LANGUAGE, GENDER, AND IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION: 
SOCIOLINGUISTIC DYNAMICS IN THE BORDERLANDS

BY

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DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Spanish
in the Graduate College of the
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2011

Urbana, Illinois

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This dissertation research analyzes the construction of identity through language in a variety of three social networks of young Mexican women on the U.S.-Mexico border of Ciudad Juarez, Mexico, and El Paso, Texas. My results show stylistic variation through the use of different, specific discourse markers in both Spanish and English, English borrowings and code-switching, other lexical elements from popular Spanish, and specific patterns of intonation. These linguistic variants are utilized by young women as indexes of social meaning and reproduce emergent plural identities that reflect regional, national and international ideologies, specifically racial, gendered, and sexual hierarchies. In this way my results bring to the foreground how stylistic variation through language use is intimately bound to social distinctiveness at the individual level while at the same time linked to specific social networks that depend not only on local but global ideologies as well. The formation of these identities shows how current stereotypes in linguistic communities are expressed through their language use. Moreover, these realizations indicate that these are not discrete identities, but instead are produced as part of a plural identity that is gendered and conforms to post colonial parameters of race and ethnicity in Mexico. Hence, my research draws attention to the connections between micro and macro symbolic sources that function as frameworks for language variation among these different social networks based on people’s relationships. My study also uncovers how these plural gendered ethnic identities are recreated by speakers through language within a particular ideological bilingual border setting; that should no longer be seen as a periphery at the margins of two countries where locals “betray” their national identities, but rather as a socioeconomic and political center within neoliberalism and globalization.
To the welders en la frontera, the open wound,  
porque ellas trabajan con el fire en sus hands
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am very thankful to all the people who have tirelessly helped me carry out this dissertation project. In particular, I would like to thank my principal network contacts in Juarez, Mexico. This project surely would not have been possible without them. I am deeply grateful to all the strong, brave, committed, wonderful women of the borderlands. To you, I dedicate this thesis. You have always been my main inspiration as you continue to navigate and negotiate your lives in the most challenging of socioeconomic and geographic circumstances. To my main iconic speaker, thank you for all your stimulating discussions on deeply philosophical topics in language and identity. You are the best empirical linguistic anthropologist. Thank you Abigail Ruiz and the M&Ms for all your support; my admiration goes out to all of you for your steadfast commitment to helping your community.

I owe my deepest gratitude to my adviser Anna María Escobar, whose expertise, encouragement, and support from the initial to the final stages of this project allowed me to understand the complexity of the Mexican borderlands. Thank you Gilberto Rosas for opening the door for me to the field of anthropology and for offering me so many thought-provoking insights into the borderlands. I am also very grateful to Erik Willis; my gratitude extends back to my time as a Master’s student as he encouraged me to formulate good research questions. I am also thankful to Professors José Ignacio Hualde and Zsuzsanna Fagyal for their support; I have greatly benefited from their discussion groups, classes and seminars. I am also indebted to my dear mentor at NMSU, Professor Patricia Mac-Gregor Mendoza. I am also grateful for everything I have learned from Professors Jeff Longwell, Daniel Villa, and Cecilia Rodríguez Pino.
Thank you to my family, Carmen, Juan Francisco, and Lucila, for believing in me, *los amo con todo mi corazón*. To Elisa and everyone in the Mendoza family, *gracias por su cariño y por estar ahí en los tiempos de guerra*.

I have also written this dissertation with the support of all my close friends in Illinois, especially my dearest friend Song Cho. Thank you for all the conversations over tea and for your invaluable companionship and encouragement. I want to thank Tom Roger for your enormous support and care. I am also very thankful to my sociolinguist sisters Amy Firestone and Professor Munia Cabal; we have shared many endless, intelligent, and fun discussions on language and society. Thank you my dear friend Liliana Castañeda González. You helped me overcome the last hurdles of this project; I could have not finished without you. I would also like to thank Berta Vazquez and Professor Nathan Clarke for we have shared many meals, laughter and tears together in Urbana-Champaign; I am so grateful to have you both in my life. And I wish to thank Professors Melanie Waters and Brenden Carollo along with Pat Gallagher; thank you for being there for me during all the difficult times and moments any graduate student can encounter.

Thank you Professor Michael Kral and the Cultural Studio for attentively listening to all the versions of my presentations and for all your invaluable feedback, support, and friendship.

Last but not least I would like to thank my brothers and sisters Gisele Hernandez and Jorge González as well as Pascua Chavez, Lucina Aguilar, and Eduardo Sifuentes. I would like to acknowledge their presence and thank them for all the immeasurably positive influences they had— and continue to have— on my life, instilling in me a deep sense of joy both as an educator and as a fellow Juarense.
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CHAPTER 1
SOCIOLINGUISTIC AND SOCIO-HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The sociolinguistic analysis of the Mexican border presented in this dissertation has as its main objective to identify the linguistic strategies used by young women in Ciudad Juárez to express and construct their diverse border identities. The present dissertation research centers on the existence and on the linguistic manifestations of specific sociolinguistic stereotypes that are currently present in Mexico, especially in the U.S.-Mexico border cities of Juárez and El Paso. This research focuses on three distinct social networks of young women that were selected upon observing that there exists marked differences in stylistic practices—both aesthetically and linguistically—based on people’s relationships in Juárez. It is crucial to note that the three social networks under consideration here are not restricted by social class in the traditional sense. This research, then, aims to illustrate how linguistic stylistic practices are bound to “systems of distinction, in which a style contrasts with other social styles, and the social meaning signified by the style contrasts with other social meanings” (Irvine 2001: 22). Therefore, different social networks and their sociolinguistic practices can be better explained in relation to their socioeconomic and geographical spaces that are limited and guided by their particular lifestyles. According to Pierre Bourdieu in his book Distinction, lifestyles belong to “the ‘work of representation’, in which social relationships are constructed, not just reflected. The ‘social space,’ as Bourdieu has called it, is grounded on ‘principles of differentiation;’ thus this space is made of relationships, not of socially constructed groups such as social classes” (Irvine 2001: 23). Consequently, social classes are understood as social categories where people relate to each other but that are not real; hence, social space is organized according to lifestyles even though individuals assume that they choose their preferences (2001).
Lifestyles then encompass complex ideologies of social imaginaries that include particular sociolinguistic practices belonging to systems of distinction. These systems of distinction in the Mexican border are bound to traditional conceptions of Mexican identity as well as to a border regional identity. Both of these identities are presently undergoing significant changes under current socioeconomic models of maximized trade and special circumstances of migratory movements amidst outbreaks of violence. It is against this background that the production of current emergent ideologies underlying people’s linguistic attitudes and behavior are not only linked at the regional and national levels but at the global as well.

Additionally, the particular current social stereotypes expressed in language in Juárez although rooted in social imaginaries also possess gendered and racialized bodily implications. There seems to be a set of non-discrete linguistic elements indexing particular social meanings that allow an individual to create and recreate sociolinguistic performances within a gendered continuum where she or he can exercise his/her agency by expressing in every speech act a type of plural identity (cf. Anzaldúa [1987]2007). These identities are plural in the sense that they possess several elements that could be considered recreations but at the same time could also be original and/or unique and oppose essentialized and/or static conceptions of identity formations. In this same way, racial formations (cf. Omi and Winant 1986)\(^1\) within Mexico and the U.S. play a crucial role in the configuration of these plural identities on the U.S-Mexico border. These plural identities are ethnic in the sense that racial formations produce pervasive material effects to bodies, especially the female body “a potent terrain in political and symbolic struggle at both old borders and new frontiers” (Rosas 2010: 697, cf. Alarcón 1990; Alarcón, Kaplan, and Moallem 1999; Aretxaga 1997; Fregoso 2003; Inda 2002). Thus, ethnicity and language are

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\(^1\) Omi and Winant have used “the term racial formation to refer to the process by which social, economic and political forces determine the content and importance of racial categories, and by which they are in turn shaped by racial meanings” (1986: 61).
always interrelated “in ongoing social change, notwithstanding the continuity and authenticity emphases that both display” (Fishman 1999: 452).

Likewise, a sociolinguistic analysis of these manifestations of plural identities must place (inter)subjectivity at the basis for linguistic variation (cf. Trougott 1989, 2003, 2007, 2009) since these speech acts are also highly dependent on processes at the cognitive level where speakers’ intentions and aims to influence their interlocutors are principal motivators of their acts of identity through language. An analysis that takes into account this type of cognitive processes as well as the social dynamics where they occur is able to connect not only micro and macro social structures, but at many levels of interactions in order to understand current language practices, variation, and change within complex socioeconomic settings as evinced in the U.S.-Mexico border.

1.1 Language and the US-Mexico border

Sociolinguistic research on border situations around the world stresses the need for studying border urban centers, such as on the US-Mexican border, to learn more about the special social dynamics that emerge from the contact of different languages, different ideologies, and different socioeconomic circumstances which characterize some regions (cf. Hinskens et al. 2000; Kallen 2000; Klausmann 2000; Ryckeboer 2000; Miklos 2003; Vandekerckhove 2005; Woolhiser 2007). Political borders are conflict sites where language attitudes, language ideologies, and linguistic identities emerge as products of nation-centralized ideologies that divide or unite the population on both sides of the border according to “the degree of success of national institutions” (Woolhiser 2007: 262). The present dissertation focuses on the Mexican

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2 Traugott (2009) explains that subjectification happens when “meanings are recruited by the speaker to encode and regulate attitudes and beliefs” and intersubjectification occurs when “once subjectified, may be recruited to encode meaning centred on the addressee” (35).
side of a border region between Mexico and the United States; specifically, the Ciudad Juárez – El Paso region.

The Mexican border has been historically viewed by nationalist ideologies\(^3\) as a peripheral region in Mexico, where supposedly people lose their culture and national identity due to their proximity to the United States (Vila 2000, Lugo 2008, see Monsiváis, 1978, 2008), and contact with English. This would explain why people in the City of Juárez, which shares an international border with El Paso, Texas, hold negative attitudes toward their own regional Spanish variety, since it has been influenced by English (due to its daily contact), and look up to the Spanish variety in Mexico City spoken by the educated class, as a symbol of Mexican identity (Hidalgo 1983, 1986, 1988).

On the U.S. side of the border, there are various linguistic studies which have analyzed oral Spanish and English varieties, as well as Spanish-English contact features, of the Southwest region (\textit{e.g.} Espinosa 1915, 1930, 1946, 1985; Rael 1937; Ornstein 1951, 1995; Teschner 1972, 1989; Elías Olivares 1976; Jaramillo and Bills 1982; Amastae and Elías-Olivares 1982; Lope Blanch 1990; García 1993; Lipski and Roca 1993; Galindo 1996; Silva Corvalán 2004; Lipski 2008). The few detailed studies of language use on the Mexican side of the border, on the other hand, reveal the scant attention given to the linguistic and sociolinguistic literature on this border situation. Needless to say, linguistic studies on the City of Juárez, a border town and focus of this study, are few. This small number of studies have analyzed mainly linguistic attitudes in Juárez (Hidalgo 1983, 1986, 1988), morpho-semantic variation on the subject of the locative

\(^3\) A Mexican nationalist ideology has been promoted by the Mexican state since the first part of the 20\(^{th}\) century. (Lugo 2008; Urias Orcasitas 2008).
complement in the verb phrase of motion *pa*(ra) (García 1981), and phonetic variation regarding the use of the phoneme /ʃʃ/ as the allophone [ʃʃ] (Moreno 1979; Amastae 1996).

What is well-known throughout the northern Mexican territory, however, is the extensive use of English borrowings, like *troca* (< Eng. ‘truck’), *porche* (< Eng. ‘porch’), which has propagated to all varieties spoken in the border regions due to their proximity with the U.S. (Moreno 2003), as is also found in the US Southwest variety of Spanish (Espinosa 1915; Hidalgo 1987a, Silva-Corvalán 2004). There have also been studies in lexical regionalisms, for example the words *luz* (literally ‘light’, used for ‘money’), and *lira* (‘a cord instrument used in antiquity’ for ‘guitar’) (Aguilar et al. 1985; cf. Vargas 1997), and the use of the regional *caló*, such as *wachar* (< Eng. ‘watch’) (Barker 1975; Webb 1976; Aguilar et al. 1985; Galindo 1999; García 2005). However, there are some aspects of previous dialectological studies that ought to be taken into account in this study, such as those related to language style among different social groups. Many lexical studies on regional varieties have emphasized lexical items as regional, when they might have a broader distribution (Lipski 1994). Lipski explains this tendency as one derived from the fact that the differentiation of style-shifting in language has often been undermined in dialectal studies in Latin America. As a consequence, these studies have focused on the speech of the less educated speakers when classifying their linguistic features as regional (20). Hence, what the author suggests is the need of a more “Sociolinguistically –motivated dialect classification” that prompts questions concerning social factors and also focus on the diversity found in “vocabulary, intonation and segmental phonetic differences” (32). My doctoral research considers both linguistic variation and social differentiation within a specific sociolinguistic

4 Other related linguistic studies on this Mexican border city include dictionaries, as well as brief descriptions in dialectology books (Aguilar, Cruz, Correa 1985; Lope Blanch 1990; Vargas 1997; Amastae 1996; Moreno de Alba 1999, 2003). Nonetheless, all studies identify this Mexican variety as belonging to the northern-central dialect of the state of Chihuahua (Hidalgo 1983 1986 1987; Lipski 1994; Moreno 1999; Lope Blanch 2000).
methodological approach, in order to include style-shifting, which is characteristic of speakers when in different social contexts.

With respect to attitudes towards language use in the border, studies offer very interesting results. In a study on the relation between national Mexican identity and the use of English in several Mexican border cities, Bustamante (1981) finds that the usage of English was most prevalent in Juárez, although Mexican values and traditions, as well as the use of Spanish, were still essential for Juarenses. This apparent conflict, commonly found in border settings, demonstrates the complex dynamics that linguistic and extra-linguistic factors play in shaping the lifestyles of its inhabitants who struggle to uphold their Mexican identity in a region where two languages, two different cultures, and different ideologies are in contact (and in conflict; Nelde 2001). Sociolinguistic studies remind us that it is in language where expressions of solidarity, identity, cultural values, as well as social differences, are manifested (cf. Labov 1994, 2001; Eckert 2000, 2008b; Mendoza-Denton 2008).

1.1.1 Ciudad Juárez: socio-historical background

The City of Juárez is currently a region of severe social conflict that emerges from extreme economic differentiations, intense migratory flows, and historically specific eruptions of violence that have plagued the city during the last couple of decades. Extreme forms of a new socioeconomic order prevail in Juárez, allowing organized crime to proliferate to such a point that it has now taken control over society (Domínguez and Ravelo 2003), making use of impunity and death to impose a climate of terror that sustains the economy of weapons and is associated to illegal activities involving the traffic of drugs. Thus, it is a profitable system sustained and perpetuated by terror and fear (131). The violence, that includes narco-executions and crimes against women in Juárez, is the product of impunity and the post-neoliberal market as
“victimizing principles” (124). After 1982, Mexico, as well as countries in Latin America had to “re-organize themselves” within local neoliberal models including GATT, NAFTA, CAFTA\(^5\) in order to enable the unrestricted flow of capital and trade through economic and social policies promoting commerce and transnational interests at the expense of their impoverishing populations, “social deracination, cultural decimation, long term resource depletion, and environmental destruction” (Rosas, In press).

In this way, social tensions in Juárez need to be considered not as locally rooted but as byproducts of greater socioeconomic transformations taking place at a worldwide scale. Nevertheless, capitalism and trade are nothing new on Juárez and this border region. Since the 1960’s, the introduction of the assembly factories (\textit{maquiladoras}) in Juárez turned a small town into an accelerated growing industrial city (Lugo 2008).

In the last four decades these important economic and social changes have impacted the border region. Juárez has become an industrial city with an economy largely based on the \textit{maquiladora} industry (Castellanos 1981; González de la Vara 2002, Lugo 2008).\(^6\) As a result, Juárez has witnessed an increase in population in the subsequent three decades (Fernández-Kelley 2007). According to Fernández-Kelly,

> Between 1970 and 1993, maquiladoras expanded rapidly to become the world’s largest export-oriented manufacturing program and Mexico’s second most important source of revenue, trailing only oil production. By the end of the 1990s, more than one million workers nationwide were employed in maquiladoras. Electronics and apparel dominated that sector, but starting in the 1980s complex electronics and auto-transport equipment grew rapidly, partly as a result of the devaluation of the peso. That

\(^5\)GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade), NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement), and CAFTA (Central America Free Trade Agreement).
\(^6\)The \textit{maquiladora} industry was introduced by the Mexican government in 1964 after the ending of the Mexican Farm Labor Program usually called the “bracero program” (Castellanos 1981; González de la Vara 2002, Lugo 2008). In the mid-sixties after the \textit{bracero} program in the U.S. ended, the Mexican government gave many incentives to foreign companies to bring their factories to Mexico. The objective was to help reduce the high unemployment rates in Mexico caused by the massive deportations of Mexicans from the U.S., ensued after the end of the \textit{bracero} program. The Border Industrialization Program (BIP) was implemented in Juarez in 1965 (Fernandez-Kelly 1983). A temporary plan in origin, the Mexican initiative turned into a permanent program, playing a very important role in the development of this border region’s economy.
transformation also brought about the increased employment of men, especially young internal migrants fleeing small agricultural towns in search of better fortune (Fernández-Kelly 2007: 510).

The population of Juárez has grown from 424 thousand inhabitants in 1970 to 1,313 thousand in 2005 (INEGI 2010), increasing at a greater rate than ever before. This has occurred due, in addition, to massive internal migration from other regions of Mexico, which have characterized the end of the 20th century and has been determinant in the redistribution of the Mexican population in the country (CONAPO 2008a). Consequently, migration as a social phenomenon is a defining factor in 21st century Juárez. Many people come to Juárez either to work in the maquiladora or to try to cross the border into the United States. These population movements, however, are composed mainly of individuals with low-schooling and low-paying jobs (CONAPO 2008b), from both the central part of the Mexican territory (CONAPO 2008a: 18) and the more rural northern Mexican region (linked historically to the U.S. Southwest) (18).7

Around 63% of the Juárez population was born in the state of Chihuahua (see Map 1), approximately 33% are from other Mexican states, and 3% are born in other countries, mostly in the United States (Census INEGI 2000). Additionally, 69.7% of all the immigrants entering Mexico come from the United States, signaling that there is a returning migrant community from this northern country (Leite and Acevedo Prieto 2006: 156), suggesting a circular migration. This social situation is relevant for a sociolinguistic study that also takes into consideration the uses of English lexical borrowings and codeswitching.

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7 This northern region is formed by the states of Baja California, Coahuila, Chihuahua, Nuevo León, Sonora y Tamaulipas.
8 However, the authors do not specify the means of transportation of these returning migrants.
1.1.2 The social effects of neoliberalism in Juárez

The complexity of neoliberalism resides on the fact that as an economic system that promotes free trade, it also “values market exchange as an ethic in itself, capable of acting as a guide to all human action… it holds that the social good will be maximized by maximizing the reach and frequency of market transactions, and it seeks to bring all human action into the domain of the market” (Harvey 2005: 3). However, Zermeño notes that countries like Mexico have not completely benefited from what he calls a subordinated globalization (1993, 2005), where the free market with its eradication of tariffs and economic regulations favors transnational capital and powerful companies (Harvey 2005; Rosas In press). As a consequence, neoliberalism has produced a disintegration of most sectors of the Mexican social structure that mediate between societal groups and the state (e.g. unions, universities, autonomous mass media, and social movements, among many others) (Zermeño 1993, 2005). In Juárez, the direct effects of this economic and social re-organization are clearly seen in the growth of the maquiladora
industry in the region and in “the absence of viable workers’ movements aimed at curtailing some of the noxious effects of economic internationalization” (Fernandez-Kelly 2007: 510; cf. Fernandez-Kelly 1983; Lugo 1997, 2008; Salzinger 2003). As a consequence, the social structure of Ciudad Juárez has been seriously affected.

Nonetheless, lower classes have temporarily benefited from the expansion of maquiladoras, since many jobs connected to services and commerce linked to the maquiladora industry, have been created in Juárez (Alegria 1995). Yet, while the region has not suffered a deficiency of jobs due to the maquiladora industry, the unplanned accelerated growth of the city has created irregular urban settlements (colonias/barrios). These settlements are located mostly in the west, southwest, and south of the city where many of them lack various degrees of basic infrastructure, such as gas lines, pavement of streets, water service, or electricity (Cervera Gómez at al. 2005). As a result, the level of social marginalization in the Juárez city landscape is the second highest in the country, for cities larger than one million inhabitants, and surpassed only by Puebla (in the central region of the country), and followed by Tijuana (a border city, neighboring San Diego, California) (AGEB 2000).10

Since the neoliberal policies took place with NAFTA in 1994 these social effects have been intensified. With the introduction and expansion of the maquiladoras in Juárez, there has been a social metamorphosis and particularly there has been a “transformation in gender relations [which] has intensified patriarchy not only in the workplace but also at home and in the larger working-class border society” (Lugo 2008: 88). This has brought about repercussions on the way women from the working class are portrayed; they are depicted as liberal women who have abandoned their traditional roles within the family (Wright 2001, Fregoso 2003, Monárrez

10 This is also proportional to the number of inhabitants per city where according to the AGEB (2000) Puebla has 1,779,912 inhabitants, Juarez has 1,205,723, and Tijuana has 1,177,675.
Fragoso 2009). Fregoso points out to the importance of the Mexican state’s responsibility in the violence committed against women in Juárez, by arguing that the state has being responsible in “creating the conditions of possibility… for the patriarchal expressions of a sexual politics of extermination in the region.” (27). Monárrez Fragoso (2009) observes that femicides in Juárez constitute a social practice of impunity and illegality usually explained in official discourses as “circumstantial” where murdered women are to blame for their own murders. These discourses have served to reinforce the re-construction of traditional parameters of social class in Juárez, and thus, the formation of “proper” and “improper” gender identities not only for less privileged women but for all women in this society (80).

As the main labor force in the *maquiladora* industry, the role of women in this border urban center has been greatly affected in the last decades (Fernández-Kelley 1983, 2007; Lugo 1995; Fregoso 2003; Salzinger 2003). The incorporation of women, especially young women, into the labor force is a contributing factor to the economic improvement at the micro level among families (Ángeles 2008). In addition, many women have become the only financial supporters of their families, “while at the same time attending to domestic labor” (Fernández-Kelly 1983: 15), due to the fact that labor wages for women are lower than for men’s; contesting women’s emancipation against their economic needs and their working and living conditions (see also, Lugo 2008). Specifically in Juárez, a strong social differentiation has emerged among young women into those from the working class (the majority), and those (the minority) who

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11 Oficial discourses in Juarez blame women in causing their own assaults and murders by the way they dress, the time and places they visit and even their own “inmoral behavior” (Wright 2001; Domínguez Ruvalcaba & Ravelo Blancas 2003; Fregoso 2003; Monárrez Fragoso 2009).

12 This reality in the region contrasts with the border identity from upper-middle classes, and the newer bourgeoisie mentioned by Monárrez Fragoso (2009), who traditionally have held a more “Americanized” identity; where middle-class can claim an “American lifestyle, in a milieu where being middle class is frequently equated with being Americanized” (Vila 2000: 8).
study and are financially supported by their (upper) middle class parents, and who are still able to hold traditional women roles in Mexico, like staying at home and taking care of their children.

A study of young women in Ciudad Juárez is then at the heart of social and linguistic tensions in this border region. In Map 2, it can be observed the average of inhabitants in households headed by women in Juárez (Jusidman de Bialostozky et al. 2008). This illustrates the changes in gender roles that this city has been experiencing in the last decades and the social effects of these changes. The darker areas represent the higher percentages of inhabitants and overlaps with areas in the city where there is less infrastructure and greater index of marginality and where most people in the city earn less than 2 times the minimum wage as shown in Map 3 (AGEB 2008; Jusidman de Bialostozky et al. 2008).

1.1.3 Mexican border and Mexican identity

The border between Mexico and the United States has been largely studied specifically within Latina/o, Chicana/o, and border studies, focusing on the U.S. side of the border, a fact that
has minimized the material and cultural aspects of the Mexican side of the border. The notion of the border has acquired much recognition in academic work since the mid-eighties in the U.S. A major transformation in border studies and border theory has taken place in the last years, including perspectives “from sociology, anthropology, and economics and their emphasis on empirical research to literary criticism and its emphasis on theory” (Vila 2003:306). However, a range of Mexican scholars studying the Mexican side of the border “do not feel represented by the border as it is portrayed by current mainstream U.S.-based border studies and theory” (Vila 2003: 309). This reality has serious consequences for any border study, not only because of the exclusion factor, but more importantly because of the failure to reach a deeper theoretical analysis (Mckee Irwing 2001). Following a “decolonizing discourse about border gnosis” from Mignolo, Mckee Irwing observes that “incorporating Mexican perspectives into discussions of the border and intercultural relations between the United States and Mexico challenges implicit hierarchies that go beyond those of economics, technology, and military might, entering the realms of academics and publishing, the production of knowledge’s” (510).

The sociolinguistic analysis of the Mexican border presented in this dissertation has as main objective to identify the linguistic strategies used by young women in Ciudad Juárez to express and construct their many border identities. I start with the main elements that have been part of the Mexican national identity formation. This is relevant for the present study since the use of Spanish in Juárez has proven to correlate with sentiments of unity and fostering of a Mexican identity that transcends local regions. At the same time, proper border elements, such the use of English is also associated to border life where citizens feel comfortable with being bilingual (as long as they do not mix the two languages, which is considered a threat towards their Mexican identity) (Hidalgo 1983).

As regards to nationalist ideologies and the Mexican identity, mainstream intellectuals in Mexico have long remained within what is understood as “coloniality of power.”\textsuperscript{14} As Arteaga (1994) has observed, in post-colonial settings, as in Latin America, there exists a “self-imposed subjectionification. The marginal ‘other’ auto-colonizes himself and herself each time the hegemonic discourse is articulated” (16).

Thus, in Octavio Paz’ ([1950] 2004) well known essay \textit{El Pachuco y Otros Extremos}, (included in his most recognized \textit{The Laberinth of Solitude}), the author says of the \textit{pachuco} (a border individual with specific linguistic and social features which emerged in the 1940s) that

the pachuco denies the society which he comes from and the North American one as well… he throws himself into the exterior but not to assimilate with his surroundings but instead to challenge it. [this is] a suicidal gesture since the “pachuco” does not assert anything, does not defend anything, except his exasperated will of not-being (19-20 my translation).\textsuperscript{15}

The Pachuco described by Paz here does not possess any agency or resilience (see also Bartra 1992). Paz, defined as many as within the “coloniality of power,” since he has been a representation of Mexican hegemonic literary discourse (see Limón 1989; see De Genova 2005), has also written about \textit{la Malinche}, one of Paz’ most confrontational essays (\textit{Los Hijos de la Malinche}). Here he defines \textit{la Malinche} as “\textit{la chingada}”, that is, as the traitor that gave herself to the Spanish conqueror. Gloria Anzaldúa later took and reclaimed Paz’ description and connected it to the female gender and to ethnicity when Anzaldúa describes \textit{Malinche}’s act as “the worst kind of betrayal” since it “lies in making us believe that the Indian woman in us is the betrayer…Not me sold out my people but they me” (1983: 22).

\textsuperscript{14} Mignolo (2000) states that colonialism or the “colonial period”, as the Peruvian Anibal Quijano (2001) observes, must not be confused with “coloniality,” and that without thinking in terms of “coloniality power” we cannot understand “the nation building that followed” the colonialism in the nineteenth century in most Latin American countries (2000: 50). I believe that the Mexican-based analysis on the border must be done under this approach.

\textsuperscript{15} “el pachuco… niega a la sociedad de que procede y a la norteamericana…. Se lanza al exterior, pero no para fundirse con lo que lo rodea, sino para retarlo. Gesto suicida, pues él “pachuco” no afirma nada, no defiende nada, excepto su exasperada voluntad de no-ser” (19-20).
Monsiváis, another Mexican scholar, has also talked about border and hybrid identities in a similar light, referring to its “lack of culture” (1978). Monsiváis remains within a “coloniality of power” in his description of the state of culture and Spanish in Mexico,

*For the first time* the change in language is ostensible, which in the past has depended upon rural traditions and its urban modifications; however, today it is subjected to vocabulary from the English language. Whether we wanted or not, and most likely we do, language in the near future will be the Spanish modified by its daily contact with English. The Spanglish is the language of the future, and it is currently already the language of the (auto) privileged classes; although, they make themselves understood through a language that is equidistant from both English and Spanish” (Monsiváis 2008: 26 my translation and emphasis).

He describes a “cultural integration” occurring within Mexico, not as an “organized project”, but as a consequence of “Americanization,” especially in the youth, who are conceived by Monsiváis, as automats submerging in a technological alienation without questioning or constructing any form of subversion to react against this oppressive “lack of future.” Quijano (2001) has argued, however, that the dominated ones are not passive and soon learn how to subvert impositions, first by giving new and different meanings to foreign symbols and images, and by later transforming themselves through the reorganization and insertion of their own symbols and meanings (see also Abu-Lughod 1990). The use of English borrowings, then, is of special interest, since they can have different referential and social meanings to different groups within the Juarense society.

Valenzuela (1988), who has studied *cholos*, *punks*, and *chavos banda* on the Mexican side of the border, suggests that language policies on both sides of the border have been imposed

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16 “*por vez primera* es ostensible el cambio en el habla, antes atenido a las tradiciones del campo y sus modificaciones urbanas, y hoy *sojuzgada* por los vocablos provenientes del inglés. Se quiera o no, y lo más probable es que se quiera, el habla de los años próximos será el español modificado a diario por el inglés. El espanglish es idioma del porvenir y ya es hoy el de las clases (auto) privilegiadas, aunque éstas se dan a entender en un habla equidistante del inglés y del español” (2008: 26, my emphasis).  
17 Quijano here gives the example of religious syncretic symbols in Christian churches and rituals.  
18 *Cholos* is the term used to call gang members in Mexico, specifically in border cities such as Juárez. *Punk* and *chavos banda* are other names to call urban social groups aesthetically distinguishable in Mexico as well (Valenzuela1988).
in order to dominate any marginal minority’s sense and expression of belonging (99-100). Caló, for example, has long been branded as the language of criminals and delinquents, as well as a symbol of lack of culture and education on both sides of the U.S-Mexico border (Webb 1968; Ornstein 1951; Valenzuela Arce 1988; Ornstein-Galicia 1995; Ortega 1977, 1991). Without ignoring social problems, Valenzuela stresses a focus on the causes and origins of these problems. These origins can be traced to differences between the poor and those in power, differences that are rooted in ideologies regarding ethnicity within “coloniality of power.” Quijano observes that the organization of supremacy among the dominators and “the others” was established since the colonial times in America based on racist ideologies brought from Spain. These ideologies of race existed since the “guerras de reconquista” in the Iberian Peninsula, and the conquest of the Amerindian territories (Quijano 2001:120; see also Stallaert 2006). Colonizers labeled the identity of the “other” as indios, which implicated the suppression and elimination of their original identities like the Mayas, Aztecs, Incas, Aymaras, and many others, as well as “negros” for all the African peoples, Congos, Boccongos, Mandingas, Yorubas, Ashantis, etc. (120-121). Consequently, this organization preserved and reduced the rural, illiterate masses within sub-cultures, which were prevented to keep or produce new forms of visual and plastic expressions to develop their own cultural experience (122). Quijano’s arguments become more evident in research dealing with social configurations in the study of the U.S.-Mexico border.

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19 The distribution of identities included the ones designed for these “others” in contrast to Europeans as “whites” and the descendent of the mixture of European and Amerindian as “mestizos” (121).
The northern territories, where Juárez is located, have remained very heterogeneous (Walsh 2004). This led to the social general acceptance in Mexico of the whiteness of the north, adding to upper-class Chihuahuans’ misconceptions of their societal place within Mexico.

What's more, there was a common belief of racial purity inherited from Spaniards, which led Chihuahua’s aristocracy to claim racial superiority. This attitude became prominent during the Porfiriato (1913-1930) (Macias-González 1995), where middle and upper classes comprised a selective group that practiced highly refined bourgeois lifestyles and that shared a racist ideology. This stratum of Chihuahua’s society never mixed with peasants or southern immigrants that came from the states of Zacatecas or Durango (Macías-González 1995). Then, by the time of the Mexican Revolution, in early 20th century, “counterracial mythologies” developed and the Indigenist movement was born. However, this Indigenist movement did not try to improve the social and economic conditions of the numerous Indian groups, but led, instead, to a romanticization of the Indians as a glory of the past. This constructed the mestizos’ imaginary and gave them the protagonist role for the Mexican success (Alonso 2004). Then, the ruling class in Mexico was able to consolidate its power after the Revolution throughout a “new form of nationalism” that promoted procedures of homogenization and “racial depuration” (Urias Horcasitas 2007: 19).  

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20 “Indians, particularly Apaches, have been vilified in Chihuahua’s history; … In fact, a number of campaigns were undertaken during the initial period of Spanish settlement in the region on Chihuahua City to rid the area of an indigenous population… The Church, as well, assisted in the creation of this Chihuahua Apartheid by concentrating Native Americans in regions distant from “White” settlements” (Macias-González 1995: 30).

21 In addition, Urias Horcasitas observes that the “eugenic mestizaje” in Mexico was carried out through policies that promoted immigration of the “right” racial groups that could improve the Mexican population through racial “whitening.” Moreover, this ideology based on eugenic notions of race also proposed a “state-based” vision on the reproductive role of women, where the unfinished topic regarding the legalization of abortion, among all other forms of control of reproduction and women’s health was also subject to the privileged ideology that conceived women’s
Manuel Gamio, one of the main leaders of the indigenism movement,\textsuperscript{22} greatly contributed to reinforcing the racial social imaginary when writing that “… the North was whiter and more progressive than the rest of the country” (Walsh 2004:138), later echoed in other authors that have focused on the racist attitudes in this region (Rénique 2003, Rosas 2007, In press).\textsuperscript{23} The formation of the \textit{mestizo}, as the national/racial prototype, and the \textit{mestizo} identity has densely merged with eugenic beliefs in relation to the superiority of whites, especially in the north where Mexico’s post-revolutionary national identity developed as a product of the construction of regional, racial, and gender identities, provoked by a state policy and cultural movement (2003: 213).

Chihuahuans have been type-casted by outsiders as whiter people of tough, tenacious character. In fact, people from Chihuahua take pride in considering themselves strong as they have historically survived harsh climates and resisted violent enemies without any central government aid (Vila 2000). People in the northern states have always rivaled those of Mexico City, because they have been left on their own, due to distance, isolation, and mostly due to centralist policies (Gozález de la Vara 2002; Macías-González 1995). Therefore, in Enrique Krauze’s (1985) idealized perception, people from Chihuahua reflect

\textsuperscript{22} The main intellectual leaders of this Indigenist movement were José Vasconcelos and Manuel Gamio (Stepan, 1991; Alonso 2004; Walsh 2004). They based their ideas mainly in Lamarck (Walsh, 2004:129). These Mexican intellectuals were both influenced by Eugenics but at the same time were reacting against it. Vasconcelos crystallized the ideal of “mestizaje” and created a Mexican mythology mainly with his essay “La Raza Cósmbica” among other work (Stepan 1991:147). Manuel Gamio shared a very similar view with Vasconcelos regarding mestizaje. In Walsh’s terms, “Gamio was an intellectual who gave voice to more generalized currents of thinking about acculturation, development, space, and social engineering” (2004: 138). More important for the purpose of this paper is that Gamio, in his work “Forjando Patria,” placed the northern mestizo as the “real protagonist” in the development of Mexico (Alonso, 2004; Walsh, 2004).

\textsuperscript{23} … such as Sonora’s (in the north west) dreadful forms of racism against the Chinese in the 1920s and 30s (Rénique 2003).
a violent tradition; a deep emotional state of isolation; visualizing life as a challenge; a culture formed mostly by criollos, secular, liberal; an ancestral autonomy; a loyalty towards their Spanish cultural roots which due to its nature and consistency facilitates commerce with the Anglo-Saxon without losing their soul; a very old resentment against central power that almost falls in a racial hate towards everything that comes from the south… an instrumental (criollo) concept of power and authority that is not mystic (mestizo or indigenous); a white history of courage and bravery… the Mexican Revolution image as an open process in which Chihuahua has contributed with strength and initiative (Krauze 1985: 35-36, my translation).24

Following Alonso (1988 cited in Macías-González 1995: 23), Macías-González observes that modern nation-states serve of different kinds or coercive tools in integrating populations and resources from peripheral zones “distributing them according to the dominant epistemological model,” a process that has been described as a “civilizing mission” where state discourses are imposed in this intent to appropriation of the periphery (23-24). However, this historical centrally constructed discourse is not completely accepted by the periphery; and in this way in spite of being ostracized by hegemonic discourses, there appear “subaltern histories” that question official accounts and “in doing so, historical truth emerges as a negotiated reality questioned and open to interpretation” (24). According to this author, Chihuahuans have then constructed a complex identity reflected in behaviors that diverge from the official stereotypical provincial descriptions of a schizophrenic identity of civilized-barbaric people, and that for this reasons it needs to be further explored.

The relevance of these ideological facts in Mexico in relation to this doctoral investigation is that years of “coloniality of power” as well as indoctrination of the population regarding their Mexican mestizo identity on behalf of the Mexican government have modeled a social “mestizo imaginary” contributing to the national Mexican identity. A more ethnographic

24 Una tradición violenta; un profundo sentido de aislamiento; la vision de la vida como un desafío; una cultura básicamente criolla, laica, liberal; un autonomismo ancestral; una fidelidad a la raíz cultural española, que por su misma naturalidad y consistencia permite el comercio con lo anglosajón sin implicar, al mismo tiempo, la pérdida del alma; un resentimiento antiguo frente al poder central que fácilmente se traduce en un odio casi racial contra todo lo que llega del sur… un concepto instrumental (criollo) y no místico (mestizo o indio) del poder y la autoridad; una historia blanca de coraje y valor… la imagen de la Revolución Mexicana como un proceso abierto, al que Chihuahua aportó la iniciativa y la fuerza… (35-36).
and linguistic study, as the research presented in this dissertation, will reveal an even more complex identity formation in Juárez, uncovered by language uses in light of the presence of marginal masses (mostly lower class migrants from the region and from the south, which contrast with the “mestizo imaginary” and the “whiter north”), and of the socio-economic changes that have modified the social structure of Juárez. Juarenses’s language use and language attitudes within certain social groups, illustrate a strong regional struggle within a particular material reality product of current socio-economic and political transformations due to post-neoliberal structures.

1.1.4 Language ideologies

Research in language ideology has offered helpful theoretical instruments “for better relating often simultaneous and pervasive processes of linguistic nationalism and the production of social inequality” (Kroskrity 2000: 28). Kroskrity suggests that acknowledgment of the multiple indexicality of many linguistic and discursive forms allows the analyst to see that, through ideological fractalization effects, the same linguistic signs or discourse practices can be indexically linked by speakers to more than one group, at varying degrees of abstraction and inclusion, and at multiple sites of use and levels of awareness (Kroskrity 2000: 28).

In this way, it is important to search for ideologies in terms of boundaries and dissimilarities and the way these supply for language change (Irvine and Gal 2000). There are political consequences for the way certain ideologies of language are taken into practice. Irvine and Gal elaborate on the notion that “people have, and act in relation to, ideologically constructed representations of linguistic differences. In these ideological constructions, indexical relationships become the ground on which other sign relationships are built” (2000: 37).

25 Here, these authors follow Peirce’s semiotic approach of the iconic, the indexical, and the symbolic.
26 Some social science scholars like sociolinguists, feminists, anthropologists, and historians are trying to increase awareness of reductive ideological as well as philosophical epistemologies and that have proposed postcolonial approaches (cf. Krishnaswamy & Hawley 2008) like “decolonial imaginary” (cf. Perez) or “coloniality of power” (cf. Quijano 2001).
Research in language use within interactions of young women must take into account ideologies that serve as fundamentals of social meaning in relation to power structures, racial formations, gender, and sexuality, and that are then recreated and reproduced within discourse and particular linguistic elements.

In this manner, sociolinguistic ideologies in this dissertation have to do with a focus on stylistic variation. This study is interested in the expression and construction of speech styles as indexes of identities in different social groups of young women of Juárez. As Irvine suggests, styles cannot be analyzed on their own, we need to look at how they contrast, to seek for their boundaries, similarities, and the relationships among each other (2001). Accordingly, “the relationships among styles are ideologically mediated,” since indexes of social meaning “must partake in participants’ understandings of their social world and the semiotic resources available in it” (23). Ideologies are then part of these systems of representations that inform any social act including speaking (2001). I will elaborate on a focus on style in this sociolinguistic research in the following section.

1.2 Language, gender and identity formations

This dissertation should be considered within the line of study of language as a social practice, which is considered the third wave of variationist research. According to Eckert (2009), research in language variation can be now mapped into three waves of analysis. The first wave encompasses correlations between linguistic variables and the macro-sociological categories like class, sex, age, etc. These studies have much showed that there are clear patterns in language use that correlate with this social classifications; nevertheless, these type of researches seemed limited to explain language variation when more current ethnographic studies started to show the
shortcomings of having pre-established static social categories. Below I briefly explain this and other entailed limitations in first wave variationist studies.

1.2.1 Previous research and first wave studies in language variation

Since the late 1960s, “quantitative variationist methodology (sometimes also called the quantitative paradigm or variationist theory)” became the main research methodology within sociolinguistics (Romaine 2008: 98). This corresponds to what Eckert calls the first wave on variationist studies (2009). Labov’s study of New York City in 1966 modeled a methodology that involved the selection of easily quantifiable linguistic elements, like phonological variables. (2008: 99). This work showed that stigmatized, non-standard forms are used in more informal styles, within lower classes and also among men more than women. Thus, within the Labovian framework, gender has been considered a more predictable social factor where women tend to use more prestige forms than men in changes from above (Labov 1972, 2001; Trudgill 1974). Many of these studies report that, contrary to men, women tend to over-report their use of standard forms when asked about their own usage of prestige forms (Coates 1993).

Another fundamental contribution to the study of language variation with a focus on language and gender is Lakoff’s work (1972, 1975) which have created much debate, although it has been groundbreaking and very influential in consecutive studies in language and gender (Bucholtz, 2004). This earlier research focused on differences between women’s and men’s speech, and posited that these different ways of speaking are a reflection and a product of power relations where women occupy the subordinate position in society. According to Lakoff, women’s language is full of expressions that keep them in a powerless position, such as the use of particular hedges, rising intonation when using tag questions, hypercorrect forms, among others (2004: 78-79). Some of Lakoff’s arguments have been based on theories of politeness,
such as the claim that women also use more indirect language forms and *superpolite* language like hypercorrect grammatical forms and avoid the use of improper expressions (2004: 80).

Because quantitative variationist studies prevailed in sociolinguistics, these claims were widely challenged: “… the issue was to put Lakoff’s linguistic claims to the empirical test” (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003: 1). Studies were carried out in order to observe if women really used more tag questions than men (cf. Dubois and Crouch 1975). Precht’s 2008 study on informal conversation (2008) finds similar frequencies among men and women, suggesting new directions in this field of study.

Two main paradigms have emerged in response to Lakoff’s work, known as “the *difference* and the *dominance* approaches” (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003: 1). The *dominance* approach puts men’s dominance as the source of men and women different ways of speaking. The *difference* approach argues that men and women experience different subcultures (Tannen 1994). For Tannen, the context is crucial and differences cannot be generalized; thus she also uses other specific frameworks like *power and solidarity* in her research within discourse analysis in order to show how linguistic strategies might be used to express solidarity or power. In the *dominance* framework, interruptions between men and women have been studied (see Zimmerman and West 1975). However, later studies have also shown how power can also work inversely when men are in the subordinate position. This research has found that men were using language forms that were formerly attributed to women’s language (see O’Barr and Atkins’s 1980). These findings led some scholars in the 1980s to argue that the study of *language and gender* was not being improved by this polarization of *difference-dominance* frameworks.

In this way, different researchers in sociolinguistics, language variation and language and gender questioned the “simplistic operationalization” of the fixed social categories like class and
sex (Romaine 2008: 109; Bucholtz and Hall 2008; Eckert 2008a). Bucholtz and Hall add that a main negligence in sociolinguistics is the issue of social meaning, a subject that Penelope Eckert addresses in much of her work (2008: 409). Social meaning refers to part of the processes in which people index their belonging to specific social configurations related to gender, social class, ethnicity, race, age, etc.; thus, social meaning is intimately related to cultural values and ideologies like nationalities and religion, which constitute a set of socially constructed knowledge understood by the group in which is produced. These means of indexing social meaning could then include language as well as other elements of aesthetic expression like fashion or commodities (cf. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003).

Eckert stresses that what researchers’ quantitative variationist theory has disregarded is the importance of speakers’ construction of social meanings (2008a, 2009). The idea is that social categories should not be considered as stable categories, but rather as more fluid characteristics that are indicators of specific social meanings of people’s life styles and social practices (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003: 293).

### 1.2.2 Current studies in language variation and Sociolinguistics

According to Eckert (2009) the second wave in variationist studies entails more ethnographic methodology. Nevertheless, in both first wave and second wave of research, variables are seen as markers of these social categories. Therefore, Eckert’s more recent theoretical contributions, as well as her more empirical work, questions previous assumptions within the field of language variation and sociolinguistics and instigates on a new discussion regarding social variables. In what she calls the third wave of variationist research, based on Silverstein’s concept of indexical order (2003), Eckert has proposed the notion of indexical

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27 Eckert (2008a) mentions that “The distinction between sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology became an issue as the quantitative study of variation gained hegemony in sociolinguistics, subordinating the examination of the social to questions of linguistic theory and to the needs of regression analysis” (453).
value of linguistic variables (2008: 463). This indexical value would be always available for reinterpretation; thus variables would always have “ever-changing” indexical values. For Eckert, variables “take place within a fluid and ever-changing ideological field, and indexical field,” (464) where a social meaning can be activated for certain purposes and in specific localized uses of the variable.

Hence, Eckert observes that current studies in the field of language variation\(^{28}\) must analyze speaking in the world in a “social landscape” that is constructed through “the segmentation of the social terrain;” and in this way, the “linguistic landscape” is constructed by a “segmentation of the linguistic practices in that terrain” (2008a: 455). Through the analysis of social practices in general we can identify the different levels of the social and linguistic terrains, and these areas are signaled by style. Accordingly, social groups in American highschools such as “cowboys” or “jocks,” bring our attention to the social terrain that is in addition signaled by a linguistic style (456). Thus, analyses of linguistic styles allow us to interpret the linguistic variables that are produced as elements of particular social styles. Eckert understands social style as “persona style” which entails a particular “way of being” signaled by other stylistic elements like clothing or other commodities (including language as well); and ideology would be then at the center of this stylistic linguistic and social practices (2008a).

This third wave sociolinguistic theoretical framework, as Penelope Eckert has called it (2009), also considers the notion of *communities of practice* (Davies 2005) which has been defined as “groups that come together around some mutual interest or concern: families, workplace groups, sport teams, musical groups, classrooms, playground groups, and the like” (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003: 5). According to these authors, *communities of practice*

\(^{28}\) For the purpose of this dissertation I am not going to differentiate or to develop the history of studies in language variation, sociolinguistics, language and gender and linguistic anthropology. I will only mention that all these studies have undergone an evolution that could be mapped into these three waves in general terms.
comes as an alternative to the speech community notion which centers on common practices within a community that are limited geographically as well as socially; nevertheless this limits are sometimes unclear. Thus, communities of practice is the level where we will find “that ways of speaking are the most closely coordinated” (2003:57).

1.2.3 Current studies in language and gender

Another fundamental concept that this dissertation considers from these current studies in language variation and sociolinguistics is a focus on gender. Lately sociolinguistics and specifically the study of language and gender have been influenced by poststructuralist feminist theory that takes into account the theory of gender performativity (cf. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003; see Butler 1990). Gender performativity understands gender as socially constructed, that is, in constant development due to various effects of practices and interactions that reflect stylistic perceptions and productions. Following Butler (1990), Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003) suggest that there is no such thing as a “core” gender identity that produces a person’s gendered behavior. That gendered behavior is just an illusion of a “core” male or female identity. Judith Butler argued that “gender is not something we are born with, and not something we have, but something we do... something we perform” (cited in Eckert and McConell-Ginet 2003: 10; see Butler 1990). This means that people in our society would be in general conformed into either the male, or female; thus, gendered performances become accessible to everybody, but there are also social constrains for each of them; and in this way society tries to align modes of

29 Here the authors acknowledge West and Zimmerman (1987).
30 Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003) mention that according to Blackless et al. (2000) “1 in 100 babies are born with bodies that differ from standard male or female... [then] When “anomalous” babies are born, surgical and/or endocrinal manipulations may be used to bring their recalcitrant bodies into closer conformity with either the male or the female category. Common medical practice imposes stringent requirements for male and female genitals at birth – a penis that is less than 2.5 centimeters long are both commonly subject to surgery in which both are reduced to an “acceptable” sized clitoris (Dreger 1998)” (11). The authors also comment here that more males are transformed into females since “the standards of acceptability are far more stringent for male genitals than female” (11). Also see Butler (1990, 2004).
behavior with biological categories (2003: 10). Right before moving to junior highschool, boys and girls show a change in their behavior when they start pairing together in what is called the heterosexual market (Eckert 1996; Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003; Eckert 2008b). This heterosexual market will set gender parameters and define boys’ and girls’ appropriate behavior within society’s norms. This market then, does not account for non heterosexual identities like “gay” or “lesbian” since every deviant behavior is marginalized (2003: 27).

McElhinny provides details of how the view of gender in post-structuralism leads to challenge social norms of sex and gender, and shows how gender is constructed and under which political interests (2008). Several studies in gender have been done recently within marginalized groups of gender construction and this has been criticized since it diverges from the majority of people’s experiences. However, McElhinny explains that these attacks miss the main point of these studies, which is to challenge general views on gender that would otherwise remain invisible if they were not questioned.31

In addition, some of these studies have shown how some groups that supposedly lead the norms are also constrained by them. A clear example is a study of the conversation between two college men analyzed by Cameron (1997). In her research five men were recorded while they were watching a basketball game. Along the conversation these men were gossiping about “…the class where ‘everybody is a homo or a dike’” (52). This conversation shows how men’s anxieties about not being heterosexual enough lead them to perform their masculinities by labeling their classmates as “gay.” What is interesting is that these young men did not even base their commentaries towards their classmates on sexual orientation but solely on clothing, speech and behavior that was not considered masculine enough. Cameron’s study shows how men in

31 For instance, Marxist theories have already done this when confronting workers claims of exploitation against elite groups.
certain situations make use of discourse strategies that have been long attributed to women’s speech, like gossiping, which in this case serves as solidarity by making the “other” an outsider. Thus, cooperative language (which includes hedges, simultaneous speech, and recycling of lexical items, among other characteristics) (Coates 1989), is being reinterpreted in the present dissertation study more as an in-group marker. Cameron also states that one of the advantages of a post-modernist approach based on a performative model is that “it acknowledges the instability and variability of gender identities, and therefore of the behavior in which those identities are performed” (1997: 49).

In this same manner, another very important point that becomes crucial in this dissertation is the fact that gender and feminist studies focused on language have moved away from frameworks that see women as victims of the heteropatriarchal power of language and they are now considered as dynamic users that disrupt these parameters of power, “interrupt the dominant discourse and subversive identities break through” (Bucholtz 1999: 6). Bucholtz also observes how the two main groundbreaking works are those of Gloria Anzaldúa and Judith Butler and particularly for studies in language and gender and in relation to identity formations. Anzaldúa’s women of color, who face many forms of power, occupy numerous identity positions which present multiple voices as well. For Anzaldúa women of color have been subjected to multiple indoctrinations, they have a plural personality. As she observes, “we are your linguistic nightmare, your linguistic aberration, your linguistic mestizaje, the subject of your burla.

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32 Cooperative language has also been described as prominent in informal speech between female friends (Coates 1989).

33 Another argument regarding why the notion of gender must be carefully understood within different frameworks, warns that gender must not be assumed to be always relevant and salient (McElhinny’s 2008). Hence, regardless of how gender is conceived and regardless of whether gender is relevant or not in specific contexts, there is one crucial point that most current studies in language and gender have made. Gender is a socially constructed category that constitutes a fundamental element in how society is organized. As Holmes and Meyerhoff (2008) suggest, “no matter what we say about the inadequacy or invidiousness of essentialized, dichotomous conceptions of gender, and no matter how justifiable such comments may be, in everyday life it really is often the case that gender is “essential” (9).
Because we speak with tongues of fire we are culturally crucified. Racially, culturally and
linguistically *somos huérfanos* - we speak an orphan tongue” (Anzaldúa 2007: 80). Anzaldúa,
confronts social hierarchies and legitimizes “linguistic aberrations” like “Tex-Mex,” “Spanglish,”
or what is better known as codeswitching varieties; thus, she rebels against hegemonic language
ideologies and she privileges “agency, choice, and voice” replacing previous feminist focus on
“passivity, oppression, and silence” (1999:6). The perspective taken in this dissertation
emphasizes the fact that participants in the study live in a complex and conflicted geographical
region where different language and varieties, different ideologies and identities are in contact,
and therefore their study must receive special attention.

Hence, this research considers third wave studies, and follows Anzaldúa’s proposal of
plural personalities, numerous identity positions and multiple voices. Moreover, it focuses on
stylistic practices within the study of language and gender, which are conceptualized as
essentially rooted in social practices which entail meaning derived from different social activities
(see Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003, Eckert 2009). This dissertation, focuses on young
women’s social relations and their networks since much research in language variation and
language and gender has found that the use of specific linguistic forms serve as indexes of
specific identities as stylistic practices in relation to gender (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003;
Bucholtz and Hall 2008; Romaine 2008).

1.3 Identity construction through stylistic practices in language

Recently, considerable research has studied identity construction through language from
the perspective of current discussions in *language and gender* that involve social theories of
*performativity* (cf. Butler 1991; Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003), in addition to others
concerning emergent youth cultures, gender, and ethnicity that articulate interactions between
local forces as well as globalization (Miller 2004; Roth-Gordon 2007; Su 2008; Skapoulli 2009; Wiese 2009).

Some work in gender identity has been done in particular social contexts such as among mothers and caregivers (Ochs 1999); or in working places (Holmes and Schnurr 2006), and through different strategies such as teasing at work (Schnurr 2009). There also have been studies regarding language identity, gender roles and ethnicity in language maintenance (Skapoulli 2009). Regarding ethnic identities, Shenk (2007) examines the construction of “authentic” Mexican identities in a group of bilingual Mexican American young friends through authenticating discourse. She finds that ideological “prerequisites” like “pure blood, birthplace, and language fluency” serve to claim authenticity in this group (214). Eckert (2008b) also conducted an ethnographic study regarding ethnolects (cf. Carlock and Wölck 1981)\(^{34}\) and gender indexicality\(^{35}\) among different subgroups of two Northern California elementary schools. Based on her findings she suggests that distinct linguistic ethnic varieties like Chicano English and Anglo English in California must not be considered as mutually exclusive. On the other hand, Eckert observes that the California shift is probably motivated by identity reproductions within and across both Chicano and Anglo communities. In this manner, California white Anglo English and Chicano English are being constructed collectively by a population that even though is ethnically divided, Anglo and Chicano children in these schools are in constant contact “and

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\(^{34}\) According to Eckert the term “ethnolect is generally reserved for varieties of a majority language that have been modified through a period of bilingualism in an immigrant community” (2008b: 25; cf. Carlock and Wölck 1981; Clyne 2000).

\(^{35}\) Eckert based on Silverstein’s (2003) notion of indexical order, also suggests that “the meanings of variables are not precise or fixed but rather constitute a field of potential meanings – an indexical field, or constellation of ideologically related meanings, any one of which can be activated in the situated use of the variable” (2008: 454). Indexicality refers to potential meanings of variables; thus, the “simple association [of a variant] with a category of speakers is what Michael Silverstein (2003) has termed first order indexicality. First order indexicality renders the linguistic feature in question available for association with stereotypes associated with the category. The minute such an association materializes in practice—as soon as speakers begin to use a feature to signal something associated with the category—the feature becomes a second order index (2008b: 28).
become part and parcel of a broader peer culture, in which social, cultural and linguistic resources are on the table for all to interpret, consider, and possibly use” (40-41).

Other research focus on ideology negotiation among teenage girls in Cyprus regarding current global changes (Skapoulli 2009). Skapoulli suggests that gender ideologies are now being linked to globalized processes including migration and the increasing presence of a youth popular culture and how this creates challenges for young girls regarding their sexual practices and moral character. Hence, young girls from particular eastern European countries are morally and sexually stigmatized; thus, in order to defy verbal harassment, some of these young women signal assertiveness and agency by reproducing overtly sexual identities (Skapoulli 2009).

Moreover, Wiese discusses grammatical innovation of some phonological/phonetic and lexical influences from migrant languages as well as morpho-syntactic reductions and simplifications in a group of adolescents of multiethnic migrant contexts in urban European centers. He provides evidence that shows how social forces are in some instances more influential than linguistic ones regarding the linguistic productivity of these adolescents (Wiese 2009).

Regarding intonation, it has been observed that speakers can control their pitch range (Liberman and Pierrrehumbert 1984) and their pitch span within particular social contexts (Ladd 2008). Gussenhoven observes that there are “three inherent features of the speech-production mechanism which affect vibration rates” (2004: 76-77). These are: the size of larynxes which leads to the frequency code, the “generation of the air pressure driving the vibratory action is tied to the exhalation phase of the breathing process, and hence becomes available in phases, which is called the effort code, and when “the speech production process may be executed with greater or lesser precision,” called the production phase code (79). Concerning socially controlled uses of the frequency code, Gussenhoven mentions that people will express in their voice, their
perceptions of social elements, including gender, and other characteristics such as “type of vocal fold vibration” as breathy and creaky voice, formant frequencies,\(^{36}\) and fundamental frequency (81). Thus, for example, while men will produce lower average formant frequencies than women due to their longer vocal tracts, speech communities differ in the social meaning and importance they provide to gender difference. This suggests that one (or both) gender performances might well exaggerate the effect. As a result, there are several studies that have addressed this kind of social variation in intonation in different languages and language varieties.

Henton and Bladon’s (1988) study in British English describes creaky voice as a male speech marker. Other studies have found differences in pitch levels, like Scherer (1979) who finds that American men have lower pitch levels than German men. Ohara (1992, 1999) found a higher pitch among Japanese women in comparison to American women. The same way, bilingual women produced higher F0 when speaking in Japanese than when using English; in contrast, bilingual men did not vary their pitch across languages. Thus, Ohara concludes that “the results of differences across language and gender could be best explained in terms of culture” (2004: 224).\(^{37}\) She then compares the natural speech of four native speakers of Japanese, two women and two men, working in Hawaii. She analyzed these participants’ speech in different social contexts. Ohara finds that both males and women use high pitch levels; she finds that “sharp rises and falls in voice pitch can be used for emphasis” in specific parts of an utterance (2004: 233). This shows that men and women use language in a dynamic manner; in other words, they are social actors who strongly monitor the particulars of their group interactions (2004: 236). Moreover, female speakers show a variety of pitch levels. They produced a higher pitch

\(^{36}\)“as a result of vocal-tract manipulations like lip rounding, nasalization, habitual tongue posture, and pharyngeal constriction” (81).

\(^{37}\)Furthermore, Ohara (2004) states that these results have been also supported by data on the perception of voice pitch in Japanese (see Ohara 1993, 1997; van Bezooijen 1995, 1996; quoted in Ohara 2004: 224).
when speaking to customers than when speaking to acquaintances; this implies the use of higher pitch for politeness.

Other studies in Japanese have also shown how high pitched voice has been associated with femininity and stereotypes of femininity. Miller (2004) gives account of the burikko or hyper feminine behavior among Japanese women and its connection to the falsetto voice or high pitch and nasalization in order to conform to prescribed cultural norms of femininity. Miller explains how the burikko performance has its origins in Japanese gender ideology and normative connotations for appropriate female behavior and language for middle-class females (2004: 159, see also Eckert and McConell-Ginet 1992, 2003). Hsi-Yao Su also finds a similar concept in a research in Taiwan that connects gender, language and specific pitch height, ideology, and refinement in the qizhi stereotype; where qizhi is more often used in Taiwan to evaluate women and is related to linguistic varieties (frequently used in Taiwan in diverse ways) (2008). Being qizhi then, is a set of cultural practices that might have a major impact on regulating how women, especially educated, are supposed to behave linguistically (353).

Consequently, as Gussenhoven (2004) observes, there exists a variety of social interpretations of the Frequency code, like femininity or politeness; also, there are other affective interpretations like “submissiveness,” “dominance,” “vulnerability,” and “confidence,” among others (82). In this way, other social factors can also be marked by intonation. McLemore shows how high rises in declaratives can function as a communicative strategy and as an in-group marker as well (1991). McLemore conducted a research among college female students in an American sorority in Texas. She finds a recurrent intonational form, a phrase-final-rise, where “a Low pitch excursion aligns with stress, followed by an upward trend in pitch” (29). This contour
has indexical value in creating effects of suspense in narrative as well as attributing specific “interactive and communicative goals to a speaker” (134).

There have been extensive studies regarding the function of prosody and social factors within other disciplines like linguistic anthropology and interactional linguistics (Gumperz 1990), conversation analysis (Schegloff 1998) and discourse analysis (see Tannen 1990, 1994), and a model within pragmatics (Merin and Bartels 1997).

Still, not all these approaches consider all specific factors regarding what precise cues of intonation trigger particular social functions, (i.e., regarding alignment of nuclear and pre-nuclear pitch accents). Some studies in conversation analysis like Wennerstrom’s (2001), mention that an analysis of “pitch accents, then, can provide insights into personal or cultural schemata held by participants in a conversation” (Wennerstrom 2001: 191). Therefore, a gender-focused ethnographic study that considers intonational cues within specific communicative interactions constitutes an important contribution to the field of sociolinguistics. Hence, this study aims to find identity constructions through specific intonations among these young women in Juárez, and also to observe differences among diverse social groups regarding the particular use of the Northern intonation from Juárez (cf. Hidalgo 1986).

1.4 Research objective and research questions

To conclude this chapter, the type of research proposed here intends to take into consideration the social and linguistic dynamics of a border urban center which is bilingual, bicultural, and survives within contrasting ideologies. A sociolinguistic study of Juárez needs to have a detailed analysis of its socio-economic structure, since these factors influence people’s linguistic attitudes and perceptions, as well as their very use of language. Contradictory linguistic attitudes toward language in Juárez coexist with Juarenses’ recognition of the economic
advantages they have by living in a border region. Nonetheless, they are related to Juarenses’s struggle to preserve their Mexican identity, which is based on their use of Spanish. That is, these attitudes are deeply rooted in the complex ideology and border identity of Juarenses.

General question: How is border identity constructed in the Spanish of Juárez youth?
Specific questions:
   a. Which linguistic features are involved in this identity construction?
   b. Are features from English involved in this identity construction?
   c. Are regional Spanish linguistic features involved in this identity construction?
   d. Are there different identities? If so, what linguistic and social factors define these identities?
Despite the fact that previous research has found that there are negative attitudes towards the use of codeswitching in Juárez (Hidalgo 1983), a previous pilot study conducted from data gathered in 2003 found that codeswitching is produced in particular interactions and social contexts. This pilot study analyzed conversations in a group of twelve to sixteen year old adolescents in an upper class junior high school in Juárez. Moreover, the same pilot study results showed that non-adapted English borrowings were produced quite frequently by this group; where the use was more much more frequent among a subgroup of young women. Some other linguistic elements were observed as very salient in this subgroup of adolescent females, including a high amount of various discourse markers, some of them already documented in México (haz de cuenta < Eng. ‘imagine’ and ¿comprendes? < Eng. ‘do you understand?’, Téllez 1999). As expected among groups of young people, the results in the pilot study also observed the use of various taboo words and slang words common in Mexico (and some parts of Latin America) (Moreno 1999), as well as words from the regional sociolect called Caló (Webb 1968, 1977; Ornstein 1951; Aguilar et al. 1985, Valenzuela Arce 1988; Ornstein-Galícia 1995; Ortega 1977, 1991, García 2005).

In this pilot study, this particular subgroup of young female adolescents, were close friends living in the same sector of Juárez while being labeled by their other classmates as fresa. The label fresa (literally translated means “strawberry”) is used in Mexico to designate a person, especially women, who are or try to appear from the upper class by behaving, dressing, and speaking in a manner perceived as snobbish towards other people. In the words of a writer from El Paso who described language names for stereotypes used on the University of Texas at El
Paso campus, “‘Fresa’ is another pejorative used to describe Mexican women. The classic ‘fresa’ stereotype is one of wealth, provocative dress and a self absorbed demeanor” (Santana-Melgoza 2010: 15; see also Córdova Abundis and Corona Zenil 2002; see Guadalupe Loaeza for the stereotype of las niñas bien ‘the good/affluent girls’ in Mexico, 1988, 1990, 1997, 2002, 2003). Regarding the fresa linguistic stereotype, it has readily been disseminated in the mass media in Mexico; however, there are still not many comprehensive sociolinguistic studies that provide enough details regarding this variety. There are references identifying fresa women’s cultural practices in youth groups in Mexico and Mexican immigrants in Los Angeles (Mendoza-Denton 2008); and there are lexical analyses regarding innovative English borrowings among upper class women in Mexico in literary production (Córdova Abundis and Corona Zenil 2002).

The results from this pilot study suggested the need for a sociolinguistic study that could analyze language use in certain social groups in different social contexts in order to further explore my observations of these young women regarding these language stereotypes. Following, as a tool for social diagnostic, I conducted another pilot study, this time looking at social linguistic stereotypes in Juárez. This study considered only intonation as a controlled variable. It showed that there are certain intonation patterns in Juarez that are connected to language ideologies regarding the rest of Mexico. The results of this study will be further discussed below in this chapter.

Based on pilot observations, this dissertation centers, on a sociolinguistic study of the following linguistic variables: codeswitching, English borrowings, discourse markers, the use of Caló, and certain intonation patterns in different social groups of young women in Juárez within differing social contexts. I will discuss these linguistic variables in the following sections.
2.1. English in Juárez: Codeswitching and English borrowings

Hidalgo’s studies (1983, 1986) center on the role of English in Juárez by looking at the perceptions and attitudes toward the use of English, Spanish, and codeswitching. She differentiates speakers according to gender and social class, yet found complex and contradictory language attitude results. Regarding English, her results show that most Juarenses have contact with English since they have access to both formal English instructions in some schools, as well as to every-day English through mass media and their contact with inhabitants of El Paso. Moreover, the socioeconomic background and level of education of individuals seems to predict the use of English in Juárez. People who learn English in formal contexts, either in Mexico or in the United States, tend to use English in a more systematic way (1983:199). Based on these results, my doctoral research looks at the role of English and of different types of English borrowings in Juarenses of different socioeconomic backgrounds and social groups.

According to Hidalgo’s findings, the use of English is one of the most accurate predictors of attitudes toward Spanish, English and codeswitching in Juárez. People that learn English and use it regularly show stronger instrumental and integrative attitudes toward English (201). Moreover, she finds a strong correlation between positive attitudes toward English and local identity. Individuals who have positive attitudes towards English and the proximity of their city to United States also hold a more positive attitude toward Juárez and to being a citizen of the border (202). Those who do not use English very often or who do not speak it hold negative attitudes toward this language. She finds that social class and education correlate with Juarenses’ use of their regional variety of Spanish and of standard Spanish, as well as with their attitudes

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38 Hidalgo interviewed 85 individuals, trying to find Juarenses’ perceptions and attitudes toward the use of English, Spanish and codeswitching. She focuses her study in Juarez. The author differentiated 6 social class divisions, based on income, residential areas, education, and father’s occupation (1983: 52-56).
toward both of these varieties. Most middle class participants tend to believe that their own colloquial variety is not inherently correct since it does not conform to the rules of the literary version of Spanish (204). Thus, According to Hidalgo, Mexican “standard” Spanish, or the normalized variety of educated classes, is perceived by these Juarenses as an inherent element of their Mexican identity since it promotes their linguistic and ethnic unity. As a result, they hold communicative, sentimental, and instrumental values toward the standard variety. Regarding the use of code-switching, Hidalgo finds that most people in Juárez reject its use.\(^{39}\) Hence; the use of code-switching, according to Hidalgo, is a threat against Juarenses’ identity due to its association with another social group, Mexican-Americans, who although of Mexican origin, are considered a different group with “dissimilar and menacing linguistic characteristics” (207). The Mexican-American group is also associated with lower classes and peasants who migrate from different rural and urban regions of Mexico to work in the U.S. (Vila 2000). In a later study, Hidalgo (1987a) found many linguistic similarities between popular and rural varieties of Mexican Spanish and Chicano Spanish (spoken by Mexican-Americans of the Southwest), which she links to the “historical-cultural bond” among Mexicans and Mexican-Americans. In a different study on the locative complement in motion verbs with *pa(ra)* comparing Juárez and El Paso, García (1981) proposes that the category of social class is more important than that of nationality in this border region, suggesting a cross-border social class structure, at least for the lower classes. She finds that working class individuals, on both sides of the border, are more likely to use the non-prescriptive forms of *pa(ra)* with locative function regardless of whether they are Mexican or Mexican-American.

\(^{39}\) The author attributes these negative attitudes mostly to 1) the upbringing of an individual as either male or female; 2) a biased perception of inherent values of language and language varieties; 3) limited bilingual competence; 4) ethnocentric tendencies (1983: 207).
Juárez women, in particular, show the most negative attitudes towards codeswitching, while men are not as bothered by it. Hidalgo explains that this might be due to the fact that male Juarenses are more mobile, both occupationally as well as geographically, so that they have much more interaction with those who code-switch, while women are less mobile and tend to hold jobs where they are required “a relatively higher degree of formality, physical appearance and behavior” (169). In my doctoral research I study different Spanish variety(ies) found on the Mexican side of the border (in Juárez) by considering the roles of gender (especially of women) and relationships among different social groups in the construction of a border identity. In order to avoid using social class as a static category (see McElhinny 2008; Romaine 2008), I make use of the social network construct (Milroy 1980; Milroy and Milroy 1992; Milroy 2002) to uncover the extra-linguistic factors that explain the sociolinguistic dynamics of Juárez. The social network construct was originally presented by Barnes (1954; quoted in Milroy 1980: 46) as a concept that entails a combination of procedures more than a theoretical framework which serves as a medium to obtain a detailed description of the behavior and relationships between its members in order to illustrate patterns of linguistic behavior. I have adopted these methodological principles since I believe that other social concepts and categories previously used in sociolinguistic studies like education or economic activity would not be helpful in searching for specific patterns of linguistic behaviors based on ideologies. Thus, social networks in this study correspond to participatory structures depicting individuals and ties to individuals with whom network members are the most likely to interact in their every day interactions/life.

Considering attitudes toward language use in the region, my doctoral research looks into the role that codeswitching, English lexical borrowings, and the role that non-standard variants play in the sociolinguistic dynamics in Juárez. In this way, the study of language contact in a
Mexican border town like Juárez becomes crucial due to the different degrees of language influence. Here it is important to note that even though Spanish and English have been in contact in this border region since it was declared as such in 1848 with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848 (Lugo 2008); nevertheless, as Hidalgo (1983, 1986) observes, on the Mexican side of the border, the use of English has been limited. Spanish has maintained its position as the bearer of the Mexican national identity for a long time because present language ideologies have limited bilingualism to expand its dominions within social groups in Juárez (cf. Winford 2003) as opposed to its twin city of El Paso and in the rest of the Southwest (see Hidalgo 1986; see Silva-Corvalán 2008). The two main factors that promote language in contact to develop more extensive changes, as observed by Winford (2003), are the degree of bilingualism and the extent in which bilinguals dominate one language or the other. In Juárez, people have probably been hesitant to use English extensively due to national ideologies regarding the Mexican identity among its inhabitants and their language practices up to now. Hence, this thesis observes members of social groups and their use of English, and analyzes their social value system that possibly serves as a background for ideologies behind language attitudes affecting their language use and might position them as “the agents of change” (see Winford 2003: 388).

Instances of English usage in this group of young women might signal social prestige, since by borrowing from a language with prestige, the less adapted a form is the more prestige it signals (Pandharipande 1990). This might be due to an increase of English integral values in Juárez and more notably to attitudes within traditional parameters of social groups more assimilated to Americanization (see Hidalgo 1983, Vila 2000, 2005). According to Vila (2000, 2005) identity among middle and upper classes in Juárez is conditioned by its proximity to the United States. Many people in Juárez use this proximity to elevate their social identity because
for them, living on the border allows them to access goods in a first world country including work opportunities, commodities and a different lifestyle (2000, 2005).

Winford (2003) describes borrowing as the incorporation of foreign features into their dominant Recipient Language. This author gives the example of the growing influence of American mass media and youth culture which has led to many English borrowings into Japanese. Winford also observes that borrowings lead by Recipient Language agentivity (VanCoestem 2000) is the case of “language mixture [where] a speaker retains the morphosyntactactic frame of his dominant language, into which he imports single morphemes or phrases from a source or embedded language” (378); or what Myers-Scotton has called “classic codeswitching” (2003: 81). Winford rather follows Sankoff et. al (1986), Poplack and Meechan (1995), among others, by calling this phenomenon “nonce borrowings” (107). And even when according to Winford (2003), there are still no clear and solid criteria to differentiate borrowing from codeswitching, here I follow the notion that when entering into a recipient language, borrowings become part of the mental lexicon of the language. Yet, both borrowings and codeswitching are part of the same continuum development (Myers-Scotton 1993:163). Still, Winford (2003) warns about considering the term “borrowing” as “the processes or mechanisms involved” since it is vague, he then proposes this term to be exercised to refer to a form of “crosslinguistic influence” (12). In this way, I suggest that there might be a continuum of borrowings, nonce borrowings, and codeswitching as “crosslinguistic influence” that involve linguistic mechanisms as well as social mechanisms working simultaneously (cf. Poplack 1998).

Zentella, following an anthropo-political linguistic approach that incorporates “the ideologies and sociopolitical structures that determine the value of specific languages and the

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40 “The borrowing language may be referred to as the recipient language, and the foreign language as the source language” (Winford 2003: 12).
41 Meaning that the recipient language also plays a role in the transferring process.
status of their speakers,” examines that under current new models of capitalism newer forms of bilingualism have emerged (2008: 4). The cultural effects of neoliberalism, the new economic model that promotes a maximization of free trade, include an emphasis in mass consumerism at the global scale (Harvey 2005; Rosas 2007, in press); in this way, bilingualism as an asset becomes a commodity (Zentella 2008; see also Commaroff and Commaroff 2001). Heller (2003) also suggests that the commodification of language encounters state as other local community based systems of production and dissemination of linguistic means. Thus, the commodification of language mediates the interactions between language and identity, and creates new forms of opposition and social selectivity (2003).

Thus, through the interactions of these young women, we can understand identity constructions through language on the border. Mexican beliefs of the border that hold Juárez as a peripheral region, where people supposedly lose their culture, their national identity, and ideology due to their proximity to the U. S., are challenged by young women and consequently transformed into empowering acts of identity. Bilingualism goes against their “Mexican” identity, yet their bilingualism reinforces their “fronterizo”/border identity which is more assimilated to the U.S. and globalization.

2.2 Caló
This section describes the border Caló and other lexical elements that are part of the border Caló, but that are also considered taboo words. Caló is a vernacular variety which is described as a salient sociolect of the Southwest region of the U.S., including the Mexican border region (Orstein 1951; Orstein-Galicia 1995), and documented since the 1930s and 1940s (Ortega 1977; Orstein 1951). According to Ortega,
Ortega’s comment that Caló is a ‘dialect’ suggests that its linguistic features have extended in modern use, as it is also suggested by other authors. Moreover, the features of this variety do not consist of only lexical differences, but include interesting morphological constructions as well. According to Orsntein (1995) there are important characteristics of Caló like morphological derivation, productive standard derivation with suffixes such as –ón, -ona,-ote, -ota, -azo, -aso, -uco, -ucha, etc.; as well as non-standard derivation with – ofa: gasofa (gasolina, < Eng ‘gas’), -ile:, Juariles (Juarense), -itos: Juaritos (diminutive). Hutter (1984) also describes non-standard infixes such as the word iglesiqa (iglesia, “church”). Likewise, there are sound changes like apocope in the word migra (“border patrol,” from migración), jura (“jury,” from jurado), compa (“friend,” from compadre o compañero). There is also apheresis such as the word chuco (from pachuco). Ornstein also mentions that there is a phonotactic reaccommodation in Caló such as the word Araisa (from Arizona).

Regarding morpho-sintactic characteristics, it is not surprising that Caló shares elements with popular Spanish, since some of the most salient tendencies include chains of subordinated sentences, frequent use of complements through morphological derivates, as well as suffixation of adverbial or prepositional sentences such as de aquellas (de primera clase o de lo peor, ‘first class’ or ‘the worse’), a todo dar (maravilloso, ‘wonderful’), de volada (muy rápido, ‘very fast’) (Ornstein 1995). All these elements and others are illustrated in the following extract (1), taken from the literary piece “El Milagrucho” (“The Big Miracle”) by Raquel Moreno (quoted in Hutter, 1984: 257).

(1)

**Piruchas:** Órale, mi buen Tuercas. ¿Cómo te bailotea…?
Tuercas: ¿Quiuvas, mi buen Piruchas, ontablas que no te había vidrios? Ya ni me acordeón, yo creía que ya te habías muebles.

Piruchas: No, mi tuercas, todavía no tiro la vuelta; aquí me tienes pisoteando el buen suelo, ¿noooo? Y dime, mi buen Tuercas, ¿qué pasó con la rucaila aquella, todavía anda con tiliches, o ya te dio boleto…?

Tuercas: Nel, mi loro esa güisa ya hace mucho que me la sopilotié…

Piruchas: Pos… ¿qué ya se te petatió, mi loco?

Piruchas: Hey there! Tuercas, good buddy. How’s it goin’?

Tuercas: How are ya, Piruchas, ole man, wher’v ya been since I last saw ya’? Now that I remember, I thought you’d moved.

Piruchas: No, Tuercas, I stil haven’t kicked the bucket; I’m hangin’ in there, right? And tell me good Buddy, what happened with that old lady of yours, is she still shacked up with you or has she already given you your walkin’ papers?

Tuercas: No, you dog. That dame, I fed her to the vultures a long time ago...

Piruchas: So, you nut, she up and died? (Translation included in the text).

The use of Caló has been extended within the southwest region from men to women, and from lower classes to higher classes (Orsntein 1951; Webb 1968; Ortega 1977, 1991; Orstein-Galicia 1995; Aguilar et al. 1985; García 2005). In my dissertation research I explored the extent of the use of vernacular (Caló, taboo words, and rural variants) in young women in Juárez. Its uses show stylistic variation that indicates social stratification.

2.3. Discourse markers: the use of así ‘like this, in this manner’

Several studies have found that discourse markers are “sites for the production of epistemically stanceful elements that can signal speaker identities,” since they show
“phonological reduction, relative syntactic freedom, and semantic bleaching that are outcomes of processes of grammaticalization” (Mendoza-Denton 2004: 491). Therefore, particular uses of hedges, might be indexing social meaning, such as gender and in-group identity in Juárez. A preliminary analysis conducted in 2007 by me, with oral data collected in 2003, examined the use of several discourse markers in the speech of female adolescents in Juárez. The analysis showed that the speech of these young females shows a high frequency of hedge/discursive expressions such as así (‘like this’), como (‘as,’ ‘like’), that also occur accompanied by que and de (e.g. así de, así de que, así como que, como que). In addition, other expressions appear quite frequently such as the expression no manches (literally ‘don’t stain’, meaning ‘don’t’ cross the line’), and the discourse marker haz de cuenta (‘imagine that…’), and o sea (‘that is’), which have already been documented as characteristic of Mexican adolescent speech (Téllez 1999).

Classification as well as the analysis of discourse markers is still problematic. In her essay *Towards an understanding of the spectrum of approaches to discourse particles*, Fisher (2006) emphasizes the difficulty in comparing the many studies on discourse markers and divergences in their approaches by observing that “it is almost impossible to find one’s way through this jungle of publications” (1). The related literature in discourse markers is fairly extensive and deals with discourse markers in several languages (Schourup 1985; Watts 1989; Fraser 1990, 2009), including Spanish (Zorraquino and Montolío Durán 1998; Mendoza-Denton 1999; Cuartero Sánchez 2002; Vázquez Veiga 2003; Travis 2006; Portolés, Loureda Llamas and Acín Villa 2010). Studies in discourse markers vary considerably; nevertheless, there is a great amount of discrepancy regarding their definition,\footnote{Some authors prefer to call them Discourse Particles (see Fischer 2006), others differentiate between Discourse Markers and Pragmatic Markers (Fraser 1990).} morpho-syntactic function, and functions within written and oral discourse.
Findings in this research show a great amount of use of many discourse markers; however, due to the frequency of use and to its innovative character in Spanish, I only focus on the use of the word *así* (‘like,’ also studied in its equivalent in English; cf. Buchstaller 2006; Buchstaller and D’Arcy 2009), and explore some of its variants in certain contexts as it will be developed in chapter 4. *Así* is found to function as a pragmatic marker, which has different functions in discourse such as a set marking tag and as a quotative. Thus, most importantly, its use showed to vary among the different social networks studied.

Prescriptively, *así* in Spanish has different functions like that of an adverb (Herrera Lima 1988; González García 1995; Portolés 1998), as an element in adverbials (Cuartero Sánchez 2002), and as a deitic lexical unit within predicative constructions (Pastor 2010). In discourse, *así*, functions as a continuative particle (*continuativo*, Martín Zorraquino 1988), and as a consecutive connector in conjunction with _pues_ (*así pues* ‘like this, well’) (Llamas Saíz 2010). *Así* also appears in constructions with adjectives, with _como_ (*así como*, ‘like this’), in the expressions *así es* (‘that’s how it is’), *así nomás* (‘just like that’), *así así* (‘so-so’), and as a final enumerative element or set marking tag such as _cosas así* (‘things like that’), _una cosa así* (‘a thing like that’) (Aaron 2009), and _y cosas así* (‘and things like that’; Cortés Rodriguez 2006).

Aaron (2009) describes the use of *así* coexists with the forms _asín, ansi, asina_, and _ansina_ in New Mexican Spanish. She finds *así* to be highly diffused while the other forms seem to be disappearing in this variety. Additionally, Aaron’s results show that Verb class and Noun class emerged as significant factors in the frequency of _así_. The use of _así_ is favored in verbs of activity, verbs of saying, doing, and stative verbs. *Así* is also preferred for tangible count nouns.

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43 However, Aaron finds that the use of ‘asina’ has increased in the last century due to the fact that this form has acquired a rural meaning.
In addition, the use of *asi* in this dissertation will be discussed in comparison with the use of English *like* as a pragmatic marker (and which will be defined below; Andersen 1998, 2000, 2001), which includes its functions in discourse (as a discourse marker), and the construction *be + like* as a quotative complementizer where a speaker introduces dialogue within a narration in English (Butters 1982; Ferrara and Bell 1995; Tagliamonte and D’Arcy 2004; Buchstaller 2006; Buchstaller and D’Arcy 2009). *Be + like* started as a gender and generational change among young high school girls in the US (Lange 1985; Ferrera and Bell 1995). This construction has, to a great degree, replaced other quotative complementizers with the same functions and strategies within discourse such as *go* and *say* among English speakers. An example of this uses is exemplified (2), adapted from Ferrara and Bell (1995).

(2)

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He was like, “I’ll talk to you later. I’m not going to talk to you now.” And I was like, “You’re being an asshole.” And he was like, I need to see you outside.” And so we went out. We walked outside to the front. And he was like, “you need to stop it. Quit talking like that.” HE WAS LIKE",I don't know what your problem is." And I was like “I don’t know what your problem is. You're being a dick.” And he reached up and he slapped me. And I just reached up and slapped the shit out of him, just clocked him. And everyone was inside at Kim's apartment and looked out and they were like ",Uhh, Oh my God. We're taking him home." [extract from a narrative about a blind date gone wrong] (Ferrara and Bell 1995: 268).
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In addition, the use of *be + like* has extended to second and third person as we can observe in 1, and to other uses as well (see example 3 adapted from Ferrara and Bell 1995).

(3)

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a. Jim:  And now *it’s like*, uh you know, “Oh man, you know, you guys, you hippies are nothing.” *It’s like*, “Hey, (1) us hippies led the path.”  
b. Jason: My dad was constantly down on me. *It’s like*, “Get a job.” (Ferrara and Bell 1995: 279).
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Therefore, *be + like* is used in discourse not only as a quotative complementizer.\(^{44}\) The use of *be + like* in 2 functions as a meta-discursive element; here *be + like* reports not only dialogs but speech, gestures, and thoughts (Ferrara and Bell 1995). The use of *be + like* has extended to all ages, men and women and among all different social classes, and different ethnic groups including Afro-American, Hispanic and second language speakers in the United States and England (Ferrara and Bell 1995; Buchstaller 2006). Moreover, there are some interesting examples in Guadalupe Valdés’ corpus from Anthony, New Mexico (1982). In example 4 the uses of both *así, como* and *like*, among other discourse markers within the same conversation are illustrated (1982: 220).

(4)

Susie: … *Y luego este*, I started seeing *like* little stars all over the place. *Y* 
volteaba yo *así* y le decía *como* look at the… the… *no sé* era *como* brillosito

*así* *like* stars.

The speaker in example (4) produces *así, ansina*, (an older variant that is now reserved to popular Spanish; see Aaron 2009), *como* and *like*; *así* and *like* are even produced consecutively. All these forms seem to be used with a meta-discursive function. Its extensive use might have been motivated by the extension of the use of *be + like* in English.

The use of *así*, in its function as an adverbial nexus, has already been studied in Mexico (Herrera Lima 1988). However, within the data obtained in this study, the use of discourse markers seems to be extending. Furthermore, this use also appears to be related or at least to be following a similar process and discursive function as *be + like* in English.

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\(^{44}\) Term used to signal a “grammatical indicator” that introduces “a representation of the speech or thought of others” (Ferrara Bell 2006: 265).
Andersen (1998) analyzes the use of the word *like* as a pragmatic marker in English in the speech of teenagers in London. He uses the term *pragmatic markers* to signal a group of linguistic elements which he calls “minor” and which are at the “word level” and possess the following characteristics,

they are predominantly associated with (especially informal) spoken language, their function is to express pragmatic aspects of communication, for instance by making propositional attitude or illocutionary force, or by signaling intratextual (sequential) or interpersonal relations, and they do not contribute to the propositional content of the utterances in which they occur” (Andersen 1998: 147).

Andersen observes that many uses of the word *like* cannot be easily classified as a preposition, conjunction or adverbial. So, he suggests that this expression possesses greater “syntactic flexibility” than “Standard English” permits, since it occurs in many unexpected contexts. The word *like*, according to this author, indicates approximation, it suggests an alternative, introduces reported speech, and to a certain degree qualifies a proposition (1998: 148). Some examples of these uses are shown in (5) and (6) (Andersen 1998: 148).

(5)  (1) What Thelma and Louise? Yeah, it’s wicked! Starts off a bit boring. First, *like*, twenty minutes and then it gets good. (132705/1:7)

(6)  (4) Erm, well *like* I usually take the train about twenty past. (140810/1:297)

Basing his argument on pragmatic theory and specifically within Relevance theory, Andersen observes that the expression *like* in the speech of these speakers cannot be analyzed in “standard” terms but pragmatically; thus, the role of the expression *like* here is to facilitate “process of pragmatic inference” (Andersen 2000:17). Relevance theory, developed by Sperber and Wilson (1986), aims to explain the cognitive process concerned with the interpretation of utterances. These authors simplified Gice’s maxims and the Cooperative Principle within a more expansive principle they call the cognitive principle of relevance (Blakemore 2002: 62). Listeners are able to understand not only explicit information expressed in a sentence but also
implicit information due to inferences made by the processing of ostensive stimuli.\textsuperscript{45} In this way Relevance Theory aims to explain all human communication including not only linguistic communication but also other type of communication such as body language and signs (Blakemore 2002). There are three fundamental elements in Relevance Theory which are “the assumptions that communication is intentional, ostensive and inferential” (Andersen 2001: 30). More importantly, Relevance Theory no longer relies on truth-conditional and non-truth conditional distinction; instead, Relevance Theory favors a conceptual/procedural distinction (Blakemore 2002, Carston 2002; Terkourafi 2011; see Wilson and Sperber 1993).\textsuperscript{46} Thus, linguistic expressions can encode a conceptual meaning or “they can contribute information about how to manipulate and combine these concepts into a conceptual representation. In the latter case, linguistic expressions encode PROCEDURAL meaning” (Terkourafi 2011:14; see Blakemore 1987, 2002; Wilson and Sperber 1993; Carston 2002). As Blakemore observes, encoding and decoding in communication is not as important as the capacity to “derive inferences,” and the fact that these inferences can lead to assumptions considered as “metarepresentations” of “thoughts, desires and intentions” (Blakemore 2002: 71). Thus, pragmatics does not simply enter when linguistic decoding fails: on the contrary, the linguistic system is subservient to pragmatic inference in the sense that it functions as an aid to the inferential system –as an input to independently functioning inferential systems (Blakemore 2002: 71).

In addition, within Relevance Theory, hearers play a very important role. Hearers construct and evaluate suppositions of speakers’ communicative intentions including both

\textsuperscript{45} Blakemore (2002) observes that for Sperber and Wilson communication “can be made manifest by any kind of ostensive behavior –waving, rolling one’s eyes, sniffing, grunting, sighing, groaning or even the use of silence. And it is true that inferential processes do all the work in such cases for the recovery of the communicator’s informative intention” (63).

\textsuperscript{46} This cognitive theory “views truth-conditional meaning as a property not of linguistic expressions but of conceptual representations that are jointly produced by linguistic decoding and pragmatic inference (explicatures, whether basic-level or higher-order) or by inference alone (implicatures) (Terkourafi 2011: 13).
explicit and implicit content, “for this reason, utterance interpretation is seen as an inferential process” (2001: 31). Hence, contextual information is fundamental in recognizing both the implicatures and the explicit meaning of utterances; thus, linguistically encoded information such as grammatical rules, is not enough to identify the meaning of an utterance (2001). Therefore, “both decoding and inference are required in order to grasp the communicative impact of utterances” (2001: 32). According to Andersen, the notion of procedural encoding becomes central to understand what he calls pragmatic markers since they contribute to relevance in communication. Pragmatic markers guide the hearer by reducing the processing effort they employ in understanding an utterance. Moreover, studies have demonstrated the important role pragmatic markers have in grammaticalization (Romaine and Lange 1991; Traugott 1995, 1996; Brinton 1996; Andersen 2001). Pragmatic markers evince linguistic processes where syntactic-semantic categories of words become distorted (2001). As defined by Traugott, ‘grammaticalisation’ is the process whereby lexical items or phrases come through frequent use in certain highly constrained local contexts to be reanalyzed as having syntactic and morphological functions, and, once grammaticalized, continue to develop new grammatical functions” (Traugott 1995: 32; see also Hopper and Traugott 1993).

Regarding discourse markers and grammaticalization in Spanish, Álvarez (2002) finds that the use of the words ahí and así in Venezuelan Spanish are probably going through a grammaticalisation process since neither of these words function as it is expected by the norm. Álvarez observes how así has undergone a decategorization and has lost its main characteristic that signals it as member of a specific linguistic category, and is now developing as a particular emergent grammatical construction (2002). This author mentions how the expression así in
Venezuelan Spanish is no longer functioning as a modal adverb or a deitic in adverbials. Álvarez gives the following example from Venezuelan Spanish in (7) (adapted from Álvarez 2002: 18).

(7)  
(9)  
Inv.: ¿tú te definirías como liberada?
Hab.: No, todavía no he llegado así a la liberación. IMM560

Inv.: Would you define yourself as liberated?
Hab.: No, I have not yet reached [like that] liberation.

Álvarez mentions how in this example así accompanies a prepositional phrase as a regular adverb; nevertheless, it is different in the sense that there is not a particular way in which one can reach liberation, and they are not discussing different ways to liberate oneself. In other words there is no reference. What the speaker here means is that she has not yet reached liberation as both the speaker and the hearer understand it, without really specifying it since they both share common previous knowledge regarding their own reality (2001: 19). Thus, even when there is still a sentential modal meaning in this use of así in example (7), there is also an added “illocutionary force that achieves an interpersonal function” (19, my translation). Additionally, Álvarez observes how the use of así in Venezuelan Spanish does not conform to the normative use as a connector within discourse described by Martín Zorraquino and Portolés (1999). According to these authors, Así possesses an anaphoric capacity as a modal adverb and can indicate causal or condition circumstance depending on the context. However, Álvarez states that the use of así in Venezuelan Spanish serves as a mode to focus in order to gain the attention of the hearer, similarly as the word mira already studied by Pons Bordería (1998). What Álvarez aims to emphasize here is that with the use of así the speaker does not mean to achieve a change

47 There is deixis when there is a referent that revolves around deitic contexts regarding an ego in particular coordenates of space and time (2001, see Eguren 1999).
in sentence meaning, but to create a sense of complicity between him/her and the hearer (2002). Following Relevance Theory (Sperber and Wilson 1993), Álvarez proposes that the use of the words *ahí* and *así* in Venezuelan Spanish function as a guide for the hearer in order to understand the meaning of an utterance; moreover, they function as identity markers signaling *common knowledge* shared by people of the same culture or social group (2002). According to this author, these deitics become grammaticalized when they stop functioning as adverbs, meaning that there is no longer a principle of reference (maybe only some egocentric principle); in sum, they no longer give instructions semantically but they do at the pragmatic level.

Arguments against considering Relevance Theory as a framework to explain the complexity of discourse markers consider that the fact that discursive connectors can guide speakers’ inferences is secondary. Thus, the most important thing for some analysts is that connectors indicate how a sentence must be interpreted in relation to the other (Cuartero Sánchez, 2002). On the other hand, this research follows studies such as the one on Venezuelan Spanish (Álvarez 2002) and on London teenagers’ speech (Andersen 1998, 2000, 2001) which show that in order to really understand the complexity, frequency, and non “standard” uses of expressions such as *así* and *like*, we must take into account all elements involved in communicative interactions that motivate these changes in language (Traugott 1995, 1996).

Regarding the frequency and extended use of the expression *like* among teenagers in London, Andersen (2001) observes that it is true that the expression *like* “can collocate with planning difficulties, false starts and self repairs… However, the descriptions of *like* as a mere filler or a hesitation device is essentially insufficient” (227). Andersen gives three reasons to justify this fact; the first has to do with the frequency of occurrence of tokens where there is neither hesitation nor a change in speed of production of the word *like*. Secondly, the word *like*
can hold meanings that other fillers such as *er* or *erm* cannot. And thirdly, *like* cannot be solely a hesitation device since this would ignore significant aspects of its historical expansion and distribution, and the fact that despite the semantic bleaching this word has undergone in its uses as a marker, many instances of this word trace its original lexical meaning of “similar to.” More importantly, Andersen proposes the use of *like* as a *marker of loose use*, as an “approximation, exemplification, etc, and the original lexical meaning and the more abstract meaning of non-literal resemblance are obviously conceptually related” (228). This author adds that this does not mean that *like* cannot be used as a hesitation device; nevertheless, the main point here is that due to its particular characteristics, the expression *like* presents a bridge between propositional linguistic components that cannot be grammatically or rationally linked. Thus, Andersens’ proposal suggests that *like* as a marker of loose use makes it possible to situate the following segment in the utterance into a *metalinguistic focus*, which signals that the most relevant interpretation is the one that does not take the meaning of the utterance completely literal. This argument results plausible, as the author observes, considering teenagers as metalinguistically conscious, and that is why *like* can also be related to politeness since it expresses a “tentative attitude” (229). Hence, Andersen observes how the concept of subjectification within grammaticalization is central in his research of the expression *like*. As Trougott defines it, subjectification is “the development of a grammatically identifiable expression of speaker belief or speaker attitude to what is said” (1995: 32). Thus, Andersen employs a *combinatory approach* where he applies relevance theory and the theory of grammaticalization, being both complementary.

This dissertation also takes a complementary approach. A research that has as its focus an analysis on identity formations through language correspondingly takes intersubjectivity at the
center (cf. Traugott 1989, 2003, 2007). In this way, use of the word *así* in these social networks appear to be similar to use of the expression *like* in English; yet, by centering on the actual social contexts and specific speakers’ motivations, their own peculiarities can also be appreciated.

### 2.4. Intonation

The study of intonation has been more limited than other sub disciplines within phonology and phonetics due to the complexity of its systematic analysis entailing the combination of three levels: the physic axis (fundamental frequency), the phonologic axis (melodic units with significant importance in specific languages), and the semantic axis (the meanings of melodic variations) (Prieto 2003: 14). Due to this complexity, the study of intonation has faced limitations in theoretic frameworks that favor the analysis of experimental data (Revert Sanz 2001: 4). Therefore, studies in intonation around the extended Spanish speaking geographic zones in the past have been typically based on impressionistic observations and scarce until more recently due to the introduction of instrumental means that have facilitated its accurate measurement. In the last decade, studies in Spanish intonation have been much more numerous due to the growing accessibility of diverse computer-based programs (Hualde 2002: 101).

Hidalgo previously mentioned in 1983 that there is a “unique intonation of the northern people, which differs dramatically from that encountered in the center or the south” (113). However, this northern intonation had not yet been analyzed acoustically until this present research. Regarding other varieties of Mexican Spanish, some early work on intonation includes Henríquez Ureña (1938), Matluck (1952, 1965), Delattre, Olsen and Poenacks (1962), and Kvavik (1974, 1975, 1979, 1980). Much more recent work based on rigorous acoustic analyses have been carried out in Mexican Spanish by authors like Martín Butragueño (2004, 2005, in
press), Willis (2001, 2002) and, Prieto and Roseano (2010). However, many more studies regarding variation, both geographic as well as social intonation, in Spanish are needed, especially of Latin American varieties, and specifically of Mexican varieties. Most work has focused on Peninsular Spanish. Willis has suggested more studies that address “pitch accents and edge tones such as tonal alignment, tonal range, tonal prominence, and duration” (2003: 22). Therefore, my study on intonational variation in the Mexican Spanish variety of Juárez contributes to fill this gap by addressing these features in its correlation to regional, pragmatic, and social indexical values.

My dissertation research will look into the differentiation of Juárez sociolects as expressed in intonational contours (Córdova Abundis and Corona Zenil 2002; see Guadalupe Loaeza for the stereotype of las niñas bien ‘the good/affluent girls’ in Mexico, 1988, 1990, 1997, 2002, 2003). This study considers that the use of a regional northern intonation is present in the speech of all the participants, regardless of social class. In the literature, we find evaluative comments made in reference to a fresa (‘strawberry’) intonation among mainly middle and upper-middle class women (Guadalupe Loaeza for the stereotype of las niñas bien ‘the good/affluent girls’ in Mexico, 1988, 1990, 1997, 2002, 2003). Consequently, the analysis will look into possible social (and gender) differences with respect to intonational contours.

Regarding social variation in intonational patterns, there is even less information concerning Spanish speakers. Most remarks are impressionistic, such as Matluck’s (1951, 1952, 1958). Mexican intonation, in particular, has received little attention within the study of Spanish (Martín Butragueño in press), and not many studies have been conducted in spontaneous speech (Face 2003; Matín Butragueño in press), since most of them have been limited to “speech elicited in a laboratory or experimental setting, and often scripted” (Face 2003: 116). Intonation from Mexico City has been the one receiving most of the attention in linguistic studies. Mendoza-Denton (2008), who is a native speaker of Mexico City (D.F.) dialect herself, mentioned some of this typecasting of Mexican intonation by recalling how Mexican origin people in California “make fun of the D.F. accent, our distinctive intonation” (102). However, there are still very few studies regarding other dialectal characteristics and intonation contours in Mexico. As far as I know there is still no acoustic analysis of this upper-class dialect.
1965) observations regarding the Mexican circumflex configurations that he associates mostly to lower classes. Kvavik (1975) also observes that she finds “complex intonations” among “educated informants in a conversation style;” still she adds that there is a possibility that complex intonations mark social class although they might also mark gender (108).

Butragueño’s (2004) more recent study of Mexico City circumflex contours finds the pattern C. L+\textsuperscript{1}H* L-H% mainly among lower social class, and used more frequently among men. The posttonic syllable in pattern C is actually longer; thus, this triggers a larger toneme. He observes that this pattern is “one of the most interesting” circumflex contours due to this intermediate tone L-; thus in “its most exaggerated forms it becomes a stereotype, and its use seems to be stratified socially (which it will need to be confirmed)” (19, my translation).

In regards to gender, Willis (2002) finds that Mexican Spanish male speakers, in general, show more variability in pitch movement than females. The males in his study use more often the marked pitch movements which are early H pitch accent and no rise (359).

Besides these studies, we do not know much about social variation in Spanish intonation; however, there is already much work in other languages that can guide and aid in explaining further research findings in Spanish intonation. Based on these studies, there are some general assumptions regarding gender differences, such as acoustic diversity between men and women, or between children and adults, due to physiological differences in the size of vocal tract (see Strand 1999).\textsuperscript{49} Moreover, while numerous studies correlate phonetic differences with gender,\textsuperscript{50} still, other authors have observed that speakers also “manipulate their phonetic implementation, for a variety of purposes” (2004: 71), including for “their social aspirations” (Gussenhoven 2004: 72). Thus, fundamental frequency can be controlled according to social contexts; therefore,

\textsuperscript{49} Thus, there would be some similarities among languages and dialects based on the \textit{biological code} (see Gussenhoven 2004).

\textsuperscript{50} For a summary on this subject see Smith et al. (2003).
“people will project what they perceive as their social in their voice” including gender, and other characteristics like “type of vocal fold vibration” as breathy and creaky voice, formant frequencies,\(^\text{51}\) and fundamental frequency (2004: 81). For example, while men produce lower average formant frequencies than women as a result of their longer vocal tracts, speech communities vary in the social significance they attach to the gender difference, which suggests that one or both masculine and feminine genders might well exaggerate the effect. There are several studies that have addressed this kind of social variation in intonation in different languages and language varieties.\(^\text{52}\)

There exists a variety of social interpretations of this “frequency code”, as Gussenghoven has called it, like femininity or politeness. In addition, there are other affective interpretations like “submissiveness,” “dominance,” “vulnerability,” and “confidence,” among others (2004: 82). McLemore (1991) shows how intonational high rises in declaratives can function as a communicative strategy and as an in-group marker as well. McLemore conducted research among college female students in an American sorority in Texas. She finds a recurrent intonational form, a phrase-final-rise, where “a Low pitch excursion aligns with stress, followed by an upward trend in pitch” (29). Hence, this intonational contour has indexical value in creating effects of suspense in narrative as well as “imputing certain interactive and communicative goals to a speaker” (134).

\(^{51}\) “As a result of vocal-tract manipulations like lip rounding, nasalization, habitual tongue posture, and pharyngeal constriction” (81).

\(^{52}\) Henton and Bladon’s (1988) study in British English describe the creaky voice as a male speech marker. Other studies have found differences in pitch levels, like Scherer (1979) that finds that American men has lower pitch levels than German men. Ohara (1992, 1999) finds a higher pitch among Japanese women in comparison to American women; the same way, bilingual women produced higher F0 when speaking in Japanese than when talking in English in contrast to bilingual men that did not vary their pitch across languages. Thus, Ohara concludes that “the results of differences across language and gender could be best explained in terms of culture” (2004: 224)\(^\text{52}\). Other studies in Japanese have also shown how high pitched voice has been associated with femininity and stereotypes of femininity (see Miller 2004).
More studies regarding variation both geographic as well as social in Spanish intonation are needed, especially in the Latin American varieties, since empirical research has mainly focused on Peninsular Spanish.

2.4.1. A pilot study on intonation

Research on style and social meaning allow us to consider other more abstract aspects of variables, and to focus on details of prosody and voice quality (Eckert 2008a: 472). This pilot study constitutes a preliminary examination on the correlation between social meaning and prosody in Mexican Spanish, which has not yet been fully explored. The study centers on the identification and attitudes towards the social-indexical meaning of three intonation contours in Mexican Spanish:

1) A regional intonation from Juárez (the northern border region) H+L* and a mid boundary tone M%, which has not been acoustically studied yet (see Hidalgo 1983). This is illustrated in figure 1, a schematic representation of the nuclear pitch accent of the sentence Pero estaba de otra manera (‘But it was in a different way’) with a H+L* nuclear pitch accent and H% boundary tone in broad focus, from a natural recording of a 25 year old female citizen of Juárez.

![Figure 1. Schematic representation of production of the sentence Pero estaba de otra manera (‘But it was in a different way’) with a H+L* nuclear pitch accent, and M% boundary tone in broad focus](image-url)
2) A circumflex intonation (cf. Martín Butragueño 2004, in press), that represents the stereotype of a working class speaker in Mexico City, L+H* L nuclear with L% boundary. This contour comes from a recording of a 30 year old male from Mexico City performing a working class stereotype (naco) illustrated in figure 2. Moreover this contour included a long last syllable.

![Figure 2. Schematic representation of a stereotypical working class from Mexico City’s performance of the sentence Pero estaba de otra manera, ('But it was in another way') with a L+H* L nuclear pitch accent, a L% boundary tone, and a longer last syllable](image)

3) A characteristic intonation pattern which represents the stereotype of a female middle and/or upper-class speaker from Mexico City,\(^{53}\) (see Córdova Abundis and Corona Zenil 2002), with a L*+H nuclear pitch accent and a L% boundary tone. This contour comes from a recording from a 25 year old, upper-class female from Mexico City performing the fresa stereotype.

![Figure 3. Schematic representation of a stereotypical upper class-woman from Mexico City’s performance of the utterance Pero estaba de otra manera (‘But it was in another way’) with a L*+H nuclear pitch accent, and L% boundary tone](image)

\(^{53}\) As far as I know this intonation has not yet been studied. See McLemore (1991) “in-group” use of specific intonation contours among upper-middle class sorority members in the U.S.
The experiment was done following the matched-guised technique (Lambert, et al. 1960). Speech samples came from two educated women producing a descending “standard” contour in declaratives (Sosa 1999; Hualde 2002). Each intonational contour was manipulated using Praat (Boersma and Weenink 2009) in order to obtain three different combinations (circumflex working class, upper-class, and the northern regional intonation of Juárez), for a total of 14 speech samples. Thirty Juarenses, 19 women and 12 men ranging from 18 to 36 years old, 10 working class, 10 middle class, and 10 upper class participants answered a questionnaire as they heard a random sample of the recordings, which solicited their perceptions regarding these intonation patterns.

Results showed that the Juarense respondents were able to differentiate their own regional intonation from that of Mexico City, and from that of upper-class women. In addition, participants also were, to a certain degree, able to associate the circumflex contour with negative stereotypes toward working class people from the capital and from the southern region of the country, which is popularly known in Mexican society as representing the naco stereotypical intonation. Data show that the respondents also recognize the dialect of upper class women as a social indexical (known as a fresa intonation), but not as a regional marker. This perception pilot

52 The complete description of the manner in which this pilot study was conducted, including the targets that were manipulated to create these distinct patterns is included in Escobar, Ciriza, and Holguín Mendoza (Forthcoming).
1) Standard Spanish intonation, recording #1.
2) Standard Spanish intonation, recording #2.
3) Recording #1 with Juarez intonation.
4) Recording #2 with Juarez intonation.
5) Recording #1 with Juarez intonation and long vowel.
6) Recording #2 with Juarez intonation and long vowel.
7) Recording #1 with Mexico City circumflex intonation.
8) Recording #2 with Mexico City circumflex intonation.
9) Recording #1 with Mexico City circumflex intonation with long vowel.
10) Recording #2 with Mexico City circumflex intonation with long vowel.
11) Recording #1 with Mexico City upper class intonation.
12) Recording #2 with Mexico City upper class intonation.
13) Recording #1 with Mexico City upper class intonation with long vowel.
14) Recording #2 with Mexico City upper class intonation with long vowel.
55 This was determined by the school were they were studying; a highschool from a marginal neighborhood for working class participants, Universidad Autónoma de Ciudad Juárez for middle class participants, and both highschool and the university of Tecnológico de Monterre Campus Ciudad Juárez for upper-class participants.
study suggests that these intonations constitute language stereotypes, which exist in the Juárez Mexican culture and ideology as iconized constructs. This pilot study constitutes the first step of a typological characterization of a Mexican regional northern intonational pattern that clearly differentiates itself from the one in Mexico City.

2.5. Language use in Juárez

My doctoral research provides new insights regarding language use, culture, and identity on the Mexican side of the international U.S.-Mexico border. The following chapter will discuss the methodology including a description of the ethnographic methodologies employed in this research. The rest of the chapters discuss language use and language identity among three diverse social networks of young women in Juárez. My results show stylistic variation through the use of different intonation patterns, specific discourse markers in both Spanish and English, English borrowings, codeswitching and other lexical elements from popular Spanish. These linguistic variants are utilized by young women as indexes of social meaning and reproduce emergent plural ethnic gendered identities that reflect regional, national, and international ideologies, regarding racial, gender, and sexual hierarchies. My results reveal how stylistic variation through language use is connected to social distinctiveness at the individual level but at the same time connected to specific social networks that depend not only on local, but global ideologies as well. Hence, my research scrutinizes the connections between multilevel symbolic sources that function as frameworks for language variation among these different social groups. This research also uncovers how these identities and ideologies are recreated by speakers through language within a particular border setting that must no longer be considered a periphery at the margins of two countries where people “betray” their national identities. On the contrary, it
should be seen as a socioeconomic and political center within current neoliberalism and globalization.
The methodology used in this doctoral study breaks from certain approaches commonly used in sociolinguistic research; mainly because they fall short, in my opinion, of combining social and linguistic matters (cf. Patrick 2004: 576); thus; their shortcomings come from the fact that these approaches are either based on linguistic criteria or on social criteria, or fall into circularity. Some researchers have warned that “essentialism in sociolinguistics [which] includes the analytic practice of using categories to divide up subjects and sort their linguistic behavior, and then linking the quantitative differences in linguistic production to explanations based on those very same categories provided by the analyst” (Mendoza-Denton 2004: 477).

Consequently, the collection of the data for this dissertation was gathered following the characteristics of a participant-observer ethnographic study, where the author immersed herself in three socially distinct networks in the city of Juárez.

3.1. Subjects

This study focuses on three social networks of 78 individuals between 15 and 46 years of age in Juárez, Mexico. All the central members of this network were young women (ages between 18 and 40, with an average of 24.64). Most of them were university, junior high and high school students in the City of Juárez, and in El Paso, Texas. The rest were teachers in different secondary schools in Juárez. I have a personal relationship with central members of these social networks since 2000. I had previously recorded some of these members’ interactions for a sociolinguistic project in 2003 regarding language usage among young people in the region. The central members in these networks were determinant in the evolution and the carrying out of this project since they were always supportive and willing to participate. The entire network of
participants in this study is represented in Net 1 below. Darker lines between vertices (participants) represent a stronger relationship based on ethnographic observations in this research. Strong and weak ties in this research were defined based on more (strong ties) or less (weak ties) observed frequency of interaction between the members of each network. This view of social networks helps to understand communities of everyday practice in which people are more likely to interact and spend more time together. In this way, frequency of interaction between members was ethnographically observed; thus, darker lines in Net 1\textsuperscript{56} below correspond to stronger ties based on higher frequency of interactions among two participants, and lighter lines represent less frequency of interactions between two members. I have included members’ pseudonyms, age and gender in table 1.

\textsuperscript{56} Network illustrations have been done entirely through a free function within Pajek software (Batagelj and Mrvar 2009) which locates members according to the number and strength of ties one assigns to every member in the program.
Net 1. Network of participants in this ethnographic research.
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As mentioned before, this is a sociolinguistic research that has made use of participatory observed ethnography where the author immersed herself in three socially distinct networks in the city of Juárez. I was able to control to a certain degree my relationship to the groups I was observing. My status in the groups was in some ways as an insider, since I have known the anchorage members for several years. But, on the other hand, by immersing myself in their own communities of practice, I was getting to know their other friends and acquaintances related to
their communities of practice for the first time. This allowed me to remain a second order network contact (Milroy 1980: 53). Nevertheless, I would like to acknowledge what Labov (1972) has called the observer’s paradox, since my presence could have produced some type of effect in interactions. Yet, since I was able to spend long periods of time with participants in each network (i.e. from 3 to 8 hours in one session), this probably minimized participants’ focus on being “systematically observed” (cf. Labov 1972: 209). In this way, I was able to carry out long observations of these different networks where I was easily accepted as a secondary member due to several reasons. The first one and more obvious relates to my personal relationship to many members in these groups, especially the central members. A second one has to do with the status I have achieved among my friends and acquaintances by being a graduate student in the U.S. This could have had an affect in several ways. In some networks, such as Network-A and B, where people possess more economic resources, this did not seem to affect very much my relationships since many of them are also studying at the university level; and, some of them are also studying in the U.S. and are planning to study in a graduate program as well. As a matter of fact this facilitated access to their social practices. My age in these networks did not seem to be a social obstacle or a barrier since I was seen more as an older friend and some type of a close role model.

On the other hand, in Network-C, a community of people in a marginal neighborhood in Juárez, I was introduced as a researcher by Cony, my main contact and anchorage member. I had not foreseen this, but she did it in order to present me as a role model for the other teachers, junior and high school students, as a native role model that had been able to achieve to be a doctorate candidate, in spite of little economic resources. This brought me several challenges. First I had to immerse myself even more intensely in this network in order to regain their
confidence, so they would be able to see me as one of them again. This was easier with the students. I spent lots of time with them, helping them with all their duties, and after washing dishes, or walking under the Juárez summer sun with them after finishing their chores I was able to freely talk to them, and they seemed to forget about my presence as an observer. With the teachers this was more difficult. After being introduced as a researcher, they were calling me maestra (a title used in Mexico similarly to ‘professor’ in English). So, I had to constantly laugh about it and again, I spent a great amount of hours accompanying them and doing what they consider their lower tasks, such as making their photocopies, going to numerous house visits in the neighborhood, and in general being the messenger of the group. I also decided to accept all their attempts to share their food with me, either on their breaks, or have lunch or dinner at some of their houses. This was done in order to acknowledge their show of trust, and to observe several social networks where people engage in different social practices. Furthermore, the study’s objective was to observe the linguistic behavior of these diverse communities of practice (cf. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003), and in this way, approach data without any predetermined categories of social class.

3.1.1. Different social networks

Within the large network, there is a social Network-A, and a Network-B. They mostly consist of a group of university students at Tecnológico de Monterrey and the University of Texas at El Paso, and Universidad Autónoma de Ciudad Juárez respectively. These students are a group of friends that have known each other since junior high school, where I met most of them. These, now, university students diverge in their interests. Students in Network-A are mostly dedicated to studying, and some of them work part-time too. Network-A also includes some of their nuclear family members since they are highly involved in their everyday activities.
However, most of the members of Network-A are classmates at the university, although some have become part of the group because they have been introduced by Ale, one of the members.

I have collected about 150 or more hours of recordings from all networks. However, I selected and transcribed approximately six hours of recordings for each of the three networks in this research for the linguistic analysis. These series of recordings were selected by first taking into account their sound quality. In total, about eighteen hours of recordings were selected in total, (approximately six hours of recordings for each network). The total 18 hours represent a balanced sample of recordings of the three networks that includes recordings of interactions and recordings of their everyday activities (see Appendix E). For instance, in Network-A, I chose recordings of interactions of members just hanging out and recordings of specific activities such as when they were engaged in designing a memorial prayer card for a funeral. The same was done for Networks B and C. These selected recordings were transcribed, and analyzed for each of the different linguistic variables which are the focus of the dissertation.

The data from Network-A consist of interactions between the 29 members (14 women and 15 men) of this network. These recordings include different interactions between different members of the network especially including one central female member called Ale. Some participants, including Mónica and Ricardo, overlap in both Network-A and Network-B (however, they were counted only once as part of their main network membership in this research). In addition, I conducted individual sociolinguistic interviews with six members of this Network-A, including Ale.

Members of Network-A got together at school or during weekends at some other places to socialize. Meetings of this network were not organized and happened spontaneously as in any group of friends. They get together outside of classrooms, coffee shops, malls, or bars. The role
of the researcher here was mainly to “hang out” with them in a variety of places and contexts. Network-A was formed mostly by middle and upper-middle class individuals. This network is represented in Figure 2 below.

Net 2. Network-A consisting of 14 women and 16 men

Ale comes from an economically well positioned family that has always provided Ale and her three siblings with the best education according to their current social setting values. Her father is a well-recognized person in the community; he is a native Juarense and owner of his own business. Her mother was born and raised in Mexico City where most of her family still lives. She also runs her own succesfull small business that contributes to the family economic situation. Ale’s parents met in Mexico City when they were college students there. Both Ales’ parents are educated people, very fond and involved in fine arts and what is considered high

57 I will only provide general characteristics of participants in this research for confidentiality reasons.
culture activities. Ale’s parents’ easy going personality and open mildness make their house open to lots of friends and acquaintances. For this reason, Ale’s house, mainly, is also one of the main places of reunion. She has a fairly big house with three bedrooms and several living rooms located in the center of zone Norte II, which makes it also a very strategic setting. Thus, I was able to observe Ale as a member of a wealthy sector in Juárez which entails that I could observe certain specific behaviors denoting particular values and attitudes that signal not only elements of social class in the more traditional sense, but also elements of racial formations, regarding a whiter north (Alonso 2004; Walsh 2004; Lugo 2008), gender, sexual practices, and lifestyles.

3.1.2 Social Network-B and Network-C

Social Network-B is composed of university students. Some of the university students in this Network-B attend the Universidad Autónoma de Ciudad Juárez, and others are studying in the U.S. either at the University of Texas at El Paso or at New Mexico State University in Las Cruces, New Mexico. They are highly involved in social activism. They get together at a junior high school called Benito Valdés, which is located at the skirts of the sierra de Juárez, which creates a natural limit of the city. Network-B meets two or three times during the weekend in order to tutor junior high and high school students from this working class neighborhood on academic matters, and as part of a youth religious social youth group. The Benito Valdés junior high is a private school located in a marginal neighborhood in Juárez. Families in these poor neighborhoods surrounding the school take advantage of the fact that this school is of very low cost. The Marian brothers (a catholic religious congregation who runs the school) can afford to have a very low tuition because they own a twin high school which is located in an upper class neighborhood which ends up supporting the Benito Valdés junior high.
Network-C includes the high school students and some of their teachers. Teachers function as guides and bear the main organizational responsibility of the work between the university students (Network-B) and the junior and high school students (Network-C). However, I consider the teachers participating in this research as part of Network-C, since most of them live in the same neighborhood as the junior high students, and in general are part of the same community. Most high school students in this network attend a high school called Martir Mexicano, which is run by Catholic nuns and is located in the same marginal west area of the city. They do so because they have scholarships that the group of activists has obtained for them (in which they also participate as activists themselves). All of these high school students are also alumni of the Benito Valdés junior high, and most of them live in the same marginal neighborhood. They live under very precarious conditions; some share a cement brick room with the many other members in their families, others live in cardboard houses on a dry creek, which becomes a dangerous zone when it heavily rains in the region. However, most of these young people are exceeding all expectations. The majority of them are among the top students in their classes. They have also shown great interest in participating in social activism in their own neighborhood and all of them have stayed away from drugs and gangs. Nevertheless, some members of this subgroup have also left, one girl decided to move with her boyfriend and quit school, others have just moved away from the neighborhood and the city.

Both of these Networks-B and C, the university students, the high school students, and the teachers from this marginal neighborhood form a group called Hermanos Marianos Misioneros (‘Misionary Marian brothers’) due to the fact that they work mainly under religious motivations. This network includes additional members; however, they are not all active participants of the group. I chose this network as a great example of a community of practice.
This is a particular local community formed by two main networks which engage in everyday social practices.

The community allowed me to observe their interactions. I interviewed and recorded the interactions of forty-seven people, twenty-six women and twenty-one men in both of these networks. I conducted individual sociolinguistic interviews with thirty members in this community. Net 3 illustrates Network-B and C together; they cannot be illustrated separated because most relationships between their members overlap.

Net 3. Network-B consisting of 8 women and 9 men, and Network-C consisting of 20 women and 13 men

Although, this study focused on women, several male members of these networks were recorded and interviewed as part of these networks’ social context. I conducted this research with these networks during the summer, and winter of 2008 and the summer of 2009. It is important
to mention that the researcher had been in close contact with most members of these networks in the years prior to the execution of the study.

3.2 Data collection and instruments

The data for this study were collected by means of different methods, taken from ethnographic research and sociolinguistics: participant-observation, note-taking, recording of interactions, and individual sociolinguistic interviews (cf. Milroy 1980; Eckert 2000, 2008b; Silva-Corvalán 2001; Mendoza-Denton 2008).58 I have used two digital recorders in this research, a mini-disc SONY model HI-MD MZ-NH1, and a digital recorder SONY model D BX800 2 GB. And I have used two microphones, one Shure MX393-C, and a Shure WH-20 head-mounted microphone.

3.2.1 Participant-observation and note-taking

In order to give an account of language variation among specific social groups in a border city like Juárez it is necessary to engage in a hybrid research practice (Eckert 2000). On the one hand, research of variation in language requires the use of quantitative methods; but on the other hand, it is only through ethnography that we can explore social categories at the local level in order to grasp their significance and their interconnections at the macro level (Eckert 2000, Mendoza-Denton 2008, see also Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz 2008). In this way, ethnographic research does not take as a point of departure social categories established in advance; on the contrary it centers on discovering relevant data (Eckert 2000). This demands a thorough knowledge of the community and a longer extension of time in the field in order to carry out a deeper participant-observation study within specific communities of practice. Eckert observes that “because meaning is made in day-to-day practice, much of it tacitly, the study of social meaning requires access to this practice” (74). Therefore, this study is based on a theoretical

58 Institutional Review Board (IRB) protocol approval number 09533
framework of variation as social practice which “sees speakers as constituting, rather than representing, broad social categories, and it seeks speakers as constructing, as well as responding to, the social meaning of variation” (3). In order to carry on this type of research, it was necessary to immerse myself in ethnographic data collection. Ethnographic data collection evidently entails the element of engaging into the very context of the participant’s experiences, which has already been done in sociolinguistic studies (cf. Eckert 2000; Mendoza-Denton 2008).

In this study I participated in the activities of the three social networks, while observing them and audio-recording when they agreed to being audio-recorded. I also took field notes of their social interactions and verbal behavior. Field notes in the ethnographic research were done in a systematic way in order to add a written record of all field observations as well as interactions and experiences (Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw 1996). Ethnographic notes were also crucial in order to determine the strength of relationships among members of each network. For Network-A I also considered as members of this network three members living in Mexico City since they are in constant contact with Ale, the anchorage member; plus, Ale travels to Mexico City at least twice a year. Tape-recordings were later transcribed and analyzed for each of the different linguistic variables under study.

3.2.2 Individual sociolinguistic interviews

Sociolinguistic interviews were also conducted with 32 members in these two social networks (cf. Milroy and Gordon 2003). These interviews lasted approximately 30 minutes each. These interviews were conducted at the end of the research after all the natural speech recordings were finalized. They were conducted in their houses or at the school classrooms in the case of members in Network-C. I decided to conduct a sociolinguistic interview first with anchorage members of each network, and then with the other members with whom they shared the strongest
ties. This was one of the most challenging parts of the study due to the difficulty of scheduling these interviews, and the time I had available to conduct them. Interviews with members of Network-C were easier to schedule since they had more stable dates and times for their own meetings. I conducted in total ten interviews with members of Network-A, seven with members of Network-C, and fifteen with members of Network-B. The interview was based on a list of questions (in appendix A). Nevertheless, this was only a guide and in most cases the researcher did not have to ask all the questions since participants were already addressing the topics themselves. Most of these interviews were conducted individually, but some of them were done in groups of two. After having collected these interviews, there were no more further recordings on interactions.

3.3 Social factors

This research’s social factors are network membership, gender, and racial formations. Network membership in this research is related to social relationships and lifestyles. Thus, this research also aimed to find how this network membership intersects with gender and racial formations in Mexico, as well as with a border regional racial belief of a *hard working whiter north* (Alonso 2004; Walsh 2004). Thus, considering these social elements, there was the need of an ethnographic study that reveals the social dynamics of the different social groups taken into account in this research.

3.3.1 Social networks

As mentioned earlier a social class division would be a static view of the social dynamics of this community, although differences in the socioeconomic background of the participants (from networks A, B and C) are quite marked. Consequently, these differences were expected to

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59 Omi and Winant have used “the term *racial formation* to refer to the process by which social, economic and political forces determine the content and importance of racial categories, and by which they are in turn shaped by racial meanings” (1986: 61).
be better analyzed in a study that differentiates groups of speakers who belong to social networks which interact within different social spaces and geographical spaces of the Juárez society. As already described, this ethnographic approach considered social networks which coincides with what is known as a community of practice (Davis 2005), i.e. group of people that get together in order to do specific things; thus, “They develop activities and ways of engaging in those activities, they develop common knowledge and beliefs, ways of relating to each other, ways of talking- in short, practices” (57).

3.3.2 Gender, race and ethnicity

Gender is considered a social factor in the study because of the ongoing social changes in Juárez society (cf. Lugo 2008) and because in sociolinguistic studies that include language change situations, gender has been found to be a strong indicator of language change (Labov 2001; Wolfram and Shilling-Estes 2005). Moreover, in previous pilot studies that I have conducted, gender has also been observed to play an important role in the construction of some gendered social stereotypes in language variation in Juárez. For this reason, this study considered gendered styles as its focus. Thus, I collected data from interactions of mostly women; however male members of the same social network were also present, since they were a significant part of their network, their social practices, and interactions.

As it was mentioned before in chapter 1, racialized beliefs of a more progressive and whiter north, contrasting with masses of migrants from southern areas are expected to be reflected in stylistic language practices in different networks, as well as in the ideologies behind these language uses. Moreover, in this research the term ethnicity is also considered as values and ideologies of group identification that organize society and that are directly related to an

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60 “race is a concept which signifies and symbolizes social conflicts and interests by referring to different types of human bodies” (Omi and Winant 1986: 55).
assumed “biological inheritance,” which is emphasized in “culture, purported kinship, history, patrimony and uniqueness” (Fishman:1999: 447). Following Fishman, I stress the importance of the link between ethnicity and identity to language within the current social changes that we are experiencing under globalization such as the “emphasis on the local” (1997: 450). Languages as bearers of collective ethnic identities in nations that now have to adjust to open borders (to trade and communication) are also subjected to these changes. It is no surprise then, that language attitudes in a city such as Juárez are changing and that this might be leading to changes in its use as well.

### 3.4 Linguistic variables

Regarding the linguistic variables, I focus on four linguistic variables: and the use of discourse markers as pragmatic markers, codeswitching between Spanish and English, English borrowings, Caló, and one suprasegmental (intonational contours). These linguistic variables are analyzed in the context of the social factors mentioned above.

In regards to regional identity, it has been noted that there exists a typical regional intonation from Juárez (Hidalgo 1983). Therefore, this study considered this regional contour in relation to Juarenses’s regional identity. Moreover, the uses of Caló, of English and English borrowings have shown to be a regional trait; although it has also been associated with certain social groups. This study analyses their usages in different social groups in order to see if they are connected to regional identities as well.
CHAPTER 4
PLURAL ETHNIC GENDERED IDENTITIES

The objective of this chapter is to describe the main linguistic and ethnographic characteristics of an emerging and innovative border identity(ies) in Juárez, Mexico and El Paso, Texas, in a particular social group of young people. This analysis centers on young women, the focus of this study.

This research analyzes interaction of people in a social network constituted by 78 people in Juárez, Mexico and El Paso, TX. However, this chapter only focuses on a sub-network of this 78 people network. This sub-network which I will call Network-A from now on, is formed of 29 individuals. The analysis of all the linguistic variables in this chapter was done on the transcription of about 6 hours of recordings of different types of interactions between members of this Network-A. The analysis of this chapter directly addresses the questions of this research. How is border identity constructed in the Spanish of Juárez youth? Which linguistic features are involved in this identity construction? Are features from English involved in this identity construction? Are regional Spanish linguistic features involved in this identity construction? Are there different identities? If so, what linguistic and social factors define these identities?

Hence, this chapter explores how young people and specifically women from Network-A construct linguistic identities that differentiate them from other social groups based on differentiations of social practices governed by traditional notions of perceived social class, racial formations, and gender hetero-patriarchal parameters. Here I analyze and discuss specific linguistic variables as indexes of social meaning, as well as discourse reflecting language ideologies behind these variables on this social network of mostly young women in Juárez, Mexico and El Paso, TX.
4.1 Social Network-A

This analysis is based on recordings and ethnographic notes gathered from interactions between these young university students within Network-A. The members know each other due to the fact that most were classmates or students in the same institution. At one point they were all students at the upper class secondary school called here Colegio del País. This took place between 2000 and 2003. Most are now college students in different public and private universities in Juárez and in El Paso. Network-A, is composed of some of the students that had very close relationships while at secondary school and that are still in contact. Their main characteristic is that they all come from families that possess enough economic resources to keep their sons and daughters in the most prestigious institutions in the region which also happen to be the most expensive. Network-A members are represented in Net 4 (same as Net 2 in chapter 3) and table 2.

Net 4. Network-A consisting of 14 women and 15 men
Table 2. Members in Network-A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Pseudonym</th>
<th>Network</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Strong ties</th>
<th>Weak ties</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ale</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Gisel</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Jorge</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Coque</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Edgar</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Adriana</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Laura (Mexico City)</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Silvia (Mexico City)</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Abel</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Jose Miguel</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Jose Alberto</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Jenny</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Rita</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Belsy</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Lauren</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Nando</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Gustavo</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Tommy</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Juan Raul</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Braulio</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Ricardo</td>
<td>A (B and C)</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Luna</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Rosario</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Jimmy</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Marina</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Marianna</td>
<td>A (B and C)</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Fede (Mexico City)</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Octavio</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Mike</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Following Fagyal, Swarup, Escobar, Gasser, and Lakkaraju (2010), here I provide particular details of observed subgroups within the bigger network in this ethnographic study. Since network density, which entails type and strength of relationships between members, determines network agents’ positions and their individual levels of influence or popularity which can have effects on language use (Fagyal et al. 2010: 2063; see also Labov 1994; Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 2003). As mentioned before, strong and weak ties in this research were defined based on more (strong ties) or less (weak ties) observed frequency of interaction between the members of the network. Frequency of interaction between members was ethnographically observed; thus, darker lines in Net 2 above correspond to stronger ties based on higher frequency
of interactions among two participants, and lighter lines represent less frequency of interactions between two participants.

In Net 2, we can observe that Ale is located at the center of the network since she has strong connections with all people interviewed in this sub-network. Although Ale has a bigger network than the one portrayed here; I have only included the most salient members of her network at the moment of the ethnography. Previous to this study, I personally knew many members of this network (15 members) for more than 10 years now. I was introduced to the rest by Ale in 2009 as part of this investigation. It is also important to note that this positioning of members in the network illustrations has been done entirely through a free function within Pajek software (Batagelj and Mrvar 2009) which locates members according to the number and strength of ties one assigns to every member in the program.

Ale is the youngest daughter of an upper middle class family. She has always studied in private institutions, which in a country like Mexico entails a better education including a good program in English as a second language. Ale, at the time of this research (2009), was finishing an undergraduate degree at the University of Texas at El Paso (UTEP). Her parents have been able to provide their daughters and son with the best possible education. Ale and her brother and sister have studied in private institutions all the way through high school and college on the U.S. side of the border. Most of Ale’s friends are from either upper classes or middle classes in Juárez. All of the members in this network live in what has been classified as the Northern City (la Ciudad Norte) (Jusidman de Bialostozky et al. 2008). The Northern City includes zones Norte 1, Norte 2, and Segundo Cuadro according to a social development plan carried on in the city in 2008 by a group of researchers from El Colegio de la Frontera Norte. This geographic area is illustrated in map 3.
This area offers all services like water, gas, electricity. All streets are paved, and it is considered in general the area with most resources in the city. The Northern City includes near to 20% (18.75%) of the population in Juárez. As the most affluent sector in Juárez, the Northern City includes more people with more than nine years of education, as well as fewer families with two minimum salaries, and less than 1 inhabitant per room in a house (Jusidman de Bialostozky et al. 2008). This is illustrated in table 3.
Table 3. Ciudad Juárez three Cities divided by zones, Adapted from Jusidman de Bialostozky et al. (2008)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Zone</th>
<th>Total population</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>PO&gt;= 2 sal. min</th>
<th>Average school years</th>
<th>Inhabitants/room</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Northern City</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norte 1</td>
<td>74,122</td>
<td>6.09</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>11.45</td>
<td>0.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norte 2</td>
<td>70,542</td>
<td>5.79</td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>11.48</td>
<td>0.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Segundo Cuadro</td>
<td>83,720</td>
<td>6.87</td>
<td>32.3</td>
<td>9.32</td>
<td>1.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>228,384</strong></td>
<td>18.75</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Western City</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Centro</td>
<td>79,916</td>
<td>6.56</td>
<td>48.6</td>
<td>7.49</td>
<td>1.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alta Zapata</td>
<td>60,002</td>
<td>4.93</td>
<td>52.2</td>
<td>6.86</td>
<td>1.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norponiente</td>
<td>103,632</td>
<td>8.51</td>
<td>60.1</td>
<td>6.27</td>
<td>2.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poniente</td>
<td>92,811</td>
<td>7.62</td>
<td>52.8</td>
<td>6.61</td>
<td>1.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aztoca</td>
<td>86,182</td>
<td>7.08</td>
<td>48.2</td>
<td>7.41</td>
<td>1.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revolución Méx.</td>
<td>95,906</td>
<td>7.88</td>
<td>52.8</td>
<td>6.68</td>
<td>1.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>518,449</strong></td>
<td>42.57</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Southern City</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jilotepec</td>
<td>99,397</td>
<td>8.16</td>
<td>35.5</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>1.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Granjero</td>
<td>94,618</td>
<td>7.77</td>
<td>44.2</td>
<td>7.55</td>
<td>1.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surponiente</td>
<td>75,350</td>
<td>6.19</td>
<td>40.2</td>
<td>7.96</td>
<td>1.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morelos Las Torres</td>
<td>102,138</td>
<td>8.39</td>
<td>34.5</td>
<td>8.81</td>
<td>1.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zaragoza</td>
<td>99,427</td>
<td>8.16</td>
<td>50.8</td>
<td>6.95</td>
<td>1.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>470,930</strong></td>
<td>39.67</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,217,763</strong></td>
<td>100</td>
<td><strong>42.6</strong></td>
<td><strong>8.06</strong></td>
<td><strong>1.41</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As a matter of fact, similar to other students at UTEP, Ale rents an apartment very close to campus along with some friends, so she does not have to wait the one to two hour long line to cross the border every day as many other students do. She goes to Juárez to her parents’ house during weekends, and holidays. I have spent a considerable amount of time in El Paso while hanging out with this network. Geographical space in this study is also considered an indexical social marker, since spaces and locations were observed to be part of the specific social practices of all the social networks in this study. Neighborhoods and public commercial areas are socially marked and most of them have been purposely designed to signal particular marketable social images and styles.
Regarding border crossing, members of Network-A rarely cross the border by foot. Instead they cross by car. This is also an indicator of a better social status, since crossing by car implies not only the obvious fact of owning a car but that you have a car that is “good enough” to cross the border, meaning in relatively good conditions to stay in a two hour line (sometimes at 110 degrees Fahrenheit) and with all the required documentation, including national and international insurance policies up to date.

The activities in which I was present while hanging out with this network where always in relation to their day-to-day life experiences as students and as young people in general. They often went to malls in Juárez (Misiones, Plaza Galerías), to popular restaurants (e.g. Las Alitas), and cafes (e.g. Starbucks), and ice-cream shops (e.g. Trevly), most of them situated in the Norte II, zone and some in Norte I. In El Paso they were almost always on the west side area of the city, which is considered to be the “best” area in El Paso and where UTEP is located. They often hung out on campus and in the surrounding areas, such as in chain restaurants, bars, cafes, or ice-cream shops around campus, as well as in the shopping areas located on the west side or in the old commercial area where the first shopping malls were established in El Paso, along the I-10 highway. Ale and her friends dedicated most of their time to school, work and socializing. It is important to note that most members of Network-A work because of the opportunity to obtain extra economic resources for their own personal expenses, but not as a primary source for their main living costs, which are provided by their families. For example, Ale and some of her friends at UTEP, like Nando, José Miguel, and José Alberto, work at campus coffee shops or at one of the different food service providers there. This is the most common type of work on campus, particularly for international students, as in the case of many members of this network including Ale (meaning that most of them are Mexican citizens). Other students work at different
administrative offices, such as Marina for example, who works at one administrative office oriented to provide mentoring to undergraduate students. However, there are some who work off-campus like Lauren, but this is due to the fact that she is an American citizen and she is able to get any kind of job without any visa restrictions. Hence, working in El Paso, either on or off campus means a great amount of economic freedom for these young people since their salary is provided in U.S. currency and thus, it is more than what any other student could be making in the same type of job on the Mexican side in Juárez.

In addition, all members in this network are very concerned with their personal image, especially women. They have an aesthetically marked style, in the makeup and clothing. As Penelope Eckert observed, young people use “social symbols” such as “dress, territory, cars, music, and language” as a way to signal social differences (1989: vii). Thus, “throughout society, clothing style signals economic means, access to information, and specific group identity” (1989: 62). Within this Network-A, people are expected to possess an abundant wardrobe according to the latest fashion style, mainly because they all live on the border and have easy and cheaper access to famous brand clothing. As also mentioned by Eckert, social expectations are not the same for men and women. In this Mexican border area, and within a social group that highly praises Americanization, these young women are not the exception; on the other hand this seems to be crucial. These young women’s style comprises not only clothing but a wide range of accessories, make-up and hair styles. The ethnographic findings within Network-A come to an agreement with Eckert in the sense that all this adornment goes beyond gender markers because, women’s greater stylistic elaboration is also an indication of their greater reliance on symbolic means of signaling social status in a society that denies them equal access to social mobility through action. Adolescent girls have to work harder to achieve social status and are far more constrained by physical attractiveness than boys. In addition, girls are more constrained by social distinctions than boys and must take greater care to signal the appropriate identity through the full range of symbolic means (Eckert 1989: 62).
In this way, these young women and some of her male friends as well (especially the ones with stronger ties), spend most of their time in places that indicate social prestige and status. These sites are generally within zones North I and II in Juárez and in some more extended areas of El Paso including the west side among others (generally commercial areas). Network-A is mainly Ale’s network. She is the anchor-agent in this network. In Milroy’s terms, this network is seen from the point of view of a single individual (Milroy 1980). Network-A should be regarded as a first order zone, since all members are linked directly to the anchorage or ego (cf. Milroy 1980), see Net 2. Network-A is nevertheless connected to the rest of the main network in this ethnography through indirect or second order connections, meaning that there is more distance between people in Network-A and the rest of the main network (see Milroy 1980).

4.2 Así and other pragmatic markers

Results of the linguistic analysis in this Network-A show a great variety of uses of several discourse markers. However, as I have mentioned in Chapter 2, due to the frequency of use and to its innovative character in Spanish, I have decided to center only on the use of the word así (‘like’) and explore some of its variants in certain contexts. The analysis of the data showed a high frequency of uses of discourse markers. The main reasons include its frequency and the similarities it shares with what has been found in other studies (Andersen 1998, 2000, 2001), and in Venezuelan Spanish (Álvarez 2002). Similarly to Venezuelan Spanish the use of the expression así in Juárez among speakers in Network-A does not seem to conform to prescriptive norms in “standard varieties.” As mentioned in chapter 2, Spanish así functions as an adverb, as a deitic lexical unit (Pastor 2010) in adjectival phrases, as it has shown to be used in Spanish diachronically and synchronically (Aaron 2009), and as a discourse marker functioning as a connector in discourse (Martín Zorraquino and Portolés 1999). In this way, the
uses of *así* produced by speakers within Network-A fall into the above categories, however, there are many instances that also complicate its’ classification within these categories. We can observe some of the uses of *así* in utterances produced by speakers in Network-A in example (8) produced by Ale, example (9) produced by Nando, and example (10) produced by Rita in three different conversations as follows.

(8) *Ale:* Me quedé *así* preocupada

*I got [asi] worried*

(9) *Nando:* ¿Un naco? Una persona con poca educación (*heavy breathing*) y a lo mejor y si me ha tocado ver gente *así* que van en unos carrazos de lujo y tiran la basura *así* por la ventana

*Nando: A naco? A person with little education (*heavy breathing*) and perhaps I have seen people [asi] they go in these big luxury cars and they throw trash out [asi] through the window*

(10) *Rita:* Si los estaba esperando porque al rato llegaron *así* ellas en una camioneta y luego se bajaron se subieron al otro carro y se fueron

*Rita:* Yeah, (He) was waiting for them because later they arrived [asi] in a SUV and then they got out they got into another car and left

In example (8), *así* accompanies a participle as a regular modal or manner adverb would do. In (9), we can see how the grammatical analysis could not be as transparent in some cases. The first case of *así* (meaning *like that* in English) in (9) is used as a regular manner adverb, whose referent is *naco* a term used to refer to people with limited education, which is the definition the speaker gives to the word *naco*. In listening to the recording, there is no pause after *así*, which could mean that *así* is also introducing the following clause and this could signal the use of *así* as a connector of discourse (meaning *like* in English). In the second case in example (9), *así* functions as a universal phoric\(^6\) described by González García (1995), since the adverb here is not signaling the manner in which people throw the trash out of the window but to the

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\(^6\) According to González García, adverbs of mode such as *como* and *así* can lose their modality and are able to accept not only other adverbs or nouns of form and manner, but they also are able to accept any previous sequence. Then, these words become universal phorics that function as predicate attributes as well (1995: 321). In this way, *asi* and *como* might be equivalent to the neutral deitic pronouns or similar constructions such as *eso, esto, lo siguiente, lo anterior*. Once the modal value is lost these words only possess a deitic reference (323).
fact that they do it because they have little education. As González García observes, a phoric así can take the whole clause as an attribute (325). Also, in example (10) así introduces a noun phrase as an adverb. Nevertheless, así precedes the noun and this change in position evidences that así here also possesses a phatic function that seems to be calling for the hearers attention. The speaker in this example is talking about the suspicious activity of her neighbors. What Rita seems to be trying to emphasize here is the whole picture of her neighbors arriving in a SUV and changing cars before leaving again as a suspicious act. Rita, though, does this by appealing to the common knowledge shared by her and the interviewer regarding the extended use of SUVs and big pickup trucks by people involved in illegal trading. Thus, así here does not only signal the manner in which these neighbors arrive in an SUV in a surprisingly manner, but it serves as a guide for the hearer to infer that there is something suspicious about this situation without making it explicit since that would be redundant and that would then violate the principle of relevance (Sperber and Wilson 1986; Blakemore 2002). Hence, the use of así here serves a pragmatic function, an illocutionary act since the most important objective for the speaker is to achieve a certain reaction on the hearer, a call for solidarity, since she has to deal with neighbors involved in criminal activities. This phatic function appears also evident in example (11), an utterance produced by Ale.

(11) Ale: Nando se iba a quedar conmigo en Juárez bueno aquí y este y sus amigas se lo iban a llevar al Paso y yo es que “Nando no me puedes dejar sola wey” que no sé qué así los dos, me despedí de él cómo cien veces

Ale: Nando was going to stay with me in Juárez well here and uhm and his friends were going to take him to El Paso and I was "Nando you can't leave me here by myself dude" and I don't know what else [así] both of us, I said good bye to him like one hundred times

In example (11) Ale is narrating to the interviewer how she, her friend Nando and other friends were at a local bar one day. And as a matter of fact, Ale and I were at a bar the night of
the interview. We were there by ourselves until we ran into some other friends of hers. In this example the use of así introduces the noun phrase los dos (‘both of us’) which does not seem to make any sense since it does not follow the previous utterance (the speakers’ own quote). And neither does it seem to make any reference to the following utterance me despedí de él como cien veces (‘I said good bye to him like one hundred times’) since both of these previous and following utterances are in first person. Thus, in así los dos, así does not act like an adverb, nor as a connector (cf. Martín Zorraquino and Portolés 1999), it is not a causal conjunction, and it does not function as a universal phoric (González García 1995). Since there is no referent, there is no semantic recurrence. However, the expression así los dos, not only makes sense but it is perfectly understood because así here serves as a cue particle guiding the hearer, pointing out to the audience what is relevant. Así signals that she was not the only one doing goofy things like saying goodbye one hundred times or saying silly things such as “Nando you can’t leave me here by myself dude” since we know that due to the context she was not going to be left alone because other friends were also present. Both of these utterances describe the type of silly manner in which one person behaves when he or she is drunk. So in this case, what así is pointing out to the hearer is the type of inference she needs to make in order to understand that both of them (Ale and Nando) were behaving silly because by the end of the night when Nando was about to leave with his friends to El Paso, they were already drunk.

More importantly, this whole narration was intended to be funny. In this entire interaction the speaker was recounting, and everything that happened that night was an entertaining act for the hearer, who was laughing throughout most of the exchange. It was a purposely entertaining narrative as a performative act. Moreover, it is important to add that this whole narrative included many quotations and it was accompanied of expressive body language with many
gestures, facial expressions, and noises. Ale was recreating the whole experience for the ethnographer and the people present (the bartender/friend, and friends coming and going); thus, the use of *así* in this particular example, serves as a pragmatic marker in discourse signaling common knowledge about behavior in bars. However it also points to a whole lifestyle of young people from her age group and of her particular social circle. Following Relevance Theory, I want to locate the use of *así* at the cognitive level because this use seems to be motivated by speaker’s display of identity. This is also more evident in the extended extract in example (12) where we could also observe the frequency of the uses of the word *así* in this particular narrative.

This high frequency now leads us to the discussion regarding the functions of *así* in the discourse of these young people in Network-A.62

(112) **Ale**: o sea me quedé ahí escuchando la bandilla *así como* que “bueno” y luego yo terminé de tocar le digo “oye que sí” y agarra y (sound mimicking a kiss) ay yo y me da un beso y yo *así de madres* y yo “bueno pues pos bueno” porque todos mis amigas estaban *así* “es que es que (name)” es para ti es perfecto para ti? no sé qué y yo *así como* que “bueno pues” y ya no, salimos… y el caso es que éste llego con (name) aquí en el Búfalo y yo “wey que pedo ¿cómo estás?” no manches *así como* si fuera mi amigo de toda la vida ¿no? O sea en México le hablé yo creo que dos veces más y y ya, o sea *así de que* como si fuera mi ami amiguisísimo *así de que* “wey no mames”…

**Researcher**: (non understandable)

**Ale**: … ay ya ándale que…ándale *así de que* de que yo “bueno” y luego Nando se iba a quedar conmigo en Juárez bueno aquí y este y sus amigas se lo iban a llevar al Paso y yo “es que Nando no me puedes dejar sola wey” que no sé qué *así* los dos me despedí de él cómo cien veces como si no nos fuéramos a ver jamás en la vida *así como* millones de veces *así de que* “es que Nando te quiero” “yo también” me dice “ya me tengo que ir” y yo “oh no yeah yeah” and stuff I even gave him a kiss on the forehead *así de que* “ya la bendición adiós mijito adiós” y dice que el sábado el viernes le estaba mandando un chorro *así* un chorro de mensajes *así de que* “no que esto y el otro” y *así* ¡no?

**Researcher**: (non understandable)

**Ale**: … there you go that... there you go *así de que* I “well” and then Nando was going to stay with me in Juárez well here and uh him and his friends were going to take him to El Paso and I was “Nando you can’t leave me here by myself dude” and I don’t know what else *así* both of us, I said good bye to him like one hundred times as if we were not going to see each other ever againfor the rest of our lives *así como* one million times *así de que* “it’s that Nando I love you “me too” he says “I have to go” and I (was) “oh no yeah yeah” and stuff I even gave him a kiss on the forehead *así de que* I gave him a blessing “good bye my son.” “go good bye” and (he) says that on Saturday on Friday I was sending him a lot *así* a lot of text messages *así de que* “no, this and that” [y *así* (and stuff)] no?

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62 As it can be noted in (12), the use of *así* is accompanied also by the expression *como* and other particles as *de* and *que*. This will be further analyzed in this chapter as the different variants of *así*. Moreover, this example does not include prosodic elements or other discourse details since it aims to center on the analysis of *así*.
As Álvarez (2002), and Andersen (2001) observe regarding syntactic and discourse functions of these type of markers, I do not want to disregard that the word así in the language productions of these young people can potentially function as an adverb, as a connector in discourse or in already made expressions such as así es (that's how it is), and así nomás (just like that) (cf. Aaron 2009). Yet, due to the frequency, as well as some of its uses such as the ones included in example (11) (and 12), it seems that así is being used as a pragmatic marker, and as an indexical of a particular group identity. In addition, it seems that it is going through semantic bleaching and is acquiring new meanings. But before delving deeper into the particular characteristics of these innovative uses of así, I will first explain why así behaves in many cases similarly to the word like in English in the sense that así in the Spanish of these young people should not be characterized solely as a hesitation device or as a filler (cf. Andersen 2001).

Andersen proposes that the expression like in the speech of adolescents in London is being used as a marker of loose use due to the fact that it works as an indicator of approximation, as a hesitant attitude. In many productions of the expression así, similarly to the word like, it still conserves an association to its original lexical meaning de esta o de esa manera (in this way or in this manner) (DRAE 2010), as well as its properties as a marker of discourse. Example (11) (and 12) would then also be an example of how así functions as a pragmatic marker of approximation. Así precedes a linguistic expression whose encoded semantic features and communicated concept are in a non-identical resemblance relation to each other and that is why we can say that the use of así here triggers loosening similar to the word like (cf. Andersen 2000). We can argue here that the word así is not lexically transparent as a marker either, and that is why it cannot be considered merely as a filler, as Andersen suggests, not all pragmatic markers can be considered
as non-propositional (2001). This might be clearer in the following examples were *asi* is also used as a *Set marking tag* (cf. Dines 1980; Winter and Norby 1999).

*Set marking tags* are discourse organizers “typically associated with textual cohesive meanings of illustration or generalizations of a set of particular items, activities” and which can follow a word, a phrase, or a turn in preceding or adjacent discourse (Winter and Norby 1999: 1-2). In example (13) Belsy is giving instructions to Ale regarding a memorial card that they are designing with Ale’s laptop for a relative. The speaker is telling her friend that because the background is already too white (and if she is planning on writing something on it) the letters should be in a darker color such as black for it to be more noticeable.

(13) **Belsy:** O sea es que yo digo tiene todo blanquito y si le vas a escribir tiene que ser como un color oscuro, o sea un negro o *algo así* porque en blanco beige *asi* esos colores no se ven en blanco...

*Belsy:* So [That is] I say that if it has everything all (little) white and you plan on writing over it, it has to be like a dark color, so [that is] a black or [something like that] because in white beige [like] those colors cannot be seen in white...

The first use of *asi* in this example can be translated as *and something like that*, which works as a *set marking tag* very present in the language of young people already studied in the use of English (Winter and Norby 1999; see also Stenström et al. 2002). Moreover, tags are linguistic elements that can serve different purposes in discourse since they are *interactional devices* attached to the statement in order to involve the hearer, or request his/her reaction. What is more, they may constitute expressions of politeness or signals of commonality among interlocutors (Stenström et al. 2002). In example (13), Belsy is making a generalization regarding the color they should pick; it must be a *darker color, a black or something like that*. She did not have to go through all the pallet of dark colors in her designer program on the laptop; she just went right to the black and with the use of *asi* made a generalization. The second use of *asi* in example (13) can be translated as *like* but also a generalization, as *loose use*, since
the speaker is explaining how unclear letters would be in their memorial card. The fact that Belsy is not being very precise here must not be taken as casual, as observed by Andersen (2000),

an utterance is a representation of a thought of the speaker and, as such, it may be a more or less precise representation of that thought. In relevance-theoretic terms, the proposition expressed by an utterance is viewed as an ‘interpretation of the thought of the speaker, and the relation between the proposition and the thought is one of ‘interpretative resemblance’ (Sperber and Wilson 1995: 232 quoted in Andersen 2000: 20).

This speaker does not want to be precise, not because she cannot find the correct color to suggest or because she is lazy to look for the right color. Instead her language behavior is an act of politeness since she does not wish to impose, which it is another similarity observed in the use of like in contexts of loose use (Andersen 2001). This is confirmed by her use of the diminutive within the same utterance (blanquito, literally meaning little white), also used in Spanish politeness (cf. Escobar 2001). The use of the diminutive in this example does not change the semantic contribution of the utterance but its’ intention. Así then serves as a cue to the hearer to signal that the most relevant interpretation is the non-literal.

In the next examples we can see how así acts like a pragmatic marker of approximation or loose use. In (14), y así (translated here as and stuff) follows Jenny’s recounting of an interview she had with the director of the college of medicine in a very prestigious Mexican university and how he was paying attention to her report card and to the fact that she had a one-hundred (100% score) in all her math classes.

(14) Jenny: y luego decía “no, pues este puedes irte a ingeniería biomédica” le dije “mire” ah porque estaba viendo mi boleta y veía que cien, cien, cien en todos los mates y así y le dije pues si estaría bien y le dije “mis exámenes de de para escoger la carrera me salía alto en todas”…

Jenny: an then (he) was saying “so, you could be in biomedical engineering” I told him “look” ah because (he) was looking at my report card and (he) saw hundred, hundred, hundred in all Math (classes) [like that] and I told (him) “So, yeah it would be good” and I told (him) “my exams to choose a major, I had high scores in everything”…

This use of así seems to also be signaling the intention of a generalization, on behalf of the reported speaker, regarding her grades, which could have been a hundred percent score in all the
cases or could have included a ninety-seven, the hearers do not know. Nonetheless, the most important point here is that her grades impressed the administrator conducting her interview, which seems to be the most relevant point of the whole exchange. Moreover, this generalization might have to do more with an intention to mitigate the content in order to show modesty as an interpersonal rhetoric device (Caffi 2007; see also Leech 1983), since showing off grades is not a very popular thing to do specially among youth in Mexico.

In example (15) we can also observe that the use of así by the speaker is of an approximation: Someone said that somewhere around the town of Mesilla, New Mexico, big pieces of hail fell.

(15) Ale: Dicen que en Mesilla y así para allá y es que así que unos granizos de este tamaño (mimicking)

Ale: They say that in Mesilla [and like] over there [and it’s like] some hail of this size (mimicking)

The first use of así which literally means and like that refers to the fact that the speaker is not sure exactly where it happened, but that the relevant significance here is that there were big pieces of hail falling from the sky. The second use, however, does not exactly function as a loose use, since así seems to signal just the opposite. It serves to signal salience in the following segment. How could this be? This is one of the more interesting aspects of expressions that serve as pragmatic markers, such as like or así in this data from Network-A. In the case of this example, it can also indicate enrichment of vague expressions, which “is the inferential process which constitutes a complementary counterpart to loosening” (Andersen 2000: 26). In the following example we have a clearer instance of the interesting function of así as a pragmatic marker of enrichment.

In (16) the first two uses of así, they appear to aid in making inferences regarding the nature of the situation being narrated, since the utterances by themselves seem to provide only a
vague account of what happened. In (16) Ale is narrating how some friends came out of a bar fight and how one of her friends was injured on the head and they had to call the paramedics.

(16) **Ale:** O sea salieron del del lugar *así* con una botella rota *así* le quebraron una botella en la cabeza y paramédicos *y así*

**Ale:** So, [That is] they went out of the the place [like] with a broken bottle [like] they broke a bottle on his head and paramedics [and stuff]

Thus, *así* also appears to be functioning “as an incentive to contextually enrich these vague expressions,” since the marker *así* seems to signal that such an inferential process is worth it in this context (Andersen 2000: 240, see also Carston 1996). As Andersen observes, loosening and enrichment are distinguished in the sense that loosening broads the scope of certain linguistic features where the lexical encoded concept is very particular; on the other hand, enrichment adds features to achieve a more particular “ad hoc concept as part of the interpretation process” (2001: 241). Hence, we can distinguish these stylistic complementary effects in discourse with the third use of *así* in (16) as a *set marking tag* which indicates that the previous segment, being the last of this utterance *y paramédicos y así* (’and paramedics and stuff’), is again a cue to aid in inferences of a rough approximation since the details of how this situation happened might not be for the speaker as relevant as the fact that it was serious enough to bring the paramedics. We can see other clear examples of the enrichment function of *así* below.

In (17) Ale says that she wants to get a female friend a present for her birthday from a specific store that sells very feminine “cute” products that are Virgen de Guadalupe themed as well as other catholic symbols in Mexico (among other non-catholic iconic products and not-as-cute things, such as effects more oriented to particular social groups or urban tribes (including punks, emos, rockers, etc., and its many subcategories) (cf. Maffesoli 1996; Feixa 2006).

(17) **Ale:** Ps pensé darle un regalito *así* de ahí ps a ver, por su cumpleaños

**Ale:** So I thought in giving her a little present [like] from there so let’s see, for her birthday
Therefore, así in (17) is a cue for an inference in regards that the present she intends to buy is not only from that store but it also possesses the very specific characteristics of cuteness (i.e. in pink color, with lots of glitter, etc.) that are well known by most young people in Mexico. The speaker has not explicitly said this in the previous part of the conversation, nor will she specify it later. She only mentions the person she intends to buy the present for because of her personality and because she is the sister of a guy that Ale wanted to date at the time. Thus a little present así de ahí (‘like from there’) could only mean that she is narrowing all the products from that store and she would only pick an appropriate present that is not literally little, but pretty and that would make her look good. Because of the cultural context of young women in Mexico, an appropriate present from that store intended for a young prospective sister-in-law can only mean a specific set of “cute-pretty” products. In (18), the use of así also seems to enrich and particularize the adjective fea (‘ugly’) referring to a specific part of the city of El Paso.

(18) **Rita**: Pero está la parte así fea del Paso

**Rita**: But, there is the [like] bad side of El Paso

In (19) Rita also seems to narrow the way she imagines herself when she graduates and becomes an adult by the use of así which in the second case introduces the adjective ejecutiva (executive) that it is also intensified by the use of the quantifier toda (‘all’).

(19) **Rita**: Y como que yo siempre que me imagino así cómo voy a ser de grande y me imagino como que quiero traer mi portafolios y vestirme así toda ejecutiva

**Rita**: And like I always imagine myself [like] how I am going to be when I grow up and I imagine like I want to carry my briefcase and dress [like] all executive

The production of all as an intensifier has already been vastly analyzed in English (cf. Rickford, Buchstaller, Wasow and Zwicky 2007) and its use and most favored distribution with adjectives has also provoked a discussion within pragmatic variation (Terkourafi 2011). Terkourafi observes that this intensification function can be recognized to encode procedural
meaning “whereby the instruction encoded by these variants is to interpret the property denoted by the head as one that the speaker wished to foreground or reinforce” (2011: 17). Thus, the use of the intensifier *todo/toda* commonly occurs in this data preceding an adjective and after *así*, such as in (19), (20) as well. The use of *así* as an enricher also occurs with other intensifiers as shown in (21), where it is produced before *super*.

(20) **Rita:** [El combo] Es que trae la hamburguesita y la carne está *como, así* toda mini mini

*Rita:* [The combo] So it includes the burger and the meat is [like] all mini mini

(21) **Ale:** Muchos de los emos que he visto aquí *así super* perforados, tatuados

*Ale:* Many of the emos that I have seen here [like] super pierced, tattooed

Going back to examples (19) and (20), it is necessary to highlight the presence of the expression *como* which also means *like*. That is, *así* is only one of several variants and could be sharing its distribution with *como*. Moreover, *como* and *así* also occur accompanied with the conjunction and/or relative pronoun *que* (‘that’) which, in turn, also co-occurs preceded by the preposition *de* (‘of’) as it is observed in (12). This might be broadening and complicating the scope even more. Here we have two examples of these uses in (22) and (23), where we can observe that the variants could be replaced with similar pragmatic effects. This is also verified by the fact that in the translation, the encoded meaning of these uses can be encompassed (as a whole expression) by the word *like*.

(22) **Jenny:** Y luego le dije *así como que* todo eso

*Jenny:* And then I told her [like] all that

(23) **Abel:** Mezclaron varias palabras, ya ves que (el español) tiene *así de que* del latín y palabras hasta en egipcio y del *así cosas de esas*

*Abel:* (They) mixed several words, you see that (Spanish) has [like] from Latin and words in Egyptian and from [like things like that]
Further evidence is found when we analyze the frequency of use of each of these variants within the functions as pragmatic markers as described above. First I present the distribution of así by itself. Here I follow Andersen’s (1998) analysis of the uses of the expression like as a pragmatic marker in English, as a marker of loose and enrichment use. Following this author and a scope within Relevance Theory, I present a classification and frequency of the use of the pragmatic marker así followed by the segment it introduces in table 4.
Table 4. Results of proportions of uses of objects of loose/enrichment interpretation of así in Network-A, based on Andersen (1998) (N=296)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Objects of loose/enrichment interpretation of así in Network-A</th>
<th>Tokens 296 total</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **Set Marking Tags**                                          | 68               | 22.97 | (24) Jenny: Son bajanovios bajatodo y así  
Jenny: They are boyfriend stealers anything stealing [and stuff]  
(25) Nando: No sé si es una señora o alguien de la tercera edad o así  
Nando: I’m not sure if she is a lady or a senior lady [or something like that]  
(26) Jenny: Mi día de descanso consultas gratis o no sé cosas así, si cosas así más como así  
Jenny: My free day free appointments or I don’t know something like that, yeah something like that] more [like that] |
| **Adjectival Phrase**                                         | 42               | 14.19 | (27) Ale: Hay emos hardcore y hay emo emo me corto las venas ¿no? Qué principalmente era el cabello así → largo tapándole media cara  
Ale: There are emos hardcore and there are I cut my arms’ emos no? That mainly wear their hair [like] → long covering half of his/her face |
| **VP**                                                       | 41               | 13.85 | (28) Rita: De hecho ahorita estaba separando así → estaba saqué las maletas y están como que fui en mi cama  
Rita: As a matter of fact I was separating [like] → was got out the suitcases and are [like] fui on my bed |
| **Adv phrase**                                                | 31               | 10.47 | (29) Rita: Claro que nadie salió ese fin de semana ¿sabes cómo? así → solo, solo  
Rita: Obviously no one went out that weekend you know what I mean? [like] → lonely, lonely |
| **NP**                                                       | 27               | 9.12  | (30) Ale: Había circulitos de emos así → bolitas de emos y no sabías si eran niños o niñas  
Ale: There were little circles of emos [like] → little circles of emos and you couldn’t tell if they were boys or girls |
| **Whole declarative preposition**                             | 25               | 8.45  | (31) Tommy: Pero así → el uno uno yo creo en la lista es primero Monterrey  
Tommy: But [like] → the number one on the list I believe is Monterrey  
(32) Ale: Es que también así → hay un chavo super nice  
Ale: umh also [like] → there is a super nice guy |
| **Emphatic tag in final utterance position**                  | 20               | 6.76  | (33) Jenny: Y luego le dije así como que todo eso y se estaba infartando el señor así  
Jenny: and then I say to him [like] all that and he was having a heart attack [like that/this]  
(34) Ricardo: Es muy diferente lo que yo quiero hacer así  
Ricardo: It’s very different what I want to do [like that/this] |
| **Prep Phrase**                                               | 20               | 6.76  | (35) Nando: Un chero naco ps te va a hablar así → con esa con las de pueblerino  
Nando: A naco cowboy uhm he’s going to talk to you [like] → with  that with country ones (words) |
| **Quotative**                                                | 16               | 5.41  | (36) Ale: El ex novio de Cristy Jammer “¿cómo estás mi Jammer?” así → “no, we’re jammin in the name of the Lord”  
Ale: El ex novio de Cristy Jammer “How are you my Jammer?” [like] → ”no, we’re jammin in the name of the lord”  
(37) Jenny: Vuelves otro día ves otros pacientes pero pasas por allí y cargan con una tristeza enorme así → “pff”  
Jenny: You come back another day and you see other patients but you pass by there and (they) carry a huge sadness [like] → “pff” |
| **Measurable Units**                                         | 5                | 1.69  | (38) Lauren: Y como que ves así → un chorro de lugares cerrados que eran así como que OK  
Lauren: And [like] you see [like] → a lot of places closed that were [like] OK |
| **Whole interrogative preposition**                          | 1                | 0.34  | (39) Nando: Para ti así → ¿qué te qué qué impresion te causaría alguien que lo ves en una camioneta de tres toneladas con sombrero botas escuchando unas de Valentin?  
Nando: For you [like] what what impression would it make for you someone that you see in a three-ton pickup truck with his hat boots listening to some Valentin (songs)? |

The findings of loose and enrichment uses of the pragmatic marker así in the speech of speakers in Network-A show that set marking tags are the most frequent (cf. Dines 1980; Winter and Norby 1999). These uses included the following expressions, y así (‘and stuff/and like that’),
algo así, (‘something like that’), o así (‘or stuff/or like that’) o algo así (‘or something like that’), o una cosa así (‘or a thing like that’), y cosas así (‘and things like that’), y luego así (‘and then like that’).

Not surprisingly, the next most frequent use of así as a pragmatic marker are adjective phrases followed by verb phrases, and we could also see some of these uses in examples (24), (25) and (26). Its use as a quotative per se (examples (36) and (37)) was not as frequent as expected. Nonetheless, there seems to be a very blurred line between the use of así (and its variants mentioned in table 4) as a quotative of reported speech, thoughts, emotions, and wishes that constitute usually complex abstract mental representations of speakers. Therefore, I elaborate more on the function of así as a quotative below. First I will further discuss some of the functions of así found within this Network-A.

As can be observed in table 4, así was also found to function as what I will call here an emphatic tag in utterance final position. This use of así as an emphatic tag in utterance final position diverges from the uses of like in English since it occurs at the end of an utterance. This position is influenced by Spanish syntactic characteristics, and to the fact that así still keeps a link to its original modal meaning ‘in that manner’ as shown by Aaron in her diachronic study (Aaron 2009). It is important, however, to notice deeper implications regarding these findings. Álvarez notices that in the Venezuelan case, así as a consensual expression, behaving as an appendix of a phrase and object of interpretation (i.e. prepositional phrase, verbal phrase, etc), it can no longer go at the end of the utterance such as in the phrase trabajar así, en el campo (‘work in the field like that’ my translation) (2002: 17). Álvarez observes that by staying next to the prepositional phrase, así becomes a consensual expression, a cue to signal commonality
between the speaker and the hearer. Thus, this dependence is what leads this author to propose that there is probably a process of grammaticalization going on in the Venezuelan case.

However, in the Mexican border case, the use of así as a pragmatic marker functioning as an *emphatic tag* in utterance final position seems also to be under an advanced process of grammaticalization. Even though, así here occurs in final position and still possesses a weak link to its modal meaning (as the Venezuelan case), this expression functions as a cue to call for the hearer’s attention. It emphasizes certain common knowledge or explicit concepts to signal what is relevant. Moreover it seems to also be signaling speaker’s stance. Examples of this use can be seen in examples (33) and (34) in table 4. In (33) así appears to be making reference to the previous sentence, since it occurs at the end of the speaker’s utterance, and this segment is basically a metaphor of someone dying of a heart attack. Nevertheless, así is properly acting as an echo; it functions as an *echoic metarepresentational* element (cf. Carston 1996; Andersen 2000). Therefore, así shows to also possess a *subjective function* that makes possible for the speaker to indicate an attitudinal relation with the utterance’s proposition (cf. Andersen 2000). Así in (33), as the other uses of así as a pragmatic marker in this data, appears to function as a marker of loose use, (approximation, generalization, etc); yet it also appears to particularly show stance. In cases of conversational generalizations as instances of speakers’ stance, Scheibman (2007) observes that generalizations can function as speakers’ evaluations, since they can possess broadening or inclusive functions, and that “they participate in intersubjective activities at an interpersonal level (e.g., politeness, demonstrations of solidarity) and more globally in the maintenance of cultural norms through tacit sharing of societal discourses” (133). Similarly, in example (34), así is signaling the whole abstract set of intentions and wishes entailed in the fact that the speaker wants to do things in a very different way regardless of whether someone does
not like this. In this sense, *así* possess a *metalinguistic* capacity, as a pragmatic marker that allows the speaker to express propositional attitude (Andersen 2000).

### 4.2.1 Quotatives

After analyzing these uses, it is not surprising that *así* can also serve to signal a whole declarative or interrogative proposition as in examples (36) and (37) in table 4.

(36) **Ale**: el ex novio de Cristy Jammer “¿cómo estás mi Jammer?” *así* → “no, we’re jammin in the name of the Lord”

**Ale**: el ex novio de Cristy Jammer “How are you my Jammer?” [like]→”no, we’re jammin in the name of the Lord”

(37) **Jenny**: Vuelves otro día ves otros pacientes pero pasas por allí y cargan con una tristeza enorme *así* → “pff”

**Jenny**: You come back another day and you see other patients but you pass by there and (they) carry a huge sadness [like] → ”pff”

In (36), reproduced below, *así* can introduce complete statements about the speaker beliefs. *Así* also function as a quotative of reported speech as well as of thoughts, emotions, mental state, desires, etc. These uses seem very similar to the uses of *like* in English as part of youth language where reporting speech and other abstract representations such as mimicking or sound words (Wennerstrom 2001, Roth-Gordon 2007), which require a *high-involvement style* (Stenström et al. 2002: 107).

Due to the fact that the use of *be + like* in English has already been largely studied, and because of its extended uses to other verb tenses, persons, as well as attribution of thoughts and mimicking, I take a broader look at this distribution, shown in table 5.
Table 5. Uses of pragmatic markers as quotatives in Network A (N = 450)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pragmatic markers as quotatives</th>
<th>Tokens 450 total</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Decir (verb to say)</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>25.33</td>
<td>(40) Jenny: Yo dije → “¿por qué son tan asco de personas?”&lt;br&gt;Jenny: I said → “why are they such terrible people?”&lt;br&gt;(41) Tommy: Le dije → “Te voy a sacar de la escuela y no voy a pagar nada si no te vistes bien”&lt;br&gt;Tommy: He said to him → “I will take you out of school and I won’t pay for anything if you don’t dress properly”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y yo, y él, y ellos, y nosotros</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>22.89</td>
<td>(42) Jenny: Y yo → “[buuuhhh!” (mimicking crying)&lt;br&gt;Jenny: [And I] → “[buuuhhh!”&lt;br&gt;(43) Jenny: Y ellos → “¿Qué?”&lt;br&gt;Jenny: [And them] → “What?”&lt;br&gt;(44) Ale: Asi de que → “wey no mames”&lt;br&gt;Ale: [Like] → “dude no shit”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asi de que</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>(44) Ale: Asi de que → “wey no mames”&lt;br&gt;Ale: [Like] → “dude no shit”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y luego</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>8.67</td>
<td>(45) Rita: Y luego → “¿Qué vas hacer el viernes?”&lt;br&gt;Rita: [And then] → “What are you doing on Friday?”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y yo asi de</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4.44</td>
<td>(48) Rita: Si está suave si con las finanzas y todo es como que → “[wow!”&lt;br&gt;Rita: It’s awesome yeah with finances and everything it’s [like] → “wow!”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Como que</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>(49) Jenny: Y yo asi → (mimicking of annoyed face)&lt;br&gt;Jenny: [And I like] → (mimicking of annoyed face)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asi que</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3.56</td>
<td>(50) Ale: Mis amigas estaban asi → “es que es que (name) es para ti”&lt;br&gt;Ale: My friends were [like] → “uhm uhm (name) (he) is for you”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asi que</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2.67</td>
<td>(51) Rita: Mis papas asi que → “[como te fue el dia hoy?”&lt;br&gt;Rita: My parents [like] → “how was your day?”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asi como</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(52) Ricardo: También asi como → “ay caray”&lt;br&gt;Ricardo: Also [like] → “darn”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De que</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(53) Belsy: Se llevaban muy bien con todo el mundo, de que → “ajajá”&lt;br&gt;Belsy: [He] get along with everybody [like] → “hahaha”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(54) Jenny: “¿Como decidiste que querías estudiar medicina?” → “lavando los trastes”&lt;br&gt;Jenny: “How did you decide to study medicine?” → “washing the dishes”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Como</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.67</td>
<td>(55) Rita: Nos componemos y ya es como → “pff”&lt;br&gt;Rita: We get better and that’s [like] → “pff”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asi como de</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.22</td>
<td>(56) Adriana: Asi como de → “descanse en paz”&lt;br&gt;Adriana: [Like] → “rest in peace”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Como que dice</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.22</td>
<td>(57) Jenny: Como que dice → “me estaré acordando un dia tras otro dia”&lt;br&gt;Jenny: [Like (he) says] → “I will be remembering (this) day after day”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tipo que</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.22</td>
<td>(58) Ale: Tipo que → “ya nos quedamos aqui wey”&lt;br&gt;Ale: [Kind of/like] → “we are stuck in here dude”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The uses of all instances of quotation within the same data in Network-A are varied. Not unexpectedly, the most frequent quotatives were all uses with the verb *decir* (‘to say’) with 25% of the whole set of 450 tokens. Examples of these uses are shown in (40) and (41). No other communication verbs were found within data from Network-A (such as *contar* (‘to tell’), or *comentar* (‘to narrate’), etc. The following most frequent quotative complementizer used by this network was *y yo, (y él, y ellos, y nosotros)* (‘and I, and him, and them, and us’) as shown in examples (42) and (43). This use appears to be innovative and it also resembles the use of *be* +
like. If we add these tokens to the ones of y yo así (and I like), and y yo así de (and I like of), we get 31% of the total, which surpasses the ones with the verb decir (to say) as we can see in pie chart 1. This chart also suggests that some of these different uses of así as a pragmatic marker of loose use, such as Así de que (literally like of what), might be showing tendencies of functioning more as a quotative.

![Pie chart 1. Proportions in distribution of most frequent quotative variants](image)

Similar to data from other youth groups, there were many speech reporting strategies, such as verbal humor and mimicry expressed in voice and intensity change (cf. Wennerstrom 2001; Strensom et al. 2002). In example (46) in table 5, it can be observed as a case of mimicking regarding the way the speaker perceives how people from Monterrey talk. This speaker is mimicking a northern intonation similar to the one attributed to cowboys in the southwest yeehah! (to be discussed in section 4.5). Another case of interesting mimicry was example (43), where the speaker is mimicking an indigenous accent from the South (to be discussed in section 4.5). These uses show the level of awareness that people in Network-A have regarding other varieties of Spanish linked to other regions or class, and ethnicity, as well as hetero-patriarchal gendered relationships. I suggest, then, that example (59) reveals some of the
existing social ideologies of this network. The speaker in (59) is providing a mimicry of the way indigenous people from the south speak (according to her) to signal that at that moment of the narration, she was behaving in a stereotypical manner regarding the way in which women from rural places behave when they are sexually harassed by more powerful men.

(59)  
Ale: Y yo (laughing) nooo así como indita, “hazte, quítate, ya párále, pérate, pérate” (higher pitch voice, moving hands)  
Ale: And I (laughing) nooo [like]a little indian (indigenous), “move away, stay off, stop, wait, wait”

Ale narrates that her male friend was teasing her at work and how he was being openly flirtatious; thus, in this example she is quoting herself (with a zero-quotation; cf. Andersen 1998, 2000, 2001, Streñosom et al. 2002; Buchstaller and Darcy 2009) regarding her reaction towards his friend’s advances which resulted in a series of short imperative utterances of rejection in a higher pitch and with a characteristic southern/more indigenous like intonation on each of the utterances. Next to the last word being repeated, there is the short form of the imperative of the verb ‘to wait’, pérate (from esperar, espérate) in a stigmatized popular variant. Thus, even when this entire recount happens within an amusing context of laughing and humorous mimicry, it reflects the still persistent ideology that permeates gender, hetero-normative sexuality and racial formations within interpersonal relations in this network.

In addition, these quotative pragmatic markers also introduced many sound words (cf. Roth-Gordon 2007). Short sound words recreate actions for the hearer; they consist of a form of ellipsis and are phonologically graphic (Tannen 1986; Roth-Gordon 2007). In (42) the speaker is quoting herself crying. She does not verbally describe the action, but produces the onomatopoeic expression “¡buuuhh!” Other sound words found among these young people in Network-A,

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63 This intonation will be further discussed in section 4.5
describe not only actions but feelings and attitudes of speakers or other people in the narration. Nevertheless, these uses of sound words are important to observe different identity formations, since some members such as Ale and the rest of the male members in Network-A almost never used them. Ale only in some instances used *blablabla*, *bleh*, or *uh?*, mainly to convey irony, or attitude of indifference, and to signal that something was boring; though, she never used *fwa* or *pff*. These last sound expressions seem to already possess certain feminine attributes.⁶⁴ Thus, these uses seem to signal a type of a more feminine identity related to a more childish-like speech style, and *cuteness*. In the words of Juan Raúl; one of the male members in this network *Jenny es la reina de los ruiditos* (‘Jenny is the queen of little sounds’). Uses of sound words are in table 6.

**Table 6. Sound words as quoted actions and attitudes in Network-A**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sound word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>buuuh</em></td>
<td>Crying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>jajajajaja</em></td>
<td>Laughing, sarcasm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>blablablabla</em></td>
<td>Long expected speech</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>aaaah</em></td>
<td>Pain, surprise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bleh</em></td>
<td>Attitude of indifference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>fwa</em></td>
<td>Surprise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Uh?</em></td>
<td>Questioning one self</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Pff</em></td>
<td>Sadness, emotion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lalala</em></td>
<td>Happily distracted, in love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>wow</em></td>
<td>Surprise</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Furthermore, when asked during the sociolinguistic interview why she did not use many of these sound words, Ale said that she just did not like them too much. This might have to do with Ale’s strong personality, that even though is very feminine in many ways, (her always polished nails, long hair, matching purse, brand feminine shoes, etc.), she nonetheless expresses many opposing elements aesthetically (her thick black eyeliner, her always changing dyed hair, and piercings), and in her language. For instance, Ale’s discourse is often full or sarcasm and

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⁶⁴ As described by some members of Network-A.
irony, as well as complex word games which she displays more frequently in discussions with her male friends, with whom she enjoys deeper and more philosophical discussions about life. In this way, Ale and her male friends showed a wider range of gendered identity formations through language and discourse.

As a matter of fact, during the time of this research Ale hung out many times with her close male friends such as Nando, sometimes with Juan Raúl and Braulio, and other times with Tommy, or both Tommy and Mike. While hanging out with Juan Raúl and Braulio conversations sometimes became very intense and we could spend hours in a café speaking about the most diverse topics such as movies or about art, literature and philosophy. Interactions between Ale and Tommy were also similarly shaped; the difference was that their interactions were very distinctive since they included codeswitching and many more non-adopted English borrowings than with the rest of her male friends. Tommy is studying at one of the most prestigious universities in Mexico, and comes back to Juarez to visit his family every time his school obligations allow him. The important fact here is Tommy’s continuous exposure to English since at this particular university many classes are in English where most are taught by native speaker professors. Thus, most interactions with these particular male friends such as Juan Raúl, Braulio and Tommy were very different from interactions Ale had when other male friends were present regarding gender and racial formations. One salient example is of an interaction that took place was when Mike was present. Ale, Mike and Tommy were hanging out at Ale’s house.65 The whole interaction happened in Spanish and there were no instances of codeswitching from neither Ale nor Tommy.

At one point in the interaction Ale started talking about a radio station program were the talk show radio hosts annoyed her because of the way they speak. She then mocks the hosts

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65 I was not present at that moment.
using specific lexical elements from Caló such as de word *rolilla*, a diminutive of *rola* ('song') and the pronunciation of the voiceless alveopalatal affricated /ʃʃ/ as a voiceless alveopalatal fricative [ʃʃ] characteristic from the region (Amastae 1996). She does this mocking performance of a more masculinized working class speech with a low pitch and a change in her voice quality. The proof that she successfully reproduced a stereotypic way of speaking known by all of the people present at the moment is that her friends laughed loudly and continued the mocking. Mike even states the phrase *bien nacote* (similar to ‘so ghetto’ in this context) right afterwards as a metalinguistic commentary. By using the aumentative form of the word *naco* (*nacote*), the speaker also adds strength to the expression. This not only reveals the group’s level of awareness regarding the social meaning of this specific language stereotype, but also how particular stereotypes are highly gendered and racialized such as this one, being from a working class variety. The interesting part is that Ale’s performance not also reveals her language awareness but also her proficiency regarding masculine linguistic acts of identity that became reproduced and continued by her male friends especially Mike. This type of interaction is a display of a more masculinized identity within a continuum of gendered identity formations which also reproduces national discourses of class, racial formations and ethnicity. The whole interaction can be found in appendix C.

### 4.2.2 Variants of *así* as a pragmatic marker

Moreover, there were general tendencies in this network regarding the distribution of the different variants of pragmatic marker uses without including the quotative functions. These appear in table 7.
Table 7. Distribution of variants of pragmatic markers of loose and enrichment use (without quotative uses) (N=678)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pragmatic markers (without quotatives)</th>
<th>Tokens Total 678</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Así                                   | 280              | 41.30 | (60) Lauren: No, ya ya no sabes ni qué y como que ves así → un chorro de lugares cerrados  
Lauren: No well, now you don’t know what’s going on [like] you see [like] → a lot of closed business |
| Como                                  | 100              | 14.75 | (61) Tommy: Cuando usas ingles es porque puedes darte el lujo de pagar buenoComo → una escuela bilingüe  
Tommy: When you use English it's because you can afford to pay well [like] → a bilingual school |
| Como que                              | 94               | 13.86  | (62) Rita: O sea eso está padre pero también por el otro lado está como que mi papa tiene la empresa  
Rita: So, it’s cool but on the other hand it’s [like] → my dad has the company |
| Así como que                          | 62               | 9.14  | (63) Rita: Por ejemplo hace poquito, bueno literalmente poquito fuimos al Starbucks de aquí de la Gómez  
Morín y así como que → estábamos afuera  
Rita: For example, little while a ago literally little time ago we went to Starbucks on Gómez Morín  
Avenue and [like] → we were outside |
| De que                                | 50               | 7.37  | (64) Jenny: Y también en tango de que → ella le gustaba mucho bailar tango  
Jenny: And also in tango [like] → she really liked to dance tango |
| Así de que                            | 42               | 6.19  | (65) Ale: Así de que → “seriously what are you looking at?”  
Ale: [Like] → “seriously what are you looking at?” |
| Así como                              | 27               | 3.98  | (66) Braulio: Con lentes así como → de nerd así  
Braulio: With glasses [like] → as a nerd [like/this] |
| Así que                               | 10               | 1.47  | (67) Rita: A veces llegan así que → camiones en la noche  
Rita: Sometimes they arrive [like] → trucks at night |
| Así de                                | 7                | 1.03  | (68) Nando: Su cinturón así de → con su hebilla botas  
Nando: His belt [like] → with his large buckle and boots |
| Como tipo                             | 3                | 0.44  | (69) Jenny: Como tipo → punk  
Jenny: [Like] → punk |
| Así como de                           | 1                | 0.15  | (70) Nando: Entonces trato así como de → también de utilizar palabras generales  
Nando: So, I try to use [like] → also to use more general words |
| Como que asi                           | 1                | 0.15  | (71) Belsy: No sé como que así → que se iban a ir compañeros o amigos  
Belsy: I don’t know [like] → friends and classmates were leaving |
| Tipo que                              | 1                | 0.15  | (72) Ale: Al principio es así como que los dos así que tipo que → porque ahorita si nos volvimos a ver  
Ale: At the beginning it’s [like] both of us [like] → why now if we saw each other again |

Comparing both tables, table 5 (variants of quotatives) and table 7 (variants of pragmatic markers of loose and enrichment without quotatives), we can see how the expression como (‘like’) serves more as a pragmatic marker, particularly with noun phrases, than as a quotative. It is also clear that tipo que (‘like’) is not as popular after all, as Ale and Nando had reported in their sociolinguistic interviews. They expressed that the word tipo is a stereotypical word of fresas. It is important to note that nobody in this network reported in the metalinguistic interview, the use of así or any of these variants at all. Nevertheless, this variety of pragmatic markers might be signaling one of the stages of change in the semantic development of así, and in the formation of a specific identity within this particular social group. Moreover, the semantic
development might be following a similar pathway as the one for *like* found among young people that Network-A interact with on the US side of the border, and/or in what is used in the media.

### 4.3 Spanish and English in contact

As stated before, most members in this Network-A are fluent bilinguals in Spanish and English due to opportunities they have had during their entire life, such as attending bilingual schools in Juárez or at El Paso, traveling to the U.S., summer camps in the U.S. etc. Thus, the use of English was very common in the socializing of these network members, and is mostly produced with a sense of ordinariness. Many uses of English borrowings, especially related to technology, were often produced among Network-A members. These uses are expected, since currently the use of technology plays a crucial role in the everyday life of most urban centers, and especially among youth. These uses were usually non-adapted borrowings. Moreover, there were some members in this network who produced not only many non-adapted borrowings regarding proper nouns and technology, but also other instances of already made expressions such as *Oh my God, by the way*, as well and many pragmatic markers, including *like, well, you know, etc.* (cf. Fraser 1990). The specific members were Ale and people with strong ties to her, including Rita, Jenny, Nando, Lauren, Belsy, Tommy, Juan Raúl and Braulio, those with strong ties in Mexico City such as Fede, Laura, and Silvia, as well as other people studying at UTEP such as Marianna. We can observe some of these uses in the following example (73) where Ale and Belsy are chatting in a coffee shop close to the UTEP campus. Ale had kept the extra digital recording device (Sony model D BX800 2 GB) I had, since she had offered to do recordings in the days I had to be with one of the other networks involved in this ethnographic study. Her friend Belsy is also an undergraduate student at UTEP. Her parents are both white collar
professionals that have obtained US citizenship because of their job positions. One of her parents was born and raised in Mexico City, and echoing Ale’s familiar situation. Belsy also has many relatives that still live in the capital. Belsy and Ale have known each other since high school when they were both studying at what is considered one of the most prestigious private institutions of higher education in Mexico.

(73) A winning combination

1. Ale: y este... pero no no le escribí nada y, digo le escribi y le dije
2. “no, me voa ir a (city in the US) ps te quería ver en verano
3. pero ya no se pudo y ni modo” y luego así de que en la
4. mañana me pone me pone así de que en el Messenger “te
5. extraño” y yo así de <<what!? <<high pitch>> Si y le dije “ah
6. leiste mi Mail?” me dijo “no ¿cuál Mail?” y yo (3) wey! así
7. me quede así de “no manches” y mugre coincidencia así
8. como que <<“oh my God” (2) >>I guess that’s XX

9. Belsy: No names (1) ay ya sabía, ya sabía que algo así iba a pasar

10. Ale: ay wey pero no pasó nada o sa ah me invitó a (city in Mexico)
11. Belsy: aha
12. Ale: este, y me dijo que …
13. Belsy: Luis tiene un romance con alguien de (city in Mexico) …

14. Ale: wey sí me dijo me dijo pinche Luis me dice “¿oye, no tienes
15. familia en (city in Mexico)?” <<higher pitch>>, Y yo
16. así de, “no, no que yo sepa ¿porque?” me dice “es que
17. conozco a unos niños Villalpando” y yo, (1) “>>ah,
18. >>pah a los Villalpando casi no los conozcoV digo igual
19. y si porque todos son se supone que todos son familiares”,
20. O “si es un apellido poco común” y yo, >> “aha
21. whatever”, “I mean, solo te quería saludar” y yo, “ah si que te
22. vaya bien”, así de que bien >>ah me caga wey pinch Luis XX

23. Belsy: Asshole
24. Ale: Ay que rico! <<high pitch>> (to her drink), XX Ice cream
25. Belsy: ice cream (overlapped)
26. Ale: A winning combination of cool ice cream and refreshing
27. lemon (softer voice as in media advertising), (2) bueno, ¿tú?

28. Belsy: y luego (at the same time)
29. Belsy: ah ¿qué, (name)? Ash,(breathing) wey, o sea haz de cuenta to
30. todo estaba normal wey, >>como siempre durmiéndome a las
31. seis de la mañana wey, <<todos los fucking days >>y así o
32. sea de (1) <<=I would manage to, like fuck with him even in
33. finals, (1) with the guy, entonces, haz de cuenta que (1) abri
34. twitter wey, XX o esa cosa
35. Ale: >>twitter
36. Belsy: >> twitter, pero él me había dicho que él tenía twitter pero nunca o sea no le avisé que yo ya tenía twitter y lo busqué, entonces lo busqué, <<y veo wey (1) y empiezo como a leer todo lo que ha puesto wey y así wey, y así de que wey o sea, (breathing) uno es un, he’s such a player↑ o sea empezó a así de que habla de viejas wey de que, estee (1) como que tiene a alguien wey pero no sé quién, y le dice, y y pone “ay ya quiero ver a (letter of the alphabet)” di pone “(letter of the alphabet)” y luego, como tipo Gossip girl

37. Ale: aha
38. Belsy: y luego, “(letter of the alphabet) me dijo que me, quería” y así y yo “oh my gosh mother fucker” <<high pitch>>, ash, como que, >>entonces estoy así me emputé y dije “no, ¿sabes qué?, adiós”, o sea me voy a portar bien mamona↑ ya no voy a ser linda nena…

This example clearly shows the use of a very particular style of speaking that differs from what is known as standard Spanish or what we will call here a normalized variety of educated people in Mexico in formal situations. In the excerpt in (73), we see the frequency of use of several of the variants of pragmatic markers of loose use, including some functioning as quotatives. It is clear that these pragmatic markers of loose use (such as así, así de que, como que, etc.), in addition to being used as cues for relevance in discourse, they are all functioning as part of a style that indexes a certain group identity; in other words, its use is not casual or accidental. Moreover, in addition to these frequent uses of pragmatic markers we can also notice the use of several English borrowings and instances of language mixing (cf. Winford 2003) as in line 26-27a winning combination of cool ice cream and refreshing lemon. These cases are marked (cf. Myers Scotton 1988) in the sense that these speakers are Mexican women living in Juárez as well as most of their family members. Being from a traditional upper social class in Juárez, they are not expected to do codeswitching (cf. Hidalgo 1983). Thus, these uses seem to be used by these speakers as group identity markers (see Poplack 1980; Gumperz 1982). I suggest in this section that uses of English in interactions among these group members is part of their group identity formation in that they work as an alloy (Alvarez-Cáccamo 1998) at the same
time. In this way, uses of codeswitching and English borrowings in this Network-A serve as part
of a communicative code that aids as “a mechanism of transduction between intentions (at
several levels of generality) and utterances, and then between utterances and interpretations,”
where intentions comprise “illocutionary forces at the speech act level, turn-construction
functions at the sequential level, overall communicative goals at the situational level, social-
indexical meanings, etc.” (38). Furthermore, these uses of English must be seen more as a
continuum of nonces, pragmatic markers, already-made expressions, and codeswitching where
its meaning is located at the (socio-)cognitive level motivated by speakers intentions and acts of
identity (cf. Terkourafi 2005).

In line 25, when Belsy utters the phrase ice cream with a joyful tone, it is produced when
this pair of friends receives what they have ordered at the café. The utterance ice cream here
functions more as an interjection, since it works as a complete separate sentence that is not
adding new content to the interaction. It is only signaling the obvious scene of being served the
particular ice cream drink that they ordered. Thus, the speaker seems to be aiming to convey her
emotional state of excitement. This is followed by her interlocutor, Ale, and the explanatory
description of the product they are about to eat. The phrase a winning combination of cool ice
cream and refreshing lemon is not only used to describe the content of a dessert which might
also sound redundant and would violate the principle of relevance, but it conveys pragmatic
information since it is produced with a certain voice quality resembling media advertising.
These food descriptions indexes social meaning of commonality among these two speakers and
also of social distinction, and access; thus, this description has to be phonetically non-adapted
since that necessarily entails the meaning of social distinction and prestige expressed very often
in the media that both of these women are constantly exposed to and familiar with (cf. Paparipande 1990).

Another use of codeswitching in (73) happens in lines 31-33, when Belsy produces the utterance *todos los fucking days y así, o sea de, I would manage to like fuck with him even in finals, with the guy*. Codeswitching here occurs intra and intersententially. As it can be observed in *todos los fucking days y así*, the speaker seems to be using the expression *fucking days* as a cue to guide the hearer towards what seems to be the most salient implication in this utterance. That is, that it might not only be that she was up many nights in order to be with a guy that has meanwhile being flirting with other girls on Twitter, but her strong attitude towards this whole unpleasant situation. This is also supported by the fact that she seems to be intending that the conceptual content of this utterance not to be taken literally by adding at the end the pragmatic marker of loose use *y así* (*and things like that/and stuff*). This generalization functions as an evaluation to strengthen the speaker’s stance (see Scheibman 2007) which seems to imply that she did what she did for the guy plus other kind of related *sacrifices*. She extends this in the next utterance *o sea de, I would manage to like fuck with him even in finals, with the guy*. This last utterance is introduced with the discourse marker *o sea* followed by *de* which here seems to be introducing the speaker’s inner thoughts and attitudes. The fact that she switches to English in the segment *I would manage to like fuck with him even in finals, with the guy*, appears to mitigate the content in this utterance related to the sexual behavior of the speaker. Thus, we can observe that these instances of codeswitching possess pragmatic functions that serve as particular rhetorical strategies. In addition, the use of taboo words as intensifiers by these young women is not surprising since they have found to be trendy and more frequent among young people (Senström et al. 2002; Roth-Gordon 2007).
Additionally, there were more uses of taboo expressions in English such as *asshole* in line 23 in (73). This word also seems to be produced with an intensification force in a stylistic manner not of Spanish but of English. Likewise, the use of the word *asshole* here functions as an interjection, which being a taboo word is also an indicator of the speaker’s stance and strong feelings towards the content of her friend’s previous utterance, which has been shown to happen in English (Bucholtz 2001; Stenström, et al. 2002). Similarly, the use of *oh my gosh mother fucker* in line 47, functions as an intensifier of stance regarding Belsy’s own thoughts, regarding in this case this speaker’s own personal situation.

Previously in the interaction, on line 5, Ale produces the word *what!*, as an exclamative utterance after introducing it with a quotative expression in Spanish: *y yo así de* (‘and I (was) like’). The word *what!* is produced with exaltation noticed in the higher pitch and intensity in the recording analyzed in Praat (Boersma and Weenink 2009), as an expression of the speaker’s thoughts and feelings of the surprise felt at the moment of the narration. The word *what!*, functions as an interjection encoding in a single word an entire message, involving Ale’s emotional state at the moment of this narration (cf. Fraser 1990). Immediately after, Ale frames the complete utterance by ending it with the expression *Oh my God* that seems to have here the same self-thought and emotional reporting stance than the previous sentence, and is also stated with special brief pauses after each word adding a more dramatic tone.

Similar uses are on line 21, when the speaker produces the word *whatever* to report in speech her inner thoughts. This is a reaction directed towards her interlocutor to signal the speaker’s stance towards the young man implicated in this particular part of their conversation. Right after the word *whatever*, Ale uses the discourse marker *I mean* (cf. Schiffrin 1987, Fraser 1990). Here, it is difficult to prove whether it is introducing the quote or whether it is part it.
Because there is no pause in the recording, it seems to be part of the quote, since it appears to function here as a parallel pragmatic marker (in initial position) providing an additional commentary of the content cited within the quote. Thus, *I mean* is most likely to be within the quotation of what the young man said to Ale. This use seems to also support the argument mentioned above regarding quotations as not reporting exact speech but being only a mental representation of a quotation in the speaker’s head (cf. Andersen 2001), since we will never know if the content of the quotation was actually said in this codeswitching style or if the speaker was actually quoting in her own codeswitching speech style.

We can see other uses of codeswitching in example (74), *Things happen for a reason baby*, which is part of the same conversation between these two friends.

**(74) Things happen for a reason baby**

1. **Ale**: ¿pero qué te decía?
2. **Belsy**: “¿qué onda, oye qué onda con qué sabes de Ale y este wey”, y yo “pos nada wey” o sea (laughing) XX o sea y que Gustavo XX dije “no pos nada o sea casi no me cuenta nada” y así, “entonces nada más sé que se vieron y salieron” y así (1) y luego ya nada más me decía “ah OK es que habla con ella y díle que se olvide de él, en serio, si yo si yo pudiera ps le le diría pero (1) no la conozco” y así <<creaky voice>> y yo “no pos si” me dijo “ps yo voy a hablar con este wey y, no sé qué le pasa? y” >>pero estaba como preocupadísimo wey, y yo, madres! <<high>> o sea que está pasando! o sea…
3. **Ale**: (interrupting) es que yo creo que sí ha sido cierto wey o sea, después de pinche mil años wey! así que yo ay† sí, (2) y
4. >>loo pasara eso y loo se fuera y loo así como todo un misterio wey como porque se había ido a (city in the US) wey (1) o sea fue así como…
5. **Belsy**: ah me acuerdo
6. **Ale** no sé super raro wey
7. **Belsy**: things happen for a reason baby (1) and now...
8. **Ale**: I know (overlapped)
9. **Belsy**: now you know why
10. **Ale**: <<now I guess but (1) ‘cause I wasn’t’ (1) like (2) >>es que wey al principio era así como que, los dos así es que
11. ¿por qué? ¿por qué ahorita? y, >>¿por qué si nos volvimos a ver y, por qué blablablá y por qué este…
12. **Ale**: But, what did he say to you?
13. **Belsy**: “what’s going on, hey what’s going on with what do you know about Ale and this dude” and I was “no well nothing dude” so (that is) (laughing) XX so (that is) and Gustavo XX (I) said “no, nothing so (that is) “(she) tells me almost nothing” and stuff, “so (I) only know that they saw each other and they went out”and stuff and then (he) was only telling me “ah OK um talk to her and tell her to forget him, seriously, if I could I would tell her but (I) don’t know her very well” [and stuff] and I was “no, well yeah” (he) told me “so, I’m going to talk to this dude and, I don’t know what’s the problem with him? and” but (he) was [like] so worried dude, and I (was) “no, well…”<<high pitch>> so (that is) what’s going on! So (that is)
14. **Ale**: (interrupting) uhm I believe that it is true dude so (that is), after a fucking thousand years dude↑ [like] hey↑ yeah and after what happened and after he left and [like] all this mystery dude [like] because (he) had left to (city in the US) dude so (that is) it was [like]…
15. **Belsy**: oh (I) remember
16. **Ale**: I don’t know super weird dude
17. **Belsy**: things happen for a reason baby and now...
18. **Ale**: I know (overlapped)
19. **Belsy**: now you know why
20. **Ale**: <<now I guess but, cause I wasn’t like, uhm dude at the beginning it was [like] both of us [like] uhm why now? and, >>why if we saw each other again? and why blablablah...
In line 20 in example (74), Belsy utters the phrase *things happen for a reason baby* as an already made expression intended as an answer to her friend’s self-questioning regarding her problematic personal relationship with a young man, who is living in another city. Her answer is not a direct explicit sentence regarding the meaning she wants to convey; on the other hand, this already made expression works here as a *quote of wisdom*, as something the speaker thought would be appropriate to say at that moment. This use encodes pragmatic meaning intended to signal her solidarity towards her friend about her situation. Ale clearly accepts her intentions with the word *I know*, that here also works as a pragmatic marker indicating commonality. This exchange could have happened in Spanish, since there are clearly many ways of conveying solidarity in their native language. However, the use of English serves here as an extra layer of social meaning, as a group marker and as an index of distinctiveness. Later in line 22, Belsy, utters *now you know why*, making reference to other things happening in Ale’s life that seem to explain why it is better that her distant relationship is not working.

Moreover, in line 23, Ale’s response begins in English with the phrase *now, I guess, but, ‘cause I wasn’t like*, which constitute a series of cue phrases acting as pragmatic markers as well. The word *now*, differently from the previous sentence, functions in this utterance as a *focusing device* (Fraser 1990), followed by the expression *I guess*. This expression has also been studied as a discourse marker and in this utterance it seems to be functioning as a marker of stance. As mentioned by Kärkkäinen (2007), *I guess* can also serve as a *crystallization of linguistic routines* used by speakers as part of organizers in discourse, including others such as *I think* and *I don’t know*, that might signal that an upcoming segment is “not fully coherent with the main flow” (208). This appears to be the case here where the following elements do not seem to show much coherence. First, the expression *but*, which in this case also serves to guide the hearer and does
not provide any additional meaning. Then follows the segment ‘cause, that serves to introduce an adjunct clause, where ‘cause functions as a discourse link that has undergone a process of grammaticalization in the language of young people” (cf. Stenström 1998). The use of ‘cause serves to connect to the utterance I wasn’t like, another pragmatic grammaticalised marker used to introduce speakers’ abstract set of thoughts or intentions. Here it seems that the speaker has decided to use all these pragmatic, grammaticalized particles and expressions to achieve, in conjunction, a very particular stylistic effect. It can be argued that in this last utterance the speaker is just making time to not lose the floor by just uttering discourse fillers. However, she is doing this in English, as somehow acknowledging all these expressions and their stylistic value. The example shows how these uses among these speakers can demonstrate how embedded the pragmatic meanings of these linguistic forms are and how advanced these processes of grammaticalization are. In a very special manner these uses would seem like a case of hyper-uses of these forms in order to recreate a very particular salient style that aims to emulate the uses of native speakers of their age from what it is considered to be the more prestigious North American society.

Hence, these language uses within these interactions in discourse are understood in pragmatic terms, due to the fact that their main purpose is not syntactic or semantic, but discursive strategies and, most importantly, they are part of these particular speakers’ identity performances. Moreover, it is important to take into consideration that all the borrowings present in conversations recorded in this Network-A are produced as native-like. These uses of discourse markers, and already-made expressions in English function as indicators of a style that seem to index social prestige. In this way, it is not only important to be bilingual but to also be able to produce the language with native-like phonology and to possess the knowledge of use of certain
words and phrases used in English by young people from upper and middle class white American speakers. Thus, these uses produced within this social group index higher social status; they signal access to a certain lifestyle only possible through a certain level of economic and social resources (in Mexican society) as kinship and well socially positioned relationships. These uses show how these words in English, which already carry considerable social meaning among these speakers, acquire another layer of social meaning embedded in a linguistic code, in this case the English language. The use of English by people in Network-A is related to the fact that they posses access to a bilingual lifestyle with more socioeconomic resources. In table 8, we find all instances of English already-made expressions, interjections, discourse markers, taboo words, nonce-borrowings, proper nouns, and non-adapted borrowings from technology and Internet found within the interactions analyzed in Network-A.

Table 8. Continuum of non-adapted English borrowings, uses of crystalized discourse routines and pragmatic markers in discourse as indexes if a distinctive identity produced by participants on Network-A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Already made expressions and interjections</th>
<th>Discourse markers</th>
<th>Taboo words</th>
<th>Non-neutral borrowings</th>
<th>Proper nouns</th>
<th>Non-adapted borrowings / technology and Internet</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>what?</td>
<td>I guess</td>
<td>asshole</td>
<td>ice cream</td>
<td>Sundland Park</td>
<td>Messenger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oh my God</td>
<td>I know</td>
<td>mother f**ker</td>
<td>army</td>
<td>Oxen (street)</td>
<td>Facebook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oh my gosh</td>
<td>Well</td>
<td>f**k</td>
<td>call</td>
<td>Virginia (state)</td>
<td>Twitter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hater</td>
<td>anyway</td>
<td>fucking</td>
<td>call</td>
<td>Gossip girl</td>
<td>It’s complicated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loser</td>
<td>but</td>
<td>shit</td>
<td>cute</td>
<td>El Paso Park</td>
<td>In a relationship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you know me</td>
<td>now</td>
<td>damn</td>
<td>chick f**k</td>
<td>The Holiday</td>
<td>Google</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>love you</td>
<td>I mean</td>
<td>mall</td>
<td>cool</td>
<td>Iris</td>
<td>Google Earth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miss u</td>
<td>‘cause</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Jude Law</td>
<td>Mail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>good morning sunshine</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kate Winslet</td>
<td>My Space</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for your information</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Converse</td>
<td>Photolog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by the way</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Amanda Woods</td>
<td>Flicker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>off record</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Orange (business)</td>
<td>Blackberry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in case you were wondering</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Free way</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>just in case</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I-10 (highway)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whatever</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yale</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shut up</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Vail</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>Big bands</td>
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<td>Abercrombie</td>
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<td>Hollister</td>
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<td>Mean girls</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>band</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Johnny Depp</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.4 Spanish slang, Caló and Spanish taboo words

As observed in examples (73) and (74), slang is part of the lexical repertoire of young people’s speech (see Bucholtz 2001; Roth-Gordon 2007; Strenström, et al. 2002). Part of what is considered slang is constituted by words considered taboo, including the ones mentioned in the excerpts above (fucking, asshole, etc.) (Moreno de Alba1999, 2003; Roth-Gordon 2007). There were some uses of slang, and taboo words within the interactions of Network-A analyzed in this research. However, these slang words were not as common as expected, taking in consideration that this was a youth language variety even though most interactions were among women who are usually expected to use more standard forms (Labov 2001). The Spanish slang words found in Network-A are shown in table 9 below.
Table 9. Slang, Caló, and taboo word uses in Network-A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Slang word</th>
<th>Lexical category</th>
<th>Original meaning</th>
<th>Mexican meaning /Innovative meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>chorro</em></td>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>Abundant exit of a liquid (DRAE)⁶⁶</td>
<td>A lot i.e. <em>un chorro de cosas</em> (a lot of things)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>onda</em></td>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>Movement that propagates in a liquid [wave] (DBM)</td>
<td>Multifunction locution i.e <em>agarrar la onda</em> (to get it) <em>sacar de onda</em> (to confuse or get confused) etc. (Téllez 1999)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>super</em></td>
<td>Adjective, prefix</td>
<td>On top of (DRAE)</td>
<td>on top of (DRAE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>suave</em></td>
<td>Adjective</td>
<td>Soft (DRAE)</td>
<td>Nice (same as cool) (Téllez 1999)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>neta</em></td>
<td>Adjective</td>
<td>Clean, pure, well defined (DRAE)</td>
<td>The truth (Aguilar et al. 1985)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>madres</em></td>
<td>Noun, (plural)</td>
<td>Mother(s) (DRAE)</td>
<td>Polisemic word, intensifier preceding an action described (as a plural) (Téllez 1999)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pinche</em></td>
<td>Adjective</td>
<td>Kitchen assistant (DRAE)</td>
<td>Despicable (Mexico DRAE, DBM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pendejo</em></td>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>Pubic hair, colloquial stupid man (DRAE)</td>
<td>Pubic hair, colloquial stupid man (DRAE, DBM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>verga</em></td>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>Penis (DRAE)</td>
<td>Penis (Aguilar et al. 1985)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mamón</em></td>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>Someone being nursed, colloquial insult (DRAE)</td>
<td>Someone being nursed, colloquial insult (DRAE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>No mames</em></td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Literally “don’t suck”</td>
<td>An expression said to someone when this person has behaved in an exaggerated manner (Téllez 1999)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>No manches</em></td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Literally “don’t stain, don’t spill”</td>
<td>A softer version of <em>No mames</em>. An expression said to someone when this person has behaved in an exaggerated manner (Téllez 1999)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>chingón</em></td>
<td>Adjective</td>
<td>Competent in a specific activity or in a particular branch of knowledge (Mexico vulgar, DRAE)</td>
<td>Excellent in a specific activity or in a particular branch of knowledge (DBM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>fregón</em></td>
<td>Adjective</td>
<td>Competent in a specific activity or in a particular branch of knowledge (Mexico vulgar, DRAE)</td>
<td>Competent in a specific activity or in a particular branch of knowledge, annoying (Mexico vulgar, DRAE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Fanear</em></td>
<td>Verb, interjection</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>From fan in English, to ignore someone (as used in Network A and C)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>cabrón</em></td>
<td>Adjective</td>
<td>A person or animal that does annoying things, (DRAE) a person with bad character (Mexico DRAE)</td>
<td>A person with bad intentions (DBM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Jode</em> (joder)</td>
<td>Verb, interjection</td>
<td>To have sex, to annoy (DRAE)</td>
<td>To annoy (DRAE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>cagarse</em></td>
<td>Verb</td>
<td>To shit oneself (DRAE)</td>
<td>To shit oneself, to dislike (Aguilar et al. 1985)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>wey</em></td>
<td>Adjective, vocative</td>
<td>Stupid (DRAE)</td>
<td>Stupid (DBM), vocative (as used in all networks)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>oso</em></td>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>Bear (DRAE)</td>
<td>Embarrassing situation (Téllez 1999)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>chido</em></td>
<td>Adjective</td>
<td>Pretty, good (Mexico DRAE)</td>
<td>Good, cool (DBM, Téllez 1999)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>padre</em></td>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>Father (DRAE)</td>
<td>Good, cool</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>emputarse</em></td>
<td>verb</td>
<td>To get mad (in Honduras and El Salvador, DRAE)</td>
<td>To get mad (as used in Network-A)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

⁶⁶ Online versions of Diccionario de la Real Academia de la Lengua Española (DRAE) and of Diccionario Breve de Mexicanismos (DBM).
Some of these words in Mexico are part of what has been considered a sociolect from the whole southwest region in the U.S. and the northern border region in Mexico, specifically from Juárez (Aguilar et al 1985). One example is neta, which the Glosario del Caló de Ciudad Juárez specifies that it comes from the English word net (1985: 94). Other words are described in the same source as part of Mexican popular Spanish, such as chingar, chingón, and other variations such as chingado, chinga, etc. The word chorro is only included in the Diccionario Breve the Mexicanismos (DBM 2010) with its meaning as a locution. Its use, however, seem to be currently further extended and more frequent among youth, since it was not included in the account Téllez (1999) gives of youth slang among in Toluca, a city close to Mexico City. The frequency of all these words in all the interactions analyzed here was not high; except for chorro, which appeared 21 times in the recordings, and the word wey, which showed a very high frequency (112 tokens) as a vocative (dude), and 19 tokens as a masculine noun (a dude). The word wey means literally silly, stupid and it represents phonological reduction since it originally comes from the word buey (‘ox’, Vargas 1997; Diccionario Breve de Mexicanismos (DBM) 2010). Thus, this word has undergone semantic change and is now used as a vocative among young people in Mexico (Vargas 1997: 257 [güey]). Nevertheless, this expression was not found in the Glosario del Caló de Ciudad Juárez, which suggests that it has been extended to youth speech from the working classes in the center in Mexico, and is currently used as a vocative among youth in general.

These results found about slang are very interesting due to the fact that only certain words from slang are used in this group of young people. Also, the lack of frequency for most of these words could have been due to the fact that most members are women. Even though they do use these words, they also tend to avoid them for their sexual and taboo content, such as with
verga (‘penis’), and cagarse (‘to shit oneself’), and only use them when no other adults are present, as in-group uses regardless of their perceived social class stratification. The presence of the researcher did not seem to affect their use. However, the use of the vocative wey does seem to be an in-group marker since they only call another person wey when it is reciprocal. As a vocative, wey appears well integrated into discourse. Because of its frequency, it also seems to work as a pragmatic marker, as found in other cases of vocatives as the words cara (‘guy’) and mané (‘fool’) in Brazilian Portuguese (Roth-Gordon 2007). Thus, wey appears mostly in utterance final position as an expression of speaker’s attitude; however, it can also occur in initial position for the same function. Wey can also appear on its own and is frequently used as interjection adding emphasis or focus. As Roth-Gordon (2007) observes, vocatives can aid in discourse organization. Moreover, in addition to its pragmatic and discursive functions in this data, the word wey seems to also contribute to the rhythmic shaping at the level of discourse of a particular speech in group style (cf. Roth-Gordon 2007).

Other taboo words in Network-A were also used as pragmatic markers functioning as interjections, separated by pauses and higher intensity such as the word madres (literally mother, meaning fuck), and the locutions no manches (literally ‘don’t stain’, meaning ‘don’t exaggerate,’ ‘don’t do that’) and no mames (literally, ‘don’t suck,’ meaning ‘don’t exaggerate,’ ‘don’t do that’). Similar to other findings in research among youth, these words seem to function here as stance makers which convey metapragmatic information including speakers’ attitudes regarding the content of their utterances, as well as guiding their interlocutor inferences. In sum, they contribute to relevance in communication; adding to work on subjectification in grammatical as well as in lexical change. These particular expressions, as part of working class slang and being appropriated by youth from upper classes, especially by women, seem to have acquired another
layer of social meaning related to a specific identity formation of this upper class group’s distinctiveness.

4.5 Codeswitching: classic or innovative codeswitching?

Attitudes towards codeswitching by people from Juárez are generally not very favorable. Codeswitching and the use of idioms are both stigmatized (Hidalgo 1986, 1988). Thus, these cases, as the ones shown in examples (73) and (74), seem to be breaking with social expectations among Mexican upper class young women from Juárez.

As stated before, these speakers are both bilingual in Spanish and English. They are initially dominant in Spanish; however, because of their socio-economic position and their intense and constant exposure to English, they also possess near native English proficiency. These young women (and men in this network) have been exposed to English formally in school since the elementary level (either in private bilingual schools in Mexico and/or in the US), but also in informal settings with family members, traveling opportunities, and summer camps in the United States (among other similar programs). Their informal contact with English is also complimented by their exposure to the mass media, American products, and the Internet. All the borrowings present in conversations recorded in this Network-A are produced as native-like. This can be related to the fact that they learned English at an early age. I argue here that there is a continuum where phrases like a winning combination of cool ice cream and refreshing lemon are more at one extreme of the continuum, since this phrase would be considered more as an instance of “classic codeswitching” produced native-like. Yet, there are some expressions here such as oh my God which are already very common in Mexico as a marker of an upper class feminine identity (Córdova and Corona 2002).
Therefore, the two main factors that promote language contact to develop more extensive changes, as observed by Winford (2005), are the degree of bilingualism and the extent in which bilinguals dominate one language over the other. However, this tendency could have slowed or ceased due to negative attitudes between middle and upper class Juarenses and their language practices until now (cf. Hidalgo 1983). Hence, there must have been more recent undergoing changes in the social value system that serve as a background for ideologies behind their language attitudes, in order to promote the changes observed in this study, at least within this social Network -A (see Winford 2005: 388).

Thus, instances of native-like English in this group of young women signal social prestige, since the less adapted a form is, the more prestige it signals (Pandharipande 1990). This can be argued due to the increase of English integral values in Juárez, and more particularly to attitudes within a social class more assimilated to an American lifestyle (see Hidalgo 1983; see Vila 2000, 2005). Identity among middle and upper classes in Juárez is conditioned by its proximity to the United States (Vila 2000, 2005). Many people in Juárez use this proximity to elevate their social identity because for them living on the border gives them more accessibility to goods in a first world country including working opportunities, commodities, and a lifestyle (2000, 2005). As highlighted by Gumperz, identity is constructed through interactions with other people. We construct our social identity by the use and creation of specific symbols that serve as parameters and boundaries of gender, class and ethnicity (1982, 2003). Thus, through interactions among these young women, we can understand identity constructions through language on the border. The use of English in this network becomes a very interesting point of study of current social changes within Mexican identity. The Mexican ideologies that have been present in Juárez regarding Spanish as the bearer of national identity, and the use of English
words as a betrayal, are being confronted by these upper class young women and thus used to work for them as acts of a more prestigious identity. Bilingualism is thought to go against their “Mexican” identity, yet today their bilingualism reinforces their “fronterizo”/border identity, which makes them more assimilated to the U.S. and to the globalized world.

According to Vila, identity formations in Juárez are very complex and are built around the concept of “them and us” (2000:80). The notion of “them” refers to those living in the US side of the border, including Mexicans and Mexican Americans that have migrated, and people of other ethnicities as well. Vila suggests that there exists confronting sentiments of both rejection and affection to particularly those that have crossed the border to improve their living conditions. This entails many complex reasons including undocumented immigrants surviving discrimination and high levels of stress. When they come back to Mexico, they bring the earnings of a higher salary that positions them in a better economic situation in comparison to their working class Mexican relatives and friends that stayed in their country. According to Vila (2000, 2005) this creates a double identity; on the one hand they possess a migrant working class status, but in Mexico they adopt a middle class identity due to their economic improvement. This has created feelings of rejection towards returning migrants due to perceived attitudes of superiority (Vila 2000, 2005). This could be one of the reasons behind Hidalgo’s findings regarding negative attitudes towards codeswitching (1986, 1988). A manifestation of these feelings of rejection towards returning migrants and Mexican Americans in general could be a rejection towards their linguistic varieties. However, this appreciation remains simplistic and cannot solely explain the reasons behind upper class Juarenses’ rejection and detachment toward Mexican Americans of working class origin, since there is a class and race distinction that has always been present since colonial and postcolonial times in Mexico regarding a “more white
and hardworking North” (see Alonso 2004, Walsh 2004; Lugo 2008; Rosas 2010). Nevertheless, this distinction of “the other versus us” mentioned by Vila exposes the social dynamics of the border that serve as a background for social distinction that becomes accentuated by border politics and lifestyles.

Young people and especially young women from upper classes would opt to distance themselves as much as possible from working class border identities. They speak English but not a working class variety, they codeswitch but as an act of prestigious identity, and thus a different type of borrowing and codeswitching. Their codeswitching is not stigmatized, because they use socially prestigious varieties from both languages diverging from working class borrowing and codeswitching. By prestigious varieties here we do not mean standard or normalized varieties of English, but varieties used by people their age and with the same social standing and lifestyle in both the US and Mexico. These bilingual agents are finding new ways to include linguistic and cultural practices that express their current different identities.

In the case of these young women in Network-A, they are expressing what I will call here plural bilingual identities since theirs differs from a hybrid bilingual minority type identity that has been considered as marginal in U.S. studies (see Elías Olivařes 1976; Jaramillo and Bills 1982; AmastaeandElías- Olivařes 1982; Hidalgo 1983; Sánchez 1983; Lope Blanch 1990; García 1993; Lipskiand Roca 1993; Galindo 1996; Lipski 2000; Silva Corvalán 2004). It also differs from an identity that corresponds to a corporate professional image (see Heller 2003; see Zentella 2008). Performances in Network-A are produced as part of a set of stylistic linguistic elements that include many non-standard or non-normalized forms; yet, this is a new plural bilingual identity (since it is not static or essentialized) opposed to monolingual speech from
upper and middle classes. Therefore, the difference here is that their instances of codeswitching and other instances of English within a continuum are part of a specific style.

Hence, these language performances from speakers from Network-A, differ from Heller’s (2003) speakers’ performances of *commodified identities* not only regarding the issue of informality (in register terms), but as a particular style. Here it could be argued that these differences are due to the fact that the main participants in this research are in their early twenties and that they have not yet reached a more formal lifestyle where they have to have a more formal established job. These young women are college students, and due to their socioeconomic status, most of them do not have major responsibilities in life such as raising a family on their own, or supporting other family members. Nonetheless, some of the interactions transcribed and used for the analysis of the linguistic variables constituted more formal and serious contexts as the creation of a memorial prayer card for a family member, where there were almost no instances of taboo words (as it might be expected), but there were many uses of pragmatic uses of loose use (i.e. *así, así de que*, etc.), and English non-adapted borrowings as well. Thus, here it is argued that there is an emergence of a particular speech style, at least among a group of young women in Juárez, and that some men share as well. This emergent speech style is being used as index of an identity related to social distinction that includes several elements such as the use of innovative and frequent uses of pragmatic markers in Spanish and a continuum of non-adapted uses of English. It is a style that follows an emerging *commodified social lifestyle* of the upper classes in first world countries that are part of the cosmopolitan elite within this maximized capitalist global order.
4.6 Intonation

The previous linguistic uses appear within some specific pitch accents that were observed in interactions among people in this Network-A. The analysis on intonation in this dissertation research has not been done at the phonological level. Hence, I have looked at specific intonation contours at the descriptive level within interactions of members in each network in order to analyze their different uses of contour patterns as indexes of identity(ies). These contours then constitute a particular type that carries specific social meanings in face to face interactions among members of this social group. One hundred and ten phrases were analyzed for their intonation patterns in Network-A. They were divided into intonational phrases that were classified using the Autosegmental-Metrical (AM) model of intonational phonology (Ladd 2008) and the Tones and Break Indices (ToBI) framework (Beckman et al. 2002; Prieto and Roseano 2010) for Spanish. However, as I mentioned before these labels are only descriptive until further research determines the nature of these categories. Some phrases were omitted due to difficulties for their analysis, such as speech overlapping or noise interference. There was a wide range of variability in all the phrases in this sample due to its own nature as interactional speech. Many phrases were produced with much inflection. Other phrases include a series of prenuclear accents composed of a low accented tone followed by a high tone L*+H at the beginning of the phrase. However, regarding nuclear accents, it was interesting to observe that many show particular nuclear configuration patterns related to central Mexican contours (cf. Martin Butragueño 2004, in press, cf. de la Mota et al. 2010). Here we have some examples in Figures 4, 5 and 6.
Figure 4. Waveform, spectrogram and F0 trace for the declarative statement *Y yo “pos nada”* (‘And I (was like) “nothing”’), produced with L*+H L% nuclear configuration by Belsy in broad focus

In the phrase *Y yo “pos nada”* (‘And I (was like) “nothing”’), in Figure 4, the speaker produces a low tone plus a peak in the first person pronoun *yo*. This L+H* sequence gives an inconclusive tone to the expression *y yo* (‘and I’) that functions here as a quotative. The quote then starts with the word *pues* (pronounced as *pos*) that gets interference from noise in the café. During the long accented syllable *na*, there is a valley followed by a peak that is aligned with the end of the syllable. Then this peak descends in a low tone at the end of the postonic syllable *da*. This nuclear configuration L*+H during the word *nada* creates a very characteristic effect similar to the “Mexican circumflex”\(^67\) (cf. Butragueño 2004, in press; de-la-Mota, Martín

\(^67\) This L*+H could also be analyzed as L+>H*; however, due to the fact that the low tone is very late in the tonic syllable I have decided to analyze it as L*+H. This low tone alignment follows what has already been documented in Castillian, Dominican, and Puerto Rican Spanish (Prieto and Roseano 2010).
Butragueño and Prieto (2010) accent that in this case seems to signal stance on behalf of the speaker. This effect appears as an expression of annoyance. We can observe another example in Figure 5.

![Waveform, spectrogram and F0 trace for the statement Y yo “madres, o sea” (“And I (was like) “so, what the fuck?””), with L*H L- nuclear configuration in broad focus produced by Belsy](image)

In Figure 5, there is a nuclear configuration L+H* produced during the quotative Y yo that introduces the following expression which is a taboo word and that functions also as an interjection. During this taboo expression *madres* the speaker produces a L*+H nuclear pitch accent followed by a L- final intermediate phrase tone. There is a very late low tone in the tonic syllable *ma*, which ends in a rising tone. Hence the peak is produced in the postonic and falls precipitately at the end of the syllable *dres*. This high peak has a magnitude of 13 semitones. This sequence produces the exclamative tone of this taboo word; yet, it does not sound as a
typical accent characteristic of working class accent in southern regions in Mexico. This might be due to the very late low tone and to the peak that starts at the very end of the tonic syllable that differs from the Mexican accented peak described before (cf. Butragueño 1994, in press). This also seems to differ from exclamative sentences from Mexico City described in de la Mota et al. (2010) were the peak is at the tonic syllable. Then, the fall gets again extended in a L tone that goes all the way through the next syllable o. In this way the phrase is again ended by a discourse marker, o sea (in this case). Since there is an interruption in the waveform we cannot confirm that there is a peak and a L% boundary tone. However, perceptually o sea does not get completely deaccented; on the other hand it functions as another independent utterance that shows a pragmatic function of stance regarding the speaker’s attitude. Moreover, this use of o sea characterized with this pitch nuclear accent resembles the o sea that is often mimicked in the media and by people, even in this research, when referring to the way in which certain people that are or aspire to be part of upper classes speak. In this case it appears to signal the speaker’s attitude towards the surprising content of the previous utterance and as a sense of commonality with her interlocutor with whom she aims to obtain a response of recognition and solidarity. Additionally, we can see another case in figure 6, were a final utterance vocative functioning as a pragmatic marker does not get deaccented and instead is produced with a clear particular contour.
In Figure 6, there is a L+H* nuclear pitch accent that starts with the low tone in the first syllable *no* and is followed by a rising in the same syllable that ends in a peak before the middle of the accented syllable *sé*. This is not as clear as it could be due to the interruption in the waveform due to the [s]. However, perceptually, this L+H* accent sounds similarly to the central Mexican accent (cf. Martín Butragueño 2004, in press; de-la-Mota et al. 2010). Then, the vocative *wey* does not get to be deaccented, probably because of the intentions of the speaker to show a strong stance. Thus, there is a high tone at the beginning of the vocative *wey*. This H* tone seems to be producing an emphasis similar to the previous high tone in example 5, and the long syllable *na* in example 4. The phrase shortly ends in a low L% boundary tone. Nonetheless, by observing these three previous Figures in 4, 5, and 6, we can observe a similar pattern where the nuclear accent resembles the characteristic Mexican configurations (Martín Butragueño...
This type of accent as mentioned before produces a very specific contour that sounds very peculiar to listeners, since this sound is very similar to the one considered the “circumflex” Mexican contour in broad focus (Beckman et al. 2002; Martin Butragueño 2004, in press; de-la-Mota 2010). Moreover, this pattern is also very similar to the one stereotyped in the media as the social category *fresa*. Nevertheless, there are differences in tone alignment. Another example is illustrated in Figure 7.

![Figura 7](image)

**Figure 7. Que caigas wey** (‘That you fall dude’), $L^*+H$ $L$- nuclear configuration in broad focus produced by Ale

In Figure 7 there is a nuclear configuration where there is a very late low tone in the tonic and then peak at the beginning of the postonic syllable *gas*. After this, the speaker produces the vocative *wey* with a low plateau until the end of the phrase that finishes with a low boundary
tone L%, as many vocatives get produced in this same manner within natural speech (Wennerstrom 2001).

Another very interesting intonation pattern was also observed to be used in Network-A. This is shown in Figure 8.

Figure 8. *Como que los buenos lugares* (‘Like the good seats’) with H+L* nuclear configuration and final rising boundary tone LH% in broad focus produced by Ale

In Figure 8, first we have the pragmatic marker *Como que* (‘like’). Even though we cannot confirm this due to waveform interruption, the pragmatic marker appears to be produced in a high tone that ends in a valley and becomes extended until the onset of the postonic syllable *nos*. A peak is then produced at the end of the same syllable. After a low tone on the tonic syllable *ga* the speaker then produces a final high boundary tone LH% during the last syllable *res*. Here I am following de la Mota et al. (2010) who have suggested a bitonal LH% boundary.
tone when there is a F0 valley followed by a rise in Mexico City intonation (322). Regarding the magnitude of this tonal movement in figure 8, using the semitone scale, it was found that the magnitude of this final declarative rise was 9.9 semitones (cf. Rietveld and Gussenhoven 1985; cf. Willis 2010). This high boundary tone here does not signal an inconclusive statement since it is the last part of the clause and the speaker has already provided all the information she was meant to give in that segment (habíamos perdido como que los buenos lugares [‘we had lost like the good seats’]). Nevertheless, this same contour was also found in many inconclusive phrases, especially in the first part of clauses. Though, in some examples like in Figure 8 it was also used during the final part of a phrase. This has already been documented in declaratives in broad focus in Dominican Spanish (Willis 2010); and especially in English by McLemore were she finds that speakers produce low pitch alignment with stress and high rises which function as a communicative strategy and as solidarity among young women, members of a sorority (1991). We can observe another case of this use in Figure 9.

68 Moreover, this bitonal LH% boundary tone is typically found in information-seeking yes-no questions (2010: 322).
In Figure 9, Rita is describing the classes she will be taking next semester and at the end of her utterance she says the phrase *Vamos a ver un módulo cada semana* (‘We’ll see a module per week’). Thus, this utterance is not expected to end in a high boundary tone, and it is in broad focus where the speaker is not adding any emphasis. There is a rising that starts at the beginning of the postonic syllable *na* and continues rising until the peak is produced at the end of the syllable with a magnitude of 7.9 s.t. Figures 8 and 9 illustrate the type of contour that is stereotypical of *fresas* when people in the media state that *fresas* speak as if they were asking questions all the time. In this way, examples 8 and 9 resemble information-seeking yes-no questions, echo yes-no questions, and imperative yes-no questions in contours from Mexico City (de-la-Mota et al. 2010: 322).
A type of a high boundary tone with high tonal magnitude was also found within the production of tag questions such as in the interaction including Tommy in Figure 1.

Figure 10. *Qué raro ¿no?* (*How weird isn't it?*) with L*+H nuclear pitch accent and LH% boundary tone in a tag question produced by Tommy.

In Figure 10, the last word ¿no?, functions as a tag, which as mentioned before is a trend in language among youth that works as interactional device (Stenström et al. 2002). In this case it seems to signal a request for confirmation and common ground with the hearers. This particular case again shows a nuclear configuration for the expression *qué raro* with a peak at the beginning of the postonic syllable *ro*. The syllable then ends in a valley that gets extended during the tag *no*, and at the end there is a higher peak as a boundary tone. This could have been

\[69\] As an observation, in this example we can see that the production of at least the second /ɾ/ is more of an approximant than a tap. However, due to the focus of this analysis this will not be further discussed here.
expected due to the fact that the tag is basically a yes-no question. Nevertheless, the peak is very pronounced and produces what seems to be a characteristic in-group configuration, an element in identity formations of members in this network. Also, here the boundary LH% tone is produced similarly to the previous one (in Figure 9) with a magnitude of 7.3 s.t. This combination of the utterance and a tag question is also very similar to the one portrayed in the media as an stereotype of people who want to appear, or are, from upper classes in Mexico. In relation to the nuclear accent of the previous sentence *que raro*, we could say that this combination is a type of Mexican “circumflex” intonation. However, this characteristic contour in data from Network-A seems to show a tendency in having a very late low tone in the tonic syllable and a peak at the beginning of the postonic and not only a peak at the end of the tonic as described before for the Mexican “circumflex” countour patterns, as illustrated in diagram 1 (cf. Martín-Butragueño 2004).

![Diagram 1. Melodic movements of pattern C, L+¡H*L-H%, compared to patterns A and B, segment 1-2 corresponds to the tonic syllable, 2-4 to the posttonic, adapted from Martín Butragueño (2004: 22)](image)

Moreover, in Figure 11 below, Ale was talking on the phone with a close friend Fede that was in Mexico City. I had the recorder on and happened to capture her talking with this person when she produced the utterance *no a la semana pasada (no, last week)* in narrow focus. Here
we can observe this Mexican pitch accent L*+H. This particular accent seems to be very similar to the ones showed before, but this one seems more salient since she is actually talking with an upper class male friend from Mexico City.

Moreover, her friend Nando and I were waiting by her side for her to finish talking on the phone in order to go. At that time Nando started to mimic Ale. This was a day that I accompanied Ale to UTEP to complete some paperwork in several offices regarding her student status. At UTEP we met up with several of her friends, among them was Nando who spent most of the day with us. Nando was 18 years old at the time. He is from Durango, another northern state located south from the state of Chihuahua. Nando comes from a big family that has a ranch in Durango, he had arrived to El Paso a year ago following his older brother Gustavo who was
already studying at UTEP. Nando and his brother come from a wealthy family that has been able to finance both brothers’ studies at UTEP plus living expenses in the US. The fact that he is and considers himself from the north becomes very important here. Figure 12 shows one of his mocking sentences.

![Waveform and Spectrogram](image)

Figure 12. *Esto si es calor* (‘This what I call heat’), with a L*+H nuclear configuration in the mocking sentence produced by Nando in narrow focus

In Figure 12, Nando produces the sentence *Esto si es calor* (‘This is what I call heat’) intended to mimic her friend; however his intent seems to be more stereotypical of working class speech from Mexico City. He produces the sentence with a nuclear pitch accent L*+H followed by a L* tone and a high H% boundary tone at the end of this narrow focus sentence, which sounds very similar to pattern C mentioned by Martin Butragueño as the stigmatized working class Mexican “circumflex” accent L+iH*L- H% (2004). Here we acknowledge that this is
difficult to prove in the figure since this happens during the production of the several voiceless consonants such as /s/ and /k/. However, we can still observe in figure 12 that the peak is in the pretonic. This is because it is a two syllable word accented in the last syllable. Also, this last syllable is longer lasting 268 ms, as it has been observed by Bugtragueño in this pattern C (and with a high boundary tone). Yet, what Nando seems to miss in mimicking his friend is a tonal alignment; nonetheless, he probably did this on purpose since his intentions were to mock her friend because she was clearly speaking on the phone with a very marked accent from Mexico City. This might prove what other authors have already mentioned regarding ideology in the Mexican north. These examples might suggest that an ideological division between Northern Mexican region and Southern Mexico is definitely rooted in racist discourses (Walsh 2004; Alonso 2004; Lugo 2008; Rosas 2010, Forthcoming). This is also supported by the fact that Nando not only mimics her friend, but he also calls her _chilanga_ right after, a name to call people from Mexico City (that can be derogatory in other places in Mexico, such as Juárez, see Vila 2000, 2005). So, his point is to bother her because she is speaking as someone from the south regardless of her social class, and that is why he uses a working class (which in Mexico is inherently racist as well) tone to mock her.

These uses contrasted with a third intonation contour that I would describe here as characteristic from this network and is also shown to be the most frequent. This is a very different intonation, the regional contour, which has been proved to be recognized by speakers in Juárez (Escobar, Ciriza, and Holguín Mendoza Forthcoming), and is characterized by a nuclear pitch accent with a pronounced valley on the tonic syllable and a peak tone at the boundary. An example of this characteristic intonation follows below in Figure 13.

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70 A word that has an indigenous origin (DBM 2010).
In Figure 13, there is a prenuclear pitch accent H+L* producing a perceived slight northern contour. The nuclear pitch accent gets produced with a pronounced valley on the accented syllable _ar_. This low tone then rises to a mid point. The mid point is not as high as the previous prenuclear peak, and becomes extended. That is why I have decided to analyze this mid tone here as a bitonal MM% boundary tone.\textsuperscript{71} The accented syllable is longer measuring 206 ms and the valley is also pronounced with 7.2 s.t. This configuration is clearly similar to what is perceived as the stereotypical regional accent (from Juárez) (cf. Escobar et al. Forthcoming).

\textsuperscript{71} In the northern intonation there were also occurrences of a HH% boundary where this bitonal configuration had the same height as the previous H tone in the nuclear H+L* configuration.
Another example of this contour is shown in Figure 14. Where there is a nuclear accent conformed by a peak at the beginning of the pretonic and then a valley in the tonic. After this valley, there is a rise to a mid point at the onset of the final syllable *lia* that gets extended until the end of the utterance in a bitonal MM% boundary tone. Again, it can be observed that these last two tones are not as high as the previous H tone in the nuclear sequence H+L* which seems to happen in several of these contours. The tonic syllable in the valley lasted 183 ms, and the fall gets produced in valley of 6.5 s.t.

![Figure 14](image)

**Figure 14. Como que eso pasa en la familia** (‘Like that happens in the family’), with a H+L* nuclear configuration and MM% boundary tone in broad focus produced by Jenny.

Furthermore, there was another interesting situation where the anchorage speaker of this Network-A, Ale after speaking on the phone with her close friend from Mexico City changed to
a very clear northern regional contour. The conversation started because we (Nando and I) kept
mocking her Mexico City accent, this led us to talk about other social groups including *cheros.*
This word is the short of *rancheros* (‘cowboys’). At the beginning of this conversation both
speakers’ contours were very variable as natural speech; in several cases many phrases were
almost completely deaccented. However at one moment in the conversation Ale and Nando
were arguing about what makes someone a *chero,* their phrases contained very characteristic
forms of the Mexican northern intonation. This is shown in Figures 15 and 16 below.

![Figure 15](image)

**Figure 15.** *Un chero que tenga dinero* (‘A cowboy with money’) with a H+L* nuclear configuration and a
bitonal MM% boundary tone in a narrow focus declarative

In 15, we can observe that what seems to be the typical regional contour in this data also
signals a non-final clause, such as the H+L* prenuclear pitch accent that starts with the clause
after the word *que.* The valley occurs on the accented syllable *ten,* which has a syllable duration
of 278 ms and a valley fall of 6 s.t. A similar nuclear pitch accent can then be observed with a
less pronounced valley of 4.2 s.t. in the last accented syllable, *ne*, and a syllable duration of 202 ms. The nuclear pitch accent is then followed by a bitonal MM% boundary tone. More noteworthy, however, is that this intonation sequence of marked northern prenuclear and nuclear accents seems to be signaling emphasis on behalf of the speaker in a narrow focus sentence that also gets produced within a regional discourse topic.

Later in the discussion Nando asks Ale if she has ever been in what he calls the *chero world*. Her negative answer gets produced with what a Mexican northern accent in Figure 16.

![Figure 16. Noo, with a H+ L* nuclear configuration and a bitonal HH% boundary tone produced by Ale](image)

Figure 16, *Noo*, with a H+ L* nuclear configuration and a bitonal HH% boundary tone produced by Ale

...
is a negative; the procedural meaning conveyed in this sentence seems to contradict it. On the one hand the speaker acknowledges that she has never been part of the chero world, but on the other hand she produces her negative with a very pronounced Mexican norteño intonation. The speaker’s intentions seem to show that in a way she does know about the chero world which is later confirmed in the conversation. This is shown in Figure 17.

![Figure 17](image)

**Figure 17.** *Mi hermano si sabe y mi papá si sabe* (‘My brother knows and my father knows’), with L*+H prenuclear and a L* HL% nuclear configuration in narrow focus produced by Ale

In Figure 17, Nando asks her friend Ale if she really knows how to determine the quality of hats, belts, and boots (the complete interaction is included in appendix B). Her reply, once again, is “no”, but she adds that her brother and father do know. Her response is represented in Figure 17; *Mi hermano si sabe y mi papá si sabe* (‘My brother knows and my father knows’). In the first part there is a nuclear pitch accent L*+H followed by an intermediate L-, probably due
to the narrow focus of the sentence. In the second sentence we see a valley in the accented syllable $pá$, and a peak at the end of this same syllable. Moreover, there is another valley in the accented syllable $sa$. This seems to be acting as an emphatic accent in narrow focus as well. Prosody in oral narratives shows the complexity related to the nature of oral language among young people in particular. Also, prosody has been observed to “add a special evaluative status to certain parts of a narrative” and is seen as an intensification device (Wennerstrom 2001: 205).

Here Ale’s intentions seem to be encoded in this intonation contour which is already used as an index of regional identity. In this particular context, however, she may be seeking to use as proof of her belongingness to a regional ethnic identity through the male members of her family. The problem in proving this appears to lie in the fact that even though she considers herself as an ethnic $norteña$, the formation of this identity(ies) seems to be highly masculine and this, in many ways, problematizes her other distinctive $fresa$ identities which are linked to the hegemonic center in Mexico (and that seems to be feminized in several ways).

Moreover, this is problematic for Ale, since in her eyes a $chero$ is a person from a lower class and, thus, it is inconceivable for a $chero$ to be simultaneously a $fresa$, the Mexican stereotype assigned to people—including those from upper classes— who seek to be assimilated to the American way of life (as stated by Ale in this interaction). On the other hand, Nando, in saying that he comes from a ranch, affirms that he really knows the difference between a $chero$ with money—which in this case would be a $chero fresa$— and a $chero$ with no money which would then be a $chero naco$ (that in the end it is not only about money but about ethnicity as well). For him, a $chero fresa$ would be someone from a ranch but dressed conspicuously with the best $chero$ style that includes expensive $chero$ products and a very nice pick-up truck among other things. This discourse is not only interesting at the linguistic level since it also reveals core
ideologies behind these language forms along with the level of awareness of these speakers. These ideologies constitute the fundamental base for this regional northern identity(ies) and even though it has its origins in the rural world, it is markedly different from that of the south. People from the “authentic north” tend to view themselves more as _hard working cowboys, farmers and cattle raisers on horses, not indigenous peasants such as the “other” in the indigenous south._ Furthermore, what seems to be different in this analysis seems to be the fact that these racist ideologies —whose origins are traceable to colonial and post-colonial Mexico— have currently been transformed within the story of capitalism and they are now part of the cultural forms of neoliberalism. As Comaroff and Comaroff (2009) observe in their analysis at the intersection of identity and culture of how ethnicity is currently conceived as a commodity, while it is increasingly the stuff of existential passion, of the self-conscious fashioning of meaningful, morally anchored selfhood, ethnicity is also becoming more corporate, more commodified, more implicated than ever before in the economics of everyday life… Cultural identity is the here-and-now, represents itself ever more as two things at once: the object of choice and self-construction, typically through the act of consumption, and the manifest product of biology, genetics, human essence (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009:1).

Based on traditional rural regional identities (_vaqueros_ or _rancheros_ in the past), the emerging _chero_ seems to be now, for some, an alternative option among other commodified identities in this urban Mexican border center, since it is currently being subjected to a qualified continuum in which you can become more or less aesthetically authentic. Still, language use is an important element signaling a regional identity that becomes part of these, sometimes contradictory, plural identity formations within this network since it is a source of regional pride and a way to differentiate themselves from the “indigenous other” from the south.
4.7 Being *fresa* in the Juárez-El Paso border: Plural bilingual identities

Historically, popular culture has formed specific identity categories among young women in the Western and westernized worlds (Driscoll 2002). One example among many is the *flapper* that emerged in the 1920s. These were young women heavily interested in looks, style, boys and coquetry (2002). *Flappers* have appeared as an observation of modernism in many countries and cultural settings; thus, this social formation “foregrounds the transnational distribution of popular culture, and closely links youth, feminity, and mass consumption” (2002: 64). The *flapper* came to be seen as a newer kind of “girl” representing different and contradictory identities of feminity. In this way the *flapper*, as well as her cultural attributes, were also perceived as a cultural sign of Americanization. Nevertheless, the *flapper* entailed a lifestyle, “a model for identity” meaning that she must not be “neither necessarily wealthy nor necessarily young…. married or not. The flapper was an assemblage of normative lines and attitudes, cultural consumptions and social positions, rather than a specific role or identity” (65).

For Driscoll the emergence of the *flapper* also embodies the materialization of “the girl” as a social category, which entails a prolonged dependence of adolescent gendered lives as part of the economic and ideological social modern conformation (2002). This author observes that “the significance of late modern girls to consumption is not that they consume (everybody does), or that their sexuality is in fact bound up in commodification, but that they are perceived to derive an inordinate amount of pleasure from commodification and commodity fetishism” (110). The analysis of this author, then, places “Girlhood” in late modern capitalism as a figure of alienation within popular culture production. In Mexico this is comparable to the emergence

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72 Here Driscoll mentions that this is equivalent to the notion of Marx’s analysis of surplus/added value. This makes reference to “the value that capitalism adds and extracts from the material, and this process can be seen as analogous to those by which value is attached to girls within heteropatriarcal economy, sometimes seen as a system of selling women” (110).
of the stereotype of the niña fresa, which translates into strawberry girl but that really signals a lifestyle composed by certain aesthetics summed to social practices that reproduce class, race, gender and assimilation to a consumerist society.\footnote{The development of the niña fresa stereotype in Mexico has already been analyzed in the past decades (see Guadalupe Loaeza 1988, 1990, 1997, 1999, 2002, 2003). These analyses are not from a linguistic point of view, they are just journalistic accounts of cultural practices in Mexico. For language usages see Córdova Abundis and Corona Zenil (2002). In this stereotype the term “niña” that literally means “little girl.” Though, “niña fresa” refers to older women as well.

The niña fresa has been portrayed by characters in Mexican soap operas, songs, and other mass culture representations as skinny people of light skin, either from upper classes or who seek to appear to be from upper classes by displaying snobbish and bragging performances.\footnote{The most salient examples of fictional characters representing a “niña fresa” in Mexico are interpreted by the actresses Paola Núñez as “Barbie” in TV Azteca’s TV drama “Amor en Custodia,” and Anahí Puente as “Mia Colucci” in Televisa’s soap opera “Rebelde.”} In Mendoza-Denton’s ethnographic study of young Latinas in California, a group of young women called as the Fresa group in Los Angeles, mainly composed of socioeconomic privileged girls from metropolitan cities throughout Latin America and Spain, who, in addition, deeply resent being compared with other immigrants from less cosmopolitan regions where there is a larger concentration of underprivileged, indigenous population (2008: 21). However, the niña fresa cannot be explained solely on the basis of social class and economic resources, it is neither her desire and/or aspirations of upper class positionality and assets. Her function in society is localized in its symbolic meaning within the socioeconomic and political system. That there are almost no social analyses on this category attest to this complexity.

The niña fresa in Mexico has evolved beyond a flapper-image as a result of current socioeconomic and cultural models within capitalism. According to Hardt and Negri, the dissolution of civil society within neoliberalism might also be associated with a transformation from the “disciplinary society to the society of control” (2000: 329). Currently, social institutions that structure disciplinary society, such as “the school, the family, the hospital, the factory”
partly understood as the civil society are in crisis (2000: 329). These authors suggest that there is an “immanent production of subjectivity in the society of control” which is becoming generalized; the factory-like mass production of subjectivities of the modern institutions like “the worker, the mother, the student,” presented at one point an obstacle towards mobility (331). In order to move beyond the society of control subjectivities are not fixed in identities. Subjectivities in a society of control do not belong to a specific identity but to all of them. Nevertheless these authors add that despite the fact that these identities currently occur outside institutions, they are still ruled even more excessively by their “disciplinary logics” (332).

Hence, in Mexico the production of identities is still governed by its characteristic *disciplinary logics* which inscribe colonial and post-colonial parameters. The *niña fresa*’s subjectivities involve not only gender but class and race as part of a model imposed by privileged social groups. However, the stereotype emerges gendered not only as a specific social category within relations of production but also as a fetishized objectification of maximized capitalism. Moreover, I suggest here that this current *fresa* identity differs from others conceived as hybrid, since this term connotes that there is an essentialized identity that originates from different predecessors. On the contrary, there seems to be a continuous formation and recreation of *identities of distinctiveness* (*fresa*) produced as performances combining particular elements; yet, each one of these identities get to be produced as a unique instance according to the combination of elements disposable at its particular moment of production. Thus, an individual might adopt some linguistic elements as well as other communicative devices (visual, aesthetic, body language, etc.), at a particular moment producing a particular identity act, and he/she could add a slight variant (or many) in his/her next intervention. Herein, I suggest that the accumulation of

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75 This does not mean that there is no male *fresa*. As a matter of fact the first *fresa* character in Mexico’s TV was *El Pirrurris* (the presumptuous son of a millionaire), interpreted by actor Luis de Alba in comedy programs in the 80’s. However, the stereotype has been generalized towards feminization.
these unique acts of distinction at different instances produce the effect of what Anzaldúa terms *plural personalities*. In this manner I propose to conceive these acts of identity as part of non-static plural personalities in continuous re-creation and transformation.

Linguistically, these acts of identity occur at the level of interactions (cf. Gumperz 1992). That is why the importance of all the linguistic variants discussed in this chapter resides at the level of discourse.

**Table 10. Multidimensional functions of linguistic indexicals of the Mexican border identity of distinctiveness/fresa in Network-A**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Some linguistic forms</th>
<th>Functions in discourse</th>
<th>Pragmatic functions encoding procedural meaning</th>
<th>Characteristics of linguistic forms indexing the Mexican identity of distinctiveness/fresa (social meaning)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>I guess</em></td>
<td>Discourse marker, Pragmatic marker</td>
<td>Stance, affiliative (cf. Kärkkäinen 2007)</td>
<td>Crystalized uses in English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Así</em></td>
<td>Pragmatic marker</td>
<td>Loose use, enrichment use politeness, generalization, solidarity, affiliative (cf. Andersen 1998, 2000, 2001)</td>
<td>Spanish Innovative uses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Intonation: up talk</strong></td>
<td>Non final clause, and final clause position</td>
<td>Mitigation (politeness/commissive force of grammatical assertion), affiliative (cf. Wennerstrom 2001)</td>
<td>Up talk similar to uses of US female sorority (cf. McLemore 1991)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Neta</em> meaning <em>the truth</em>, (Aguilar et al. 1985)</td>
<td>Interjection,</td>
<td>Stance, as intensification, solidarity, affiliative</td>
<td>Particular uses of Caló, youth language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Wey</em> Adjective, vocative (dude), meaning stupid (DRAE, DBM)</td>
<td>Interjection, vocative, discourse marker, discourse frame (rhythmic shaping) (cf. Roth-Gordon 2007)</td>
<td>Stance, intensification, solidarity, affiliative</td>
<td>Particular uses of Mexican slang, youth language</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hence, in table 10, I show how these variants possess a multidimensional function acting with different discourse functions such as discourse markers and pragmatic markers within discourse that also have procedural meaning. In the same manner, these variants encode this social meaning of distinctiveness which is embedded within their particular and different
linguistic characteristics. That is why some pragmatic expressions are being uttered in English in particular interactions with certain members as part of a linguistic and social continuum. In the case of the expression *así*, its social meaning of distinctiveness seems to be embedded in its innovative uses and frequency. Thus, at this level different linguistic elements seem to also encode social meaning (of distinctiveness; or of regional identity as well, etc.) which it is embedded in particular characteristics proper of each linguistic element.
CHAPTER 5
THE NORTHERN REGIONAL IDENTITY: SOLIDARITY AND SOCIAL CONFLICT

This chapter analyses the rest of the subsets of the whole network of participants in this ethnographic study, Networks-B and C. First we will analyze Network-B. Network-B is constituted mostly by university students and their family members. Some other members are part of a second order network. The anchorage member of this network is Jacqueline, a 22 year old woman native from Juárez. Jacqueline is a college student at the Universidad Autónoma de Ciudad Juárez. She comes from a family with less economic resources than most people in Network-A and B. Her father was born in Juárez and her mother is from a southern Mexican state. She lives with her parents and her two sisters in a working class neighborhood, which we will call Campo Florido, located between zones Norte 1 y Norte 2, it is a housing complex of 1,111 houses populated by approximately 3,710 inhabitants (IMIP 2010). Campo Florido was created and subsidized by the government for workers (what in Mexico has being called casas de Interés Social ‘houses of social interest’) and is very characteristic because of the type of construction and design. Each block includes several sets of four two-bedroom apartments, two apartments at the bottom, and another two on the second floor. There is one park at the center of the neighborhood of about 900 square feet. To get out of Campo Florido a person must walk or drive west about 600 feet on Main Street surrounded on one side by a cotton field and the other by the tall wall of a cemetery in order to access the first crossroad behind semi-abandoned maquiladoras and a few warehouses. About 300 more feet separate this crossroad from the first big avenue that cuts in half one of the first big industrial parks of maquiladoras in Juárez. This isolation becomes relevant when we contrast it to the fact that Juárez, as many cities in Mexico, does not possess the infrastructure or the resources of a motorized culture like in the US. This
isolation also contributes to make the entrance to Campo Florido a dangerous drive-way, due to
the fact that currently the city is experiencing extreme waves of violence related to the organized
crime (Blancas and Ravelo 2008; Diario digital 2010).

5.1 Members of Network-B

Most members in Network-B are also members in Network-C since they work as activists
in a marginal neighborhood. These relationships are shown in table 11 and Net 5. Jacqueline has
been a member of these networks since she was in junior high. Jacqueline’s father works in a
family owned business in the service market for the maquiladora industry. His business was
doing fairly well until a wave of economic crises affected the maquiladora industry first in 2001
with the 9/11 attack in the U.S., and later with the subsequent international economic crises.
When they were enjoying better times, they decided to buy the apartment next door to improve
and remodel their house by adding more rooms. Jacqueline’s mother, Amelia has always been a
housewife, who sometimes aids the family’s economy by selling clothing and diverse women’s
accessories she gets from her southern home state.

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76 In http://www.diario.com.mx/
Table 11. Strong and weak ties between members of Network-B

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Pseudonym</th>
<th>Network</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Strong ties with both Network B and C</th>
<th>Weak ties with both Network B and C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Jacqueline</td>
<td>B (C)</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Crista</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Yannia</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Mara</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Amelia</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Cristobal</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Diana</td>
<td>B (A and C)</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Geronimo</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Goyo</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Bernardo</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Sofia</td>
<td>B (C)</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Cristina</td>
<td>B (C)</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Carlos</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Armando</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Alberto</td>
<td>B (A and C)</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Pablo</td>
<td>B (A and C)</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Net 5. Network-B and C

Jacqueline is a very smart and ambitious young woman, who would like to work for a governmental agency when she graduates. She also aspires to go to graduate school out of town and to work and build a professional career as a politician in Mexico City. She is very different
from her older and younger sisters. Jacqueline’s intelligence got her parents attention who decided to make the effort and buy her a private education through elementary, secondary and high school. In college she decided to go to the Universidad Autónoma de Ciudad Juárez where she has maintained the highest rank scholarship. Similarly to the anchorage member in Network-A, I have known Jacqueline for more than ten years when she was in junior high. I requested her to be interviewed and position her as an anchorage of Network-B because of her many strong ties to many people in her network. During the data collection, I met two of Jacqueline’s best friends, Cristina and Diana. I had already met them before due to other connections with their own networks. However, it was during this period that I had the opportunity to interact more with them. Cristina, Jacqueline, and Diana are very close friends; though, each differs very much from the other in many ways. Diana is in a much better economic situation than Cristina or Jacqueline. She is the oldest daughter of a prominent business man from Juárez working for a transnational company in a first world country. Her mother and sister, also natives from Juárez have already moved to this first world country with him as well, and the only reason that Diana has not moved with them is because she had decided to stay in Juárez/ El Paso with her relatives to finish her bachelor’s degree at the University of Texas at El Paso. Sometimes she stays at her parents’ old house in Juárez. It is a two story house with more than three rooms, a backyard, and a big front yard; it is located in an upper class neighborhood in zone Norte 2. At UTEP Diana studies sciences and is planning to apply to graduate school to a well-known university probably in the US, Canada, or Europe.

Cristina is a 25 year old woman, a native Juarense for several generations. All her family members are from Juárez or the region. Cristina lives with her parents in a traditional middle class neighborhood on zone North 1. This is an older neighborhood that was probably built
around the 60’s and 70’s. It now holds mostly population over 20 years old (Jusidman de Bialostozky et al. 2008). Her house represents what in Juárez would be considered a very typical one story middle class house with a living room/dining room, kitchen, three bedrooms, a small yard and a porch with space for two cars. She studied sciences at the Universidad Autónoma and has a fairly well paid job. She is about to marry her boyfriend Antonio, whose family is native of another northern Mexican state located at the east coast. Antonio has a big house in zone North 1 that has been just remodeled, and in Cristina’s words, ‘it looks just like taken out of a decoration magazine.’ Antonio is a graduate student in sciences at New Mexico State University at Las Cruces, about an hour North from El Paso. Cristina plans to also become a graduate student and move to Las Cruces after getting married. Social mobility is imminent for Cristina.

I was invited to Cristina’s house one day by Jacqueline. Actually, this was the third time that I visited Cristina. We were there to keep Cristina company, because the hair stylist was going to come that night for the makeup and hair rehearsal before her wedding day. We arrived around 3:30 PM and stayed there the whole evening. We chatted, switching from one room to another, checking out wedding magazines, admiring the bride’s dress, looking at piles of presents, ornaments, and eating cookies and milk in the kitchen. The topics of conversation ranged from the wedding to other topics related to their own experiences like their own social work and activism, but also about work in general, school, family members, friends, and violence in the city. When talking about the wedding, many other subtopics came out in the conversation regarding gendered matters concerning every aspect of ordinary life that women must pass through when they are young and specially when getting married. These subtopics include underwear, gynecologists, contraceptives, sex, bachelorette parties, bridal showers, mothers in law, and of course men, among others.
Other interactions with people in this network included Jacqueline and her university friends, or at her house with her parents and particularly with her sisters. Moreover, Jacqueline, Cristina, and Diana are part of a network of activists that do work on the periphery of Juárez. Thus, other interactions of people in this Network-B include their organizational meetings and other type of gatherings related to these activities of work in their community. The analysis of the linguistic variables in this Network-B was done on transcriptions of approximately 6 hours of recordings.

5.2 *Así* and other pragmatic markers

The first linguistic variable that we are going to analyze in Network-B will also be the uses of the word *así* as a pragmatic marker and its variants introducing different objects of loose or enrichment interpretation including its function as a quotative. Since we have already showed how the word *así*, and other variants such as *como, de que*, etc., behave similarly to the word *like* in English, particularly in the language of youth, here I will go straight to the uses found among members on this other social group.
In table 12 it can be observed that there seems to be a similar pattern in the use of así as a pragmatic marker in this Network-B, as was seen for Network-A in the previous chapter. Nevertheless these uses are about 20% less frequent than in Network-A. This might suggest that these uses of así might be new and being introduced from above, by individuals within socioeconomic conditions similar to the people in Network-A, or that have close interactions with individuals of a higher social group. We will elaborate on this point below. In addition,
Network-B also favors the use of *así* as a *set marking tag* as the most frequent, but it also employs *así* as an *emphatic tag in final utterance position* almost as frequently. In proportion the use of *así* as a quotative also seems to be considerably more frequent in Network-B. After these most frequent uses, *así* is also highly used to introduce adjectival phrases similarly to Network-A. This could be due to the fact that *así* is still linked to its original meaning as a modal adverb. Thus, as mentioned before this supports the suggestion that these uses are strongly associated to speakers’ attitude and stance (Englebretson 2007). This is also evident in the uses of *así* as an emphatic tag. In (76), Jaqueline produces *así* at the end of her utterance to pragmatically enrich it regarding her attitude towards her friend Cony’s behavior. She aims to convey here her attitude towards the fact that Cony is such a good person that she can stay up with her very late at night listening to her problems. This is more evident if we notice that after a short pause she adds the phrase *en serio* (*seriously*). This last phrase appears to be a repetition of the same attitude conveyed by *así*, which signals a stronger force conveyed in Jacqueline’s whole intervention. As Englebreston notices, adverbials have been observed “to be a rich source of various types of epistemic, altitudinal and style stances” (2007: 17).

Furthermore, the use of *así* as a quotative was also compared with other pragmatic markers as it was done with the data from Network-A. These results are shown in table 13.
Table 13. Uses of variants of pragmatic markers as quotatives in Network-B (N=466)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pragmatic markers as quotatives</th>
<th>Tokens 466%</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **Decir (verb to say)**         | 285 61.16%  | (84) Jaqueline: *le dije* → *si usted no puede llevarlas yo las llevo pero Juanita tiene que tener un pase doble por si quiere llevar a alguien más* *le dije*  
Jaqueline: *I said to her* → *if you can’t take them I will but Juanita needs to have a double pass in case she wants to take someone with her I said to her* |
| **Y yo, y él, y ellos, y nosotros** | 58 12.45%  | (85) Cristina: *y yo* → *si pos que se chingue Cristina vea (verdad) que se vea la casa de Cristina como la madriguera de Hagrid*  
Cristina: *And I was* → *so fuck Cristina right? It’s OK if Cristina’s house looks like Hagrid’s house* |
| **Ø**                           | 25 5.36%    | (86) Cristina: *"Ya compraste espanta suegras?*" → *"no señora no he comprado"* |
| **Asi de**                      | 22 4.72%    | (87) Diana: *Beto *asi de* → *“tririntirin” (mimicking dancing)*  
Diana: *Beto [like]* → *“tirintirin” (mimicking dancing)* |
| **Y luego**                     | 18 3.86%    | (88) Pablo: *y luego* → *"es que no tienes paciencia"*  
Pablo: *An then* → *“it’s because you don’t have patience”* |
| **Asi como que**                | 14 3.00%    | (89) Yania: *era asi como que* → *"oh Dios mio"*  
Yania: *it was [like]* → *“Oh my God”* |
| **Dije yo**                     | 13 2.79%    | (90) Cristina: *dije yo* → *"se me hace que anda estresado"*  
Cristina: *I said* → *“I guess he’s stressed”* |
| **Y yo dije**                   | 8 1.72%     | (91) Crista: *y yo dije* → *"¡¿qué?!"*  
Crista: *and I said* → *“what?!”* |
| **Asi**                         | 8 1.72%     | (92) Jaqueline: *Cony asi* → *“es serio hija mía ya nos tenemos que dormir”*  
Jaqueline: *Cony [like]* → *“seriously my darling we need to go to bed”* |
| **Y yo asi**                    | 7 1.50%     | (93) Amelia: *y yo asi* → *“nada que ver”*  
Amelia: *and I [like] → “whatever”* |
| **Asi de que**                  | 3 0.64%     | (94) Diana: *aja si y es asi de que* → *"uh uh"*  
Diana: *yeah and it’s [like] → “uh uh”* |
| **Y yo asi de**                 | 1 0.21%     | (95) Cristobal: *y yo asi de* → *“oye disculpa”*  
Cristobal: *and I was [like] → “hey excuse me”* |
| **Como que**                    | 1 0.21%     | (96) Cristina: *si no, pero si si te quedas como que* → *“ahhh ¿qué rollo?”*  
Cristina: *yeah but yeah yeah you are [like] → “hey what the fuck?”* |
| **Asi como**                    | 1 0.21%     | (97) Jaqueline: *ya la señora de los vestidos ya estaba asi como* → *“ahhhh”*  
Jaqueline: *and the lady at the dresses was already [like] → “ahhhh”* |
| **Asi tipo**                    | 1 0.21%     | (98) Jaqueline: *asi tipo* → *“yo sé que yo no pido nada”*  
Jaqueline: *[like] kind of* → *“I know I am not asking much”* |
| **De que**                      | 1 0.21%     | (99) Cristina: *de que* → *“no es que se me rompió en una de esas que nos movimos de casa se me rompió”*  
Cristina: *[like] → “no, it’s because it broke when we moved it broke”* |
| **Asi que**                     | 0 0.00%     | |
| **Como**                        | 0 0.00%     | |
| **Asi como de**                 | 0 0.00%     | |
| **Como que dice**               | 0 0.00%     | |
| **Tipo que**                    | 0 0.00%     | |

The most frequent quotative in this Network-B were constructions with the verb *decir* (*to say*) with different persons and tenses as in Network-A. In Network-B the verb *decir* was much more frequent with almost the 61% of the sample in contrast to 25% in Network-A. This also suggests that there might be a competence of pragmatic markers as quotatives going on as well where *y yo* (*‘including y él, y ellos, y nosotros’*) seems to appear to be gaining terrain over other variants as *asi, asi de que, como que, etc*. Moreover, in this Network-B there were other variants
such as *dije yo* (‘said I’), and *y yo dije* (‘and I said’). These uses were not very frequent, though they seem very interesting and pertinent to pragmatic functions. Both of these uses appeared almost all of the times as quotations of speakers’ inner thoughts and attitudes as in (90) where Speaker in quoting her own assumptions in the utterance *Se me hace que anda estresado* (*I believe he is stressed*). She stated this in order to explain her boyfriend’s bad mood. This reported thought however, is still marked by the quotative as non-identical resemblance since with the expression *se me hace* (‘I believe’) she indicates that she is not completely sure of this. As Andersen (2000) found in the uses of the word *like* as a pragmatic marker functioning as a quotative in English among youth, these variants here seem to encompass a metarepresentation of speakers’ attitudes “but where the attitude remains unspecified or is vaguely indicated, rather than explicitly mentioned” (253). Thus, this uses also seem to be undergoing a change. This is also supported by the apparently excessive use of the verb *decir* as a quotative. When highly engaged in some of the narratives several female speakers showed a particular pattern with the verb *decir* as a quotative but also as a discourse marker organizing and framing the quoted utterance as in example (84). Thus, even though these double uses of the verb *decir* counted just once, it seemed that still this quoting style was highly frequent among these participants. These uses might be serving as an intensifier tag when speakers where trying to signal a strong stance regarding the content of their utterances. In (84) the speaker wanted to emphasize that she was strongly advising her friend Cony not to misuse the reception passes. These uses also support the view that interactional data serves to view grammar as a set of *complex routines* that get selected by a community of speakers to communicative devices and in group markers (Ford *et al.* 2003). Another big difference between Network-A, and Network-B is that *sound words* (cf. Roth-Gordon 2007) were almost nonexistent among members of Network-B. This seems to imply that
the uses of sound words are part of a particular feminine style associated with certain members in Network-A, and as an element of *fresa* plural identities. One of the only sounds present here were *blablabla* indicating speech, and *uuff*, signaling intensification.

These findings were also compared to the uses of these variants in the rest of their functions signaling other objects of pragmatic uses. This is shown in table 14.

**Table 14. Distribution of variants of pragmatic markers in Network-B (without quotative uses) (N=371)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pragmatic markers (without quotatives)</th>
<th>Tokens</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Así</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>46.90</td>
<td>(100) Jaqueline: Pero <em>así</em> → la mujer… bien que la mujer se las juega acá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Jaqueline: So <em>[like]</em> → this woman... she really knows how to play (her cards)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Como que</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>23.18</td>
<td>(101) Diana: Eran <em>como que</em> → los losers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Diana: <em>(They)</em> were <em>[like]</em> → the losers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De que</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>11.32</td>
<td>(102) Diana: A mi lo que me cae bien mal es <em>de que</em> → neta la boda siempre la estás haciendo para los demás nunca es para ti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Diana: <em>(What I really hate is)</em> <em>[like]</em> → the truth is that you are always making the wedding for everybody but you*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Así como</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5.12</td>
<td>(103) Amelia: Yo no me acuerdo si estaba atacada de la risa o estaba <em>así como</em> → India ahí… (laughing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Amelia: <em>(What I really hate is)</em> <em>[like]</em> → the truth is that you are always making the wedding for everybody but you*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asi como que</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5.12</td>
<td>(104) Carlos: Si porque la vi <em>así como que</em> → ¿qué rollo?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Carlos: <em>Yeah</em> because I saw her <em>[like]</em> → what the fuck?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Como</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3.50</td>
<td>(105) Cristobal: En un retiro hace anos no fue un encuentro <em>como</em> → de parroquias</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cristobal: <em>(In a retreat years ago it wasn’t)</em> <em>[like]</em> → between parishes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Así de</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2.70</td>
<td>(106) Crista: Salí y era <em>así de</em> → caminaba asi, cargada mija</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Crista: <em>(What I really love is)</em> <em>[like]</em> → she walked <em>[like], loaded my darling</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Así de que</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.62</td>
<td>(107) Jaqueline: Hasta su casa ha ido <em>así de que</em> → él quiere mucho a Diana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Jaqueline: <em>(He has even gone to her house)</em> <em>[like]</em> → he really loves Diana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tipo de</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.27</td>
<td>(108) Jaqueline: Y por lo menos se han echado la bailada <em>Beto y tú… tipo de</em> → ¿qué van a hacer en su baile?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Jaqueline: <em>(And have you already practiced dancing Beto and you,)</em> <em>[like/kind of]</em> → what song are you going to dance for your first waltz?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tipo</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.27</td>
<td>(109) Jaqueline: No me gusta <em>tipe</em> → compartir babas con mis amigas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Jaqueline: <em>(I dislike)</em> <em>[like]</em> → sharing saliva with my friends*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Así que</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Como tipo</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Así como de</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Como que asi</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The uses of these pragmatic markers as the quotatives, less extended in Network-B. Whereas in Network-A we have 1049/678 total number of words in the 6 hours transcribed from interactions in Network A compared to the 1049/371 total number of words in the 6 hours transcribed from interactions in Network-B. *Así* was also the most common variant followed by
como que. Differently from Network-A, the second most common variant was de que. This use is mostly introducing complete declarative prepositions. More detailed studies of this variant would then be necessary to delimit its functions and explore the reasons behind its extended use among some sectors of the society like Network-B. Surprisingly como did not appear to be as popular in this network. It was surpassed by other combinations such as así como and así como que. Other variants in Network-A were not even present in this sample of Network-B as así que, como tipo, sí como de, and como así. This difference in variation might be signaling a process of selection. The results within this Network-B are very interesting since in a way these uses of pragmatic markers might be signaling solidarity and identity formations as well. These uses seem to serve as distinguishing markers following uses in other networks. As mentioned before, some members of Network-B possess membership in other networks of more socioeconomic resources, such as Diana and Beto (Cristina’s fiancé). Diana and Beto study in Universities on the other side of the border, in the US. Thus, isoglosses here might appear quite diffused. Nevertheless, identity formations are much more complex due to the underlying ideologies as I will show in the following section.

5.3 English borrowings and social tension

There were no instances of codeswitching in interactions recorded among members of Network-B. Regarding English borrowings, there were some uses of traditional regional borrowings such as parquero (person that takes care of cars in parking lots), or porche (porch). Other non-adapted English borrowings occurred with some proper names such as Harry Potter characters and some other TV characters as well. Other nonce borrowings were present but these were in specific contexts, as we will show. Due to her position as a fluent bilingual, Diana was the one that produced the most non-adapted borrowings and nonce words, such as the compound
noun *wedding planner*, and adjectives such as *tipsy, cool, and loser*. More interestingly, Jacqueline was one of the members that never produced a non-adapted borrowing; she was only speaking in English when she was once singing a song in English.

English proficiency among members of Network-B is rather heterogeneous as expected in a middle group. Some members with more resources have access to formal education in English, and in general more opportunities involving practicing the language and also acquiring cultural knowledge, which further promotes greater assimilation to American culture. Other members including Jacqueline and her family, as most of their friends from the university, are still learning English and could be placed at the intermediate and advanced-intermediate levels. This can be justified since most of them take English at college, and some of them, such as Jacqueline, have been studying English as a second language throughout their school years. This heterogeneity next to the ideologies and attitudes toward language use were clearly appreciated in several interactions captured in this ethnographic research. Moreover, these exchanges underscore many ideologies that encompass specific cultural practices and social lifestyles on this Mexican border region. The following example (110) *The wedding planner* exposes this social context and the ideologies behind language use very clearly. During this interaction Cristina had been describing to her friends how frustrated she is with all the wedding arrangements and especially because she feels that she has to please everybody, especially her husband’s family. Nevertheless, everybody is laughing and making jokes, which serves as an escape valve for social tension at different moments including the situation in (110). This example also shows gendered relations, where the bride is the one that must take care of all the little details and who is under lots of pressure and demands. As Driscoll (2002) suggests regarding bridal cultures, “through deployments of taste they also position girls, families, and
couples in a range of social structures, including class, ethnicity, wealth, and education;” in Bourdieu’s terms, bridal cultures also represent the construction of “taste” of “distinction,” “the means by which the everyday and the cultural are organized” (2002: 181). Cristina, as well as her friends, are immersed within this field of production, which includes this global and local existing tastes, which constitutes, according to Bourdieu, “a system of stylistic possibles from which it can select the system of stylistic features constituting a life style” (1986: 203, see also Driscoll 2002). Hence, Cristina is in this captured moment, subjected to reach the demands of the social structure where she is positioned.

(110) The wedding planner
(Cristina is speaking on the phone in the back)

1. Jacqueline: >>mira es que es tan nefasto andar con alguien ahi cargando para <<XX (overlapped) (making reference to Cristina’s future family in law)
2. Diana: Mira (overlapped), yo creo que yo↑…
3. Jacqueline: (2) qué me lo organice alguienV
4. Diana: >>eso estaría, eh yo creo que éso <<louder>> es lo que yo↑ haría (laughing)
5. Researcher: una <<high>> ¿cómo se llama?, no sé qué bodas
6. Diana and researcher: aha (simultaneously)
7. Jacqueline: >>mira Diana, <<noo se dice así estamos en <<creaky>>México
8. Diana: Ta bien te voy a contratar a tíV JaquelineV (laughing)
9. Jaqueline: ahh (overlapped) (laughing)
10. Diana: te lo prometo <<loud>> ¿eh?, en tres días, (slapping hands) aquí está tu boda
11. Jaqueline: ahh (laughing)...
12. Diana: y de hecho tengo tres formatos (laughing)

In (110) The wedding planner, Cristina is talking on the phone with someone regarding her wedding organization. The conversation among the four of us has been revolving around the wedding and how Cristina is already overwhelmed by family and acquaintances’ own opinions
about the ceremony and reception. Thus, Jacqueline is narrating how Cony, another older friend of all of us, and who is the main leader of the organization of activists where Network-B is involved, has told Jacqueline that as organized as she is, in her wedding day everything would be ready and on time. Jacqueline then adds that she would just need the groom to be waiting for her. After that, (110) begins with Jacqueline’s complaints regarding how annoying is to have to deal with other people’s opinions. Diana then starts articulating what she would do in line 4. Jacqueline then completes Diana’s thought by saying that she would have someone organize it for her and Diana agrees emphatically. Then, in line 8 the researcher’s commentary is a suggestion that there is already a profession or a person that arranges weddings. Diana in line 9 then utters “wedding planner” in English, with native-like pronunciation, and with a particular prosodic contour, a low tone followed by a rise that extends as high plateau until the end of the phrase resulting in a L+ H* pitch accent and MM% boundary tone (in Figure 18). The rise in this contour is produced with a magnitude of 6.9 semitones. This intonation contour pattern seems to be a type of answer signaling specific attitude on behalf of the speaker, as if it were an obvious answer (and there is even a movie with that title). The attitude transmitted in this intonation resembles in a way some of the attitudes found among participants in Network-A who speak with a style of upper class distinctiveness/fresa. At this point, this statement (wedding planner) triggers a very interesting reaction on Jacqueline’s behalf.
In *The wedding planner* it can be observed a social conflict caused by the use of a nonce borrowing in the compound noun *wedding planner*. Even though, they are all converging into a regional and similar language style within this feminine semantic field, they also diverge when Monica makes evident elements of social distinction through her language use. After the researcher brings up with her utterance that there is already a name for a person that organizes weddings, Diana in line 9 completes the phrase by saying the name of this profession in native-like pronunciation. At a meta-social level, this reminds us that she is a fluent bilingual and, therefore, that she is in a higher social position than the rest. This is the reason why Jacqueline reacts to this meta-message and makes a parody performance, by mimicking an upper class speech style of *fresas*, when she produces in a different voice quality, the discourse marker *o sea* (*so, well*, in English; literally ‘that is’), that is stereotypically associated in the media with this particular style. This ironic passage evidences the existence of a certain style of distinctiveness...
conceptualized by speakers in this community as fresa. The production of this discourse marker with a certain voice quality signals that the social meaning embedded in this expression and its phonetic characteristics (in this interaction), invokes distinctiveness not only at the personal level but at the institutional as well (Irvine 2001). Jacqueline does this in order to signal her friend’s intervention as a symbolic act of social distinction; thus, Jacqueline is making a clear statement that this type of behavior is unacceptable and unnecessary since estamos en México (we are in Mexico) and therefore only Spanish is spoken here. This might be a call of attention to the fact that Diana is “violating” the boundaries of this group. Therefore, Jacqueline is displaying her traditional Mexican identity (cf. Hidalgo 1983) by appealing to membership alliances and language ideologies shared by everybody present there. After this, Monica responds in a very strong way by using the regional intonation, letting everybody now that she is a member of the group as well and that she is very secure about projecting a regional bilingual identity or what we will call here a fronterizo identity (contour illustrated in Figure 19). The length of the accented syllable tar in the word contratar is 150 ms, and 113 ms for the syllable a. Also, the magnitude of the fall is 8.4 s.t. In figure 19, it cannot be seen how the speaker keeps the high tone after the boundary tone (as a short high plateau that was observed in the previous northern contours) since the next word after this statement is the name of the participant she is addressing and therefore I had to cut it.

Hence, this exchange also illustrates how members such as Diana posses a wider level of sociolinguistic awareness and proficiency that allows her to move in different social spaces. Yet, this exchange occurs and ends by joking and laughing, which mitigates and softens the whole interaction. Nevertheless, this example reveals a social conflict situation that also reflects ideologies permeating their interactions. Milroy and Wei (1995) mention the importance of
considering the patterns of “language choice at the community” and at the national level, when analyzing codeswitching within interactions (137). Hidalgo’s (1986) findings show that specific language ideology and social values underlie sentiments of distaste toward codeswitching in Juárez and thus become reflected in their language choice. Following Milroy and Wei, we find that “variation in the structure of different individuals’ personal social networks will, for a number of reasons, systematically affect the way they use the two languages in the community repertoire” (1995: 138). This exchange discloses the social dynamics involved and it also evinces not only the micro/macro relationship (see Milroy and Wei 1995) but also more levels in between. Additionally, we want to suggest here that Jacqueline’s statement we are in Mexico is a counter reaction to the continuous discrimination (apparently covert) that she is subjected to by her friends and that I will show in the rest of this chapter. Hill observes that discourse, conceived as “all varieties of talk and text… [are] the set of fundamental preconditions not only for talk, but for thought and understanding itself” (2008: 32). Through these interactions it is possible to establish the connection between the multiple levels of sociolinguistic components that serve as a frame to these communities’s patterns of language choice. This becomes even more lucid in the light of the following example (111) *Masquerades.*
Figure 19. Waveform, spectrogram and F0 trace for the exclamative intonation phrase *Te voy a contratar a ti* (*I am going to hire you*) produced by Diana with a H+L* nuclear configuration and H% boundary tone

At the moment of the interaction in example (111) *Masquerades*, we were all making masquerades for Cristina’s wedding party. All of the people involved in this interaction are members of the same network of activists, and that is why everybody was helping Cristina with all of the wedding arrangements. This exchange happened several days before the *Wedding planner*. It also happened in Cristina’s house. We were helping her to make some of the arrangements for her wedding, such as different things to entertain the wedding guests at the party, this included making masquerades, or little cans filled with pebbles and wrapped in colorful paper that could be used as small percussion instruments, as well as other related objects. Karen was present, a high school student from the school where they all volunteer and where they all do missionary work at a marginal neighborhood. The leader teacher of the activists’ team, Cony, was also present. Moreover, Pablo a male friend and activist, was there as
well as Cristina, the bride, her mom, and the researcher. Pablo is another University student. He lives in Zone 3 in a more recently middle class neighborhood in Juárez. Cony is a 40 year old woman who grew up in a very traditional old lower class neighborhood close to downtown Juárez in the western city in Zone Centro. However, she possesses already two bachelor degrees in Psychology and Theology and a Master’s degree in Education. Cony is the anchorage member in network C and her case would be further explained below.

(111) **Masquerades**

1. **Researcher**: ay parece deeeeee linterna verde *(overlapped)*
2. **Cony**: de ardilla *(overlapped)*
3. **Researcher**: de linterna verde *(giggling)*, de tortuga ninja *(giggling)*
4. **Cony**: ándale de tortuga ninja parece
5. **Karen**: *(giggling)* dijo Nano van ir todos de tortuga ninja
6. **Pablo**: pos *(overlapped)* es que si ustedes están haciendo de niña
7. **Cristina**: <<high>> ¿qué con los antifaces?, Ah aqui hay negro para
9. **Pablo**: <<low>> ah bueno, muy bien

Pause (14.50 segs) *(noises)*
10. **Cony**: Donatello o ¿cómo se llamaban los de tortuga?
11. **Karen**: sí *(overlapped)*
12. **Karen**: si, morado *(requesting purple glitter)*
13. **Researcher**: <<Leonardo, Donatello…
14. **Cristina**: Rafael, Miguel Ángelo
15. **Researcher**: Miguel Ángelo
16. **Cony**: aay, ¿puros grandes?
17. **Researcher**: <<siii
18. **Cony**: sí
19. **Researcher**: y Splinter era el… *(adapted pronouncing a simple vibrant /r/)*
20. **Pablo**: la rata
21. **Researcher**: (giggling)
22. **Cristina**: y April *(non-adapted)*, o Abril la chavaV
23. **Pablo**: April *(non-adapted)*
24. **Cristina**: ah sí
25. **Researcher**: (giggling) los que no veían las tortugas… *(ironically)*
26. **Cristina**: las tortugas ninja†
27. **Karen**: nah ps yo ah yo casi *(overlapped)* no
28. **Pablo**: *(overlapped)* y Shredder, era el malo *(non-adapted, with a flap /R/)*
29. **Cristina**: ¿quién?
30. **Pablo**: Shredder *(non-adapted)*

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**Researcher**: It looks like the Green lantern’s *(masquerade)*
**Cony**: of a squirrel
**Researcher**: From the Green lantern from the Ninja Turtles
**Cony**: there you go from the Green Lantern’s it looks like
**Karen**: Nano said that everybody is going to go as the Ninja Turtles
**Pablo**: It’s because you’re making them *(masquerades)* for girls, so I’ll make Ninja Turtles and Batman
**Cristina**: What with the masquerades? Ah here you have black for Batman
**Pablo**: Ah good, very well

**Cony**: Donatello or what were the tutes’names
**Karen**: yes
**Karen**: purple
**Researcher**: Leonardo, Donatello
**Cristina**: Raphael, Michelangelo
**Researcher**: Michelangelo
**Cony**: oh my only the great ones!
**Researcher**: yeah!
**Cristina**: yeah
**Researcher**: and Splinter was the …
**Pablo**: the rat
**Researcher**: (laughing)
**Cristina**: and April or April the girl
**Pablo**: April
**Cristina**: oh yeah
**Researcher**: we didn’t use to watch the… *(ironically)*
**Cristina**: Ninja Turtles
**Karen**: nah not very much
**Pablo**: and Shredder was the bad guy

**Cristina**: who?
**Pablo**: Shredder
This exchange occurs while we are all immersed in pasting glitter and feathers to foam masquerades, and the conversation goes from requests to pass around the glue or more glitter, as well as commentaries regarding random topics that arise. On line 1, the researcher is following a comment that someone makes about Pablo’s masquerades that look like they belong to the comic character the Green Lantern or the Ninja Turtles as well. Karen adds that Nano, another high school student that had helped making masquerades before said that indeed everybody was going to look like the ninja turtles at the wedding reception. Pablo then adds that since he is the only boy at the moment, his masquerades resemble the ninja turtles or Batman in comparison to the rest of the group members who are all women and are all making girl’s masquerades. Then, in line 11, Cony utters the word Donatelo making reference to one of the Ninja Turtle’s names and she also requests the audience to say the rest of the names of these cartoon characters. This triggers a chain of responses. After we get all four names of the Ninja Turtles, echoing the great Italian renaissance Figures, the researcher adds in line 21 the name of another character from the
same animated cartoon. She produces the word *Splinter* with a Spanish pronunciation.\(^77\) After that, Cristina in line 25 adds the name of another character *April o Abril* (*April*), both in English and Spanish with their respective native-like pronunciation. She does not produce this word adapted like the researcher before. The fact that she provides the original name in English and its translation is not casual. This constitutes a symbolic act. She is perfectly aware of the social indexical meaning of the production of this name in English and that is why she also adds the Spanish version, which mitigates its effect. The proof of this comes right after Cristina’s bilingual utterance, when Pablo repeats the name but only in English which seems a validation of its use; plus the next name he mentions, *Shredder*, (in line 31) it is produced only in English with native-like pronunciation (in Figure 20). This also constitutes another symbolic act in which Pablo is endorsing Cristina’s use and he is also signaling that he shares her *fronterizo* identity. This could also be exposing gender hierarchies in this group since his intervention not only lacks any hints of insecurity but it is also a validation of this non-adapted language use on behalf of the only man present. The fact that he had previously made a speech statement regarding his masculinity by mentioning his color choices when decorating his masquerades reveals that he is probably very aware of his position within this group, being not only one of the only current active leader-male members, but also the only one present at that gathering. In addition, it is a very well-known fact that kept showing in the numerous interactions recorded in this research, that Cony, as the main leader of the group favors men above women and particularly Pablo and Beto (Cristina’s groom) above all activists. Pablo, by being the one who validates the use of these non-adapted English names, could be also exposing gender hierarchies within this social group.

\(^{77}\) As a matter of fact that specific character’s name was not translated, the Spanish version just used the same name but with a Spanish like pronunciation
Moreover, as mentioned before, in Juárez, there is a tradition of watching TV in English because people living in Juárez receive TV signals from El Paso. So, here we were all sharing a similar border lifestyle background. In this case, Jacqueline is not present, and there is nobody else present that feels uncomfortable with these English uses. After Pablo endorses these uses, the conversation flows without any tension at all. At the end of this excerpt, Pablo is making fun of how amusing the cartoon sounds when it is translated into Spanish, which again exposes his bicultural fronterizo identity. Cristina responds positively to Pablo’s intervention by stating how she cannot believe they have translated *Shredder* into *Destrozador*. This *metapragmatic judgement* signals “an explicit object of metasemiotic consciousness;” a self-reflection about language in which speakers are making a link between the local and the global (Thibault 2003: 57; see also Gumperz 2003). The researcher also joins the mock and adds as a self-clarifier of the meaning of the word. This example reflects a common set of experiences and practices shared by

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78 There was no available F0 trace for this example.
a border community. In this case these experiences are related to the fact that all the present people grew up watching cartoons in English from the U.S. free TV channels, particularly on Saturday mornings, as well as the respective translated versions transmitted on Mexican channels as well. Here, nobody seemed to feel socially confined by the use of these non-adapted nonce borrowings, even though we all more or less knew there the very different levels of English proficiency among the people present. Only Karen tried to mention that she did not use to watch them so much, and this was probably generational since she is only 16 years old. For example, Cony and Karen’s proficiency in English is very limited compared to Cristina, Pablo and the researcher. The fact that this did not cause conflict here exposes not only ideologies behind these language use but also deep racial formations on this Mexican border. In The wedding planner an instance of a non-adapted English noun causes a salient moment of social tension; in Masquerades, after being validated, English becomes more as a reiteration among members of the same ethnic faction that also share a fronterizo culture despite the pronounced differences in economic status. These racial and cultural configurations become more evident in other language uses analyzed in the following sections.

The following excerpt called Novio del sur (Southern boyfriend), happens in Cristina’s house. Jacqueline was asking Cristina about the honeymoon, she replied that she was sad because they didn’t have enough money to go on a honeymoon. Though, Beto’s dad had offered to pay either for the banquet at the reception or the honeymoon. Cristina then explained regretfully that when she discussed it with Beto, he suggested that they had to accept his dad to pay for the banquet. Beto’s main reason was that a banquet was more expensive than the honeymoon, so she had had to agree. She then continued explaining how since her fiancé’s

79 Ninja Turtles are again on TV; however, I have observed that Karen and her close female friends do not enjoy watching cartoons but Mexican soap operas instead. Interestingly, these soap operas include many characters that reinforce the fresa stereotype.
family is from another northern Mexican city they have stated that in that city people would never have a wedding without a banquet in the reception; a custom that differs from Juárez, where it is known to be more socially relaxed and it is acceptable to have a reception with only wedding cookies and cake. So at the beginning of example (112) she is advising her friends not to marry anyone from a particular northern city in Mexico.

(112) Novio del sur

1. Cristina: No entonces ya saben, no se casen con alguien que sea de (Mexican City)
2.  
3. Jacqueline: >>mira ¿sabes que es lo mejor?, irte a conseguir uno del sur, (overlapped) parque†
4. Cristina: <<loud>> (overlapped) ¡No nooo!V
5. Diana: <<loud>> (overlapped) ¡No noooo no no no no!V
6. Cristina: ¿No qué te pasa? qué ¿te gustan los chaparros y morenitos?
7. Diana: ¡Síiiii!
8. Jacqueline: >>No pero pos ahí un gringo que ande por ahí perdido pero en ese caso XX
9. Diana: ¡Síiiii!
10. Jacqueline: <<<Ve, agarras el parque↑ Jaqueline: Look, you get the park
11. Cristina: ah, me pos vete a los campos menonitas, pos a ver si así te encuentras un güero, pos no manchesV
12. Diana: ¡Síiiii!
13. Jacqueline: <<<Ve, agarras el parque↑
14. Cristina: Oye ¿qué onda con el estilista?
15. Diana: Oye si cierto nosotros aquí en el chal
16. Cristina: Oye nooo, también, al en el sur↑ ya también ya se da todo mundo da banqueteV, entonces aquí en Juárez nada más son las galletitas aquí también, me estaba platicando con Beto que, cuando, vinieron ellos recién vinieron que dice “no fuimos a una fiesta y nosotros acá” y hay bueno hay galletitas no↑ y luego que dan el pastel y luego “que extraño que primero den el pastel antes que el banqueteV" <<high>>“muchas gracias por habernos por haber este venido a la fiesta” y luego (2) “¿Y la cena?!”
17. Diana: (laughing)
18. Jacqueline: XX que después del pastel te vas al menudoV ¿sabes?, o sea iPos si!V
19. Jacqueline: >>XX que después del pastel te vas al menudoV ¿sabes?, o sea iPos si!V
20. Diana: ¡Pos sí!V
21. Jacqueline: >>XX que después del pastel te vas al menudoV ¿sabes?, o sea iPos si!V
22. Diana: ¡Pos sí!V
23. Jacqueline: >>…después de las tres de la mañana yo seguro, después de una boda↑ yo estoy en El Bomberito
24. Diana: (Laughing).
25. Jaqueline: XXX after the cake you go to the menudo (beef soup) you know? So...
26. Diana: Well yeah...
27. Jacqueline: ... after three in the morning for sure, after a wedding, I’m eating my plate of menudo at El Bomberito

Cristina: No, well now you know, don’t marry anyone from (Mexican City)
Jaqueline: No look, the best thing to do is to go and get one (boyfriend) from the south, you get a park and
Cristina: No nooo!
Diana: No noooo no no no!
Cristina: What’s the matter with you? Is it that you like short and dark skinned men?
Diana: (laughing)
Jaqueline: No well a gringo (American) that is lost somewhere there but in that case XX
Diana: Yeah!
Jaqueline: Look, you get the park
Cristina: So go to the Menonita fields, so, let’s see if you can find a blond one, what the hell...
Jaqueline: Shut up! There are some Menonite pizzas
Cristina: Hey, what’s going on with the hairstylist?
Diana: Hey, that’s right and we are here gossiping
Cristina: Hey nooo, also in the south they also give food to everybody, so here in Juárez there are only the cookies (wedding cookies), here, Beto was saying that when they just arrived he says ” went to a party and we were like well there are cookies and then they give us the cake” and then “weird, they first give the cake before dinner” “thank you very much for coming to the party,” and then “and where is the dinner?!”
Diana: (Laughing).
Jaqueline: XXX after the cake you go to the menudo (beef soup) you know? So...
Diana: Well yeah...
Jaqueline: ... after three in the morning for sure, after a wedding, I’m eating my plate of menudo at El Bomberito
In line 3, Jacqueline then tries to suggest that if you get a boyfriend from the south you can have a free reception in a park since this implies the common knowledge that in the south of Mexico weather is much better and you can have a party outside. However, she cannot even finish her sentence when she is stopped by an exaggerated reaction against this suggestion of marrying a man from the south. This openly reveals the presence of collective beliefs of a whiter and more progressive north (see Walsh 2004; Alonso 2004). Cristina, who is the one that initiates the reaction against Jacqueline, explicitly asks her if she likes short and dark skinned men. This places Jacqueline in a very uncomfortable position, even though Cristina uses a diminutive with the adjective *morenitos* (literally *little dark skinned men*) as a mitigation device. As stated before, everybody in the room is aware that one side of Jacqueline’s family is from a southern state in Mexico, where people are considered to be shorter and of darker skin. Thus, in line 10, Jacqueline tries to fix her error and suggests that one might find a U.S. citizen (she uses the term *gringo*) in the south, which implies that you can go to the south and still marry a white man. She then attempts to continue with what she started saying about the park, but she is again interrupted by Cristina who suggests that she should better go and find a member of the Mennonite community if she insists in going to the south.\textsuperscript{80} Jacqueline then tries to find a way out of this embarrassing situation and makes a joke out of Cristina’s statement regarding Mennonites by mentioning that she knows a very good pizza place managed by some Mennonites. Cristina then ignores this awkward commentary by asking why the hair stylist hasn’t arrived yet. Monica remained in a softer position by laughing loudly; however, she had

\textsuperscript{80} There are many Mennonite communities in the many states in Mexico; most of them work in agriculture. These communities came from Europe in the last century. There are several Mennonite communities in the state of Chihuahua south from Juárez.
agreed with Cristina in her reaction against Jacqueline’s suggestion of getting a southern boyfriend; yet, on line 20 she goes along with Cristina’s mention of the hairstylist’s whereabouts. Finally, Cristina strongly retakes the topic and reaffirms that looking for a boyfriend in the south is not a good idea nor an excuse, since in the south or other places like in her boyfriend’s hometown city, people also offer a banquet in weddings. This last statement is produced by Cristina with a very particular prosodic inconclusive movement at the middle of the statement in the word sur (line 21). This word is produced in a very high peak tone at a higher frequency than the speaker’s average (at 663.197 Hz /12.217 Erbs) and with a very notorious magnitude of 18.8 s.t. This inconclusive high rise does not seem to be casual, since Cristina’s intervention is firmly stating that she also knows about the south and its wedding customs, which seems to be emphasized by this high tone. After this, Monica keeps laughing loudly and nervously, then, Jacqueline finally moves away from that topic where she sees she cannot win and starts talking about a traditional custom in Juárez that involves going to eat *menudo* (a type of beef soup) with your friends after a wedding is over late at night. This might be an attempt to regain their friends’ acceptance since with this she is stating that she is indeed a native of Juárez; this is an identity statement since she is showing that she truly knows Juárez traditional customs and particularly good traditional places to go. It is also important to mention here that Diana is also in an uneasy position since she is close to both Cristina and Jacqueline. Also, Diana has a strong sense of being northern and in particular from Juárez, as she will state it later in her sociolinguistic interview. Thus, Diana, conciliatorily, converges with Jacqueline in a gesture of solidarity and asks her not to go to eat *menudo* (a type of beef soup) without her.

Again, even though, all this discussion happens within laughs and a jovial atmosphere it evidences how this group of friends experience social tension and gets trapped within deep racial
formations that serve as frames for subjectivities. These racial formations also serve as bases for the constructions of this regional *fronterizo* identity that it is indeed a *white fronterizo identity* since it is continuously recreated within racial discourses. Thus, these are discourses that, as Hill notices while talking about white racism in discourse, “make some things in the world noticeable and discussible, and others invisible, and … even create “things” themselves” (2008: 19). Racist discourses in Juárez, as byproducts of centuries of coloniality notices, discusses, and differentiates “the other” southern race and culture over and over, while making their own race and cultural practices invisible. For Hill, this racism in the form of culture, a view of the world, is taken by society as “common sense” and “each time this common sense plays out in talk and behavior, these fundamental ideas become available anew, and people use them to understand what has happened and to negotiate interaction” (19).

5.4. Spanish slang, Caló and taboo words

The use of Spanish slang in Network-B was very similar to the used in Network-A. Moreover, these members produced more variations of the verb *chingar* and the expression *chingado*. Nevertheless, the word *wey* was not produced very much within the interactions analyzed for this network. Thus, the word *wey* seems to be definitely circumscribed to only certain social groups of working class but also its frequent use could be socially stigmatized as an element associated with the *fresa* social stereotype and that’s why most people in Network-B do not use it. This word was only produced by Cristina as an interjection, and as a vocative it was only produced among male members in this group.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Slang word</th>
<th>Lexical category</th>
<th>Original meaning</th>
<th>Mexican meaning /Innovative meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chorro</td>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>Abundant exit of a liquid (DRAE)</td>
<td>A lot i.e. <em>un chorro de cosas</em> (a lot of things)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onda</td>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>Movement that propagates in a liquid [wave] (DBM)</td>
<td>Multifunction locution i.e <em>agarrar la onda</em> (to get it) <em>sacar de onda</em> (to confuse or get confused) etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>super</td>
<td>Adjective, prefix</td>
<td>On top of (DRAE)</td>
<td>on top of (DRAE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suave</td>
<td>Adjective</td>
<td>Soft (DRAE)</td>
<td>Nice (same as cool) (Téllez 1999)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neta</td>
<td>Adjective</td>
<td>Clean, pure, well defined (DRAE)</td>
<td>The truth (Aguilar et al. 1985)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>madres</td>
<td>Noun (plural)</td>
<td>Mother(s) (DRAE)</td>
<td>Polisemic word, intensifier preceding an action described (as a plural) (Téllez 1999)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pinche</td>
<td>Adjective</td>
<td>Kitchen assistant (DRAE)</td>
<td>Despicable (Mexico DRAE, DBM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pendejo</td>
<td>Noun (plural)</td>
<td>Public hair, <em>colloquial</em> stupid man (DRAE)</td>
<td>Public hair, <em>colloquial</em> stupid man (DRAE, DBM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mammon(a)</td>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>Someone being nursed, colloquial insult (DRAE)</td>
<td>Someone being nursed, colloquial insult (DRAE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no manches</td>
<td>Locution</td>
<td>Literally “don’t stain, don’t spill”</td>
<td>A softer version of <em>No mames</em>. An expression said to someone when this person has behaved in an exaggerated manner (Téllez 1999)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chingar</td>
<td>Verb</td>
<td>Competent in a specific activity or in a particular branch of knowledge (Mexico vulgar, DRAE)</td>
<td>Excellent in a specific activity or in a particular branch of knowledge (DBM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chingado</td>
<td>Masculine adjective</td>
<td></td>
<td>As used in Network-B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fregón</td>
<td>Adjective</td>
<td>Competent in a specific activity or in a particular branch of knowledge (Mexico vulgar, DRAE)</td>
<td>Competent in a specific activity or in a particular branch of knowledge, annoying (Mexico vulgar, DRAE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cabrón</td>
<td>Adjective</td>
<td>A person or animal that does annoying things, (DRAE)</td>
<td>A person with bad intentions (Galván and Teschner 1992; DBM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jode, joder</td>
<td>Verb, interjection</td>
<td>To have sex, to annoy (DRAE)</td>
<td>To have sex, to annoy (Aguilar et al. 1985; Galván and Teschner 1992, DRAE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cagarse</td>
<td>Verb</td>
<td>To shit oneself (DRAE)</td>
<td>To shit oneself, to dislike (Aguilar et al. 1985)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wey</td>
<td>Interjection, vocative</td>
<td>Stupid (DRAE)</td>
<td>Stupid (Galván and Teschner 1992; DBM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oso</td>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>Bear (DRAE)</td>
<td>Embarrassing situation (Téllez 1999)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>padre</td>
<td>noun</td>
<td>Father (DRAE)</td>
<td>Good, cool</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>simón</td>
<td>Proper noun</td>
<td>Proper noun, a type of car in Madrid (DRAE)</td>
<td>Adverb, affirmation (Aguilar et al. 1985; Galván and Teschner 1992)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.5. Intonation

It was observed that a regional northern central intonation was very much present among members of this Network-B. This intonation corresponds to the pattern H+ L* a peak plus a valley in the accented syllable pitch accent followed by a bitonal MM% or a HH% boundary tone in nuclear position within broad focus declaratives and other contexts as well. It was also observed that in many of these occurrences there is a longer vowel on the accented syllable that occurs in a rather pronounced valley. More studies are needed to clarify this regional pattern. Examples of this intonation pattern among others will be discussed below. Figure 21, shows the phrase *No voy a andar cuidando* (‘I won’t be taking care [of people]’) produced by Jacqueline. This statement was produced in a broad focus context and at the end of a prosodic unit. This phrase was produced with a H+L* nuclear tone and a bitonal HH% boundary tone where the accented syllable *dan* within the word *cuidando* has a duration of 307 ms and the magnitude of the fall is 6.5 s.t.
This northern intonation was very much used by all members in Network-B. Another 86 intonation phrases were analyzed for Network-B both acoustically and perceptually by the author. Another example of this northern intonation pattern can be seen in Figure 22, where we can observe the negative statement *No* (this is not a tag), containing a complete prosodic unit. This word was produced by Cristina with a H+L* nuclear pitch accent and a bitonal HH% boundary tone in narrow focus and with a fall of 3.3 s.t.
Furthermore, there are some instances of mocking of specific intonation contours, more characteristic of Mexico City intonation (Martin Butragueño 2004, forthcoming). Mocking intonations, as shown in the previous chapter, also happened in interactions among members in Network-A. However, interactions in Network-B described in this chapter, seems to be more intense regarding the social conflict caused. In Figure 23, Jacqueline is quoting what she said in a situation where she and Diana were late and had to hurry up and come out of the room they were once sharing on a trip. She quoted the phrase Allá afuerita vamos ahorita (‘We’ll be out shortly’). This sentence was unconsciously produced by Jacqueline with a series of notoriously circumflex pitch accents, where the nuclear pitch accent included a longer post stressed final syllable, which might have triggered a contour that seems to be stigmatized as being from the working classes in Mexico City (see Martin Butragueño, 2004, in press, see also Escobar et al. forthcoming). It was too late when she realized she had made a big mistake. Monica, aware of
this, makes fun of Jacqueline by mirroring this prosodic configuration, in Figure 24. Diana’s utterance is an obvious ethnic mocking symbolic act and a meta-discursive judgment as well. Jacqueline then acknowledges that this was a terrible mistake on her part and produces the utterance *Pinche chilanga ¿vea?* (‘Fucking chilanga right?’ [from Mexico City]). Diana in an assertive response keeps laughing loudly. Jacqueline’s strong response seems to be a way of making fun of herself, since she knows there is no other way out, while Diana keeps laughing loudly. Diana’s mocking imitation of Jacqueline’s phrase is a racist and ethnic symbolic act because this intonation in Juárez is recognized as part of the dialect spoken in Mexico City and or the South of Mexico (Escobar et al. forthcoming). People from Mexico City are in Juárez (and everywhere else in Mexico) derogatorily called *Chilangos/as*; thus, Jacqueline’s statement is another meta-discursive judgment which it is ended by the tag ¿vea?[verdad?] (‘right?’) which in this situation it might be a request for solidarity. This whole exchange exposes how, even though, Spanish from the capital could be seen as a symbol of the Mexican identity, (and it also serves as a model for the *fresa* style); however, its working class variety (what is called *naco*), that seems to include a difference in peak alignment and a longer post stressed final syllable, carries a very negative social meaning in Juárez. The prosodic configuration in figure 23 is not only recognized as part of a regional accent from southern regions by Diana, but it also entails for her racial and cultural connotations dealing with ideologies regarding a more indigenous south.
In Figure 23 we can observe Jacqueline’s utterance which is a quote of herself, and figure 24 is Diana’s utterance mocking Jaqueline’s. These contours seem complex. First of all, the first whole phrase in Jaqueline’s utterance in figure 23 seems to be an exaggeration. In the first part allá afuerita (there outside) the first syllable starts with a low tone and rises in the accented syllable llá. Then, in the following word there is a very high peak at the end of the tonic syllable ri. This seems to produce a very “Mexican accent” where the peak is accented, and that is probably one of the tones that gets perceived as southern by Diana (cf. Butragueño’s 2004, forthcoming). Then, Jaqueline produces a series of late peak accents where the peak is in the postonic in the second part of the utterance vamos ahorita (we’ll go right now). However, the last L+>H* is not as clear in the figure due to the voiceless /t/. Nevertheless, at the end of the sentence the speaker produces a long last postonic syllable ta with 260 ms. Then, Diana’s mocking statement seems a simplified version including only a pitch accents L+H* where the
peak is produced in the accented syllable va. Again, the second nuclear accent is not as clear due to the voiceless consonant /t/. Still, Diana did not miss the long vowel that in her own performance lasts 308 ms. This mocking intonation production on behalf of Diana reveals the level of awareness of speakers in Juárez regarding the negative social meaning encoded within this contour. Diana’s production, similar to Nando’s mocking intonation in Network-A, seems to be closer to the negative working class stereotype of Mexico City speech. This reflects a complex set of ideological notions within Juárez social contexts. Hill (1999) refers to mocking of low class varieties as “covert racist discourse” since “it accomplishes racialization of its subordinate-group targets through indirect indexicality” (683). Hill has based this notion on Ochs’ concept of indirect indexicality, because speakers would almost always deny that this language-mocking “is in any way racist” (683).

Moreover, these two figures contrast to another produced by Cristina in her sociolinguistic interview when she brought up the topic of social groups and she mentioned fresas. I then asked if she could explain what fresas were. She then said that the ones that speak with certain accent. This is illustrated in Figure 25, Cristina’s intonational phrase Cierto acento este… (Certain accent uhm...).

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81 These last syllables in both figure 23 and figure 24 come after the syllables [ri], which are one of the shortest segments in Spanish, and this might have influenced the following [ta] to be longer. However, the fact that Diana is mocking Jaqueline is a clear statement that Diana was able to recognize Jaqueline’s statement as part of a stigmatized stereotype in Juárez. Moreover, this stereotype has already been recognized as having a long syllable at the end of the statement and a high boundary tone (cf. Butragueño 2004, cf. Escobar et al. Forthcoming).
Figure 25. Cierto acento este… (‘Certain accent uhm…’), produced by Cristina mocking the fresa accent with a L\textsuperscript{*}+H nuclear accent in broad focus.

Figure 25 also show the level of awareness of speakers regarding social stereotypes and language forms such as intonation. This speaker can definitely mimic the fresa accent since she produces a type of prenuclear L\textsuperscript{*}+H, and nuclear accent L\textsuperscript{*}+H with a late low tone in the tonic syllable in broad focus and a L\textsuperscript{-} tone. The discourse marker este (‘uhm’) gets to be produced with a low configuration. However, once again it is important to mention that this is difficult to observe in this figure since there are several voiceless /t/ consonants. Nevertheless, the fact that this is a performance of a stereotype illustrates the level of awareness of speakers. As a last note, whenever the speaker intends to use these intonations as indexes of identity or to signal social meaning of stigmatizations through mocking contours, these seem to sometimes include a
reduplication of pitch accents in almost all accented words. This feature requires further research, but suggests some type of hypercorrection.

5.6. Network-C

This section analyzes the third sub-network studied in this research, Network-C. They are analyzed with Network-B, because members of Network-C interact with members of Network-B who are the older activists in their organization (Hermanos de la misión [Mission brothers]) as mentioned in chapter 2. Members of Network-C are mainly people living in the west side of the city in what is called Ciudad Poniente (literally Western City). The area where most of these members live and go to work and school includes zones Alta Zapata, Centro, Norponiente, Poniente, Azteca and Revolución in Map 5.

![Map 5. Zonas Norponiente, Zapata, Centro, Poniente, Azteca and Revolución where most inhabitants of Network-C live (adapted from Jusidman de Bialostozky et al. 2008).](image)

Ciudad poniente is the poorest geographic area in Juárez where zones particularly Zones Norponiente, and Poniente, lack the main services such as water, electricity, gas, and phone land lines (Jusidman de Bialostozky et al. 2008). In addition, this geographic area contains the highest
population density closely followed by the southern block. The zones in this western area of the city also have the most occupants per room and their residents have completed the less number of years in school (2008). This is shown in the highlighted section in table 16.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Zone</th>
<th>Total population</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>PO&gt;= 2 sal. min</th>
<th>Average school years</th>
<th>Inhabitants/room</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Northern City</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norte 1</td>
<td>74,122</td>
<td>6.09</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>11.45</td>
<td>0.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norte 2</td>
<td>70,542</td>
<td>5.79</td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>11.48</td>
<td>0.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Segundo Cuadro</td>
<td>83,720</td>
<td>6.87</td>
<td>32.3</td>
<td>9.32</td>
<td>1.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>228,384</td>
<td>18.75</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Western City</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Centro</td>
<td>79,916</td>
<td>6.56</td>
<td>48.6</td>
<td>7.49</td>
<td>1.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alta Zapata</td>
<td>60,002</td>
<td>4.93</td>
<td>52.2</td>
<td>6.86</td>
<td>1.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norponiente</td>
<td>103,632</td>
<td>8.51</td>
<td>60.1</td>
<td>6.27</td>
<td>2.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poniente</td>
<td>92,811</td>
<td>7.62</td>
<td>52.8</td>
<td>6.61</td>
<td>1.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Azteca</td>
<td>86,182</td>
<td>7.08</td>
<td>48.2</td>
<td>7.41</td>
<td>1.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revolución Méx.</td>
<td>95,906</td>
<td>7.88</td>
<td>52.8</td>
<td>6.68</td>
<td>1.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>518,449</td>
<td>42.57</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Southern City</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jilotepec</td>
<td>99,397</td>
<td>8.16</td>
<td>35.5</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>1.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Granjero</td>
<td>94,618</td>
<td>7.77</td>
<td>44.2</td>
<td>7.55</td>
<td>1.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surponiente</td>
<td>75,350</td>
<td>6.19</td>
<td>40.2</td>
<td>7.96</td>
<td>1.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morelos Las Torres</td>
<td>102,138</td>
<td>8.39</td>
<td>34.5</td>
<td>8.81</td>
<td>1.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zaragoza</td>
<td>99,427</td>
<td>8.16</td>
<td>50.8</td>
<td>6.95</td>
<td>1.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>470,930</td>
<td>39.67</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>1,217,763</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>42.6</td>
<td>8.06</td>
<td>1.41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The activities which I participated in while hanging out with members of Network-C were mostly at Benito Valdés junior high school. I obtained access to this big network mainly through Cony, a 40 year old female teacher whom I have known for ten years. Cony has become a very powerful figure in her current job since she is not only the academic coordinator but she is also highly involved in activism in the community where the school is located. She is the main leader of a non-profit organization called Hermanos de la misión (Mission brothers). This religious organization also involves the university students from Network-B who work as mentors for students at Benito Valdés junior high. Additionally, this organization also is
dedicated to obtain scholarships in order to sponsor graduated students from *Benito Valdés* who wish to pursue a high school degree. As a prerequisite for these scholarships high school students have to also work with the *Hermanos de la misión*. The program has been highly successful and the religious Catholic organization managing *Benito Valdés* junior high had decided to fully support their project. Yolanda the psychologist and three other young teachers at Benito Valdés, Mary, Julia, and Sonia are also highly involved with the *Hermanos de la misión* in order to support more students to continue their education. Most of the activities where I was involved consisted in organizational meetings for activities related to funding, tutoring sessions, strategic educative planning, and continuous visiting of student’s houses and families. Some other activities were more related to basic logistics such as sweeping the floor, and arranging chairs in a room. All these activities, though, allowed me to closely observe interactions among members in this network and their social and linguistic practices as well. Members are shown in table 17.
Table 17. Members in Network-C

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Pseudonym</th>
<th>Network</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Strong ties</th>
<th>Weak ties</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Mario</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Dario</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Arturo</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Esteban</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Julia</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Yolanda</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Mary</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Sonia</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Rico</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Lisa</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Sandy</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Pita</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Anahi</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Lita</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Martha</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Cony</td>
<td>C (B)</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Chilo</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Camilo</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Elena</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Gabriel</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Rodrigo</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Nano</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Rualdo</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Tatiana</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Jimena</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Jose</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Rosi</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Gino</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Nuvia</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Linda</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Karen</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Dana</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.6.1. Pragmatic markers

Regarding the use of pragmatic markers in Network-C approximately another 6 hours of recordings were transcribed and analyzed. Results show that the use of the word *así* as well as their other variants that function as pragmatic markers seem to be currently diffusing into other sectors of the population such as members in Network-C. Results show a less frequent use among members of this social group and that might suggest that effectively these uses might have an origin in other socioeconomic groups (such as Network-A). What was more interesting was the fact that these uses were also produced by the young teachers. The main point of interest here is that some of the teachers were using them only when they were talking about their personal lives. Their interactions were very interesting since we could be in the middle of an
organizational meeting between Cony and the teachers and due to her multiple occupations Cony had to constantly leave the room to attend other matters. It was during these moments where the meetings were interrupted. When Cony was not present, the teachers abruptly started to talk about their personal experiences at work or about their personal lives with their respective partners. It is then that the pragmatic markers would appear. As soon as Cony entered the room and the meeting resumed, they would switch to a more formal register. It was Yolanda the psychologist who was actually in her late-twenties at the moment of this research, who used them more frequently. Not surprisingly, she was consistently teased in a friendly manner by her colleagues for being the young *fresa* of the group since she is one of the only teachers that grew up and lived in another neighborhood that is close to zone Norte 1 (*North 1*). Regarding the high school students, not all of them used these pragmatic markers. The ones that used them were mostly women and some of the men who seem to be the most outspoken to speak in public such as Nano, Rualdo, and Gino. Moreover, regarding students in junior high I was only able to ask six of them to participate in this research for IRB reasons; thus, only people over 15 years of age were able to participate. In this way, four of these young participants were some of the ones that produced the word *así* and some of the other variants very frequently.

The results on table 18 show how these current uses of the word *así* seem to be diffusing and especially among the youngest female speakers.
Table 18. Results of proportions of uses of objects of loose/enrich interpretation of *Así* in Network-C, based on Andersen (1998) (N=170)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Objects of loose/enrich interpretation of <em>Así</em> in Network C</th>
<th>Tokens Total 170</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Set Marking Tags</strong></td>
<td>48</td>
<td>28.95</td>
<td>(113) Linda: No porque ya evolucionó tanto porque ya fue donde empezó todo eso y empezó más <em>y así</em> Linda: No, because it already evolved so much since it was where all that started and it started even more [and stuff] (speaking about AIDS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pragmatic marker emphatic tag</strong></td>
<td>44</td>
<td>27.63</td>
<td>(114) Karen: Que te ponen <em>así</em> actividades diferentes —<em>así</em> Karen: (Teachers) that give you [like] different activities — [like that/this]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Adjectival Phrase</strong></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10.53</td>
<td>(115) Pita: Eh tengo cinco, uno vive conmigo y los demás viven <em>así</em> → regados Pita: Eh I have five (brothers and sisters), one lives with me and the rest live [like] everywhere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Adv phrase</strong></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9.21</td>
<td>(116) Nano: <em>Así</em> → tienes flojera y así Nano: [Like] → (you) are feel laziness and stuff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>VP</strong></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7.89</td>
<td>(117) Dana: Y logo no pos les estaba <em>así</em> → gritándoles Dana: And then no well (he) was [like] → screaming (to them)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NP</strong></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5.26</td>
<td>(118) Karen: Pero lo que me llamó más la atención son los <em>así</em> → vaqueritos los cowboys Karen: But what got more my attention are [like] → cowboys the cowboys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Whole declarative preposition</strong></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5.26</td>
<td>(119) Anahí: Con un pariente él <em>así</em> → él sí vive allá Anahí: With a relative he [like] → he does live there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Prep Phrase</strong></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.63</td>
<td>(120) Pita: Están chiquitos, pero <em>así</em> → con con sus mamás Pita: (They) are Young, but [like] → with their mothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Quotative</strong></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.63</td>
<td>(121) Tatiana: Pero hay unos que no de plano <em>así</em> → “esa no me gusta” Tatiana: But there are some that no really [like] → “I don’t like that one”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Measurable Units</strong></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Whole interrogative preposition</strong></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If we compare these results with the ones obtained from the other two networks we could clearly observe that we could be witnessing a change in progress, a change triggered by a style of distinctiveness motivated by speakers’ complex association of intentions and in group cohesion. The proportions of the total instances of *así* as a pragmatic marker of loose and enrichment use can be seen in pie chart 2. We can observe that the only uses in Network-A seem to be highly marked by frequency. Nevertheless, taking into account that not everybody in Network-C seems to use them and that among older members they seem to be restricted mostly to informal contexts.
Regarding the uses of the different variants as quotatives, the results of uses in this network seem similar to the other networks, the verb *decir* is ahead of the rest of the variants. Nevertheless, it is a little bit more difficult to make comparisons since there is much variability. Yet, uses in Network-C as quotatives seem to be more restricted to more particular variants such as *como que* and *así como que*. This can be observed in table 19.
### Table 19. Uses of pragmatic markers as quotatives in Network-C (N=232)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pragmatic markers as quotatives</th>
<th>Tokens 232</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **Decir (verb to say)**         | 78         | 33.62| (122) Mary: *le digo* → “No me interesa”  
|                                 |            |      | Mary: (I) told him → “I’m not interested”  |
| **Yo, y él, y ellos, y nosotros** | 30         | 12.93| (123) Dana: No pero me dijo, “ay Dana tengo muchas ganas de explorar tu mente” *y yo* → “sáquese”  
|                                 |            |      | Dana: No but (she) told me, “hey Dana I really would like to explore your mind” and I (was) → “get away”  |
| ** Ø**                          | 31         | 13.36| (124) Rosy: Pq Nano es graffitero, se pone a rayar → “ay como eres naco” *y asi*  
|                                 |            |      | Rosy: So Nano makes graffiti, he starts making graffiti → “hey you are such a naco” and stuff  |
| **Como que**                    | 21         | 9.05 | (125) Anahi: Un poema *como que* → “lalalala”  
|                                 |            |      | Anahi: A poem [like] → “lalalala”  |
| **Así como que**                | 17         | 7.33 | (126) Yolanda: Yo lo estuve atendiendo y él estaba *así como que* → “aaaaay amor”  
|                                 |            |      | Yolanda: I was taking care of him and he was [like] → “oooh my love”  |
| **Digo/dije yo**                | 11         | 4.74 | (127) Mary: *y dije yo* → “Bueno y estas fulanas entonces ¿qué hacen con una pareja?”  
|                                 |            |      | Mary: And I said→ “well and these women what are they doing with a partner?”  |
| **Ay yo**                       | 8          | 3.45 | (128) Linda: *Ay yo* → “noooo”  
|                                 |            |      | Linda: Ay I→ “noooo”  |
| **Y yo dije**                   | 7          | 3.02 | (129) Linda: *Y yo le dije* → “no manches”  
|                                 |            |      | Linda: And I told (her) → “no way”  |
| **Y yo asi**                    | 7          | 3.02 | (130) Tatiana: *Y yo asi* → “no manches”  
|                                 |            |      | Tatiana: And I (was) [like] → “no way”  |
| **De que**                      | 6          | 2.59 | (131) Linda: Es que muchos dicen que la ideología de ellos es *de que* → “todos somos iguales”  
|                                 |            |      | Linda: It’s because many say that their ideology is [like] → “we’re all the same”  |
| **Y luego yo**                  | 5          | 2.16 | (132) Karen: *Y luego yo* → “haha”  
|                                 |            |      | Karen: And then I (was) → “haha”  |
| **así**                         | 4          | 1.72 | (133) Karen: Te dicen *así* → “¿y eso qué es?” y así  
|                                 |            |      | Karen: (They) tell you [like] → “and what’s that?” and stuff  |
| **Decir Así**                   | 4          | 1.72 | (134) Rosy: No se ps ella nomás nos dice *así* → “ay eres bien naco”  
|                                 |            |      | Rosy: I don’t know she just calls us [like] → “hey you’re too much of a naco”  |
| **Así de que**                  | 3          | 1.29 | (135) Rualdo: *Así de que* → “voy al jale”  
|                                 |            |      | Rualdo: [Like] → “I go to work”  |
| **Así como**                    | 1          | 0.43 | (136) Yolanda: Sí lo chipeo mucho, ya sé que lo ves *así como* → “el pobre abnegadísimo”  
|                                 |            |      | Yolanda: I really spoil him a lot, I know you see him [like] → “this poor abnegated man”  |
| **Así de**                      | 0          | 0    |  
| **Y yo asi de**                 | 0          | 0    |  
| **Así tipo**                    | 0          | 0    |  
| **Así que**                     | 0          | 0    |  
| **Como**                        | 0          | 0    |  
| **Así como de**                 | 0          | 0    |  
| **Como que dice**               | 0          | 0    |  
| **Tipo que**                    | 0          | 0    |  

As in the other two networks I also analyzed the uses of *así* and other variants of pragmatic markers without the quotatives. These results are in table 20.
The use of *así* as a pragmatic marker is the most popular in Network-C as well. Comparing the uses of pragmatic markers and its distribution as quotatives we can observe these uses slightly more similar to uses in Network-A than to Network-B. This was also perceived in the process of coding the data since the uses of Network-C were clearer to classify as well as more obvious at first glance. As shown in the results from some variants such as *así que* in Network-B, there were some uses of the words *así*, *así que*, etc., produced by the teachers (Mary, Yolanda, Julia, and especially Cony), particularly in formal contexts that were not counted since they were clearly not the same. In this way, by observing this group of young female teachers was very useful to confirm that there seems to be layering of these forms, meaning that grammaticalised forms might be coexisting “alongside non-grammaticalised ones,” which is generally “the norm rather than the exception” (Traugott 1995: 32).

**Table 20. Distribution of proportions of the different variants of uses of pragmatic markers in Network-C (without quotative uses) (N=326)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pragmatic markers (without quotatives)</th>
<th>Tokens Total 326</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Así</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>50.92</td>
<td>(137) Tatiana: Como que meten <strong>así</strong> → chismes y así y pos… Tatiana: [like] they spread <strong>[like]</strong> → rumors and stuff and…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Como que</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>13.80</td>
<td>(138) Nano: Se portan <strong>como que</strong> → las populares Nano: They behave [like] → the popular ones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Así como que</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>10.12</td>
<td>(139) Karen: <em>Así como que</em> → Como que nomás quieren estar así haciendo cosas Karen: [Like] → [like] they just want to be doing [like] things</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Como</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>6.75</td>
<td>(140) Yolanda: Y él echándote tampoco es <strong>como</strong> → lógico Yolanda: And he verbally attacking you, that it’s neither [like] → logic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Así como</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>6.13</td>
<td>(141) Linda: : No, con nosotros puros <strong>asi como</strong> → más chida cuando hacemos baile Linda: No, with us only [like] → nicer (people) when we have a dancing party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De que</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5.52</td>
<td>(142) Karen: No, allá en nuestra escuela es <strong>de que</strong> → te tienes que cortar el pelo Karen: No, in our school is [like] → you have to cut your hair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Así de que</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3.99</td>
<td>(143) Linda: Y luego pos era <strong>asi de que</strong> → ibamos en la ruta… Linda: And then it was [like] → (we) were in the bus…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Así que</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.53</td>
<td>(144) Linda: Los fresas usan <strong>asi que</strong> → ropa de marca Linda: Fresas wear [like] → brand clothing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Así de</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.92</td>
<td>(145) Nano: Les facilita <strong>asi de</strong> → las cosas Nano: (He) helps them [like] → (with) things</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tipo</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.31</td>
<td>(146) Nano: <strong>Tipo</strong> → fresotas Nano: [Like/kind of] → fresotas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Así como de</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tipo de</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Como tipo</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Como que asi</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.6.2. Contact with English

Regarding the use of English in Network-C, no instances of codeswitching were observed, though, most members of this network expressed using some English with relatives living in the U.S. Moreover, people in this social group seem to possess knowledge of many English borrowings that are directly associated with people categorized as *fresa*. These borrowings were *hello*, *nice*, *loser*, *cool*, the expression *oh my God*, and the sound words *wow*, and *oops*. The word *hello*, and the expression *oh my God* in particular were produced most of the times with a characteristic stereotypical rising pitch intonation; plus, they were always produced with an ironic tone to mock themselves or to mock another speaker that because of the content look or sounded arrogant, and therefore as *fresa*. This suggests that there exists an extended repertoire of words, and crystallized expressions in English that strongly encode social meaning; in other words, these English borrowings have been consolidated in this society as indexes of the *fresa* identity. There were some expressions in Spanish which were used to tease or mock *fresa* style including *nada que ver* (‘not even/not relevant’), and the discourse marker *o sea* (‘that is, so, well’); yet, these expressions were also used by almost all members in Network-C as well. These uses might be influenced by the media in Mexico, particularly soap operas. At the moment of the research most of the young girls in this Network-B were very enthusiastic about a soap opera called *Atrévete a soñar (Dare to dream)*, where one of the main protagonist characters was a rich snobbish girl that constantly used to say some of these English borrowings used in this network (with the respective intonation), as well as the expressions *nada que ver* (‘not even/not relevant’), and *o sea* (‘that is, so, well’).

On the other hand there were other mentions of English for brands, music bands, and proper names in general as expected among a group of young people and especially on the
border; yet, all of them were produced either as adapted or clearly non-native (in English) which marked the main difference between all these productions and the ones produced by members in Network-A. There were also other English strange productions such as the expression *Jesus Crisis* for Jesus Christ which is a word play.

**5.6.3. Spanish slang, Caló and taboo words**

The uses of Slang and taboo words was much more frequent among members in this Network-C than the other networks, as expected since there were also more younger male members. However, as mentioned in the methodology chapter, when I conducted this ethnography, the city and the region was going through a lot of violence (still taking place at the moment), which prevented me from exposing the recording equipment outside of the school, since I could have become an easy identifiable target for robbery, under the best of circumstances. As a consequence, I was not able to record more taboo words and diverse instances of vernacular uses among these young people. I was forced to record only inside the walls of the school (not in classes) where most people tended to linguistically behave conservatively, since many teachers were always present. Nevertheless, in my ethnographic notes I was able to retain some of the expressions and words I heard them saying. Members in this network produced all the other slang words people produced in Network-A and B, plus many other words that have been classified as slang in Mexico, and as part of the regional Caló. These

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82 A researcher from the *Universidad Autónoma de Ciudad Juárez (UACJ)* who was a native from the same neighborhood where I conducted my fieldwork with Network-C, and who was at the same time conducting research was murdered while I was conducting this research. “El día 29 de mayo de 2009 fue asesinado el Dr. Manuel ARROYO GALVÁN maestro de la Universidad Autónoma de Ciudad Juárez (UACJ) e integrante del Sistema Nacional de Investigadores del Consejo Nacional de Ciencia y Tecnología (Conacyt). Fue fundador de la Organización Popular Independiente, Centros Comunitarios y el Consejo Ciudadano de Desarrollo Social, entre otras organizaciones, y preparaba un libro sobre las movilizaciones sociales, en especial las generadas en empresas maquiladoras, informaron sus compañeros y amigos” (LIMEDD 2011, en http://espora.org/limeddh/spip.php?article405)
words were mostly produced by males; though, many young women also produced them. In table 21 we can see a list of these words.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Slang word</th>
<th>Lexical category</th>
<th>Original meaning</th>
<th>Mexican meaning /Innovative meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baro(s)</td>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>Heaviness. Atmospheric pressure (DRAE)</td>
<td>Pesos (money) (Aguilar et al. 1985; Galván and Teschner 1992)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carnal</td>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>Relative to flesh (DRAE)</td>
<td>Brother (Aguilar et al. 1985; Galván and Teschner 1992)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camarada</td>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>Person that accompanies (DRAE)</td>
<td>Friend (Aguilar et al. 1985)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chida</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Femenine adjective, nice (as used in Network-C)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Payaso/a</td>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>Person with little seriousness. Ambulant artist [clown] (DRAE)</td>
<td>Adjective. Snobbish. (as used in Network-C)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hueva</td>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>Fish eggs. (DRAE)</td>
<td>Laziness (Mexico DRAE, DBM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jale</td>
<td>Verb</td>
<td>Imperative formal form of the verb Jalar (DRAE)</td>
<td>Job (Aguilar et al. 1985; Galván and Teschner 1992)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clavarse</td>
<td>Verb</td>
<td>To introduce a nail (DRAE)</td>
<td>To steal something (DBM; Galván and Teschner 1992). To fall in love with someone (Téllez 1999). To cross the line in one situation (as used in Network-C)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puntada</td>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>A hole made by a needle (DRAE)</td>
<td>Idea (DBM) appropriate joke (Galván and Teschner 1992)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jetón</td>
<td>Adjective</td>
<td>Someone with big face (DRAE)</td>
<td>Someone slept (Aguilar et al. 1985)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chida</td>
<td>Adjective</td>
<td>Nice. Femenine adjective variation of chido (see chido chapter 4 (DBM, Téllez 1999))</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piratón</td>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>A big pirate [a person that robs ships at sea (DRAE)]</td>
<td>Adjective. Someone crazy (Aguilar et al. 1985) very drunk, smashed (Galván and Teschner 1992)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pira</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Short of piratón</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotorro</td>
<td>Adjective</td>
<td>Pretty (Mexico DRAE)</td>
<td>Pretty, from the bird papagayo ( DBM) talkative person (Galván and Teschner 1992) funny (as used in Network-C)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotorrón</td>
<td>Adjective</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Funny, variation of cotorro (as used in Network-C)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perrón</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Bully (Galván and Teschner 1992) Adjective. Nice (as used in Network-C)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perrote</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Adjective. Nice, variation of perrón (as used in Network-C)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chiplear</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Verb. To spoil (as used in Network-C)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chiple</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Noun. Someone spoiled (as used in Network-C)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There were numerous examples of morphological derivation with suffixes as –ón, -ona,-ote, -ota, -illo, -illa, etc., which is an important characteristic of Caló (Orstein 1995), such as in
the words in table 21, as in jetón, cotorrón, perrón, perrote. Even women show this tendency to overuse derivation especially as an emphasis devise on adjectives. Nevertheless, the augmentatives seem to be much more frequent in Network-C, even among women.

Other salient features in the speech of the youngest members in Network-C were the many popular forms. These included the ending –nos in first person plural in imperfect tense, a well know feature of the southwest region and of popular Spanish (Espinoza 1915, 1930, Lipski 2008). For example in verb conjugations like the verb ir, such as ibanos, veianos. The form haiga instead of the present subjunctive conjugation of verb haber, haya was also frequent. Other many phonetic productions characteristic of popular varieties and historically known from the region (Espinoza 1915, 1930) were recorded such as a labialization of the consonant group as in the word impulcado instead of the word inculcado (‘inculcated’). There were also many word reductions as in pa’ (para) (‘to’), ’nito (necesito) (‘I need’). Deletion of /d/ was also very common as in probao (probado), and toa (toda). Other popular phrases found were traer juido (‘to have someone running around/giving orders to someone’), and other expressions from Caló more related to a traditional southwest and Mexican border urban group cholos, for instance the vocative ese, the expression estar entrados (‘to have a discussion pending with someone’), or traer un fierro (‘to have a knife with you’) (see Aguilar et al. 1985; see Galván and Teschner 1992; see Valenzuela Arce 1988).

These uses seem to index a local working class identity that possess very traditional elements which originated with the Pachucos of the 40s and 50s, and rural Latinoamerican Spanish, and that reemerged strongly during the 80s and 90s (cf. Valenzuela Arce 1988). Even though, this cholo identity has been related to gang membership, I want to emphasize that currently this particular linguistic style in Juárez seems to signal a strong notion of local urban
in-group solidarity. This local identity is different to the regional rural *chero* identity in the sense that the *chero* identity has the cowboy culture as its basis, and the *cholo* identity is based on a more marginalized urban group. Nevertheless, both identities share many working class linguistic elements and in this way it frequently overlaps.

5.7. Intonation

The most common intonation contour observed in this network was the regional northern intonation contour already described. There were 83 sentences analyzed in this Network-C. In Figure 26 we have the intonational phrase *No me van a decir De hacer mucha comida* ([they won’t come and tell me] about cooking a lot of food).

![Figure 26. Waveform, spectrogram, and F0 trace for the statement De hacer mucha comida (‘About cooking a lot of food’) produced by Mary with a H+L* nuclear configuration and MM% boundary tone](image)
In Figure 26, the topic of the conversation was about the fact that the teachers were complaining that the students were asked for 80 pesos to cover their food expenses for a day at the pool. Mary, one of the teachers then states that no one was going to tell her that the amount was reasonable because she knew about making great amounts of a complete meal for less money, since she works at the school kitchen. Figure 26 shows a nuclear H+L* configuration, a pattern already observed involving a high tone followed by a valley in the tonic and followed by a mid bitonal MM% boundary tone. The tonic syllable \textit{mi}, lasts for 155 ms, and the very long last syllable \textit{da} lasts for 193 ms. The fall magnitude here is 7.8 s.t.

In addition, among the young members of Network-C, another type of high boundary tone was found. Figure 27 shows the waveform, spectrogram, and F0 for the statement \textit{La que lo consume la que lo compra} (‘[people] who consumes it who buys it’) produced by Rualdo (one of the most outspoken high school students and activist) with a H+L* nuclear accent in narrow focus and a H% boundary that seems to differ from the previous examples of typical northern contours. The low tone is still in the accented syllable; however, the boundary tone is higher than the previous H tone. Instead of maintaining this H tone until the end of the syllable \textit{pra}, like in the other northern contours, the speaker keeps rising and ends in a higher H% boundary peak. In this way the perceived accent here is not the typical northern, and this configuration ends sounding more as the ones produced in Network-A (a type of up-talk). This is also observed in the magnitude of the fall that it is 4.2 s.t. compared to the magnitude of the last H% tone that it is 7.1 s.t.
Moreover, this final high boundary tone might be signaling in-group membership (cf. McLemore 1991). This might also be indexing a particular identity of distinctiveness (*fresa*) that could be extending its uses in other social groups such as young people in Network-C. This rising contour was also observed in interactions of several members in Network-C as mentioned before such as Karen, Linda, Rualdo, Nando, Rosy, and Yolanda the young psychologist. Another example of an interesting rising contour is shown in 28.
Figure 28. Waveform, spectrogram, and F0 trace of the statement *Pero pues nunca me iba a poner a reclamarle de tú por tú* (‘So, I was never going to demand an explanation to her face’) produced by Yolanda with a H+L* nuclear configuration and a LH% boundary tone.

In figure 28, Yolanda, one of the young teachers produces a frase with a series of H+L* contours that get perceived as the norther intonation where there is a pronounced valley in the tonic syllable of the first two falls. The first fall in the syllable *ner*, is produced with 6.5 s.t., and the one in the syllable *mar* is produced with 8.4 s.t. These two prenuclear H+L* tones seem to serve as emphasis. Then after the nuclear configuration H+L* there is a late rise at a very high level with 15.2 s.t. This seems to suggest a type of hypercorrection regarding this type of intonation. As mentioned before, this young teacher is the only one that does not live in the same marginalized neighborhood, and actually lives in Zona Norte closer to were other members in Network-B live. She is also one of the few theachers with more qualifications including numerous especializations in her field.
There were also some instances of interesting performances including one with a similar kind of rising contour. This is illustrated in figure 29.

Figure 29. Waveform, spectrogram, and F0 trace of the statement *Y luego van a ser azules las calcetas, nada que ver* (‘And then the socks will be blue, nothing related [to our uniform]’) (not mocking), produced by Karen with L*+H nuclear configuration and H% boundary tone

In 29, Karen produces the utterance *Y luego van a ser azules las calcetas, nada que ver* (‘And then the socks will be blue, nothing related [to our uniform]’). She was explaining that she disagrees with the new policy in her school that states that students have to wear blue socks with their uniform. The first part of the statement *Y luego van a ser azules las calcetas* (‘And then the socks will be blue’) is produced with a prenuclear accent L+>H* and then a H+L* H nuclear and a high tone H-. This nuclear accent is perceived as the previous examples of northern intonation. Nevertheless, in the last part of the statement, in the expression *nada que ver* (‘nothing related’),
the speaker does not produce again a norther contour. The ending is a valley in the accented and then there is immediately a high boundary tone that differentiate this performance from most of the other northern contours that have a high tone before the boundary tone (that makes a short extension of the high tone). This also differs from the northern intonation pattern since the previous fall in the word calcetas is produced with a magnitude of 7.8 s.t., and the magnitude of the fall in nada que ver is of 4.2 s.t., but that it contrasts with the magnitude of the H% boundary tone that it is of 5.5 s.t. Karen produces this expression nada que ver, with a certain attitude of annoyance since she believes blue socks do not match because they do not have anything to do with the uniform. The marked element here is the nuclear intonation contour in this expression that expresses a specific stance and that it has already been recognized by speakers in this same network as stereotypical of fresa speech. Also the word ver gets extended to .503 seconds, which adds to the perceived attitude in the utterance. As a matter of fact, these young girls in Network-C are always mocking and speaking as the characters considered very fresa in their favorite soap opera (especially Antonella in Atrevete a soñar [Dare to dream]).

5. 8 Conclusion

Let’s first analyze one more example in (146), which evinces the level of cultural awareness and how embedded colonial and post-colonial ideologies permeate individual’s perceptions and relationships. This interaction happened a Saturday morning when we were taking a break after Cony had left the school and nobody was supervising our activities. I was with Karen and Linda, we had to cook lunch for a group of activists, and instead we sat on the patio at Benito Valdés’ junior high and ate chips with hot salsa and lime juice. They started talking about their own high school, when I asked them about their classmates and if they were nice. They described them in terms of their aesthetics and perceived identities.
In example (146), Lety and Karen describe how one class, Lety’s group, was perceived as having many members who were rockers. Karla’s class was perceived as having more fresas. For this later description, Linda used the word fresillas in line 10, indexing despise, also noticeable in her tone of voice. This is probably due to negative elements in the fresa stereotype such as the snobbish attitude, and/or a wannabe behavior. Finally, when describing another third class where neither Linda nor Karen belonged to, they both agree that all the people in that class were puros nacos (only nacos). Naco, the “cultural contempt for the Indians” (Monsiváis 1997:51), is a classist and racist derogatory word, which it was not completely expected that they, members of Network-C, were going to produce. I was not surprised when people in Network-A, and even in Network-B were using it. On the contrary, I actually expected it with the other groups since this word has become popular in the media and among Mexicans to call indigenous people that have migrated to cities and that has been now generalized to call people without education or social manners (or simply as a derogatory term). This example exposes how young girls from the most marginalized neighborhoods in Juárez have acquired all the sociocultural knowledge to reproduce this type of racialized discourse that is in itself part of the stereotyped “fresa’s
discourse”. Due to what has been observed in this research, these young girls will probably continue developing and mastering all their social and linguistic abilities in order to be able to produce more accurate versions of their fresa identity performances which may serve them later as a socioeconomic asset.

To summarize, this chapter has shown detailed linguistic, discourse, and ideological elements that underscore the importance of this type of studies in order to understand contradictory and complex plural identity formations. The Mexican Northern Fronterizo identity also entails being a plural identity that is first of base on colonial and post-colonial notions of race, and cultural practices. Thus, all this elements are associated with an ethnicity (a whiter hard working North) that strongly diverges from what they conceive as “the southern indigenous other.” Thus, individuals identified with a regional identity also associate themselves now with commodified variants of this identity. In the case of members of Network-C, it seems that these identity formations represent for them more of a choice. As one member, Karla, said in her sociolinguistic interview that fresas were people that believe they were upper class (“se creen que son de la alta”[wannabes]), and that they behave as such, but that currently nobody is really upper class (because of the economic crisis). Still, her perception has to do with the fact that she is more familiar with a reality were most people are working class; yet, her answer also suggests that people in Network-C (and in general with less socioeconomic resources) perceive that even when someone is not from upper classes he/she can always pretend and perform an identity signaling “upper class.” Thus, an analysis on both Network-B and Network-C reveals that these identity formations are highly complex; and that the higher the level of people’s awareness and cultural knowledge, the more difficult it becomes for an individual to perform a certain identity/es and achieve complete membership into a determined social group that is identified
with this identity/es. This seems to be the case of people like Jacqueline (in Network-B) who possess kinship ties with the south, and who sometimes unwillingly gets trapped in situations of social conflict because of her lack of complete awareness and competence regarding sociolinguistic performances of fronterizo identity constructions.

The Mexican fronterizo identity of fresa social distinctiveness, socially opposes to a regional fronterizo identity in its score values and ideology. The fronterizo identity has its roots in a racialized traditional ideology of an imaginary homogenous commonality. Hence, in general fronterizos see themselves as whiter hard working people that work together to achieve common good. Fronterizo fresas on the other hand entail as a core value of not only race, but class, and region as well (they are also fronterizos, they are bilingual, bicultural from a border city). If an individual positions himself/herself as a fresa he/she necessarily needs to be distinctive, meaning socially superior that the rest, and this opposes to sentiments of the fronterizo solidarity. That might be the roots of the stigmatization of fresas along with their many linguistic elements serving as indexes of that identity. Nevertheless, at the same time in a market economy being fresa, being distinctive possess a great attractiveness and especially for women or anybody that aims for social up scaling. This research has been able to observe many manners in which individuals positioned in diverse social groups and who have different levels of language and cultural awareness make different attempts to signal social distinctiveness that they at the same time try to negotiate with their strong regional identity or identities. Nevertheless, current more commodified identity formations have come to problematize this picture even more, and especially among youth. The emergence of so many urban tribes and the possibility of its immediate access by both the media and the market leave the individual with too many options to achieve a desired social distinctiveness and popularity. There exists not only fresas, cheros,
and *cholos*, but also other complex identities: *raperos, rockers, emos, punks, darks, hipsters, rastafaris*, among many others that intertwine and develop uncountable combinations. In this way, a dialectic relationship between the local and the global is then produced; thus we have that “in contrast to the stability induced by classical tribalism, neo-tribalism is characterized by fluidity… the costume changes as the person, according to personal tastes (sexual, cultural, religious, friendship), takes his or her place each day in the various games of the *theatrum mundi*” (Maffesoli 1996: 76).
CHAPTER 6
FINAl DISCUSSION

This dissertation research has exposed the existence and manifestations of particular sociolinguistic stereotypes that are currently present in Juárez. This research has shown how young women from three distinct social networks differentiate themselves through stylistic practices—both aesthetically and linguistically—based on people’s relationships. In this way, their stylistic practices are bound to “systems of distinction” (cf. Irvine 2001). The social meaning indexed by one linguistic style possesses different elements that distinguish it from other social meanings indexed by other sociolinguistic styles.

Table 22 provides a summary of the most significant stylistic linguistic traits found in this research as indexes of different plural ethnic identities such as fresa, regional fronterizo, and working class from Mexico City or the South. It is important to consider that people from Juárez will not be likely to directly identify themselves with the stereotype of working class people from Mexico City/South. Nonetheless, they frequently perform this stereotype as an essentialized mocking of working classes from what is perceived to be an indigenous Mexican south.

Additionally, table 22 is still a prototype chart that aims to better explain these stereotypical styles. However, in reality these lines do not exist at all, and these styles continuously overlap and take elements from one another (and other countless styles not included here) to form even more complex plural identities. Several identities in relation to current urban tribes present in the Mexican society were observed in this research (such as punks, emos, hippies, etc.) and shape some of the other identities that overlap within a continuum of social distinctiveness.
Most importantly, *fresa* and *naco* identities constitute the primal axis were all other identities move. The *fresa* as a prototypical identity is the “most” distinctive in Mexican society, entailing more socioeconomic power in general. On the other hand the prototypical *naco* identity is at the bottom of the social hierarchy, implying being indigenous, and ignorant among many other negative traits (Monsiváis 1997; Lomintz 2001). This does not mean that either extreme cannot also be reappropriated and that the poles can change within the same axis (ie. when being a *naco* is used as pride, or when *fresa* women are despised in popular songs). Even so, *fresa* and *naco* as prototypes in many ways serve to organize the Mexican social imaginary. This explains why Ale and Nando from Network-A engaged in a deep argument, that included many contradictions, regarding the possibility of the existence of *cheros-fresas* and *cheros-nacos* (and later in the conversation they also discussed the possibility of other alternative identities within these same axis such as an *emo-fresa, emo-naco*, etc). This shows how Mexican society is still under a *coloniality of power* (cf. Quijano 2001) which is exercised every time hegemonic discourse is articulated (cf. Arteaga 1994).
Table 22. Continuum (+ o -) of most salient elements of prototypical plural ethnic and gendered identities recognized and performed by all networks

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stylistic linguistic traits</th>
<th>+ o - Social distinctiveness ( commodified into Fresa)</th>
<th>+ o - Regional/ Fronterizo (sometimes commodified into the emergent Chero)</th>
<th>As an essentialized mocking of working class from Mexico City/Southern (naco/a)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Discourse markers</td>
<td>Haz de cuenta (‘imagine’), o sea (‘this is’)</td>
<td>+ o -</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pragmatic markers</td>
<td>Asi and variants: como, así como que, de que, así de que, así como que, así, como, así como de, como que asi, and tipo que (‘like’); and as a Quotative: decir (‘to say’), y yo, y él, y ellos, y nosotros (‘and I, and him, and them, and us’), ási de que, como que, así como que, así que, así como de, como que dice (‘like’), y yo así de (‘and I like’), y yo así y (‘and I like’), zero quotative Ø, tipo que (‘like/kind of’)</td>
<td>+ o -</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contact with English</td>
<td>Codeswitching, non-adapted English nonce words, non-adapted borrowings</td>
<td>Non-adapted English nonce words, borrowings and mostly adapted borrowings</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discourse markers, Pragmatic markers (such as the use of be + like)</td>
<td>- (since no codeswitching)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crystallized expressions (such as Oh my God)</td>
<td>+ o -</td>
<td>+ o -</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Certain English slang and taboo words (such as ‘asshole’ ‘fuck’)</td>
<td>+ o - (+ adapted)</td>
<td>+ o -</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caló and taboo words</td>
<td>Certain regional Caló (from the North of Mexico and the Southwest of the US) lexical, such as simón (‘yes’), neta (‘the truth’) and morphological elements such as derivation, perrón, fregón (‘good’), loquilla (‘little crazy’)</td>
<td>General use of regional Caló and taboo words</td>
<td>+ o -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexican Slang and taboo words</td>
<td>Certain Mexican slang elements, such as wey (‘dude’), padre (‘nice’)</td>
<td>General use of Mexican slang and Mexican taboo words</td>
<td>General use of Mexican slang and Mexican taboo words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Popular Spanish forms</td>
<td>+ o -</td>
<td>+ o -</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intonation</td>
<td>L*+H* nuclear configuration (resembling stereotypical accent from the media)</td>
<td>H+L* (often with long tonic syllable) nuclear configuration and bitonal MM%/ or HH% boundary tone (norteño/ranchero accent)</td>
<td>L+H* L%/ or H% (often with a long final syllable) nuclear configuration (similar to the “Mexican circumflex” as a stigmatized contour of the working classes by the media as well)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racial formations</td>
<td>White (within the Northern Mexico and also more U.S./globalized racial formations)</td>
<td>(within the Northern Mexico and also more U.S./globalized racial formations)</td>
<td>More indigenous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social traits</td>
<td>- White</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within a gendered continuum</td>
<td>More feminized</td>
<td>More masculinized</td>
<td>Traditionally feminized; But emergent urban masculinities (naco in Lomintz 2001)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some ideological traits</td>
<td>+ o - Progressive, liberal</td>
<td>+ o - Conservative, hard working people</td>
<td>+ o - Conservative, working class, lazy (cf. Vila 2000, 2005; Lugo 2008)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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It is also important to remember that linguistically, these acts of identity occur at the level of interactions and that these linguistic variants possess a multidimensional function that acts in combination with different discourse functions. Similarly, these variants encode different social meanings that are embedded within their particular and different linguistic characteristics, which in turn are not static but part of a continuous formation and recreation of plural identities produced as unique performances in which particular elements are combined. In this manner these linguistic elements can be adopted by an individual at a certain moment in order to produce a particular identity act as a unique practice. Thus, the accumulation of these unique acts of identity, produce the effect of what Anzaldúa calls plural personalities which are non-static/fluid and in continuous re-creation and transformation.

The particular nuclear pitch accents and boundary tones that function in discourse organization and that also play an important role in the formation of these ethnic plural identities are summarized in the following inventory in table 23.

Table 23. Schematic representations of contour types carrying social meaning in interactions between members of all networks

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nuclear pitch accents and boundary tones</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Northern fronterizo regional intonational contour H+L* nuclear pitch accent and a bitonal MM% boundary tone in broad focus and narrow focus statements, often produced with a longer tonic syllable</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Northern *fronterizo* regional intonational contour $H^L*$ nuclear and a bitonal $HH^L*$ boundary tone in broad focus and narrow focus statements, often produced with a longer tonic syllable.

$L^H+H$ nuclear pitch accent and $L^H$ boundary tone in broad and narrow focus (which is often followed by a $L$ plateau) as part of the formation of plural identities of social distinctiveness (*fresa*).

$L^H+H$ nuclear pitch accent that also appeared with a $H^L$ boundary tone in inconclusive and final statements, and tags as index of in-group solidarity, and as part of the formation of plural identities of social distinctiveness (*fresa*).

$L+H^*$ nuclear pitch accent and $L^H$ boundary tone, stereotyped from Mexico City/Southern, often produced with a longer postonic final syllable.

$L+H^*$ nuclear pitch accent stereotyped from Mexico City/Southern that also appeared with a $H^L$ boundary tone, often produced with a longer postonic final syllable as well.
Boundary tones

MM% as a boundary tone in the northern *fronterizo* regional identity contour in broad and narrow focus produced as a continuation of a previous peak. This bitonal boundary tone follows a nuclear accent with a peak and a valley in the accented syllable (frequently produced as a long syllable) H+L*.

HH% as a boundary tone in the northern *fronterizo* regional identity contour in broad and narrow focus produced as a continuation of a previous peak. This bitonal boundary tone follows a nuclear accent with a peak and a valley in the accented syllable (frequently produced as a long syllable) H+L*.

H% with a pronounced slope in inconclusive statements, tags, and final statements in broad and narrow focus (*up-talk*).

LH% with a F0 valley followed by a rise in inconclusive statements, tags, and final statements in broad and narrow focus (*up-talk*).

The formation of the *fresa* plural ethnic identity is complex to say the least. This plural ethnic identity of social distinctiveness on the Mexican border has become a commodified identity at the level of style. This identity is different from what Zentella (2008) suggests as...
emergent commodified identities that mimic “Wenreich’s ideal bilingual” (8). Zentella makes reference to Heller’s notion of current commodified identities in business settings where identities conform to “the search for the standardized forms better suited to new forms of corporate control and more in line with corporate ‘professional’ image” (Heller 2003: 489). Thus, the difference of the *fresa* plural identity resides in its stylistic nature and includes many “non-standard” elements such as taboo words as well as instances of non-adapted English borrowings and codeswitching. Thus, the *fresa* identity in Juárez is commodified as a characteristic of neoliberal socioeconomic models (cf. Commaro and Commarof 2010) that include language as an asset for women in the heteronormative market. This plural bilingual identity of social distinctiveness (*fresa*) has as a model the “Spanish cultural roots” that entail a white ethnic affiliation that facilitates its assimilation into a white dominant U.S./globalized capitalist western culture without losing its own essence (cf. Krauze 1985: 35). Therefore, since racial formations are a pillar structure in the construction of this plural identity, its development and its performance necessarily entails strong social conflicts reflecting hegemonic structures of power in which society has been organized (cf. Omi and Winant 1986). This is also why it is a highly desired identity and at the same time despised.

Additionally, this plural identity is highly gendered, indexing femininity, at the same time is fetishized, an object of desire (cf. Driscoll 2002). This plural identity entails a commodified personality oriented towards constant social distinctiveness. This distinctiveness is part of particular lifestyles that encompass complex ideologies of social imaginaries (upper class and ethnic affiliation) that include specific sociolinguistic practices belonging to *systems of distinction* (cf. Irvine 2001). Their language practices then are part of their lifestyles, of their social habitus. As Bourdieu (1996 [1979]) observes regarding the relationships between consumers and
products, the main question to ask here has more to do with “the economic and social determinants of tastes.” This will then allow us to be able to understand the dissimilar experiences the consumers have with these products and the “dispositions” they develop from their location in the socioeconomic space (101). Bourdieu further adds that these experiences do not need neither to be felt nor experienced by individuals in order to be understood; “the habitus… enables an intelligible and necessary relation to be established between practices and a situation, the meaning of which is produced by the habitus through categories of perception and appreciation that are themselves produced by an observable social condition” (1996: 101).

This seems to be exemplified by a commentary made by a member in Network-A, Ale, who said that she liked the way some houses in El Paso resembled those of Yale (produced with English native like phonology). The central point here is not whether or not she had ever been to Yale, but to bring to the foreground the fact that she intended to indicate she knew how Yale looks. This is why these social categories such as *fresa* (or *chero*, or *naco*, etc.) are distinctively perceived and appreciated depending on the socioeconomic condition from where it is being observed and experienced; in this case, it depends on which social network serves as an observation location. In order to establish the differences between social observation stationing regarding the different linguistic variables Santa Ana and Parodi’s (1998) model of nested fields functions to discern where “each individual is placed, according to his/her demonstrated recognition of the social evaluation associated with the variables” (23). This model aids in showing the “access” speakers have to different varieties of Spanish along the socioeconomic value continuum.
Nonetheless this research has showed how this model must be multidimensional since it encompasses not only formality or informality but different styles within different dialects and languages, and within diverse social contexts. Thus, that would also explain the complicated nature of defining *fresa*. For people in Network-A, being a *fresa* necessarily involves the acquisition (with time) of certain cultural capital by living within a *system of socioeconomic distinction* that entails having socioeconomic resources, meaning particular social relationships (or networks) and wealth. By living within these *systems of distinction* a person can then engage in a lifestyle of a *fresa* which includes particular aesthetics, accumulating certain material possessions, traveling, and eating out in certain distinctive places, among other activities.

On the other hand, for people on Network-C a *fresa* is someone that conforms to a certain way of dressing. In the words of one of Network-C members, *siempre están a la moda* (‘they are always wearing fashion clothing’). For them being a *fresa* also includes certain attitudes such as exaggeration, as well as being snobbish and continuous bragging. For people in Network-C being *fresa* is seen more as an act of choice. For them, anybody can become a *fresa* as well as they could become a *cholo* or a *chero*, or a *rocker*. In this sense the *fresa* identity(ies) as such has been already consolidated as a commodity in the sense that it is a style in which aesthetics can be purchased in a store and be added to the linguistic performance. People in Network-B are more
heterogeneous in their responses; yet, not surprisingly, the more metasociolinguistic aware they are, the more they seem to understand that being a *fresa* also entails living within a *system of socioeconomic distinction*. Hence, people who are more aware of sociolinguistic varieties (cf. Santa Ana and Parodi’s nested model, 1998) appear to share similar opinions as those of Network-A. However, one thing that all members in this study seem to agree on regarding the *fresas* is that they speak differently.

Nevertheless, ethnographic research of different social networks, which were ultimately connected and that represent reality much closer, was necessary to understand this recreation of plural identities of distinctiveness due to the fact that in an analysis of this kind, one can still revert to a predetermination of social categories such as class. Therefore, the researcher must go beyond definitions of social class in relation to production not only as delineated by indices of occupation, earnings, and educational level, but also by “a certain distribution in geographical space (which is never socially neutral). It must be also taken into account that a whole set of subsidiary characteristics may function in the form of tacit requirements, as real principles of selection or exclusion without ever being formally stated” such as ethnicity and gender (Bourdieu 1996 [1979]:102). Therefore, the social meanings of sociolinguistic practices in Juárez are highly marked geographically; thus, social meanings and spaces together explain the plural ethnic and gendered identities of young women on the border.

The city has undergone an accelerated growth in the last forty years that has nevertheless created many gaps in the area of urban development (Jusidman de Bialostozky et al. 2008). Strategically, the city has been industrialized and urbanized to promote an aggressive marketing approach that has been intensified after the introduction of NAFTA. All the main streets and avenues are purposefully designed to surround the most important industrial parks and
commercial zones in the city. Notwithstanding, these great avenues have delimited and isolated the poorest by relegating them into the peripheral neighborhoods, particularly in the west side and that lack many basic services and infrastructure (Jusidman de Bialostozky et al. 2008).

Map 6. Basic services (water, electricity, and sewerage) adapted from Jusidman de Bialostozky et al. (2008)

Map 7. Main streets and avenues in Juárez (2008)

It is for this reason that most people from Network-A remain in the northern zones of the city. Their habitus consists of a series of social routines that include going to commercial sites within this geographic area and in El Paso. People from Network-B, on the other hand, seem to be the most mobile as they move across spaces in these networks. This does not stem solely from the fact that they do social work in the west side. Their social heterogeneity due to kinship and diverse complex life stories allow them to have connections with people throughout the city as well as in El Paso. People in Network-C move mostly within the west side of the city but also

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83 Currently, many of them are even moving to El Paso in a massive auto exile due to the extreme violence in the region. People with most resources in Network-B are doing the same. They are leaving either to the U.S., Europe or other main cities in Mexico including Mexico City, Guadalajara, Monterrey, Veracruz, etc.

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travel to the south in order to work in *maquiladoras*. Nevertheless, many in this network also travel to El Paso, but do so by walking through the downtown bridge or by bus.

These different lifestyles, which lead to different representations of the world and are expressed in different persona, are manifested through their language productions. However, people in these networks, particularly women, produced linguistic performances that are often gendered in the sense that they generally operated within hetero-patriarchal parameters of gender. It should be noted that the most common topic dominating the conversations of women in this research were centered on their romantic relationships. Such a topic would resurface throughout. Women in Network-A showed a propensity to speak more openly about their sexuality, expressing a more “liberal” view of their sexual practices and experiences. The main point here as stated earlier does not rest on whether or not they actually engage in more liberal sexual practices or whether they are highly knowledgeable concerning this topic. What warrants attention is the fact that they freely boasted about it thus establishing a relation between the social meaning of distinction and those particular social practices. The use of taboo words in relation to sexuality in English, then, is not just casual. Furthermore, the fact that women in Network-A frequently use taboo words both in English and in Spanish including the vocative *wey* could appear as a contradiction. On the one hand they seem to speak like men (by using *wey*), but on the other, they are at the same time steeped into femininity in many other linguistic and aesthetic ways (cf. Eckert 2008a). Thus, this apparent disjunction is actually the result of a blending of lifestyle elements that point to socioeconomic distinction through a “more progressive, liberal lifestyle” permeating every aspect of their lives including their sexuality. The formation of this plural identity entails elements which oppose *ordinariness*. Nevertheless, liberation is just part of their *systems of socioeconomic distinction* where in reality they still live
within the hetero-patriarchal parameters of society. Here I want to emphasize that these young women should not be perceived anymore as victims of patriarchy but as empowered individuals that negotiate and manipulate their sociocultural circumstances to their benefit in order to affirm their own agency and their own linguistic choices even if these choices are “aberrations” (cf. Anzaldúa[1987]2007; cf. Perez 1999). Thus, the fact that they are also speaking more openly about their sexuality, and that they are doing so in English, constitutes not only an act of identity but of intervention.

As to their plural identity formations of social distinctiveness, people in Network-A (and some in Network-B) show more awareness of linguistic stylistic elements. This is demonstrated in the way people get mocked when they produce the Mexican intonation which is socially associated with the South, especially within the working class variety (Jacqueline’s working class Mexico City intonation mocked by Diana). Regarding Santa Anna and Parodi (1998), people in Network-A and some in Network-B, such as Diana, demonstrate a higher level of language awareness and production competence. Even more so, people like Ale (in Network-A) showed they are fluent in different regional dialects (northern regional, and the Mexico City dialect) as well as this characteristic fresa sociolect within these regional varieties. Yet, Ale is fluent in English and apparently employs a particular type of English sociolect. This has been possible because of her formal education in both languages as well as her upbringing in a certain social position, which entails all these close relationships among people sharing the same lifestyles, both in different regions in Mexico and the U.S.

On the other hand, people in Network-C, especially the women, have been exposed to another starkly different social lifestyle and to different systems of socioeconomic distinction, characteristic of this socioeconomic space. Their connections are also between people sharing
similar ways of living. Some of them have only traveled to nearby towns that include rural areas to visit their relatives. Nonetheless, they would not be part of Santa Ana and Parodi’s smallest circle of awareness since they were also found to produce many linguistic forms that are also part of the speech of people in Network-A, which suggests that they already possess high levels of awareness of sociolinguistic varieties. All the same, these stylistic practices will be part of more or less similar performances to the *fresa* plural identity regarding their level of language awareness and their level of competence of the different linguistic variables of this language style. An attempt perceived as contradictions between the elements constructing the “identity”/“persona” will likely be labeled as *wanna be* by people with a higher level of awareness. This results in what seems to be a continuum of language performances of plural identities which is not linear and each of them is unique in and of itself.

6.1 (Inter)subjectification

Regarding the particular linguistic variants involved in the formation of this language styles, they seem to encompass pragmatic-semantic processes of subjectification and intersubjectification which signal speakers’ attitudes towards the content in discourse as well as speakers’ attention to addressee self-image respectively (cf. Traugott 2009: 60). The findings regarding the pragmatic markers of *loose use* and *enrichment* including the quotatives serve as a way to underscore how studies in pragmatic variation and in stylistic practices can reveal processes of grammaticalization. As Traugott has observed, in order to understand these processes more comprehensive studies regarding the “relationships between modality, most especially epistemic modality, and subjectification” must be carried out (1995: 49). This Mexican border speech style of class distinctiveness (*fresa*) shows to be highly (inter)subjective in the sense that their speakers employ many lexical, grammatical, and suprasegmental features
among others to guide their hearers in decoding procedural meaning regarding complex meanings. These linguistic strategies are primarily subjective since they involve many pragmatic elements of self-expression (cf. Lyons 1994). Additionally, since social identities are constructed basically within social interactions, “development of meanings” that express speaker’s attitudes and involve their addresses (cf. Traugott 2009) will be crucial to also understand complex identity formations through language such as the ones illustrated in this research. We also need to consider the fact that young people are metalinguistically conscious (cf. Andersen 2000) and that attitudes and self-image in this way may constitute very important elements of their communicative interactions.

Some features within this style such as the word *ásí* might be under a process of grammaticalization which as Traugott suggests, is accompanied by other factors as *generalization of syntactic or morphological contexts*, bonding, and maybe in the future we will be able to see phonological reduction (1995: 45). All the same, the word *ásí* and its other variants might still be undergoing processes of competition for certain linguistic and social contexts; thus, future studies are necessary on order to trace a complete development of this process. However, we have seen here that a focus on grammar not as a “fixed property of human brains” but as “emergent, constantly undergoing revision as it is deployed and redesigned in everyday talk” (Ford et al. 2003: 119) seems necessary in order to elucidate the different ways and locations these changes take place.

The most important element to emphasize is that by studying the formation of these styles and how they are being imitated and perceived from other social relocations in the socioeconomic space allows us to see that it is highly (inter)subjective and that it does operate at “multidimensional levels” (cf. Traugott 1995:47, 2009). These multidimensional levels involve
speakers’ attitudes and intentions at the discourse level and their consideration to their interlocutors; but also stylistic practices involving their aesthetics as well as forms of resilient acts of identity in a society that has been and keeps going through extreme forms of social conflict (cf. Dominguez Ruvalcaba and Ravelo Blancas 2003; cf. Rosas 2010, Forthcoming). These stylistic practices with all their multilevel elements become a mode of placing themselves and the world of distinctiveness they talk about at the center, as the focus of attention. Linguistically this seems to be achieved by an excess of ostensive stimuli in Relevance terms. As seen in Network-A, speakers employ not only frequent pragmatic markers, but other lexicalized elements that seem to have become a set of crystallized linguistic habitus (cf. Ford et al. 2003, see also Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994). Speakers employ a wide and frequent variety of linguistic features that serve as linguistic routines that encode pragmatic meaning at one level as well as social meaning indexing a particular identity at the other. However, productions of these linguistic elements encoding social distinctiveness (fresa identities) especially in other networks, such as B or C, might sometimes cause social conflict, since it opposes other local strong identities along with their respective ideologies. Thus, by being able to look at plural identity formations from different socio-spacial locations, particular sites and instances of social conflict become evident. It is in this way that through language interactions, social intersections of gender, perceived race, and ethic affiliation become salient and readily recognizable.

6.2 Limitations of study and further research

A technical limitation for this research has involved the need to use specific microphones in order to record interactions. I have used table microphones that have limited the study of phonetic variables. For instance, an analysis of the fricative allophone(s) of the voiceless alveopalatal affricate /ʃʃ/ (present in this regional variety) would have been more limited and
sometimes difficult due to the noise in some of the recordings. This was one of the main reasons I did not include this variable in this research.

Further research must explore the innovative uses of the pragmatic marker *así* and its many variants as well as to trace their outcomes. Further studies in these variants should also include a more detailed examination of their syntactic contexts. Similarly, a thorough phonetic acoustic analysis of innovative codeswitching, non-adapted borrowings, and nonce words of this variety would be necessary. A more detailed exploration in the inventory and uses of taboo words, slang and Caló regarding regional identity formations seems essential.
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APPENDIX A

Sociolinguistic Interview

1. ¿Dónde naciste?
2. ¿Has vivido en Juárez toda tu vida?
3. ¿De dónde es tu familia?
4. ¿Tus amigos, la mayoría son de Juárez?
5. ¿Podrías reconocer a una persona de dónde es por la forma en cómo habla?
6. ¿Qué opinas sobre la forma de hablar en Juárez en comparación con México (el país) en general?
7. ¿Qué opinas del caló que se habla aquí en Juárez?
8. ¿Podrías decirme qué palabras son características del habla de aquí de Juárez?
9. ¿Podrías mencionar algunos de los préstamos del inglés que usamos aquí en Juárez?
10. ¿Qué opinas de estas palabras?
11. ¿Hablas inglés?
12. ¿Dónde lo aprendiste?
13. ¿Qué opinas de las personas que mezclan el español y el inglés?
14. ¿Qué opinas sobre la forma de hablar en Juárez en comparación con otras ciudades en Chihuahua, o en otros estados del norte del país?
15. ¿Qué opinas sobre la forma de hablar en el D.F. o en otras ciudades o estados del centro o sur del país?
16. ¿Hay algunos estereotipos que tú conozcas sobre diferentes formas de hablar?
17. ¿Cuáles son?
APPENDIX B

Hanging out with the boys

Ale: te digo que aquí esta, te digo que me chocan porque y luego pasa el wey según se cree muy así como que ah “soy bien cool” el estos caballeros de la mesa redonda…

Mike: ah sí que que todo sabe

Ale: ajá, y luego…

Mike: XX te pone una rola

Ale: ajá y luego me chocan es que así también una vez de la noche nunca los había escuchado así de que este así “aquí estamos en casa de Sharlie pos ponos una rolilla y así como que ay wey (laughing)

Mike: bien nacote (laughing)

Ale: en casa del Challie (laughing) Charlie (laughing)

Mike: el sharlie y con todos los chavos XX

Ale: sí los apodos así bien…

Mike: bien Shidote

Ale: I’m telling you, I’m telling you that they annoy me cause’ and then the guy comes on and he thinks he is so [like] ah “I’m so cool” he these guys from the round table…

Mike: Yeah the know all guy

Ale: aha, and then…

Mike: XX he plays a jam for you

Ale: aha and then they annoy me it’s [like] also once at night I hadn’t heard them [like] uhm [like] “we’re here at Charlie’s place so play a jam for us” and [like] (laughing)

Mike: So ghetto (laughing)

Ale: at Charlie’s place (laughing) Charlie (laughing)

Mike: Charlie with all the guys

Ale: yeah, their nicker names [like] so…
APPENDIX C

Cheros nacos y cheros fresas

Ale: quiero hacer pipí… of record (laughing)
Nando: mira es que yo lo que pienso… lo que pienso es que… a lo mejor dices que para ti dices que o es chero o es chero o chero y ya se acabó no puede ser fresa, ¿dime si alguna vez tú has sido chero?

Ale: nooo
Nando: no ¿por qué?
Researcher: ¿por qué?
Nando: nunca nunca ¿te has desenvuelto en el mundo chero?

Ale: o sea tengo amigos cheros pero dos tres
Nando: tienes amigos cheros

Ale: pero que yo vaya a una fiesta así todo todo mundo este de botas y así no jamás
Nando: mmm OK, entonces fijate si le preguntas a algún chero que tenga dinero a tu amigo por ejemplo, a lo mejor si le preguntas eso que es un chero naquillo o si es acá chero fresa él a lo mejor como si es chero chero si te va poder decir no bueno es que si si es cherillo fresa o ese si no es cherillo naco aca a lo mejor porque ¿tú no sabes sabes de marcas de botas?

Ale: no ni idea
Nando: ¿de marcas de sombreros? ¿Sabes cuántas equis tiene que tener un sombrero para que sea así, bueno?

Ale: nooo
Nando: ¿un cinto acá también?

Ale: nooo

Nando: sí, no, si yo si sé, si sé porque pues vivo pues de rancho, entonces a lo mejor por eso dices tú “ay no pos ese que, o a lo mejor no es emo”

Ale: pero mi hermano sí sabe y mi papa sí sabe, bueno al menos de sombreros sí.

Ale: I want to pee… of record (laughing)
Nando: look this is what I think… I think that… maybe you say that for you a chero is a chero and that’s it, he can’t be fresa, tell me have you ever been chero?

Ale: nooo
Nando: no, why?

Researcher: Why?

Nando: no never, have you ever been in the chero world?

Ale: so, I have chero friends but two or three

Nando: you have chero friends

Ale: but that I go to a party and everybody is wearing boots and hats [like that] no, never

Nando: mmm OK, so look if you ask a chero with money your friend for example, maybe if you ask him what a chero naquillo is for him o if he is somehow a chero fresa he might be [like] a chero chero then he will be able to tell you if someone is a chero fresa or if another person is a chero naco, maybe 'cause do you know about boot’s brands?

Ale: no, I don’t have any idea

Nando: [do you know] about hat’s brands?

Ale: nooo

Nando: also a belt [like] that?

Ale: nooo

Nando: yeah, no, I do know because I live from a ranch, so maybe that’s why you say “no, that person, maybe he’s emo”

Ale: but my brother knows and my father knows, well at least about hats yeah.
APPENDIX D

Transcription conventions
(Based on Andersen 2000; Wennerstrom 2001)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(name)</td>
<td>Personal name/place replaced to preserve anonymity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( mimicking) (laughing) etc.</td>
<td>Paralinguistic features</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(music)</td>
<td>Contextual comment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>,</td>
<td>Brief pause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>Pause in seconds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;&lt;creaky voice&gt;&gt;</td>
<td>Prosodic elements and voice quality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;&gt;</td>
<td>Hurry up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;&lt;</td>
<td>Slow down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>↑</td>
<td>High rising pitch boundary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>↓</td>
<td>Low pitch boundary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Marked northern fronterizo regional intonation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XX</td>
<td>Unintelligible speech</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX E

Summary of topics for transcriptions of recording excerpts in all networks

Network-A (about 6 hours)

1. Ale, Belsy, Adriana and Ale’s mom working on a digital memorial card at Ale’s house.
2. Ale and Belsy in a café.
3. Ale, Nando and Lauren (among others) on Campus (UTEP).
4. Ale talking on the phone to Fede in Mexico City.
5. Tony, Mike and Ale hanging out at Ale’s house.
6. Hanging out with Rita, Jenny and friends at her house.
7. Hanging out with Ale and Ricardo at Ale’s house.
8. Hanging out at Cafè Dali with Ale and friends.
9. Hanging out with Ale, Juan Raúl and Braulio at Vips

Network-B (about 6 hours transcribed)

1. Making mascarades at Cristina’s house.
2. Hanging out with Jaqueline, Diana and Cristina at Cristina’s house.
3. Hanging out with Jaqueline, Cony, Sofia and Diana at Diana’s house.
4. Going to Mary’s graduation with Cony, Pablo and Jaqueline.
5. Hanging out with Jaqueline and her sisters, Yannia, Crista, and her mother at their house.
6. Hanging out with Jaqueline, Amelia, Goyo and other friends in Campus (UACJ).
7. At a meeting with activists Jaqueline, Cony, Pablo, Beto, his brother, Cristobal (and others) at Beto’s house.
8. Hanging out at Jaqueline’s house with Cristobal.

Network-C (about 6 hours transcribed)

1. Hanging out during school recess with Pita, Anahi, Lita and Martha.
2. Eating chips with Karen and Linda.
3. Meeting with teachers Yolanda, Julia, Mary, Esteban, Arturo and Cony.
4. Meeting with teachers Yolanda, Julia, Mary, and Cony.
5. Hanging out with Pablo, Karen, Linda, Tatiana and Rualdo eating Pizza.
6. Visisting Dana with the nuns at the convent.
7. Talking to Yolanda and Mary at school.
8. At Mary’s house eating menudo.

Note: These are lists of situations transcribed and do not include all situations where I have been or where I have taken ethnographic notes during this research.