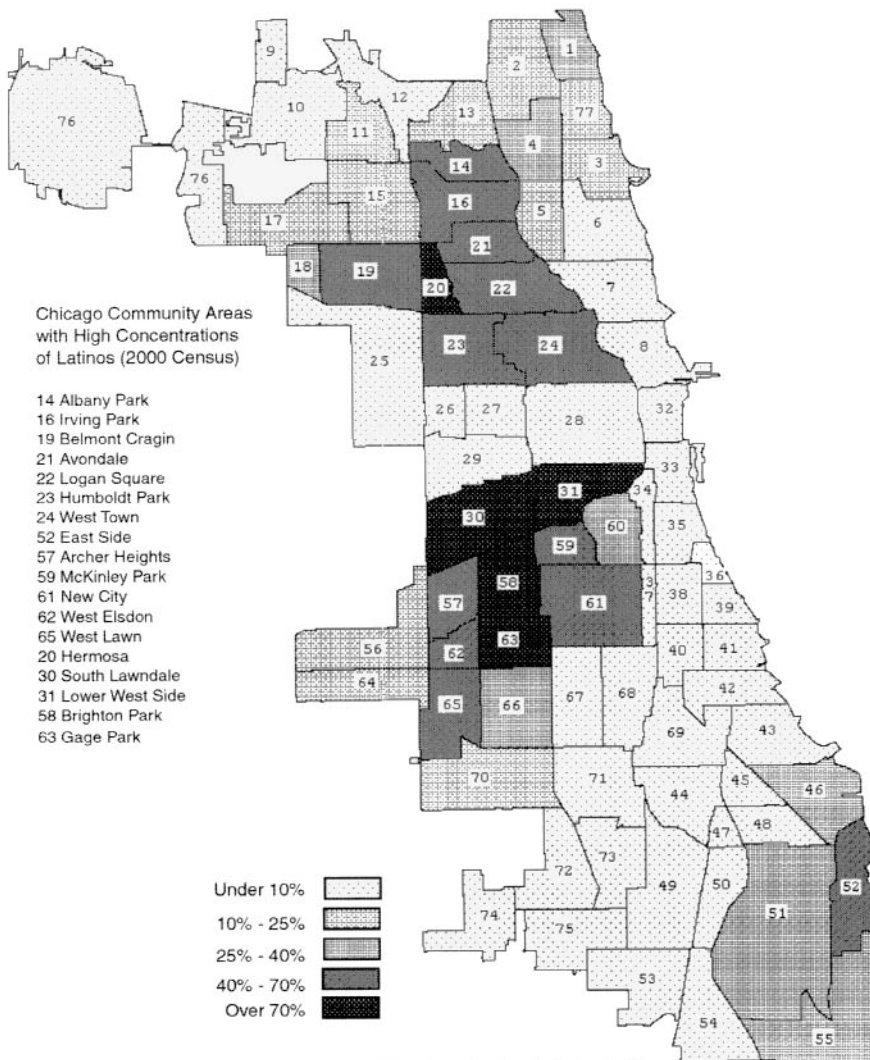
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PART I

INTRODUCTION



Census data compiled by the University of Notre Dame, Institute for Latino Studies;
map provided by the University of Illinois at Chicago, Chicago Area Geographic Information Study (CAGIS).

CHAPTER 1

Latinos and Diversity in a Global City: Language and Identity at Home, School, Church, and Work¹

Marcia Farr

Ohio State University

Elías Domínguez Barajas

Texas A & M University

Chicago is a global city. That is, its economy is linked globally to other world cities in an increasingly interconnected, globalized world. Globalization as a process, however, can mean many things: a push for free market economic practice across the globe, the spread of American cultural images through media and products, or a growing sense of Western responsibility for economic and political effects on people and the environment worldwide. Some treat “global” as a sociological term expressing the blended or hybrid nature of people, goods and cultural practices that has resulted from the dissolution of traditional boundaries in terms of gender, nationality, ethnicity, and politics. Yet globalization also appears to be realigning peoples into new ethnic, class, and religious groups. This volume focuses on Spanish-speaking peoples as ethnic groups in the United States, specifically Chicago. The companion volume to this book, *Ethnolinguistic Chicago: Language and Literacy in the City's Neighborhoods* (Farr, 2004), focused on a variety of other populations in this context.

This second volume is devoted to questions concerning Latino language use and its interface with identity construction in the context of the global city that Chicago has come to be. Chicago, in fact, now has the third largest Latino population in the country (U.S. Census Bureau, PHC-T-6, Table 4), and within this Latino population, those of Mexican and Puerto Rican descent are the most heavily represented. The prominence of these two groups, however, should not mask the presence of varied other Latino groups in Chicago (listed here according to the size of their population in the city) (2000 U.S. Census, QT-P9, Chicago city): Guatemalan, Ecuadorian, Cuban, Colombian, Spaniard, Salvadoran, Honduran, Peruvian, Dominican, Argentinean, Nicaraguan, Chilean, Panamanian, Costa Rican, Venezuelan, Bolivian, Uruguayan, and Paraguayan.

Despite of the variety of Latino groups in Chicago, little, if any, research has investigated their social, linguistic, and cultural differences. This volume, then, serves as a precursor to the type of research that can be done in relation to other Latino groups not included in this book. Such an effort may

very likely expand the scope of what currently is considered the Latino experience in Latinos in the United States. In brief, research investigating the daily activities of the diverse Latino groups in a city such as Chicago the United States by showing diverse conceptions and perceptions of ethnicity in relation to point of origin, migratory experience and transnational ties, educational attainment, economic class mobility, identity formation and group solidarity, and numerous other domains impacted by the social background of may elucidate social practices that can inform a deeper understanding of such complex global phenomena as transnational migration, socioeconomic ties that span generations and national boundaries, and the confluence of systems of meanings some scholars have identified as the formation of hybrid cultures (García Canclini, 1989; Rowe & Schelling, 1991).

Despite these potential implications for understanding globalization, it is important to emphasize that the chapters in this book, like those in the earlier companion volume, are not specifically about globalization. Yet the worldwide processes that comprise globalization provide a backdrop, a context, within which the people represented in these chapters live their lives. More than globalization, however, much of the work in this book is embedded in transnationalism (see especially the chapters by Farr and Domínguez Barajas). Globalization often is contrasted with transnationalism. For some, the latter is a subordinate term, both chronologically and structurally (Kearney, 1995). That is, nation building is seen as preceding the transfer of goods and people across borders, so transnationalism is pre-sumed to be a historical by-product of globalization. Transnationalism is seen as a small piece of global processes because deterritorialization involves “new kinds of political actors” among whom the economic and political intersections between ethnic groups and the state are recast (Kotkin, 1993, p. 5; Sassen, 1998). Thus people become “deterritorialized” as they move and work across nation-state borders. With worldwide air travel, telecommunications, and ever-more-rapid flows of information, the deterritorialization of national and ethnic groups becomes even more intense. That is, the movement of people across the globe increases (Giddens, 2000; Harvey, 1990). These large-scale migrations have been prefigured in Chicago, a city of immigrants (Holli & Jones, 1977/1995), making it a good site for studying the predicaments of deterritorialization (Basch, Glick-Schiller, & Szanton-Bpanc, 1994; Holtzman, 2000).

The chapters in this volume take as their subject of inquiry the ethnolinguistic practices of Spanish-speaking people who experience deterritorialization as ethnic (im)migrant groups. Although theories of globalization assert that the new world order involves the erosion of ethnic group identities, the two population groups represented in this volume (Mexicans and Puerto Ricans) experience deeply felt ethnic affiliations. Those in the older generations struggle less with hybrid identities brought on by the demands of a new cultural context than with adaptive responses to the trials of life as immigrants whose practices and self-perceptions are outside the dominant mainstream (see, for example, Hurtig’s chapter on Mexican immigrant women’s storytelling practices). For the younger generations, especially those who experience schooling in Chicago, ethnic formation may include hybrid identities and the development of new ones that replace the old (see, for example, Cohen’s chapter on Mexican American high school girls). In either case, despite the movement toward a “global monoculture” implied

and sometimes seen in studies of free market capital and international media marketing, another frequent response to globalization is the entrenchment of highly marked ethnic, class, and religious identities. The eloquent and complex ways in which people of varying class, ethnic, and racial groups (including “mainstream” groups) express their multiple identities in Chicago is a testament to how much more we need to study class and ethnic formation on the ground.

“Borderlands” studies focusing on the interface between peoples as they move across borders provide another relevant context in which to view the work in this volume. Extrapolating from the 2,000-mile U.S.-Mexican border, scholars now use the term “border” metaphorically: A border exists wherever differing “social practices and cultural beliefs” confront each other “in a contemporary global context” (Alvarez, 1995, p. 448). Staudt and Spener (1998) viewed the border “as an ongoing dialectical process which generates multiple borderland spaces” (p. 2), some of which are quite distant from actual international boundaries. Rouse (1991), studying a transnational community located in Redwood City, California, and Aguililla, Michoacán, Mexico, saw “a proliferation of border zones” and the eruption of “miniature borders” throughout both Mexico and the United States (Rouse, 1991, p. 17).

Chicago evidences these multiple miniature borders both in contemporary and historical terms. It could be argued, in fact, that Chicago has always been a global city with transnational populations (Holli & Jones, 1977/1995) confronting each other, creating “miniature borders” all over the city. Certainly, Chicago is known for its cultural and linguistic diversity, its mosaic of ethnic neighborhoods, but just as clearly, this is a scene that now has become characteristic of many more U.S. regions and cities.

The chapters presented in this volume thus ask and begin to answer the following questions: How did Mexicans and Puerto Ricans come to live in Chicago? Have they maintained their “traditional” identities, the Spanish language (and its varying dialects), and their own ways of speaking? Alternatively, have they recreated or transformed these social and cultural practices, including linguistic ones (see, for example, Potowski, 2004)? How does language use change from one generation to the next? Why does it change across the generations, and what does this mean as the demographic and linguistic face of the United States continues to “Latinize”? How do social, economic, and political relations “back home” appear in Latino discourse in Chicago? How do Latino populations adapt their linguistic practices to aspects of globalization, including the worldwide women’s rights movement, the increasing use of English as a global language, and the English-only movement in the United States? Does the increasing compression of space and time through communication and travel technology affect language maintenance and group identity? What impact do different communicative practices have on people in multicultural work spaces, or in our public and private schools, and how can we be more intelligent about the issues that disrupt that communication and cross-cultural understanding?

By looking at the history, linguistic practices, and educational experiences of the Mexican and Puerto Rican populations in Chicago, this volume begins to characterize important details about Latino populations in Chicago and the social dynamics at play within these groups, between them, and in relation to other non-Latino populations. The predominance of the Mexican-origin population among Latinos in Chicago, for example, does not simply mean that they are more numerous than any other Latino group. The numeric predominance of this group often translates into a default representation of Latinos in Chicago by the media. The local Latino television stations, affiliated with the national Spanish-language networks, and radio stations, for example, often orient their programming (e.g., newscasts, variety shows, telenovelas, weekend sports, commercials) primarily to a Mexican-origin audience. Local Spanish-language newspapers also clearly reflect this orientation by focusing frequently on Mexico when covering international news, sports, and entertainment.

Because the Mexican-origin population constitutes 70% of the Latinos in Chicago, this media orientation may be understandable. Nevertheless, the Puerto Rican-origin population, which constitutes 15% of the overall Latino population, and the variety of Latinos groups already mentioned certainly add another dimension to the general conception of a Latino identity. The two numerically dominant groups, for example, have historically shared essential characteristics of their migratory experience and immigrant orientation (i.e., view of initial migration as temporary), but have faced and continue to face different degrees of resistance to their integration into the mainstream.

MEXICANS IN CHICAGO

The Mexican-origin community has a history in Chicago that dates to the early 1900s. According to Padilla (1985, p. 22), “The Mexican revolution of 1910 accelerated the large-scale immigration of Mexicans to the United States,” primarily to the Southwest. A cohort of these immigrants followed the path of employment “to farmwork in the Midwest, or to the packing-houses of Kansas City, or to railroad track labor in various cities, and finally to the industrial areas of Chicago” (Año Nuevo-Kerr, 1976; quoted in Padilla, 1985, p. 22), whereas another cohort consisted of immigrants “directly recruited by employers and shipped to Chicago via railroad cars” (Padilla, 1985, p. 23).

The recruitment of immigrant labor quickly turned to forced repatriation of entire Mexican families—despite the status of many as U.S. citizens and legal immigrants—during the Great Depression (Padilla, 1985, p. 26). This was a severe blow to the coherence of an emerging Mexican American community in Chicago. Nevertheless, the employment pendulum swung again in favor of Mexican laborers as the onset of World War

II brought about labor shortages in the agricultural and industrial sectors. To counteract those shortages, the United States and Mexico signed an international labor agreement in 1942. The Bracero Program, as the agreement is commonly known, guaranteed the supply of Mexican laborers until 1964. Thus, sanctioned and unsanctioned migration, coupled with migrant influxes from the southwestern states, increased the numbers of the Mexican-origin population in Chicago for the first half of the 20th century. The dramatic rise of this segment of the population in the past four decades followed a similar pattern despite the demise of the Bracero Program. Chain migration supported by social networks (see Farr's chapters in this volume), the adaptability of Mexican laborers to changing labor demands (e.g., a shift from industrial labor to entry level service and light manufacturing positions), and factors contributing to the potential for upward mobility (e.g., improved educational opportunities, less residential segregation, and evolving perceptions of race and ethnicity) may prove to be a boon for the continued rise of the Mexican-origin population in Chicago.

PUERTO RICANS IN CHICAGO

Like their Mexican counterparts, Puerto Rican immigrants came to Chicago in search of economic betterment. But unlike the preceding Mexican immigration, the Puerto Rican migration was spurred by U.S. transformation of the island's economy. With the end of the Spanish American War, the United States, ignoring the status of independent state granted to the island by Spain in 1897, assumed control over Puerto Rico.

After the takeover of Puerto Rico, the new "colonial masters" transformed Puerto Rico's multicrop agricultural economy into a technologically based, single cash-crop industry; several decades later it was changed again and built around a factory system which was capital—and not people—oriented. Because of their nature, these economic changes failed to provide jobs for an ever-increasing population, resulting, in turn, in a large-scale uprooting and forced exile of hundreds of thousands of people from their native land because of urgent economic needs. (Padilla, 1987, p. 6)

Three decades after the United States took control of Puerto Rico, large-scale migration to the mainland's Northeast became an established reality, and by the 1940s the migration extended to other parts of the United States. Puerto Rican migration to Chicago began in the late 1940s and reached its peak in the 1960s (Padilla, 1985, p. 38). Unfortunately, this influx of laborers came at a time when manufacturing jobs were waning as the result of technological advances, and for Puerto Rican immigrants this meant being relegated to "nonindustrial, poorly paid, menial, dead-end jobs" (Padilla, 1985, p. 43).

In addition to such low-income employment, the Puerto Rican community faced harsher housing discrimination than other Latino groups after reaching a critical mass in Chicago (i.e., becoming a noticeable presence). Massey and Denton (1989) have traced a pattern of housing discrimination directed at Puerto Ricans that persisted from 1960 to 1980 in many U.S. metropolitan areas. As in many of the major U.S. cities Massey and Denton examined, Puerto Ricans in Chicago were highly segregated from Anglos during this period, whereas Mexicans and Cubans were considerably less so.

Yet, unlike the Puerto Ricans in other cities, those in Chicago also were highly segregated from African Americans and Asians. This suggests that the residential areas of Puerto Ricans in Chicago remained highly insular as late as 20 years ago, which speaks to the persistence of a solidified ethnic identity based on the isolation of the ethnic neighborhood (Padilla, 1985, p. 52). Massey and Denton's (1993) more recent study of Chicago, however, has indicated that although Mexicans are more integrated into White neighborhoods than Puerto Ricans, the higher rates of segregation for the latter are accounted for by the fact that "Black" Puerto Ricans are more segregated than "White" Puerto Ricans and live closer to African Americans.

Such differences in integration into the mainstream are vexing given the similarities in the migration histories of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in Chicago. The major differences are clearly that the Puerto Rican community started growing after World War II, whereas the Mexican community established itself 40 years earlier, and that Puerto Ricans were free to come and go to the United States as a result of their citizenship status, whereas Mexicans were not. These differences, however, seem to dissipate given the more recent history of the two groups. By the 1970s, for example, the two groups coalesced under the emergence of a Latino ethnic identity in response to discrimination against Spanish-speaking minorities and their marginalization in Chicago (Padilla, 1985). In addition, the *vayven* (to and fro) pattern of migration noted among Puerto Ricans (Padilla, 1987, pp. 69–70) also is now commonplace for many Mexicans in the United States (Farr, 2000, forthcoming; Rouse, 1991, 1992).

The continuous movement to and from the homeland, however, takes a psychological toll because it involves "repeated ruptures and renewal of ties, dismantlings and reconstructions of familial and communal networks in old and new settings" (Rodríguez, Sánchez-Korrol, & Alers, 1984, p. 2), and this toll presumably intensifies with the length of a sojourn in a given community. Despite this toll, the reluctance to sever ties with the homeland appears to characterize the first generations of Mexican and Puerto Rican migrants to Chicago. The desire to maintain such connections may be renewed continuously by the enduring flow of Mexican immigration to Chicago. The same may not be true for the Puerto Rican community in Chicago, given that its population increments in no way suggest the massive migration influxes that are the hallmark of the Mexican population in the past 40 years. Moreover, the Puerto Rican population in the city actually decreased between 1990 and 2000 according to census figures.

Whether other Latino groups maintain an orientation to transnational ties similar to that of the Mexicans in Chicago is another subject for future research. There may be a variety of reasons why other Latino groups do not have such an orientation. In the Southwest, for example, the lack of transnational ties among some, but not all, people of Mexican origin is the result of their nonmigratory history vis-à-vis the United States. These people of Mexican origin did not come to the United States; rather, the United States came to them

via the 1848 Treaty of Hidalgo. The U.S. annexation of their homeland was the direct result of that treaty, and this left them, in effect, without a Mexican homeland to which they could return. Although it could be assumed that Puerto Rico's historical lack of national sovereignty may lead Puerto Ricans to adopt a similar perspective, this does not seem to be the case. Moreover, the distance between the island and mainland as well as the prominence of Spanish in the national and cultural heritage may continue to challenge this assumption.

To address internal differences within what is now the largest minority population in the country, research into the formation of an ethnic identity and the role language plays in it is crucial. The maintenance of Spanish as a primary and as a heritage language (see the chapter by Potowski) reflects more than linguistic ability for the Latino groups included in this volume and those whose voice is yet to be recorded. The complex bond between language and culture and the values that are forged, transmitted, and maintained through culturally embedded language use, directs any research involving Latino groups in general to consider the prominence and the impact of linguistic issues in their communities.

NON-ENGLISH TONGUES AND THE UNITED STATES

Despite a multilingual and multicultural history that dates back to the founding of the country, the United States has had an ambivalent relationship with cultural diversity in general, and with non-English languages (and nonstandard English dialects) in particular. Although nation building has been entwined with insistence on the official status and dominance of English, non-English languages nevertheless have been used regularly throughout U.S. history in government agencies, courts, newspapers, schools, and other public contexts (Ferguson & Heath, 1981). Current national debates over such diversity invoke and repeat earlier debates in the second half of the 19th century over German language and culture, and in the early 20th century over heavy migration from Eastern and Southern Europe. Some claim that the fervor in recent decades against non-English languages and their speakers is intensified by the experience of language loss by earlier generations of European immigrants, especially by the numerous German speakers in this country up until World War I (Baron, 1990; Judd, 2004), after which time German was quickly dropped by its speakers and in school curricula. Yet because of the broad range of ethnic groups and their relative numeric strengths in the history of Chicago, conflict over linguistic and cultural diversity has been more muted there than elsewhere in the United States, at least in recent years. Consequently, Chicago presents an interesting contrast to states such as California, Arizona, or Florida, where such conflict is more publicly salient. The recent debate over bilingual education in Chicago, for example, questioned the length, not the existence, of bilingual programs in the public schools (official policy now limits bilingual education to 3 years). Moreover, as of 1998, Chicago had 10 dual-language schools (see the chapter by Potowski).

Chicago has a long history of economic vitality and diversity, and it remains an attractive destination for people ready to work in a variety of industries. For example, Lithuanians, Poles, and African Americans came to work in the stockyards at the turn of the 20th century, and Mexicans arrived by the thousands in the 1920s to sustain the iron

and steelworks located in south Chicago. Today, highly educated Africans, South Asians, and East Asians are vital to the western suburban technology corridor, and other ethnic groups are part of the long trajectory in which Irish, Germans, Greeks, Poles, Italians, and others have contributed to the city built by immigrants.

If the numerous ethnic groups in Chicago's historic neighborhoods have created a somewhat more tolerant ambience toward diversity, or at least a more realistic acceptance of it, they also have anticipated the cultural and linguistic diversity now evident across the entire United States, especially, but not entirely, in urban areas. As noted earlier, an increasingly globalized world economy has fomented migratory streams all over the world (Rosenau, 1997; Sassen, 1998; Wallerstein, 1974). In this hemisphere, the United States is the primary destination for these migrant labor forces, followed by Canada and Argentina (United Nations, 1988). Atlanta and other southern locales, for example, now host a substantial number of Mexicans, disrupting the traditional Black-White racial dichotomy (Murphy, Blanchard, & Hill, 1999). Such populations increase not only because of economic "push-pull" factors (e.g., the wage differential between Mexico and the United States, pressures from U.S. businesses for minimum wage workers), but also through the reconstituting, over time, of virtually entire villages in the United States (Farr, 2000, forthcoming; Rouse, 1992).

A number of the chapters in this volume arose from ground level studies within social networks. Transnational social networks (i.e., groups of family and friends both "back home" and at the destination site) facilitate the communication that feeds transnational movement and growth. Migration to the United States probably has always proceeded through family networks and transnational communication. For example, the massive German migrations throughout the 19th century were stimulated at least in part by family networks, letters, emigration handbooks, and newspapers (Kamhoefner, Helbich, & Sommer, 1991; Trommler & McVeigh, 1985).

Furthermore, once settled in American neighborhoods, families rely on social networks to carry out ethnic socialization of youth born in the United States, with some groups maintaining a sense of heritage and a network of cross-border social ties that last for several generations—a phenomenon that we are only beginning to understand (Constantakos & Spiridakis, 1997; Cans, 1999, p. 1304). Our understanding of ethnic formation or "ethnification" is something that may change as jet travel and telecommunications facilitate constant contact between ethnic groups and their home countries. Indeed, the fact that transnational mechanisms are markedly more extensive now than a century ago may cause significant changes in how ethnic formation comes about in the United States (Friedman, 1999). Even so, the contemporary diversity in the United States has its origins in U.S. history, although apparently unique in pace and heterogeneity, with people now coming from all over the world. The studies in this volume explore this diversity through a focus on language use among ethnic Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in a city that is both diverse and archetypical of the larger United States.

As already noted, this volume is the second of a pair. The first volume (Farr, 2004) focused on ethnolinguistic variation among groups with origins in Europe, the Middle East, Africa, and Asia. Because of the recent intense growth in Spanish-speaking populations, this volume focuses entirely on Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, the two largest Latino groups in Chicago and in the United States. The studies in both volumes together contribute to our understanding of ethnolinguistic diversity by showing how it is woven

into the fabric of daily life in Chicago, both historically and currently, and how it is an inevitable aspect of human life. Although important work has documented the history of various ethnic Chicago enclaves (Holli & Jones, 1977/1995), and although sociologists have abundantly studied numerous “community areas” (Chicago Fact Book Consortium, 1995), the role of language, either oral or written, in these diverse communities has not yet received systematic attention. Garcia and Fishman’s (1997) *The Multilingual Apple: Languages in New York City* is a notable exception, although it does not address variation within languages, only between them. Although the field of sociolinguistics has long studied regional and social dialect variation (see, for example, recent work on African American Vernacular English in Baugh, 1999; Baugh, 2000; Rickford, 1999; Rickford & Rickford, 2000), ethnographic approaches to this kind of variation have been fewer (but see Zentella, 1997). These two volumes begin to address this lacuna by presenting “slices of language life” involving both multilingualism and within-language variation in specific home and community settings.

LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY

González (2001) has eloquently portrayed the intensely felt tie between language, emotion, and identity in her study of Mexican-origin women and children in Arizona’s “borderlands.” These families were headed by either native-born or immigrant parents, who primarily used English and Spanish, respectively. Although González noted the use of Chicano English, most studies of language and identity do not make such differentiations, but define language as an entire “language” such as Spanish or English (e.g., Fishman, 1997). In this sense, variation in language use refers to bi- or multilingualism, or the use of more than one language in a society or group. Language diversity can be viewed more broadly, however, by attending to variation both across and within languages. Even monolingual Americans routinely use one or more varieties of English. That is, they may speak a more standard variety of American English, acquired perhaps in school, along with a regional, class, or ethnic dialect. For example, many African Americans use African American Vernacular English in intimate contexts and standard English in public (Rickford & Rickford, 2000). Similarly, bilingual Americans may use, for example, Spanish in intimate contexts and English in public, but what kind of Spanish, and what kind of English? Zentella (1997) explored both kinds of linguistic diversity among Puerto Rican children in New York, who to varying degrees speak nonstandard and standard varieties of both Spanish and English across the various contexts of their lives.

In Chicago as well, people may speak both Spanish and English, and in some cases multiple varieties of these languages. Variation in Spanish there includes nationality (e.g., Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban), as well as rural and urban varieties within these nationalities. Depending on the extent of cross-national interaction for particular speakers, these varieties are sometimes blended in use. Spanish speakers who also know English may code switch between Spanish and English (common among *tejanos*, Mexican Americans from Texas), or borrow English words and phrases and incorporate them into Spanish sentences (common among Mexicans in Chicago). For example, someone may say “*Estamos watcheando TV*” (We are watching TV), incorporating the

English word “watch” into a sentence using Spanish grammar. Although such “Spanglish” often is denigrated by Spanish and English speakers alike, in fact such language mixing is common in multilingual situations. For example, both the Swedes (Isaacson, 2004) and the Greeks (Koliussi, 2004) in Chicago created and used “Swinglish” and “Greeklish,” and no doubt many other groups have created other mixed languages that parallel and prefigure contemporary Spanglish.

In addition to language mixing and language or dialect choice, stylistic dimensions of language use, or “ways of speaking” (Hymes, 1974b), along with practices involving written language, or literacy, are important indices of identity. Indeed, more attention is paid in this volume to the uses or functions of language, oral and written, in the daily life of Latinos than to the structural or formal characteristics (e.g., pronunciation or syntactic patterns) of the language varieties that they speak. Shifting between and among these language varieties, whether from Spanish to English or from one dialect of Spanish or English to another, often is about social attachment, signifying group membership and solidarity. As Tabouret-Keller (1997) has pointed out, our language use creates our social identities, whether that language use involves one or more varieties of one language, code switching between two languages, or the creation of new language varieties by combining elements from various languages or dialects.

In many chapters of this volume, the language used by the people under study is a nonstandard variety of Spanish. In fact, standard languages have rarely been used by immigrants in Chicago (Farr, 2004). For example, Lithuanian (Markelis, 2004) and Swedish (Isaacson, 2004) immigrants to Chicago spoke nonstandard dialects of their respective languages at home and learned standard varieties of their home languages in Chicago to communicate with each other and to share standardized ethnic institutions such as newspapers and schools. These processes have implications for the shift toward the codifying of ethnic culture through culturally sensitive school curricula using standardized language varieties. Yet the ways that immigration by Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and other Spanish-speaking groups have contributed to the formation of a popular Chicago Spanish have not yet been studied, although they certainly suggest an interesting and policy-relevant topic for research.

Upon arrival in Chicago, many immigrants feel pressured to attain competence in new languages or dialects to be accepted amicably by neighbors, employers, or customers. For some, this may mean learning Mexican Spanish or African American English. Immigrant speakers of English are acutely aware that native-born Americans label them by their imperfect use of the standard, and that even if they speak the most “proper” (i.e., grammatically standard) English, English spoken with a nonnative “accent” (i.e., pronunciation) instantly evokes their ethnic difference. Ironically, for many immigrants, the non-English language they speak is similarly denigrated in their “home countries” as nonstandard. For example, immigrants from the Mexican countryside often are derided for their *español rancherado* (rural ranch Spanish) both by urban elite Mexicans and by Spanish teachers in Chicago. It is not only the surface features of language use, such as nonstandard or nonnative grammar and pronunciation, that mark immigrants as different. Favored genres and other ways of speaking also distinguish culture groups, and many immigrants use culturally specific rhetorical genres such as Mexican *relajo* (Farr, 1994c, 1998), or proverbs (see the chapter by Domínguez Barajas), as a performance of identity and solidarity. That culture-specific literacy and oral traditions often are at odds with dominant standards also is a source of trouble for immigrant children who must adapt to

standard English forms and uses in school. For example, the ideology embedded in essayist modes of writing (notably the five-paragraph composition-class essay and other genres promoting an “objective” tone that removes the personal voice of the author) often runs counter to the linguistic expectations of Spanish-speaking students’ home cultures (Farr, 1993).

In the same way that we identify ourselves and others by the way we speak, we also use other markers. Language is only one means of identity differentiation in semiotic systems that include neighborhood boundaries, clothing, types of houses, and decor, even the kinesthetics of walking down the street. Given the persistence of identity differentiation, we can assume that semiotic markers “place” people in terms of various identities, and, moreover, that language is a central means of placement, whether that placement is generated from inside the group or imposed from the outside. Certainly, language, in addition to other markers, has delineated White and non-White groups in the United States. African American English, Spanglish, and Spanish-accented English are clear examples of this. Recently developed conceptualizations of language ideology explicitly link beliefs about language, including both vernacular and standard varieties, to broader sociocultural and political processes (Kroskrity, 2000; Philips, 1998; Schieffelin, Woolard, & Kroskrity, 1998). As Woolard (1998) noted, language ideologies are never about language alone, but also about such notions as personhood and group identity vis-à-vis others.

The construction of group identities based on language ideologies has proven to have far-reaching ramifications. In the context of schooling, for example, linguistic prejudice has found its way into institutional and public discourse particularly concerning ethnolinguistic minority students. Terms such as “at risk,” “remedial,” and “culturally deprived” have been applied disproportionately to minority students and their linguistic backgrounds. Because aspirations toward a monolingual and homogeneous society militate, by definition, against linguistic—and, by extension, cultural—diversity, linguistic minority students, particularly Latino students, continue to suffer the results of English chauvinism by being rushed through bilingual programs that encourage the replacement of the home language (or L1) in favor of the target language (i.e., English). This often is exacerbated by the segregation of students into inferior schools and their erroneous classification as learning disabled (Halcón, 2001).

Such marginalization is based on prejudice toward linguistic diversity and a bias favoring the primacy of English in the classroom and society at large. To counteract such deeply seated biases, however, various scholars (Banks, 1991; Barrera, 1992; Delpit, 1995; Farr, 1993, 1994a, 1994b; Farr & Daniels, 1986; Farr & Guerra, 1995; Gutiérrez, 1992; Reyes, 1992; Valdés, 1996) have proposed that awareness of cultural differences is of the essence in contemporary classrooms. This is particularly crucial for students whose L1 is not English because meaning-making in the classroom almost invariably involves language, and language, in turn, is embedded in particular cultural practices and beliefs.

One example of how an attitudinal change can enhance pedagogical approaches to linguistically diverse student populations is the valuing of these students’ “funds of knowledge” (i.e., what is known, learned, and valued at home), with the goal of developing continuity between home and school knowledge bases (Moll & Greenburg, 1990). One important factor in establishing such continuity between home and school is the recognition of students’ L1 as an asset rather than a hindrance because the knowledge of more than one linguistic system suggests the potential of expanded linguistic

repertoires. This perspective is supported by Jiménez (1996, p. 106), who showed that highly competent bilingual readers are characterized by their cognitive flexibility in managing differing textual cues, and warned that “less successful Latino readers may be closing the door of a vast warehouse of potential knowledge by not accessing information gained via their dominant language.” Appreciation of a non-English L1 is by no means automatic (see the chapter by Potowski) because young people grow up in a society that does not appreciate bilingualism, and young people, in particular, must grapple with the social and psychological toll that comes with the forging of a linguistic identity.

The issue goes beyond bilingualism because language differences also emerge within languages. Thus similar language ideologies differentiate speakers of nonstandard dialects such as African American Vernacular English (Rickford & Rickford, 2000), or other varieties of nonstandard English (Wolfram, Adger, & Christian, 1999), and nonstandard varieties of Spanish as well (Zentella, 1997). Beliefs about particular languages, or varieties of these languages, organize relations among groups of people and define “us,” as opposed to “them,” in terms of specific moral, aesthetic, and other qualities that place people into status hierarchies (see Herrick’s chapter on such status differences between standard urban Mexican Spanish and nonstandard rural Mexican Spanish—the denigrated *español ranchereado*, or “ranch Spanish”).

In addition to ethnic identities, language also expresses and constructs class identities. Thus, vernacular varieties of both English and Spanish identify speakers as working class. Class is not as salient in Chicago as ethnicity, but it is omnipresent even when more implicit than explicit (Cho & Miller, 2004; Lindquist, 2004). Gender also is an inextricable part of language use, and, like class and ethnicity, it is not only expressed but also constructed linguistically (Morgan, 2004). Women’s favored genres often differ from men’s, and for many migrant groups, gender roles change over the generations with the move from, for example, a traditional agrarian context to a modern urban one. Such changes, of course, also involve what is considered appropriate behavior for women, including linguistic behavior. Tensions that arise over such changes, as well as their (sometime) resolution, are evident in the language practices of both women and men (Farr, forthcoming).

When the topics or the contexts of talk are specifically about class or about ethnic or gender identity, these are, according to Susan Philip’s (2000) discussion of an idea developed by Stuart Hall (1986), “key sites” for these highly marked linguistic practices. Philips used the notion of “site” to highlight those situations in which ideology is most punctiliously brought up and instantiated, hot spots in which “powerful ideological work” is being performed (Philips, 2000, pp. 232–233). For example, the choice of a language, or a particular dialect of a language, may signify an entirely different ideology and identity in the new immigrant context, as opposed to “back home” (see the chapter by Cohen in this volume). Such key sites are methodologically distinct from the ways in which linguists use the term “context” (i.e., an analytical unit based on real-time speech and real gatherings of people). In the chapters of this volume, the investigators have chosen either contexts of verbal performance (oral or written) or group-specific ways of speaking because they are key sites of identity construction, or reconstruction in terms of class, ethnicity, or gender. These include public spaces and institutions such as school classrooms (Olmedo and Potowski), a university composition course (Spicer-Escalante), Internet chat rooms (Cohen), a religious store (Gelb), and a factory (Herrick), as well as informal, intimate, and private spaces and genres such as kitchens and living rooms (Farr,

Domínguez Barajas, & Del Valle), or proverbs (Domínguez Barajas), and religious discourse (Farr).

Sometimes what is meaningful in key sites, then, is signaled by the forms and uses of speech, and not by overt topics of discussion. Language thus expresses and constructs identities either implicitly through the choice of dialects, standards, or culturally marked rhetorical styles and genres, or explicitly through overt ideological talk that groups use to define themselves. Because such issues are best studied ethnographically, the work presented in this volume was undertaken within the framework of the ethnography of communication (Hymes, 1974a). The chapters that are not explicitly ethnographies of communication nevertheless are compatible with this framework. In the next sections, we discuss the characteristics of this framework and its methodology.

METHODOLOGY

Chicago provides an abundance of fertile natural settings in which identities are linguistically constructed. Because so much identity formation emerges in felt contrasts with others (Barth, 1968; Cohen, 1978), the diversity of the city and its multiple “miniature borders” makes it particularly productive for research on this topic. The chapters in this book, and in its companion volume, rely on the assets of the city as well as methodological resources in a variety of ways.

First, because insider or “emic” understandings of various communities are fundamental to valid understandings of the ways identities are constructed in language, most of the chapters rely on ethnographic methods and perspectives in their research. That is, they rely on participant observation, “deep listening,” a holistic focus, and (implicitly or explicitly) a comparative sense. Deep familiarity with the communities studied and a careful attention to local, not just researcher-generated, meanings, then, characterize all the work. Moreover, the discourse analysis used in many chapters documents the ways people use language to construct, or to reconstruct, social and cultural realities, including their identities.

Second, because all these chapters are centered on language, either in its spoken or written mode, material samples of language have been gathered for analysis. Oral language has been tape-recorded (with the permission of the speakers), selected, transcribed, and studied in different ways, and written language has been collected and analyzed. Both modes of language have been explored for local meanings through oral interviews. All these instances of language in use, however, even augmented by the understandings generated from interviews, would be incomplete without broader (and deeper) ethnographic understandings of the larger contexts in which they occurred naturally. In what follows, we selectively present key concepts developed within an ethnographic approach to the study of language that contribute to a comprehensive understanding of language, both oral and written, and its constitutive role in social and cultural life. These concepts are used differentially across the chapters.

THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF LANGUAGE

Dell Hymes' call four decades ago for an anthropology of language was intended to fill an important gap: the study of language grounded equally in linguistic and cultural realities. He argued that the study of culturally situated language was falling into a gap between disciplines. On one hand, linguistics focused on cognitive rather than social aspects of language, and, on the other, anthropology, although carried out through language, often through a language nonnative to the researcher, ignored language almost entirely. His original conceptualization of the ethnography of communication (Hymes, 1964) spawned the ethnography of literacy (Street, 1984, 1993; Szwed, 1981). Much work following this latter tradition has been stimulated by social concerns regarding inequities in education and literacy. Important as such studies are, they unfortunately have increasingly ignored the relevance of oral language practices to these concerns, although understandings of literacy are deepened and enriched by attention to oral practices among populations learning or using literacy (Farr, 1993), and despite serious critique of an orality—literacy dichotomy (Collins & Blot, 2003; Street, 1984). Although Heath's (1983) seminal research relied centrally on oral language patterns to illuminate educational and literacy issues, much other work has not been equally grounded in a deep understanding of language as the base from which literacy springs. Notable exceptions in this regard are Boyarin (1992), Besnier (1995), and Finnegan (1988). The studies in this book, and in its companion volume, attempt to redress this imbalance by attending to both modes of language use in the daily life of Chicagoans.

Attention to both oral and written language has flourished in the field that Hymes, Gumperz, and others invigorated, which has become the field of linguistic anthropology (Bauman & Sherzer, 1974/1989; Duranti, 1997, 2001; Gumperz, 1982a, 1982b). This work has demonstrated how language, carefully studied, can illuminate other aspects of social, cultural, and political life. Sherzer, quoting Boas (1911), pointed out that "language patterns are unconscious and provide access to unconscious cultural patterning otherwise inaccessible to researchers" (Sherzer, 1987, p. 295). Some aspects of social and cultural life cannot be understood simply by asking people about them, as Briggs (1986) has shown, although this is how most social science, including much ethnography, proceeds. Briggs argued that we need to treat the interview, instead, as a communicative event, a social practice negotiated by interviewer and informant. This methodological insight has far-reaching implications for researchers concerned with cultural and linguistic variation (e.g., Cho & Miller, 2004).

Sherzer (1987) showed how discourse, which he defined as language use, oral or written, brief (like a greeting) or lengthy (like a novel or oral narrative), is "the nexus, the actual and concrete expression of the language-culture-society relationship" (p. 296). Thus through discourse analysis researchers can illuminate social and cultural patterns. Discourse, then, is constitutive because both culture and language are created, recreated, and changed through it. Furthermore, particular kinds of discourse are especially fertile for this:

It is especially in verbally artistic discourse such as poetry, magic, verbal dueling, and political rhetoric that the potentials and resources provided by grammar, as well as cultural meanings and symbols, are exploited to the fullest and the essence of language-culture relationships becomes salient. (Sherzer, 1987, p. 296)

Poetics and Performance

The study of verbal art, or ethnopoeitics, as developed by Hymes (1975, 1981), Bauman (1977/1984, 1986), Bauman and Briggs (1990), Tedlock (1983), Sherzer (1987, 1990), Tannen (1989), and others has shown how cultural insights can be revealed by close examination of people's verbal performances. Verbal performance can occur in formal, scheduled, public events (e.g., church sermons), or it can emerge spontaneously in informal, everyday conversation (e.g., story and joke telling). Bauman (1977/1984) set out the empirically observable characteristics of verbal performance, which he saw as the thread that ties together various artistic genres in a unified conception of verbal, or spoken, art, as a way of speaking:

1. There is a "focus on the message for its own sake" (Jakobson, 1960, p. 356). That is, the form of the message is important beyond the need for communication (i.e., it has poetic qualities). Various linguistic devices can be used to accomplish this, a central one *being parallelism*, the "empirical linguistic criterion of the poetic function" (Jakobson, 1960, p. 358). Parallelism involves repetition, sometimes with variation, of semantic, syntactic, or phonological (including intonational) structures, and seems to be a fundamental, possibly universal characteristic of verbal art. More recent work shows how oral narrative can be considered a kind of poetry in that spoken lines from speeches and personal narratives are organized in terms of verses, stanzas, and scenes (Hymes, 2002; Ochs & Capps, 2001).

2. Performance reframes "usual" or ordinary language use that often fulfills a referential function in which words carry "literal" meaning. That is, hearers are signaled that words are to be understood in some special sense. Linguistic devices that signal a performance frame include, but are not limited to, a change in code (language), figurative language (e.g., metaphors), parallelism, and paralinguistic features (e.g., pitch contour, rate of speaking, loudness) (Tedlock, 1983).

3. Performance is the authoritative display of communicative competence by a "performer" that is evaluated by an "audience." That is, there is a shared assumption among participants that hearers will judge those who verbally perform as good (or not-so-good) storytellers, jokers, preachers, and the like.

4. Performance is marked as available for "the enhancement of experience" in the present moment. That is, there is a "special intensity" on the part of the audience (e.g., bodies and faces turn toward the performer and other talking ceases).

Performance, then, makes language highly "noticeable." That is, linguistic devices used to make a particular stretch of language a "performance" (e.g., the telling of a joke or story) also make a "text" stand out from surrounding speech (see Gelb's chapter on a woman's story of her own initiation as a *santera*). Language that "stands out" in this way facilitates its own critical examination (Bauman & Briggs, 1990). Thus, performances of verbal art are not just interesting aesthetically, but are key sites for the creation, recreation, and transformation of culture and society. Farr (1994c, forthcoming), for example, showed how Mexican women, using a way of speaking they call *echando relajo* (joking around), challenge traditional gender roles through performances of verbal art. These verbal poetics, performed in all-female contexts, serve to build support for and affirm the kinds of changes they are making in their now-transnational lives. Such "play frames... provide settings in which speech and society can be questioned and transformed" (Bauman & Briggs, 1990, p. 63), and thus have ramifications for the reconfiguration of social relations.

Genre

The concept of genre has been central in the consideration of the interrelations between language and culture (Briggs & Bauman, 1992; Hanks, 2000; Philips, 1987) and in studies of verbal art. A persistent aspect of work on genre revolves around the question of how to define the concept itself. The key defining features are characteristics of form (i.e., how the writing or speech is organized in jokes, stories, plays, letters, and the like). Equally important as defining features, however, are shared frameworks for reception and interpretation, as well as the larger sociocultural context in which concrete instances of genres are actualized (Hanks, 2000), as illustrated in Spicer-Escalante's chapter on the essays written in Spanish by Mexicans, Mexican Americans, and non-Mexican Americans. Genre, as used in the studies in this volume, then, involves not only aspects of form, but also the dimensions of function and reception, that is, how audience and performer (whether that performer utters a Mexican proverb, sings a Puerto Rican *rosario*, or writes an essay in college) come together in a specific context to share the meaning of a performance and to accomplish a particular function. Thus, local understandings of concrete instances of genres rely not only on form, but also on the broader context in which they occur and the specific functions these instances serve. A final aspect of work on genre concerns the organization of genres themselves within particular local communities and the ideological implications of this organization. For example, the association of genre and gender, when genres are organized hierarchically (e.g., associating the low-ranked genre of gossip with women), affirms the hierarchy of genders in social relations.

Although, as Briggs and Bauman observe, genre has been associated with order for quite some time in Western thought, in actuality, the organization of genres, and their boundaries in real discourse, are much less ordered and neat. Communities differ in the extent to which their genres are organized, and the "messy underside of people's speech" (Briggs & Bauman, 1992, p. 140) is more the rule than the exception. This "messiness" in people's real speech is attributable to the lack of fixed and discrete (empirical) boundaries of genres. Instead, genres sometimes overlap one another, and often are found in complex shapes in which some genres "absorb and digest" other genres (Bakhtin, 1986; Briggs & Bauman, 1992, p. 145). The novels read by Mexican immigrant mothers in Colomb's chapter illustrate this complexity, as do the letters written to God by the Mexican woman described in Farr's chapter on literacy and religion. Thus, genres do not always occur as discrete texts in daily life. That is, they are not fixed, timeless structures. Rather, they are general frameworks, or sets of expectations, according to which people generate and interpret discourse for specific social, cultural, and political ends (see Domínguez Barajas' chapter on the uses of Mexican proverbs). Speakers and hearers then draw on these general sets of expectations as they organize discursive life. In turn, daily discourse can create, recreate, or change generic expectations. That is, the use of genres is a two-way street: shared understandings of culturally specific genres organize our linguistic and social life, but these same genres change through use and time, just as they are used either to maintain or to change aspects of our social order. When the performance of artful verbal genres, themselves already highly changeable by nature, is conjoined to the

ways that immigrants negotiate their way through multiple cultures and culture change across generations, these forms become even richer sites for experimentation with language and identity.

OVERVIEW OF CHAPTERS

This section provides an overview of the chapters in this volume, with a special focus on the ways in which they use the themes, concepts, and issues reviewed in this Introduction. All of the chapters deal with language and identity, whether that identity involves nationality (Domínguez Barajas, Cohen, Spicer-Escalante, and Potowski), status or class (Farr on *rancheros* and Herrick), religion (Farr on religion and Gelb), or gender (Farr on religion and Cohen). In addition to these usual aspects of identity, two chapters focus on literacy-specific identities. Hurtig's chapter shows women developing an identity as writers, and Colomb's chapter shows women becoming readers. Many chapters evoke aspects of transnationalism, globalization, or both (Farr on *rancheros*, Domínguez Barajas, Spicer-Escalante, Hurtig, Colomb, and Herrick). In terms of language itself, some chapters focus on oral genres and the performance of verbal art (Farr on *rancheros*, Domínguez Barajas, Del Valle, and Gelb). Two chapters focus on bilingualism in dual-language classrooms (Olmedo and Potowski), and three focus on the overlapping of orality and literacy (Del Valle, Hurtig, and Gelb).

This volume, then, presents research on language use among a wide variety of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in Chicago. Most of the chapters (Farr, Domínguez Barajas, Cohen, Spicer-Escalante, Hurtig, Colomb, Farr, and Herrick) focus entirely on Mexicans, perhaps reflecting the demographic dominance of Mexicans in Chicago. Two other chapters focus entirely on Puerto Ricans, however (Del Valle and Gelb), and two more chapters focus on mixed populations of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans (and non-Latino children) in dual language classrooms (Olmedo and Potowski). As a whole, the chapters in this volume span a wide age range and are situated in a variety of public and private settings. The three chapters of part II are situated within families, with two of them (those by Farr and Domínguez Barajas) describing Mexican social networks and one of them (by Del Valle) describing Puerto Rican social networks. These three chapters include entire families and thus all ages.

The four chapters in part III are set in school contexts, the first two (by Olmedo and Potowski) in dual-language elementary classrooms. Olmedo reveals the importance of peer interaction and learning, as children help each other with "bilingual echoes" that translate from one language to another when such translation facilitates understanding and thus language development. Potowski complements this focus by showing how Spanish and English actually are used by the children and for what functions, concluding that Spanish may be serving a more limited range of functions in this setting than teachers assume, especially for boys. Cohen's chapter then moves to a focus on high school girls and their Internet use at home, illustrating how such literacy practices are inextricably a part of identity development. Spicer-Escalante moves on to a college setting, analyzing the writing in Spanish and English of Mexican American college students, whose distinctive rhetoric distinguishes them from both Mexican and non-Latino American writers.

Finally, the chapters in part IV follow Spanish speakers into a variety of other public spaces. Hurtig's chapter explores how a group of adult women in a community writing and publishing workshop use storytelling to construct their immigrant experiences, and Colomb relates the development of similar adult women as readers of literature in a family literacy program. Although both of these literacy programs are physically situated in public schools, they are distinct from the classroom and school-based activities in the rest of their buildings. The remaining chapters in part IV treat religion and work, one of them combining these two contexts. Farr demonstrates the critical literacy abilities of a woman intensely involved in reading and writing activities as a Catholic Charismatic, and Gelb illustrates the verbally artistic narration of a woman's account of her own initiation into *Santería*, the synthetic, originally Cuban religion that combines West African Yoruba saints with Catholic ones. This chapter is situated in both a religious context and a work setting because this woman is the owner of a small shop in which she both sells religious items and provides spiritual counsel. The last chapter of this section, and the book, focuses entirely on a work setting. In this last chapter, Herrick illuminates withinnationality (class) differences in a dispute over the translation of a booklet in a plastics factory with predominantly Mexican labor, cautioning us that as we develop cross-cultural understandings, we must take care not to allow them to harden into monolithic generalizations about particular nationalities or ethnic groups.

A final note is warranted. As with the earlier companion volume, there are important populations in Chicago not covered in this volume. We would have liked to include studies of language use among Cubans, Guatemalans, Dominicans, and other Latin American and/or Spanish-speaking populations, but despite a diligent search, were unable to locate any. Although Mexicans and Puerto Ricans are by far the largest groups of Latinos in the United States and in Chicago, studies on these two populations cannot represent all the Latino or Spanish-speaking groups in Chicago. Moreover, not all Latinos in Chicago can even be presumed to speak (only) Spanish. We have heard of children from Mexico assigned to bilingual education classes in the city although they do not speak Spanish, but rather an indigenous language such as *Purhépecha* (the Tarascan language of Michoacán, Mexico). Despite these gaps, it is our hope that this volume and its companion will stimulate more such work, and that future volumes can broaden our understandings of oral and written language in a wider variety of populations, whatever language(s) or dialects they speak.

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