# University of Southampton

Faculty of Humanities

<u>Modern Languages</u>

**Linguistic practices and the linguistic landscape along the U.S.-Mexico border: Translanguaging in Tijuana**

by

**Alfredo Escandón**

Thesis for the degree of <u>Doctor of Philosophy</u>

September 18, 2019

**University of Southampton**

**Abstract**

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Borders are loci of language contact that have been understudied. Mexico and the Unites States share a border that is 1,954 miles long. Along this border we find two major languages, namely English and Spanish, and their various dialects representing two nation states and a diverse population; in addition, border economic interdependence promotes transnational flows of a diverse nature. The municipality of Tijuana, along with San Diego County, forms one of the largest cross-border conurbations with five million inhabitants. This study explores linguistic practices reflected in Tijuana's linguistic landscape. Of the languages spoken there, English and Spanish play a principal role with Asian, other European and Amerindian languages playing a minor role that nevertheless adds to the city´s diversity. In particular, this work seeks to explore translanguaging in the linguistic landscape of Tijuana's most renowned avenue, *Avenida Revolución*, and in other city areas from working-class to upscale to analyze how speakers engage in linguistic practices, and in doing so, to contribute to other works in border studies and sociolinguistics. The hard data consist of a corpus of 2,000 digital images, which were collated by relying on critical discourse analysis and on current research in translanguaging and the linguistic landscape. The guiding research questions for this study were the following: (1) What happens to linguistic practices on borders and how can these be observed through understanding the border's linguistic landscape? (2) How are languages used in Tijuana's landscape? and (3) How is translanguaging performed through the local linguistic landscape? The findings of the study suggest that Tijuana's landscape shows that Tijuanans perform translanguaging in several ways: their linguistic repertoires reflect, on the one hand, contact between Baja California Spanish and other Mexican Spanish dialects on a lexical level that gives rise to lexical alternation and enrichment. On the other hand, its LL also evidences contact between English and Spanish, which gives form to lexical creativity and hybrid forms that also reflect on social practices resulting from the city's condition and adaptation as part of the borderlands.

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# Research Thesis: Declaration of Authorship

| Print name: | Alfredo Escandón |
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| Title of thesis: | Linguistic practices and the linguistic landscape along the U.S.-Mexico border: Translanguaging in Tijuana |
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I declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

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Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;

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# Dedication and Acknowledgements

To Guadalupe Jiménez-Cisneros, my loving and beautiful mother who taught me so much about love and life. I miss her wisdom and generous nature.

To my sister Lourdes Escandón-Jiménez, and my brothers Manuel and Luis Enrique.

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# Definitions and Abbreviations

CDA (Critical Discourse Analysis)

EFL (English as a Foreign Language)

ESL (English as a Second Language)

Fig (Figure or Figures)

LL (Linguistic Landscape)

SES (Socioeconomic Status)

# Introduction: Context of the study and research questions

## Context of the study

This thesis intends to explore linguistic practices reflected in the linguistic landscape (LL) of a Mexican city, namely Tijuana, located in the state of Baja California along the U.S.-Mexico border. This city is of particular interest because of its location as part of one of the largest transnational conurbations (over 5 million inhabitants including San Diego, California across the border) and its demographic profile that comprises immigrants from all over Mexico, and from abroad. Unlike most Mexican cities, Tijuana has seen language contact between Spanish and English virtually since its founding in 1889 due to interaction between residents on both sides of the border, and long before manufacturing and tourism became major industries. At this border city, languages come into contact on a large scale and instances of a wide range of language contact phenomena are instantiated there at any given time: from language loss to language death, to translanguaging.  In particular, this work seeks to explore translanguaging in the linguistic landscape of Tijuana's most renowned avenue, *Avenida Revolución*, and in some of the main thoroughfares and various neighborhoods and shopping centers whose locations range from working-class to upscale areas while also analyzing how linguistic practices are performed.

The objectives of this investigation are to identify the kind of linguistic practices that occur in border situations, to analyze how Tijuanans perform translanguaing, and to determine

the implications the context and the practices residents engage in, may have in how linguistic

practices take place, amongst the creators and recipients of the signs where various registers and

linguistic resources interplay. As a border city, Tijuana is consequently characterized by

transnational migration and heavy trade as well as by border crossers (many of whom are

commuters), and transnational consumers, each with a particular evolving identity that is enacted

alternatively in two countries.

The purpose of this research is to fill a void in the studies investigating linguistic

practices and the LL on the Mexican side of the border. Existing articles, books and theses to

date largely focus on dialectal levelling (Martinez, 2000; Adame, 2001), corpus linguistics and

lexicography (Aguilar-Melantzón, 1985, 1989); Martínez, 2007; Saldívar-Arreola, 2014; Sanz-

Sánchez, 2009; Waltman, 2001); identity and social conditions (Valenzuela-Arce, 1987, 1997,

2012); on national identity and the influence of English (Bustamante, 1983) or on language

attitudes (Crhová, 2004; Hidalgo, 1983, 1986). Here, in particular I investigate linguistic

practices, mainly translanguaging as reified by Tijuana's linguistic landscape. A crucial (and

original) part of my study is that I will be drawing heavily on data collection, observation and

analysis of the linguistic landscape and its role in the greater Tijuana area, as part of an effort to

expand knowledge about linguistic practices in this area beyond the usual discussions about

English-Spanish. This study is buttressed  by the theoretical basis found in the work of experts in

the study of the linguistic landscape (Backhaus, 2007; Cenoz & Gorter, 2008b; Gorter & Cenoz,

2015; Laitinen, 2014; Papen, 2012; Puzey, 2007; Shohamy, 2006) , and the sociolinguistics of

globalization (Blommaert, 2010, 2013; Rampton, Blommaert, Arnaut & Spotti, 2015). The

relevance of this field is determined by the need for urban anthropology to semiotize urban

spaces as an interpretative bridge between the microsystem (the individual level) and the

macrosystem (the social level), from a single sign to a neighborhood, and a city. More concretely, I investigate the presence of the Spanish, English, Asian and Amerindian languages in the diversity of Tijuana's metropolitan area and, methodologically, I collected a corpus of 2,000 signs for linguistic and discourse analysis.

## Research questions

To that end, the following research questions will guide this study:

- What happens to linguistic practices on borders and how can these be

  observed through understanding the border's linguistic landscape?

- How are languages used in Tijuana's landscape?

- How is translanguaging performed through the local linguistic landscape?

The previous questions are addressed by identifying the appropriate data and its analysis. The sites of research were the venues already mentioned, and the nature of the methodology is qualitative (Clarke, 2005; Creswell, 2009; Flick, 2007; Schwandt, 2007; Silverman, 2005). The data was obtained from a digital corpus of 2,000 signs collected from 2014 to 2019. Drawing on various scholars (Fairclough, 1995; Fairclough & Wodak, 1997 [2000]); van Dijk, 2001), and Wodak, 1997), the analysis approach centered on critical discourse analysis (henceforth, CDA) as it allowed me to explore text, discursive practices and social practices that index relations of power and language ideologies.

Tijuana's landscape shows that Tijuanans perform translanguaging in several ways: their linguistic repertoires reflect, on the one hand, contact between Baja California Spanish and other

Mexican Spanish dialects on a lexical level that gives rise to lexical alternation and enrichment. On the other hand, its LL also evidences contact between English and Spanish, which gives form to lexical creativity and hybrid forms that also reflect on social practices resulting from the city's condition and adaptation as part of the borderlands.

Thus, Tijuana's linguistic landscape has become the locus where local linguistic practices meet the national standard spoken throughout the country and General American with other languages interspersed across town.

## Thesis outline

Besides its introduction, this thesis is structured in eight chapters. The present introduction includes the context of the study, the objectives, the purpose of research, the research questions, and the thesis outline. The first chapter introduces Tijuana, the locus of this research, its demographics as a border community, and the languages found there.

Chapter 2 deals with concepts central to this thesis such as borders and boundaries and phenomena that has been studied through the border lens; in addition, it presents related research. Chapters 3 discusses the theoretical framework pertaining to language, language contact and linguistic practices the theoretical framework and methods. Chapter 4 continues this, and presents the other key concepts that underpin this thesis such as translanguaging and linguistic landscape studies.

Chapter 5 is devoted to the presentation of Tijuana´s LL and the digital corpus of signs that inform this study. Chapter 6 is dedicated to the methodology and the analysis of the data. It also discusses the relevance of CDA for the analysis of the linguistic practices found in the area.. Chapter 7 follows this analysis and highlights particular themes and patterns observed in

Tijuana's LL.  Chapter 8 presents the conclusions of this study and suggests further avenues of research.

The results show the significant presence of Spanish and English in the urban landscape, of an interplay of local, regional and national registers, and translanguaging as a linguistic practice. Also, discursive practices read on various signs of the local LL point to the emergence of linguistic, pragmatic and intercultural awareness.  The findings of this study suggest that Tijuana's landscape shows that Tijuanans perform translanguaging in several ways: their linguistic repertoires reflect, on the one hand, contact between Baja California Spanish and other Mexican Spanish dialects on a lexical level that gives rise to lexical alternation and enrichment. On the other hand, its LL also evidences contact between English and Spanish, which gives form to lexical creativity and hybrid forms that also reflect on social practices resulting from the city's condition and adaptation as part of the borderlands.

# Chapter 1 Border communities: The city of Tijuana

## 1.1 Overview

This chapter deals with background information about the U.S.-Mexico border and discusses the demographics found in Tijuana related to population numbers, and the type of diversity existing there. In addition, the chapter presents a summary of languages spoken in the area, the socioeconomic status of the city's inhabitants and their ethnicity as these factors are relevant for the study of linguistic practices that include translanguaging and the texts seen in the LL.

## 1.2 Border communities: Tijuana's demographics

Before the arrival of Spanish explorers and missionaries, indigenous peoples of Yuman origin inhabited the provinces later known as Alta California (Upper California, present day California) and Baja California (Lower California) during the period of the New Spain. In time some of those tribes (Kumeyaay, Cocopa or Cucapá) were divided along political borders when Mexico was forced to cede an area of about 2.4 million square kilometers (including the Texan annexation in 1845) to the United States after the U.S.-Mexican War in 1848. Baja California is part of the northern Mexican border along with Sonora, Chihuahua, Coahuila, Nuevo León, and Tamaulipas. On the U.S. side we find California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas.

Though the Amerindian population in the Americas was decimated upon the arrival of Europeans, some of the survivors have maintained their language and ethnic identity for

centuries in spite of miscegenation and the dominance of Spanish. In Baja California the Kumeyaay, Cocopa, Cochimí, Paipai, and Kiliwa still inhabit the state (Barrón-Escamilla, 2002: 20-23; González-Villarruel 2004: 10; Wilken-Robertson and Laylander, 2006: 67) though their numbers are small (estimated at 1,200) and their languages at peril (Wilken-Robertson & Laylander, 2006: 67; Mixco, 2006: 37).

Baja California was settled by Spanish-speaking people under Spanish rule long before Mexico became an independent nation but remained scarcely populated nonetheless. Important cities such as Tijuana were not founded until the second half of the 19th century when Mexicans from the south began settling in the region. Besides the mestizo (people of mixed Amerindian and European ancestry) majority in the state, immigrants from China, Japan, Korea, Central America, the Caribbean, the United States, and Europe have further changed Baja's racial landscape. The Chinese, for example, began settling in Mexico in the 1870s in places like Baja California and Sinaloa as shown by extant consular records (Chao-Romero, 2010: 52), and established small colonies in ports like Ensenada and Guaymas (Curtis, 1995: 337); though the number of Chinese immigrants remained modest at about a thousand in Baja California and Sonora by the end of that century (Peña-Delgado, 2012: 78), their number reached an estimated peak of more than 11,000 around 1919 in the city of Mexicali alone (Auyón-Gerardo, 1991: 50; Curtis, 1995: 338), thus becoming the majority in that town at the time (by comparison there were 1,500 Mexicans, 500 Japanese, and 200 men from India). This fact prompted Chinese residents to call Mexicali "the Little Can-Choo", i.e., the "Little Capital of Canton" (Auyón-Gerardo, 1991: 50). To this day, the presence of Chinese immigrants is quite visible in the state, and the state's linguistic landscape has changed accordingly.

Founded in 1889, Tijuana is a relatively young city where most inhabitants or their parents were born elsewhere, it is indeed a city of migrants. One of the main characteristics of border areas is population mobility: on the Mexican side of the border, permanent residents are found alongside a floating population composed by seasonal workers, business people and immigrants; some of the newcomers' ultimate goal is to reach the United States, traditionally seen as the land of opportunity. To them, geographical mobility is metaphorically understood as social mobility (Vila, 2005: 188). Also migration, transit migration, trade, and tourism make the Tijuana-San Diego border one of the busiest in the world, and the busiest land border crossing in the Western hemisphere (U.S. General Services Administration, 2018); in addition, both Tijuana and San Diego form a large transnational metropolitan area comprising more than 5 million people. Mexican-heritage people make up the largest ethnic minority on the U.S. side of the border from Texas to California. On the Mexican side, Spanish-speaking mestizos who identify themselves as "Mexican" are the dominant group.

In addition to the Yuman peoples, other Amerindian groups have settled in large numbers in Baja California overshadowing the former: 50% of the indigenous population living in the state comes from Oaxaca; of that number 40% are of Mixtec origin, and the other 10% of Zapotec and Triqui ancestry (Lestage, 2011: 31). The Mixtec population in Baja California is estimated at around 26,000; of that number, 6,000 are in Tijuana, and about 20,000 in Mexicali, Ensenada, Maneadero and San Quintín Valley (Clark-Alfaro, 2008: 9) though some more recent numbers place it at 60,000 (López, 2012). Indeed, a significant number of Mixtecs have become border crossers becoming in the process a transnational community, that is, a community with ties on both sides of the border.

Besides domestic immigrants, a sizeable foreign population is now part of Tijuana's demographics. Over 43,000 are from the U.S. while the Chinese community comes in second, at estimates that range from 9,000 (Alegría, 2005: 237) to 15,000 (*San Diego Red*, 2012). According to the latest Mexican census conducted in 2010, foreigners in Baja California amount to 122,664 (INEGI, 2011: 1) out of a total population of 3,155,070 (INEGI, 2010). Of that number, 76,240 live in Tijuana (INEGI, 2011: 2), which back then had a total population of 1,559,683. Besides the above-mentioned communities, residents of foreign origin come from almost 40 countries including Argentina, Austria, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Ecuador, El Salvador, France, Germany, Grenada, Guatemala, Honduras, Italy, Japan, Korea, Iran, Israel, Nicaragua, The Philippines, Portugal, Panama, Peru, Poland, Puerto Rico, , Romania, Russia, Spain, Switzerland, Ukraine, and other European countries (Alegría, 2005: 237). Tijuana's growing importance as a place of business, tourism and migration can be attested by the number of consulates in the city. The United States, China, Guatemala and The Gambia have consulates-general, while Austria, Canada, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Egypt, Finland, France, Germany, Honduras, Israel, Italy, Japan, Norway, Poland, South Korea, Spain, Sweden, Ukraine, and the UK have honorary consulates (Secretaría de Turismo, 2014).

## 1.3 Languages in Tijuana

The most widely spoken language in Tijuana in every domain is, of course, Spanish, more specifically classified as a northwestern dialect of Mexican Spanish (Lope-Blanch, 2010: 88-89), though consideration should be given to the fact that around half of the population is not native; and residents of other Spanish-speaking regions can naturally be expected to speak their own dialects and there might even be koineization in progress. Other groups present in Tijuana

include the Chinese, who are Cantonese and Mandarin speakers,  and U.S. nationals, who speak English. In 2000, nearly 14,000 speakers of more than 60 different indigenous languages lived in Tijuana (Espinoza, 2014), adding to the city's ethnic and linguistic diversity. According to INEGI (2010a) nearly 41,731 speakers of more than 71 different indigenous languages (INEGI, 2010b) live in Baja California, and of that number more than 12,000 reside in Tijuana. Among these, those of Mixtec origin speak different varieties of Mixtec, a major macrolanguage (along with Zapotec) belonging to the Otomanguean family, which comprises 20 different languages (Ostler & Flores-Farfán, 2008: 200).

## 1.4 Socioeconomic Status (SES) of the city's population

As for their SES, most immigrants from other Mexican states live in poverty and in working-class neighborhoods (Presidencia del Congreso del Estado, 2014: 3) while U.S. nationals and the Chinese live in middle-class areas. Oaxacan Mixtec settlement in Tijuana began in *Colonia Obrera Tercera Sección* in 1975 (Lestage, 2011: 51) becoming an enclave near downtown Tijuana while Mixtecs from Guerrero settled in *Valle Verde*, a working-class neighborhood in the eastern part of town (Lestage, 2011: 57-8). Both Oaxaca and Guerrero are among the most impoverished states in the Mexican Republic along with neighboring Chiapas (*El Universal*, 2013*; La Jornada,* 2011), which becomes relevant as the migrants from those states are already at a disadvantage in their places of origin. U.S. nationals tend to maintain their U.S. citizenship and display a tendency to live in coastal areas like Playas de Tijuana, Rosarito, Puerto Nuevo, and other locations along the coast all the way to Ensenada and beyond. The Chinese, for their part, have settled throughout the city and have established businesses all over town.

## 1.5 Ethnicity in the city

In regard to ethnicity, most Tijuanenses can be classified as mestizo, some as white, and others as indigenous, e.g. Mixtecs, Zapotecs, Triquis, three out of 65 different indigenous ethnic groups from Mexico (Wade, 2014). Both locally and nationwide, Mexicans do indeed show diversity (Amerindian—Asian, Caucasian, African). One study demonstrated that European ancestry is more evident the further up north we move while indigenous ancestry increases towards the south of Mexico (Silva-Zolezzi et al., 2009: 8614) while another one found that European ancestry is prevalent in the north and west (66.7–95%) and, conversely, Native American ancestry increases in the center and southeast (Martínez-Cortés et al., 2012: 4). It is also probable that most people identified as mestizo in sociological literature would self-identify as Mexican regardless of physical traits or race.

# Chapter 2 Borders and border studies

 "In the context of current political and social developments, where the national group is not so clearly defined and delineated, the state language not so clearly dominant in every domain, and cross-border flows and transfers affect more than a small elite, new patterns of language use will develop" (Blurb on *The Language and globalization* book series edited by Sue Wright and Helen Kelly-Holmes).

## 2.1 Overview

This chapter explores social, economic and transnational factors as well as historical, cultural and political ones in the context of border studies. I proceed to contextualize borders and linguistic practices through the linguistic landscape by looking at factors that characterize the Tijuana-San Diego binational conurbation along the U.S.-Mexico border; and finally, I present a survey of related research and research centered on borders from around the globe.

## 2.2 Types of borders and boundaries

Because of multiple factors involved, the U.S.-Mexico border is a place where multifaceted language contact takes place, and where race and ethnicity are at times equated with language use and/or choice. Since the geographical locus of this study is a border city, it seems relevant to take a closer look at borders and transnational phenomena. Borders and boundaries can be not only spatial, i.e., geographical, and political but also of a social and cultural nature. They can also be linguistic and ideological, and not only "demarcate otherness but stipulate the manner in which otherness is maintained and reproduced" (McLaren, 1994: 67). Moreover, borders signify belonging (Romo & Márquez, 2010: 217-218), and foreground and thematize

difference (Meinhof, 2001: 3; Meinhof & Galasiński, 2002: 63). People on either side of the border may look at otherness without being part of it (Meinhof & Galasiński, 2002; Galasińska & Galasiński, 2005: 511). Tijuanans may call the U.S. *Gringolandia*, and in doing so, express their identity as Mexican by designating the *other* as *gringo*. Of course, they are not alone on this: people from other American nations also call U.S. nationals *gringos* (the use of the word can be pejorative and is so widespread that not only Spanish dictionaries like DRAE [Diccionario de la Real Academia Española] have an entry but also English dictionaries such as Merriam Webster).

Whereas boundaries or boundary lines are legal spatial delimitations of nations, borders (of nations) or border areas are broad geographic, indistinct and fluctuating cultural zones or spaces, which can vary independently of formal boundaries as they overlap the nation-states involved (Kearney, 1998: 118): unlike the borderline, the border region lacks precise boundaries (Hidalgo, 1995: 6). Borders become contact zones, the "social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power" (Pratt, 1991: 34). Pratt's metaphor describes some of the possible processes that take place when cultures come into contact, but her description can also be applied to the social spaces where linguistic practices take place.

From the geographical borders we can go to the intangible when discussing metaphorical borders (Wilson & Donnan, 1998: 9). This metaphorical part can relate to the understanding and expression of identities in the investigation of hybridity, creolization, multiculturalism, and postcolonialism among other central concerns (Wilson & Donnan, 2012: 2). Wilson & Donnan also explicate the complexity of current borders studies with the adjective 'new' attached to liberties, movements, mobilities, identities, citizenships and forms of capital, labor and

consumption (Wilson & Donnan, 2012: 2). All of this is in agreement with new paradigms in

sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology that treat language as a mobile resource no longer

confined to a space-bound community (e.g., Blommaert, 2010; Blommaert & Rampton, 2011)

aptly captured by what Jacquemet calls *transidiomatic practices* to describe "the communicative

practices of transnational groups that interact using different languages and communicative

codes simultaneously present in a range of communicative channels, both local and distant"

(Jacquemet, 2005: 264-265), and they are the results of the co-presence of multilingual talk and

electronic media, in contexts structured by social indexicalities and semiotic codes (Jacquemet,

2005: 265).

Some Tijuanans, for instance, reside on both sides of the border, have dual citizenship,

are bilingual, and their identification in Mexico may be as *Mexican, tijuanenses,*

*bajacalifornianos*, and *fronterizos* among other demonyms; and once they are in the United

States as *American, Californian, San Diegan, Angelino, Mexican, Hispanic* or even Latino/a

without any distinction regarding a specific ethnicity as Hispanics can be of any race. In some

respects, their situation seems similar to that of the Tewa who speak three languages and have a

repertoire of identities at their disposal in accordance with each language (Kroskrity, 1993). Such

findings, in turn, are not dissimilar from Meinhof's (2004) in her fieldwork research of national

and European identities. Meinhof found "a fluid but nonconsistent construction of multiple

identities [...] composed, with varying content, from different sociopolitical layers—local,

regional, national, and transnational" (Meinhof, 2004: 216). Residents in Tijuana, for their part,

who learn other languages, learn those which have prestige and value as a commodity (very

much in accordance to what Calvet [2011] describes in his classification of languages).  They are

also border crossers, either as legal U.S. residents, citizens, or on B1-B2 (tourist/business) or F-1

(student) visas to name a few statuses. They may also be familiar not only with Mexican culture but also with that of the United States, are possibly transnational consumers, and in their speech may have some linguistic traits signaling exposure to English (see Zentella, 2009), a fact that points to hybridization.

In relation to that, hybridization can be explained as "the ways in in which forms become separated from existing practices and recombine with new forms in new practices" (Rowe & Schelling, 1991 [1993]: 231). As a result of culture and economic interaction that reshape cultural values, attitudes, and preferences, Tijuana has been seen as a urban culture hybrid and even its landscape and morphology have been described as a reflection of "a volatile mixture of central Mexican tradition and Southern California pizzazz" (Griffin & Ford, 1976: 435). Such exploration of hybridity has continued through time (García-Canclini, 2001: 233-239; Valencia, 2010) and has produced works by philosophers, fiction writers, performers and artists (Montezemolo, 2006: 78-82) as a recent art exhibit in Spain shows (*Ciudad Tijuana*, 2019). Writers such as Anzaldúa (1987) have also seen the border as a hybrid space where the cultural, historical, ontological and linguistic collide to form something new. According to García-Canclini, what separates and joins Tijuanans is their relationship with the border as exemplified by middle-class students who call the border "la línea" [the [border] line) and who state that they "van al otro lado" (cross the border) for shopping, sightseeing or on vacation (García-Canclini & Safa, 1989: 47). They belong to a priviledged group (at around 50% of all Tijuanans) who can cross the border legally.

Some examples of how Tijuanans are different from people in other parts of Mexico is the fact that they have celebrated Halloween for decades with various adaptations including the phrase "tricky tricky" [ˈtɾiki.ˈtɾiki] for "trick or treat" [tɻɪk.ɔɻ .tɻɪt] instead of the *Day of the Dead*

which is a traditional Mexican celebration, and they are also border crossers who sometimes know California better than they do Mexico. The phrase "tricky tricky" reflects the influence of U.S. cultural practices that also involve recreation practices, which are seen in the locally preferred celebration of Halloween in place of the Mexican festivities around the same dates. The celebration of Halloween has a long-standing tradition in the area, whereas the Mexican holiday has been promoted to the point of imposition at educational and cultural institutions by government agencies in the past two decades in an effort to reinforce national cultural practices and an underlying nation-making process. In turn, the above practices also impacted linguistic ones as in the phrase adapted locally from "trick or treat". As we know now, hybridization is reflected not only in the landscape or biologically but also by social and linguistic practices that extend to the LL.

Some authors establish a difference between geopolitical lines or boundaries, and borders. Whereas boundaries or boundary lines are legal spatial delimitations of nations, borders (of nations), borderlands or border areas are broad geographical, indistinct and fluctuating cultural zones or spaces, which can vary independently of formal boundaries as they overlap the nation-states involved (Kearney, 1998: 118): unlike the borderline, the border region lacks precise boundaries (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992:18; Hidalgo, 1995: 6). According to Schryver (2010: 133) the boundaries that regulate behavior within borderlands are, like the latter, context-dependent, and are by no means "the neat, linear divisions" on a map as they include both zones of mixing and of separation on either side (Muldoon, 2003: 4, cited in Schryver, 2010: 133), and are fluid, porous, and continually "negotiated and renegotiated between the various communities living in the borderland" (Schryver, 2010: 133). Social and cultural boundaries are in reality the product of a group's customs, habits, and mores—things that do not necessarily change with

geographical relocation (Schryver, 2010: 134). This complexity is further illustrated by Wilson and Donnan, who stress the existing tension between the fixed, durable and inflexible requirements of national boundaries and the unstable, transient and flexible requirements of people (Wilson & Donnan,1998: 9).

## 2.3 Transnationalism

In relation to the above, Kearney asserts that official migration theory (informed by and in the service of the nation-state) is "disposed to think of the sociology of migration in terms of 'sending' and 'receiving' communities, each of which is in its own national space" (Kearney, 1998: 125-126). However, the ethnography of transnational migration "suggests that such communities are constituted transnationally and thus challenge the defining power of the nation-states which they transcend" (Kearney, 1998: 126). This situation applies to Mexicans with ties on both sides of the border. In fact, Smith and Bakker report an effort on the part of the Mexican government to socially construct a pliant form of transnational citizenship through the promotion of voting and political rights across borders (Smith & Bakker, 2008: 75). This is already a fact as Mexicans residing abroad can vote without moving back to Mexican territory. Transnationalism involves a multiplicity of involvements that transmigrants sustain in both countries (Basch, Schiller & Szanton-Blanc, 1994: 8) as elaborated below.

In that regard, the term *transnational* has two meanings. One refers to individuals and communities spanning national borders. In this sense transnationalism includes "the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement" (Basch, Schiller & Szanton Blanc, 1994: 8).  The second sense of transnationalism concerns political, social, and cultural practices whereby citizens of a nation-

state—in this case Mexican nationals—construct social forms and identities that in part escape from the cultural and political hegemony of the Mexican nation-state by residing outside of Mexican territory or otherwise surpass or minimize its power to control and form identity (Kearney, 2000: 174-175). According to these researchers, 'transmigrants' are immigrants who develop subjectivities and identities embedded in networks of "multiple relationships—familial, economic, social, organizational, religious, and political—that span borders" (Basch, Schiller & Szanton Blanc, 1994: 8), and in today's world, it is easier to communicate and travel.

Martínez ascribes the salient heterogeneity of Mexican *fronterizos* (transborder residents) whom he calls "borderlanders" to the recent growth of population and its myriad links with the United States, whose effects are felt by large sectors of society (Martínez, 1994: 88). He also provides a list of the reasons transfronterizos manifest transnational characteristics: the high number of *fronterizos* who work on the U.S. side estimated at 50,000-70,000 (*El Siglo de Torreón*, 2013; *La Jornada Baja California*, 2015), the even higher number of people (hundreds of thousands) who work in foreign oriented sectors (maquiladoras and tourism), family ties and other social relationships who link transborder people, heavy comsumption of U.S. products, and continuous media penetration. In addition, Martínez deems binational consumers, who include representatives from all sectors of *fronterizo* society (except transient migrants) as the ones who carry out the most intense interaction with the U.S. side but "the most substantial cross-border links are carried on by binationalists, biculturalists, commuters, and settler migrants" (Martínez, 1994: 88) who do not cross for tourism or shopping but to work, to study or because of family relationships: they are grounded on both sides of the border. Thus, we find that transnational interaction in the contemporary borderlands includes but is not limited to such phenomena as migration, employment, business transactions, tourism, trade, consumerism, cultural interchange,

and social relationships (Martínez, 1994: 59). All of this is important because it helps explain the nature of language contact and local linguistic practices as it is the case of lexical terms found in border Spanish and concepts such as *swap meet*, which have retained the original spelling and meaning.

## 2.4 Border typology

The U.S.-Mexico border can be classified as interdependent borderlands with some degree of alienation following Martínez (1994) border typology. This historian proposes several models of borderlands interaction: alienated, coexistent, interdependent, and integrated (Martínez, 1994: 5-6); the latter is best exemplified by the European Union. Interdependent borderlands exist when a border region in one nation is symbiotically linked with the border region of an adjoining country; such symbiosis is fostered by relatively stable international relations, and a favorable economic climate resulting in trade agreements such as NAFTA.

At the same time, the U.S.-Mexico border appears alienated by the fences that have been set up along the boundary lines on U.S. soil in heavily populated areas, or where crossing the border is easier for illegal aliens. Concerns over illegal immigration, drug smuggling, and terrorism are possible reasons for the fences, exacerbated by U.S. nationalism and xenophobia; at any rate, the border fence keeps the poor out as upper and middle-class Mexicans can cross the border on a variety of visas or thanks to dual citizenship. It all comes down to money as illustrated by the ease with which citizens from countries participating in the Visa Waiver Program can enter the United States. Also, when there is labor shortage in the States, the border becomes porous as evidenced by the constant flow of Central Americans aboard cargo trains who

can traverse Mexico unchecked on their way to Texas now that fewer Mexicans migrate illegally to the U.S.

Nowadays, political scientists and economists use 'newly industrialized country' (NIC) to refer to an emerging economy like Mexico. "The term 'newly industrialized countries' is used to denote traditionally less developed countries (as opposed to highly industrialized, and to less developed countries) which have made profound structural changes in their economies under conditions of a fast growth rate". As NIC's are classified in several generations, Mexico belongs to the first one as its development started decades ago (Bozyk, 2006: 164), and is currently, depending on the source of classification, the 10th or 14th largest economy in the world. This rise has brought industrialization to the Tijuana metropolitan area, and that has altered demographics as thousands of workers are employed in the industrial sector (*El economista,* 2018; *New York Times*, 2017), and a permanent unquenched demand for workers promotes migration from other parts of Mexico to Tijuana as explained elsewhere. This intense migration has turned the city into a diverse place in which borders of different types are constructed.

## 2.5 Linguistic borders

Besides geopolitical borders we find language borders or boundaries, a construct that facilitates the understanding of the context Tijuanans live in as a border community where not only geopolitical but also intangible borders exist that impact linguistic practices. The notion of *linguistic borders* is decades old  (Ferguson, 1959; Rona, 1963; Weinreich, 1953[1970]: 89) but its currency is wide nowadays as it applies to both dialects and languages that do not fit geopolitical lines. Such is the case along the US-Mexico border where two languages are separated by the border in terms of legislation over languages, as English is the official language

in states like California and Arizona, and Spanish the de facto language on the Mexican side of the border. The borderline is the legal means par excellence of delimiting the areas in which a particular language is the official one (Treffers-Daller and Willemyns, 2002: 2). Nevertheless, the border or borderlands have been associated with a kind of sociolinguistics characterized by relations of spatial adjacency between two polities and the communicative dynamics of the population networks that inhabit them complete with intensified interstate, intercommunity and interpersonal relationships. They have local, international, and potentially global dimensions (Omoniyi, 2014: 9) but besides being the limits or boundaries of the reach of the national standard languages they also delimit repertoire types which symbolize national identities (Auer, 2005: 28) as part of nation-making in the Herderian sense.

To Gupta and Ferguson (1992) borders are not "fixed topographical site between two other fixed locales (nations, societies, cultures), but an interstitial zone of displacement and deterritorialization that shapes the identity of the hybridized subject" (1992: 18). In such a context, Spanish and English are in contact, which is not restricted to linguistic processes such as lexical borrowing and calques but also involves issues of language use and attitudes, and of ideology tied to social, cultural and national identities (Carvalho, 2014a: 1). In Arteaga's words, the U.S.-Mexico border is a space where English and Spanish compete for presence and authority, not the site of mere either/or linguistic choice but one of quotidian linguistic conflict (Arteaga, 1994: 11). I argue that this "linguistic conflict"  is not felt in Tijuana as speakers do not really worry about having to speak Spanish in public or about using English or hybrid forms on signs but I also understand that the situation is very different for a Chicano/a (a U.S. national of Mexican descent) in the U.S. where the supremacy of English is assured by whatever means necessary, and *that* sometimes borders on what Anzaldúa (a Chicana herself) labels "linguistic

terrorism" when English is equated to "American" and people are forced to "speak American" or else. This may entail lashing out with a "go back to your country" even if the addressee is U.S born (Anzaldúa, 1987: 58-60). Decades after the experience Anzaldúa describes, the same attitudes prevail as exemplified in a border county like San Diego by the fact that some *Bank of America*'s English-speaking customers complaint about bilingual bank executives who speak Spanish with Spanish-speaking customers despite the fact that this bank's Bonita branch caters to both customer bases as the Hispanic or Latino population make up more than 40% of Bonita's population (author's interview with bank executive, June10th, 2015). The monolingual Anglos' complaints are summed up with a "Is this the Bank of America or the Bank of Mexico?" statement. Similar situations have arisen in other parts of the U.S. proving the conflict at the linguistic border interface (Holland, 2008; Lippi-Green, 2012: 271; Conneticut Business & Industry Association, 2015; Dolan, 2015; U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 2015).

In reality, geopolitical borders do not necessarily reflect a clean-cut situation of language separateness as Spanish is spoken on the U.S. side of the border by more than 700,000 people five years of age and over in San Diego County alone (of a total population of 3 million) and, further up north, by more than 3.5 million in Los Angeles (United States Census Bureau, 2017). The large number of Mexican Spanish speakers in San Diego (and most of California) makes plausible the existence a dialect chain or continuum of Mexican Spanish, which trascends the limits of the nation-state and also serves as a lingua franca for those whose mother tongue is an indigenous language (Godenzzi, 2006: 103). Thus, Spanish is spoken on both sides of the border functioning as a transborder or cross-border language (reified by transnational conurbated areas such as Tijuana-San Diego [allegedly all the way to Ventura north of Los Angeles], and Ciudad

Juárez-El Paso along the Chihuahua-Texas border). So we find that linguistic borders do not coincide with national boundaries and the "one nation, one language" ideology is thus challenged (Carvalho, 2014: 1). In contrast, English on the Mexican side of the border is only heard in a few areas not only because of the much smaller number of speakers but also because they keep a low profile though English is part of the linguistic landscape near border ports of entry and in coastal areas where U.S. nationals are either tourists or residents.

Brumfit also tells us that "thresholds are found not only between languages, but also within them, and liminality is characteristic of contemporary language use" but warns that alterity has been little discussed in relation to languages (Brumfit, 2006: 35) as it is usually presented, for instance, in terms of race/ethnicity, nationality or religion. Incidentally, since it is not politically correct to mock someone because of their race or ethnicity, language has taken the place of race when ridiculing someone in public (see Hill 1993, 1995, 1998, 2008; Lippi-Green, 2012; Zentella, 2003).

## 2.6 Borders, nation states and hybridity

This section is relevant to this study because it presents literature about borders as sites of hybridity and hybrid practices of a varied nature that help explain the mixing of resources we find in Tijuana's LL. Though the border area can be the milieu propitious for language contact and hybridity par excellence as people from diverse backgrounds interact and multiple languages are present, publications on linguistic borders are at best sparse; a few journal special issues, articles and books have been published, though the idea of linguistic boundaries has existed for quite some time: dialects, for instance, have been separated by boundaries or lines, i.e., an isogloss, despite the fact that languages are by no means contained within the arbitrary boundary

lines we call borders. Urciuoli remarks that "borders emerge in specific contexts as a metonymy of person, language, and origin category. This metonymy can be fleeting or quite rigid and in varying degrees politicized" (Urciuoli, 1995: 525). Californians establish their otherness across the border by calling the peninsula of Baja California simply "Baja" [ˈbɑhɑ], and omitting the name "California" in the process, the same way U.S. nationals appropriated "America" in the past as if there was not a continent so named. When Tijuanenses talk about "el otro lado" (the other side), they refer to the United States, and "cruzar/pasar al otro lado" (to cross to the other side) means "to go to the U.S" or "to cross the border" not the "afterlife" or a "river". Thus, "el otro lado" has a deictic function in the local context as it refers both to the United States and to the borderline which functions as a divider, as a border that separates but it is porous at the same time. 'The other side' becomes a space composed of intersections of mobile elements, a practiced space in de Certau's sense (de Certau, 1988: 117); that is, the border becomes the space where people come and go, where they come into contact even if conflictual at times. The border is more about what people's practices than simple boundary lines; by his definition geographical California and Baja California (and the lines that delimit Mexico and the U.S. as nation states) are places, not spaces, where elements are where they correspond, beside one another, in their proper place where they serve as indications of stability (de Certau, 1988: 117). In other word, they are places because both are fixed wheareas borders are mobile, made up by transnational phenomena that symbolize motion, being in two places at different times, and language has become a mobile resource not only because of technology but also because of people's mobility. To sum up, borders are spaces characterized by mobility and people's practices.

Urciuoli adds that "when languages take on sharp edges, i.e., borders, they are mapped onto people and therefore onto ethnic nationality (1995: 533) as if people in a polity were all of

the same ethnicity. Much of what the border represents is in effect deterritorialized, as is, for example, the case of Spanish in the United States (Urciuoli, 1995: 533). The term 'deterritorialization' "applies not only to obvious examples such as transnational corporations and money markets but also to ethnic groups, sectarian movements, and political formations, which increasingly operate in ways that transcend specific territorial boundaries and identities". It is a process that "affects the loyalties of groups," more so in the context of complex diasporas (Appadurai, 1991: 49).

Auer (2005) warns that national borders should be regarded as cognitive constructs intimately linked to the imagined communities they delimit in Anderson's sense (Anderson, 2006). In that sense, the nation-state as a community that is symbolically present through its national standard language is beyod the reach of the individual subject (Auer & Schmidt, 2010:xi). These "imagined borders" (Auer, 2005: 28) can nonetheless have a strong impact on the dialect continua which they crosscut as divergence can be expected to increase to the degree that the national standard languages, the repertoire types (diaglossic/diglossic), or the regional dialects differ on both sides of the border (Auer, 2005: 28).

Whether political or linguistic, metaphorical, imagined or not, borders are the locus for language contact phenomena. For those who live their lives in or near boundaries, "hybridity, and remixing and reforming language is a basis of communication" (Betts, 2006: 108); thus, the border is seen as a heterogeneous space of bilingual cultural creativity (Rosaldo, 1987: 85) and Tijuanenses are no exception. Whereas most Mexicans bid each other farewell with "adiós", Mexicans living along the border in Baja California resort to saying "babai" [baˈbaj], a salutation obviously modelled on "bye-bye"; to a newly-arrived Mexican from the interior, that may seem "agringado" (Americanized) or disloyal in terms of nationalism as if the Tijuanans greeting with

"babai" were trying to ingratiate themselves with U.S. culture and nationals. However, language loyalty, Standard Spanish or lexical transfers aside, this greeting is no longer an anglicism as it is part of the locals' linguistic repertoire and serves its purpose: Tijuanenses communicate with each other in different social settings from formal to informal to intimate befriending each other, and doing that across borders without stopping to think that the national standard does have other forms or that using that salutation makes them any less Mexican. Hybridization is multivoiced, unlike nationalism is inherently polyglot: hybridized discourse composes itself by selecting from competing discourses in such a way that distinct elements remain so, relating in a dialogue of dissimilarity (Arteaga, 1994: 18).

To Gupta and Ferguson (1992) the term 'borderlands' "does not indicate a fixed topographical site between two other fixed locales (nations, societies, cultures), but an interstitial zone of displacement and deterritorialization that shapes the identity of the hybridized subject" (1992: 18). It is what Otsuji and Pennycook (2014: 85), without completely discarding the idea of language boundaries, call "the hybrid starting point of mixed linguistic resources, where genres, styles, practices and discourses are mobilized as part of everyday linguistic interaction". In line with this, Rubdy and Alsagoff (2014a: 312-313) consider hybridity a "cross-fertilization of languages and cultures within the global-local dialectic". Such process is carried out by agentive speakers "in constant search of new social and linguistic resources which allow them to resist identities that position them in undesirable ways, produce new identities, and assign alternative meanings to the links between identities and linguistic varieties" (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004: 27). Borderlanders thus find themselves in geopolitical, geolinguistic sites that produce, resist, defy and rearrange linguistic borders and practices (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2014: 85).

In turn, Urciuoli (1995) frames linguistic practices in border areas within Anderson's theory when she asserts that "the genesis of the notion of language and borders lies in the shared 'imagining' of spatially bounded linguistically homogenous nations (1995: 527); to Urciuoli's statement that race has been remapped from biology onto language (Urciuoli, 2001: 199-201) as one language, Spanish at the U.S.-Mexico border is identified with "one" ethnic group, "Mexican". Of course,"Mexican" is neither a race nor a language but both categories are at times conflated in the American imaginary. This remapping allows people to move from a racialized body to racialized language and culture, which they can mock while claiming that they are not racist. The prevalent "one nation, one language" ideology is naturally challenged in spaces where linguistic borders do not coincide with national boundaries, where local language value systems depart from the national mainstream (Carvalho, 2014a: 1).

In those respects, Rowe and Schelling claim that nation states have sought to "homogenize culture in order to consolidate the power of ruling groups" (Rowe & Schelling 1991: 10), and this attempt at forging a homogeneous nation "from the disparate cultural and regional groupings within its domain" started since the birth of the modern age states. Blommaert and Verschueren call it "the dogma of homogeneism: a view of society in which differences are seen as dangerous and centrifugal and in which the 'best' society is suggested to be one without intergroup differences" (1998: 194–195). This way pluriethnic and/or plurilingual societies are seen as problem-prone as the ideal model of society is monolingual, monoethnic, monoreligious, and monoideological from a nationalist point of view (Blommaert & Verschueren, 1998: 195). Language standardization functions parallel as it also seeks to consolidate the power of the elites by legitimating their dialect as superior, and through language ideology their assumed superiority. Horsman and Marshall (1995: 45) affirm that "if the

principal fiction of the nation-state is ethnic, racial, linguistic and cultural homogeneity, then borders always give the lie to this construct": this can be observed along the U.S.-Mexico border as various ethnicities, races, languages and cultures interact under the supremacy of English-speaking mainstream in the United States, and that of Spanish-speaking elitist practices on the Mexican side.

Geopolitical boundaries often produce contexts that determine people's practices and are sites where languages are in contact, thus giving rise to issues of language use, ideology and attitude all intrinsically related to social, cultural and national identities. In these language-contact zones, speakers and communities of practice typically command and systematically alternate among a range of language varieties not to mention registers. Tijuanans, for instance, command lexical sets such as *lavamática* and *lavandería* to designate a "laundromat"; the former is local, and the latter supranational. In other words, each word, though naming the same thing, belongs to different registers not languages. Each variety and register also carries different social capital and values, triggering attitudes and underlying ideologies among community members and outsiders (Carvalho, 2014: 1). Spanish, for instance, is the language of prestige in Mexico but across the border it is the language of the poor; English and Spanish in the U.S. bestow different levels of authority on speakers as English carries with it the status of authorization by its hegemony (Arteaga, 1994: 12) while in Mexico, though Spanish is the dominant language, English remains a global language of prestige.

## 2.7 Related research in Mexico and in border situations elsewhere

Once the focus of geography, border studies now include the study of territorial, geophysical, political, cultural borders, and even linguistic boundaries and/or borders. Common

research subjects and objects are the" state, nation, sovereignty, citizenship, migration and the overarching forces and practices of globalization" (Wilson & Donnan, 2012: 2). However, few studies deal with the cultural aspects of international borders, related frontiers, and physical and metaphorical borderlands (Donnan & Wilson, 2001: 2), and more specifically, even fewer deal with the sociolinguistics of borderlands and with linguistic practices (Meinhof & Galasiński, 2002; Galasińska & Galasiński, 2005) which is one the aims this study has,

In America, Rona pioneered the study of border dialects in northern Uruguay, some of which he classified as mixed languages (that may go by different names depending on the linguist who classifies them: e.g., *Caingusino, Gaucho, fronterizo* (Sp.), *fronteiriço* (Port.), *dialectos portugueses de Uruguay, portugués uruguayo, portuñol*) along national borders in Brazil and Uruguay (1959, 1963, 1964, 1965). Rona explored linguistic borders at a time when few people if any mentioned the term "linguistic borders". Hensey followed into Rona's footsteps by first publishing a study on not only the linguistic consequences of contact but also on the relation of bilingualism and language loyalty to some aspects of the socioeconomic structure of the communities in contact (Hensey, 1966: 521). He followed with an article on the phonology of border Portuguese (1971) and a study of interference from Spanish in the segmental phonology, the lexicon, and to some extent the grammar of the Portuguese spoken by Uruguayan bilinguals in the twin towns of Livramento/Rivera and Jaguarao/Rio Branco on the Brazilian/Uruguayan border (1972; see also Hensey, 1982a, 1982b, 1993). In 1969, de Marsilio published *El lenguaje de los uruguayos*, which included a chapter on *fronterizo*; in accordance with purist and nationalist views in force back then, the author considers language contact outcomes 'pollution,' and calls 'invasion' the presence of Uruguayans of Portuguese/Brazilian ethnicity (1969: 41-43). After Rona's groundbreaking work, many others have devoted their

attention to linguistic issues along the same border (e.g., Azevedo, 2005; Carvalho, 1997, 2003, 2006, 2008, 2014a, 2014b; Donni de Mirande, 2010; Elizaincín, 1973, 1976, 1979, 1987, 1992a, 1992b, 1995, 2008, 2018); Elizaincín and Behares, 1981; Elizaincín, Behares & Barrios, 1987; Klee & Lynch, 2009; Lipski, 2008, 2011; Sales de Souza, 2011; Waltermire, 2006, 2008, 2010, 2011, 2014).

In addition, recent studies of borders have also included one exploring identity construction along the Spanish-Portuguese border as reflected by the linguistic landscape (Pons-Rodríguez, 2014). Another study focused on the linguistic borders between Spanish and Haitian Creole (Jansen, 2018), and two more works dealing with Spanish and Portuguese along the the border shared by Brazil with Argentina and Paraguay (Born, 2018; Dietrich, 2018).

In Africa, Omoniyi (2004) published *The sociolinguistics of borderlands: Two nations, one community* (2004) wherein he explores the link between language and identity among the Idiroko/Igolo community on the Nigerian-Benin border within a sociolinguistic framework. In the United States, Arteaga (1994) edited *An other tongue: Nation and ethnicity in the linguistic borderlands*, a book that explores the interconnections between language and identity in border areas. In Europe, studies dealing with language contact situations in border areas have focused on levels of linguistic structure, e.g., the one conducted by Gardner-Chloros (1985, 1991; see also Gardner-Chloros' follow-up study, 2013), who emulated Labov to gather her data by targeting different levels of language (lexis, semantics, grammar) in her description of language selection and code switching between French and Alsatian (a Germanic dialect) in the Alsace. Her work focuses on the formal and mechanical aspects of language (grammatical categories affected by switching and the situational parameters determining it) but not on pragmatic approaches to language use like functions and processes.

In addition, Filppula, Klemola, Palander, and Penttilä (2005) edited *Dialects across borders*, a compilation of articles covering dialects across political, historical, social and regional borders; and across language boundaries while Treffers-Daller, and Willemyns (2002) edited *Language contact at the Romance–Germanic language border*, a compilation of articles focusing on contact areas of Western Europe from French Flanders in the North-West through South Tyrol in the South-East. Also, in Europe, Meinhof, Galasińska and Galasiński have published on borders and alterity (Meinhof, 2001; Meinhof & Galasiński, 2002; Galasińska & Galasiński, 2005).

More recently, Watt and Llamas (2014) edited *Language, borders and identity*, a collection of works by scholars who specialize in borders whether political, socio-psychological or symbolic. Their book examines a diverse spectrum of border contexts that includes language, linguistic and identity borders as well as attitudes and language use. These borders include regional and local alongside the political borders that divide monoglossic and heteroglossic territorial borders in the UK (the Scottish/English border, and Wales), in the U.S. (North American English, between English and Spanish in Utah, and Spanish in New Mexico), in Uruguay (border Spanish), southern Galicia, Ireland, Luxembourg, and France.

In 2018, Ossenkop and Winkelmann edited *Manuel des frontières linguistiques dans la Romania*, which presents an overview of research on language boundaries with the main focus on the current boundaries between Romance languages and between Romance and neighboring languages in Romance-speaking areas both in and outside of Europe; it considers sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic aspects, and matters of language policy and language geography. One particular chapter focuses on the linguistic borders of English and Spanish between Mexico and the United States (Zimmermann, 2018).

As for articles and journals, The *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* has dedicated three special issues to investigating geographically bounded border communities, one set in Europe (Kallen, Hinskens & Taeldeman, 2000) entitled *Dialect convergence and divergence across European borders*; one in the US-Mexico borderlands (Hidalgo, 1995a), whose title is *Sociolinguistic trends on the U.S.-Mexican border*; and the latest, *Languages and borders: International perspectives* (Martínez, 2014), a volume that compiles articles that present a comparative approach to borderlands sociolinguistics. The same journal recently dedicated one issue to transnational communities titled *The transnational politics of language in Hispaniola/Yspayola* (Valdez, 2015), focusing on Haiti and the Dominican Republic. Boberg (2000), relying on the Atlas of North American English and data collected by his students, studied geolinguistic diffusion at the U.S.-Canada border, specifically the diffusion of phonetic features but his results were inconclusive: despite the free cross-border movement of people or cultural products and the fact that the majority of the Canadian population lives at or near the border, enough dialectal differences persist to dismiss the role of the political and institutional border as a linguistic boundary (Boberg, 2000: 4); apparently, historical isoglosses coincide with political boundaries (Boberg, 2000: 22).

Works dealing with Spanish-English contact situations have also taken place in major urban areas within the United States such as Los Angeles (Silva-Corvalán, 1994), and New York City (Urciuoli, 1996; Zentella, 1997; Otheguy & Zentella, 2012). Having Chicago as the locus, Farr (2005) edited a book dealing with Hispanics' linguistic practices in Chicago, and also Farr (2006) explores issues of language and identity among transnational Michoacanos, people from Michoacán, a Mexican state. Mejías and Anderson (1988) carried out a study in the border city of Rio Grande, Texas, and found that Mexican-American Spanish speakers had a positive

attitude towards the use of Spanish for communication both at home and in public spaces. This fact reflected the importance of remaining bilingual (Mejías and Anderson, 1988: 406). Years before in the same region, Sobin (1982) researched lexical borrowing in the Rio Grande Valley, on the Texan side of the border. Elsewhere, Ortiz-López (2007) investigated pragmatic and sociolinguistic factors that condition the use of double negation along the Haitian-Dominican Republic border in the speech of Spanish monolinguals and in that of Haitian Creole/Spanish bilinguals.

As for Mexico, most studies conducted in Mexico have focused on the major levels of linguistic structure (mainly phonetics and phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, and pragmatics to a much lesser degree) while there have been a few published works on sociolinguistics in Spanish. These are concerned with social dimensions such as social class, age, and sex, and follow the Labovian paradigm in variationist sociolinguistics, and proceed as Wolfram, and others have done in the past by showing how region, social class, gender and age determine linguistic variation with the possible exceptions of taking race or ethnicity, style and network as social variables or factors (Wolfram & Fasold, 1974). Some works that come to mind are those by Ávila [Tamazunchale, San Luis Potosí] (1990), Boyd-Bowman [Guanajuato] (1960), Cárdenas [Jalisco] (1967), García-Fajardo [Yucatecan Spanish from Valladolid] (1984), Garza-Cuarón [Oaxaca de Juárez] (1987), Gutiérrez-Eskildsen [Tabasco] (1978, 1981), Lope-Blanch [Mexico City] (1971); Lope-Blanch [Yucatecan Spanish] (1987), Mendoza-Guerrero [Culiacán] (2011), Pérez-Aguilar [Chetumal, Quintana Roo] (2002; 2011), Williamson [Tabasco] (1986). In sociolinguistics, Perissinotto (1975) analyzed the phonology of Mexico City Spanish; and Moreno de Alba (2002) published a book on Mexican Spanish pronunciation that discusses major works such as the *Atlas Lingüístico de México*, the linguistic (not

ethnographic) opus by Lope-Blanch et al., consisting of six volumes covering phonetics, syntax, and lexis. Even though Martín-Butragueño and Lastra (2011) released two volumes of a Mexico City sociolinguistic corpus consisting of interviews, sociolinguistics has been an underdeveloped field in Mexico, where most studies have focused on descriptive linguistics, disregarding attitudes and perceptions on the part of the speakers. In addition, sociolinguistic research has been limited to Spanish with a void concerning indigenous languages or contact with other languages (Serrano, 2007: 94).

The purpose of this research is to contribute to existing border studies by investigating linguistic practices on the Mexican side of the border as evidenced by Tijuana's linguistic landscape. Roughly speaking, language contact with English has been understudied despite the fact that some transnational indigenous migrants use English in their communities when they return from the United States (Flores-Farfán, 2008: 33), or that Tijuana has a large population of binational commuters, and U.S. expatriates. Existing articles, theses and books to date largely focus on dialectal levelling in Tijuana (Martinez, 2000; Adame, 2001), identity and social conditions (Valenzuela-Arce, 1987, 1997, 2012), corpus linguistics and lexicography (Martínez, 2007; Saldívar-Arreola, 2014; Sanz-Sánchez, 2009; Waltman, 2001), borrowing (Valencia-Zamudio, 2015), code-switching online (Lanz-Vallejo, 2011, 2015); and language attitudes towards the use of English, Spanish and indigenous languages (Crhová, 2004); while in Ciudad Juárez, another major border city, we find works in lexicography (Aguilar-Melantzón, 1985, 1989), language attitudes (Hidalgo, 1983, 1986), and language variation and change (Amastae, 1996). In addition to the above, García (1982) investigated syntactic variation in verb phrases of motion among Mexican-Americans living on the Texas-Mexican border while Strongman (1995) investigated the frequency of personal pronouns in the bilingual, binational border region of El

Paso and Ciudad Juárez while Ramos (2015) recently investigated the utilization of bilingual practices in Laredo, Texas. How language contact, language loyalty and identity are intertwined at the border was investigated by Hidalgo (1986), who found that claiming loyalty to Spanish seems to be one of the means utilized by Mexicans from that city to assert their ethnic identity, their sense of Mexicanness, and that they tended to denigrate code-switching for its supposed lack of correctness among other reasons (Hidalgo, 1986: 215). Bustamante (1983) directed a crossnational investigation on national identity and the influence of English on Mexican Spanish in 1982, and sampling included informants in seven Mexican cities, of which three were border cities, namely Tijuana, Ciudad Juárez, and Matamoros. The study intended to target the frequency of anglicisms in the form of lexical loans, calques, interjections, fillers, use of gerunds and the passive voice in Spanish, and of American brand names instead of Spanish nouns (Bustamante, 1983: 5-6). To that end, almost 3,000 interviews were conducted in three border cities (Tijuana, Ciudad Juárez, and Matamoros) and four cities in the interior (Mexico City, Zacatecas, Uruapan, and Acapulco) for contrast. The rationale for that choice was the assumption that border cities would be subjected to a stronger influence from English because of their proximity to the U.S. The study intended to show the correlation between the influence of English on the Spanish spoken by informants and their sense of national identity but found none. This investigation coincided with the campaign to "defend" "correct" Spanish language from foreign influences launched by la Comisión Nacional para la Defensa del Idioma Español (Commission for the Defense of the Spanish Language) whose futile purpose was to homogenize a sense of ethnic identity, and to promote national consciousness and loyalty to the Mexican state (Taylor, 2001: 195-196; see also Baumgardner, 2011; Lara, 1993). As part of Bustamante's investigation Cerdán-Abud (1982) conducted a small survey of the use of English on a handful

of signs in the tourist sector in Acapulco, Cancún, Ciudad Juárez, and Tijuana. Her study included only four signs found in Tijuana, which is hardly a sample (Cerdán-Abud, 1982: 123).

Linguistic practices of border crossers have also been covered: Relaño-Pastor (2007) studied how *transfronterizo* (transborder) students construct their identity in San Diegan schools while Zentella (2016) focused on language ideologies of *transfronterizos* based on the transcription of 40 interviews with border-crossing students, part of a study in which both of them participated. Additionally, Lanz-Vallejo (2018) researched translingual practices among bilinguals in Tijuana who communicate emotions in both English and Spanish on Facebook.

# Chapter 3 Language: Contact, the city, and linguistic practices

## 3.1 Overview

This chapter explores the literature focusing on relevant concepts such as language, dialect, diglossia, and language contact in general terms such as borrowing. It also presents the language contact situation in Mexico and Baja California, and of linguistic communities and their practices; the works I examine here further expand the scope of works mentioned in chapter 2 which deal with language contact in border contexts. Moreover, the concepts covered in this chapter are useful to underpin the findings of this study regarding the kind of linguistic practices that can be seen in the border linguistic landscape, the way languages are used and more specifically in how translanguaging is performed through the Tijuana's LL.

## 3.2 Language, dialects, and diglossia

The term "language" can be used in at least two different senses. It may convey a political sense where each tribe or nation states that it speaks a different language from its neighbors even when they speak mutually-intelligible forms of speech that can be regarded as dialects of a single language, and it can be used in its linguistic sense (Dixon, 1997: 7). Though it may seem tempting to simplify the definition, a speech community or a community of practice cannot be equated with a group of people who speak the same language (Saville-Troike, 2003: 14). The main reason is that language does not constitute a monolithic entity because the very

same definition of "language" varies and gets mixed up with "dialect" as in the case of Mixtec varieties, Chinese and Arabic. Even if speakers share the same language, they not necessarily belong to the same speech community, as say Spanish speakers in different countries (Saville-Troike, 2003: 15) or even in the same city, as in Tijuana, where several dialects of Mexican Spanish coexist. Arabic, a Semitic language, is considered solely as one language due to political and/or ethnic reasons, and yet has many different varieties; to that we can add geographical, historical, sociological, cultural and linguistic reasons (Chambers and Trudgill, 2004: 4; Crystal, 2000: 38). In reality there are many languages conflated as one, linked in literacy terms by Literary or Modern Standard Arabic, descended as are the many spoken varieties of Arabic from Classical Arabic, which originated in the 7th century AD (Dalby, 2006: 25). Since that century, Arabic has extended over Africa and the Middle East, and several spoken varieties have parted ways to the point of being mutually unintelligible, a fact that might render them full-blown languages (Breton, 2003: 51); as a result, even "the idea of proposing a text in any form of Standard Arabic in spoken form brings up many tendentious issues" (Thelwall & Akram Sa'Adeddin, 2011: 51). The concept of community of practice could cover, nonetheless, the complex networks seen in the Arabic world where so-called Arabic speakers of diverse dialects come together with their own language varieties and identities (e.g., as Egyptian, Lebanese, Saudi, etc.) and with a claim to membership to a larger Arabic community, as some sort of supranational adscription where for communication to take place, a common ground must be found in linguistic terms. These Arabic speakers form a linguistic community, in which speakers of Arabic dialects take part (Silverstein, 1998a: 285).

Traditionally, a language is viewed as a collection of mutually intelligible dialects but this criterion is not always met as some are separate languages in the linguistic sense (Arabic,

Chinese, some German dialects) or considered separate upon cultural or political considerations (Danish/Norwegian, Dutch/Flemish) (Dixon, 1997: 7; Lyons, 1970: 19. While dialects can also be regional or social (Romaine, 2000: 21) some linguists make a further distinction between 'accent' and 'dialect'. An accent consists of a way of pronouncing a variety. A dialect, however, varies from other dialects of the same language simultaneously on at least three levels of organization: pronunciation, grammar or syntax, and vocabulary (Romaine, 2000: 19). Chambers and Trudgill (2004) observe that "all speakers are speakers of at least one dialect"; such definition includes the standard, also seen as a dialect (Trudgill, 2002: 165; Chambers and Trudgill, 2004: 3) from a linguistic point of view. Such notion lays bare the workings of language ideology and hegemony when a group of people tell others that theirs is the superior language in what Bakhtin calls "the victory of the reigning language (dialect) over the others" (Bakhtin,1981: 271). Even among linguists, based in the (historically) older or politically and economically more powerful center, there exists a tendency to see other varieties as deviations from their norm, or on a par with regional dialects (Clyne, 1992: 1). A case in point could be the Spanish spoken in Madrid or the French spoken in Paris, or Received Pronunciation (RP), arguably each of them is widely seen as the most prestigious varieties and as the normative varieties. A situation that illustrates how race affects language attitudes and perception is a study conducted in Miami by Alfaraz (2002), who found that Miami Cubans perceived Castilian Spanish as better than other New World Spanish varieties (with the exception of Cuban Spanish), and Argentine Spanish as a runner-up due to the fact that Argentines are overwhelmingly white (Alfaraz, 2002: 1-12).

Until recently, of the languages spoken in Mexico, only Spanish was considered a language while some major indigenous languages like Náhuatl were considered "dialects" on the

assumption that they lacked a literary tradition, an untruth, but most likely because they lacked the prestige Spanish has enjoyed for centuries. They are now fully recognized as distinct languages despite the fact that popular views of them as dialects and lack of correctness prevail.

The same can be said of not only dialects but also of sociolects and registers: for instance, if students deviate from the standard (spoken by the middle and upper-class) they are usually put down by teachers instead of being explained that every variety is as valid for communication in their own social networks and that the standard can be accessed for social and academic advancement on a larger scale. Studies in variationist sociolinguistics have proven "a very close relationship between linguistic variation and socio-economic class—the higher the social class the greater the adherence to standard forms" the same way that the more formal the language context (and register) the more it conforms to standard usage (Mac Giolla Chríost, 2007: 51-52).

As for language as a concept, Gal writes that it is a European invention that can be traced back to the European Enlightenment (Gal, 2006: 14; see also Canagarajah, 2013a); there has also existed a "vision of language based on a print (grammar and dictionary) model" (Urciuoli, 1995: 527): languages became perceived as a nameable countable property of social groups that "by virtue of their supposed linguistic homogeneity and distinctness are thought to deserve a state, a territory, some kind of political autonomy" (Gal, 2006: 15). Gal further claims that a pervasive Herderian view that language is tied to nation exists, and that a perfect homology among nation, state, and language never existed in Europe, or anywhere else. The Herderian notion that one nation equals one language (Herder, 1767-68: 50; Berlin, 1980: 151).

Arbitrary as it may seem "the distinction between a dialect and a language has frequently been made by reference to power" (Kirkpatrick, 2007: 55), i.e., one form (the so-called

"standard") is considered correct or pure because of the historic, economic, and political power of its speakers, not because of any greater intrinsic beauty or logic in the dialect's features (Zentella, 1997: 270), or as seen in the previous examples, the difference is more a question of politics than linguistic features (Austin, 2008: 7); thus hegemony and normative mono-dialectalism play a part on who decides who has the right to make language and through it meaning for everyone and at the same time to define our culture, which is the construction of shared meaning (Lakoff, 2000: 19). It is the members of the elite and speakers of the standard or "dialect with an army and navy" (Weinreich, 1973; cited in Mchombo, 2009: 793; Austin, 2008: 7; Kirkpatrick, 2007; Zentella, 1997) who traditionally regulate language. Linguistic prescription as such is enforced by language policy and planning that work from the top down, though Lakoff (2000) talks about social change and the democratization of meaning-making (Lakoff, 2000: 20), which currently seem to be accelerated by the use of technology and by social networks: new words and expressions circulate not only locally but internationally sometimes for years before they are included in dictionaries.

A concept that may have some relevance to this work is "diglossia," a term first used by Karl Krumbacher (1856-1909) in 1902, then by William Marçais in 1930 (Larcher,1999 [2003]: 49), and taken up by Ferguson in the *Word* journal, who presented it to talk about two or more varieties of the same language used by some speakers in many speech communities under different conditions as could be the case of the standard language and a regional dialect (Ferguson, 1972: 232) demarcated by geographical lines. Diglossia is also used to denote widespread bilingualism within a speech community as in the case of Alsatian and French in Alsace, where each language is used in different domains (Mounin et al., 2004: 108). The term is sometimes loosely employed as a synonym to bilingualism (Mounin et al., 2004 : 108) but the

Language Policy Division of the Council of Europe (2007) utilizes the term "multilingualism" instead, to refer "exclusively to the presence of several languages in a given space, independently of those who use them," which means that languages coexist in the same geographical area regardless of whether the inhabitants are monolingual, bilingual or multilingual (Council of Europe 2003: 18). This concept is also stripped of the "high" versus "low" variety in a situation of stability that Ferguson put forward; precisely because of that, Calvet (1993: 45) criticizes "diglossia" for imparting a sense of stability and for erasing linguistic conflicts: what he calls the permanent tension between the languages of power and the languages of minorities, and between registers (Calvet, 1998: 202). As we can see, the concept was further refined and expanded from languages to dialects, language varieties and even register.

For this study, I considered different varieties of Spanish, English and other languages at play in the same geographical spaces. Since membership in a given group "includes local knowledge of the way language choice, variation, and discourse represent generation, occupation, politics, social relationships, identity, and more" (Morgan, 2004: 4) a closer look at Tijuana's linguistic landscape provides an opportunity to observe different linguistic practices: if the sign creators mix languages or switch between standard and non-standard varieties, what types of register and style variations are present, as well as pragmatic rules (Zentella, 1997: 269). Since speech is characterized by syntactical, lexical, morphological and phonological traits, these will be considered for a more extense analysis even though the focus rests on language practices reflected by the city's linguistic landscape.

## 3.3 Language contact and its ramifications

The role of language contact in the history and evolution of languages can be traced back to several millennia. Sumerian, the language of Sumer (the world's oldest civilization) died down as a result of language contact (Thomsen, 1984: 16-17). Language contact, the historical product of social forces (Sankoff, 2013: 502), results in several phenomena including creolization, pidginization, foreigner talk, borrowing, and code-switching (Sebba, 1997: 203) besides language maintenance, language shift, language attrition and language death. In discussing lexical aspects of languages in contact, the major process discussed has been *borrowing* (Sankoff, 2004: 649) in the majority of contact situations. At present, language contact is more pervasive as we live interconnected lives by means of information and communications technology: technological developments (the Internet, smart phones, tablets, etc.) have made new social media of communication accessible to the masses as individuals join and maintain social networks by means of Facebook, Twitter, blogs, Whatssap, Skype, Instagram and the like that allow them access to a much wider range of resources than was characteristic just a few decades ago (Jørgensen and Juffermans, 2011b: 1). In addition, new patterns of migration have led to diversity in modern societies; this is especially true of areas such as the U.S.-Mexico border, and the Tijuana-San Diego transnational conurbation.

At a basic level, contact situations happen when at least some people use more than one language; these situations do not require fluent bilingualism or multilingualism but at least some rudimentary communication is of the essence (Thomason, 2001: 1). In the Tijuana-San Diego region Spanish and English, now two global languages, are indeed in contact alongside Amerindian and Asian tongues spoken by minorities on both sides of the border.

From a linguistic standpoint, the city's landscape includes *borrowing* or *loan words* and *calques*. *Borrowing* is a linguistic form such as a noun or adjective taken over from one language or dialect from another (Crystal, 2008:58). A *calque* is a type of borrowing where the morphemic constituents of the word or phrase from the source language  are translated item by item into equivalent morphemes in the target language (Crystal, 2008: 64).

Tijuana's LL also shows evidence that pont to a possible koiné in progress. A *koiné* is defined as the spoken language of a locality which has become a standard language or lingua franca but the term is now applied to cases where a vernacular has come to be used throughout an area in which several languages or dialects are spoken (Crystal, 2008:262). A koiné is "the stabilized result of mixing of linguistics subsystems such as regional or literary dialects. It usually serves as a lingua france among speakers of the different contributing varieties and is characterized by a mixture of features of these varieties and most often by reduction or simplification in comparison (Siegel, 1985: 363). Koinés are also classified into *regional koiné*, which results from the contact between regional dialects of a single language and remains in the region where the contributing dialects are spoken (Siegel, 1985: 363). In contrast, an *immigrant koiné* results from contact between regional dialects that originated somewhere else amongst a community of immigrants, "eventually superseding the contributing dialects" (Siegel, 1985: 364).

In relation to that and drawing on previous research  Rampton (2005) claims that in language-contact situations it is the "dominant language that provides the arena in which the language use of minorities overlaps with the linguistic practices of the majority" (Rampton, 2005: 289-290). Assuming this, we can surmise that Spanish provides the backdrop against which English, Mixtec, Chinese and other languages spoken in Tijuana can be studied. Since the

outcome of language contact always depends on the social circumstances that surround the contact (Sebba, 1997: 268), then the context in which public signage is created can give us some clues directly connected to how translanguaging takes place.

## 3.4 Language contact in Mexico and in Baja California

In Mexico, language contact has resulted in various outcomes: indigenous languages have become extinct for the most part, and of the remaining ones many have small numbers of speakers (Garza-Cuarón and Lastra, 1991: 98; Hidalgo, 2006: 87; Suárez, 1983: 163). In contrast,  Spanish became the dominant language as a result of the Conquest and language contact with Amerindian languages expanded its lexicon. In Baja California, indigenous languages like Cocopa, Kiliwa, Paipai have small numbers of speakers (Golla, 2011: 118-120). One of the reasons cited is that younger speakers prefer or are forced by poverty to use the dominant societal language (Crhová, 2004: 163; Mixco, 2006: 37) as it happens elsewhere, mutatis mutandis. With the exception of Mixtec (a language of Amerindian immigrants) Tijuana's LL does not reflect other indigenous languages.

Dominant languages enjoy prestige as the language of the ruling classes and as the languages of culture, two factors that decide the outcome in contact situations as speakers of less prestigious languages learn the dominant language not the other way around (Batibo, 2009: 23; Dixon, 1997: 22-23; Harrison, 2010; Myers-Scotton, 1993b: 156; Romaine, 2000). In other words, as Dorian (1999) argues, languages have the standing that their speakers have: if the people who speak a language have power and prestige, their language will enjoy high prestige as well (Romaine, 2000: 20; Siemund, 2008: 4). In stark contrast, if the people who speak a language have little power and low prestige, their language is unlikely to be well thought of

(Dorian, 1999: 3-4; Auer, 2011: 463). This can also apply to dialects, accents, and registers that lack prestige: their speakers end up being the but of jokes,  e.g., southern varieties of American English on U.S. television or Spanish with an Amerindian accent on Mexican television; though disguised as a joke, "mockery can be an effective tool when the goal is subordination by means of trivialization" (Lippi-Green, 2012-: 291).

Mos Tijuana residents speak Spanish as their mother tongue and English and other major international languages remain as linguistic capital (e.g., English for academic and professional success). Exposure to English results in changes in lexis and syntax, and to a lesser extent in phonology. Tijuana's LL evidences some of these changes which will be discussed in chapter 6.

As a border metropolis, Tijuana is a site of language contact because locals and non-locals  converge to make up a diverse population, of which half can cross the border and others are migrants  or residents on the go (transnational migrants, transient migrants, commuters, etc.). As such, Tijuana is one of the hubs and points of transit and entry to Mexico as part of to-and-fro flows between California and Mexico. These are traits that borders and mainstream urban centers share to the point that language contact and multilingualism are part of their linguistic reality (Omoniyi, 2004: 155).

## 3.5 The concept of *linguistic practices* and its relevance in contemporary language studies

The notion of *linguistic practices* as choices made consciously or unconsciously by speakers has gained currency in the past two decades. One of the reasons is that the concept lends itself to describe and explain language processes (as those observed in Tijuana's linguistic landscape) in a detached way unlike terms that follow normativity and tend to label everything

but the standard as deviations from the norm as would be the case of border Spanish, code-switching or Spanglish. Echoing Eckert and Wenger (2005) practices can be defined as ways of doing things, of talking and even thinking, grounded in and shared by a community structured around power relations (Eckert & Wenger, 2005: 464). More specifically, according to Schatzki (2002), social life involves a range of practices such as negotiation practices, political practices, cooking practices, banking practices, recreation practices, religious practices, educational practices, trading practices, medical practices, and so on (Schatzki, 2002: 70-71). Furthermore, he affirms that practice is an integral "bundle" of activities (an idea he shares with other theorists of practice, including Giddens, Taylor, Bourdieu, and Rouse), i.e., an organized nexus of actions that embraces two overall dimensions: activity and organization (Schatzki, 2002: 71). Taking this into account, we would think of humans engaged and organized in an activity, much like in the communities of practice that Lave and Wenger (2003) discuss.

Canagarajah (2013b) warns that competence "is not an arithmetical addition of the resources of different languages, but the transformative capacity to mesh their resources for creative new forms and meanings" (2013b: 2). Given this perspective, we could apply such examples to bilinguals or multilinguals putting their entire repertoires into use to achieve an end, to communicate, to create and negotiate meaning, and to construct identities in accordance with their context and interlocutors regardless of which linguistic system their resources are said to belong to in traditional views of language as separate systems.

Considering practice, competence and performance as key terms in communication takes us away from looking at language as a system into a social realm. In Bourdieu's terms, linguists "merely incorporate into their theory a pre-constructed object, ignoring its *social laws of construction* and masking its social genesis" (Bourdieu, 1991: 44; original emphasis). Similarly,

Dreyfus states that words as used in everyday talking do not get their meaning from anywhere: once individuals have been socialized into a community's practices, as long as they dwell in those practices rather than taking a detached point of view, words are simply heard and seen as meaningful (Dreyfus, 1995: 219). If we look up an entry in a dictionary, for instance, the entry means nothing (it is printed paper after all) or close to nothing unless we use it in our discourse, be it in writing or in speaking, ergo, we create a contextualized meaning. Heidegger introduced the idea that "the shared everyday skills, discriminations, and practices into which we are socialized provide the conditions necessary for people to pick out objects, to understand themselves as subjects, and, generally, to make sense of the world and of their lives" (Dreyfus, 1995: 4); we can infer from that, that his ideas touch on issues of identity, of belonging and being part of a group, and that discriminating is equal to recognizing differences. We can also theorize for a moment, and picture Dreyfus' statement as apt to be applied to a group where language has not been invented: simply by coming together to achieve an end they would come up with ways to name what they are doing, the objects and environment in their vicinity. García and Wei (2014) remark that "with the rise of post-structuralism in the post-modern era, language has begun to be conceptualized as a series of social practices and actions by speakers that are embedded in a web of social and cognitive relations" (García & Wei, 2014: 9).

Sharing the same idea, Pennycook observes that practices constitute "the key way in which everyday social activity is organized" (Pennycook, 2010: 2), and language practices is just a set of practices among so many. In his words, language as a practice is tantamount to language as an activity rather than a structure, as seen in linguistics. It is more about what we do "rather than a system we draw on, as a material part of social and cultural life rather than an abstract entity" (Pennycook, 2010: 2). Hymes (1972) argues that modern linguistics has taken structure as

primary end in itself, and tended to depreciate use, while not relinquishing any of its claims to the great significance that is attached to language" (Hymes, 1972: 272). Duranti (2003) reminds us that "while linguists in the first half of the 20th century could already claim to have established the legitimacy of the scientific study of language as an independent and sui generis system, linguistic anthropologists working in the second half of the century could just as easily claim to have brought language back where it belonged, namely, among human beings concerned with their daily affairs" (Duranti, 2003: 333) so that instead of viewing language as a rule-governed system, language came to be viewed as a social process whose study belonged to anthropology as much as to linguistics: documenting and analyzing actual language usage became the new paradigm (Duranti, 2003: 333). Hanks (1996) points out how difficult it is to think of language in Saussurean terms, i.e, as an arbitrary formal system: "far from appearing to us as a system unto itself, language ordinarily seems to be the means towards other ends (Hanks, 1996: 21): it is more about social practices.

Hanks also states that "one of the key differences between grammar and practice is that the latter interpenetrates language and other modes of human engagement with the world" (Hanks, 1996: 229-230), and by "grammar" he most likely refers to linguistics as opposed to language in use (Duranti, 2003: 333). Moreover, he insists that from  formalist and pure relational approaches the individual speaker is the unit of speech production in frank opposition to a practice approach where the "socially defined relation between agents and the field […] 'produces' speech forms" (Hanks, 1996: 230).

We know that linguistic practices refer to what people do with their language, i.e., they "make up the actual exercise of language use in a society" (Puzey, 2011: 128) and we also know that these practices are indeed enmeshed in relations of power (hegemony and subordination),

that ideology and identity play a part regardless of whether or not speakers are aware of it or if it is unclear to them (Bourdieu, 1995: 79; Goffman, 1995; Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 258), and though the term may be en vogue, it has been around for quite some time as some early references to it indicate (e.g., Shenton, 1933: 247). In Urciuoli's words, "linguistic practices and elements operate as a cultural and symbolic capital in Bourdieu's sense" (Urciuoli, 1995: 526), e.g., speaking a prestige variety opens up doors, be it academically or socially while code-switching may index membership in a group, or a stigmatized accent or a register deemed inappropriate might subject its speakers to exclusion in a given context. practice

Some authors utilize other terms such as 'language practices' (e.g., Canagarajah, 2013a; García, 2009; García and Wei, 2014; Hanks, 1995; Kramsch, 2004; McCarty, 2014; Musk, 2006; Shenton, 1933; Spolsky, 2004, 2012; Veltman, 1981, 1983), 'speech practices' (e.g., Toribio, 2004) or 'discursive practices' instead (Martín-Rojo, 2013) probably because discourse, defined as language use in speech and writing, is seen as a form of 'social practice' from a critical discourse analysis perspective (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 258) whereas Hanks (1996) uses 'communicative practices' and Canagarajah (2013a) asserts that "all that we have in communication are practices" (Canagarajah, 2013a: 16). These words echo Heritage's words that the social world is a pervasively conversational one as we interact mostly through the medium of spoken interaction (Heritage, 1984: 239). Language practices are defined in similar ways by various authors, either as "the habitual pattern of selecting among the varieties that make up a linguistic repertoire" (Spolsky, 2004: 5) or as "the decisions made by speakers in terms of language use" (Blackwood & Tufi, 2011: 110) and as such are acquired in constant constructive interaction (Spolsky, 2004: 7). Spolsky also posits that they are "the sum of the sound, word and grammatical choices that an individual speaker makes (see also Puzey, 2011: 128), sometimes

consciously and sometimes less consciously, that makes up the conventional unmarked pattern of a variety of a language". Linguistic practices also encompass conventional differences between registers and other agreed rules as to what variety is appropriate in different situations, including which language to use in multilingual societies (Spolsky, 2012: 5), rules for speech and silence, for dealing with common topics, and for expressing or concealing identity (Spolsky, 2012: 5).

Linguistic practices are pragmatic phenomena, patterns of language use (Gal, 2006: 17); and refer to language use in all walks of human life including using language to shape and reshape the meaning, truth, knowledge, and value of human activities (Sun, 2015: 77). Linguistic practices are also situated (both in time and space), interactional, and communicatively motivated (Bauman, 2000: 1), and may include linguistic usages, perception and attitudes, the use made by speakers of their repertoires and their linguistic resources, also very personal or situated (Bigelow, 2011: 28). Jørgensen and Juffermans (2011a) illustrate this when describing how "languaging is individual and unique in the sense that every single person possesses her or his own combination of competences and knowledge with respect to language" (Jørgensen & Juffermans, 2011a: 1).

Gal argues that register, accent, voicing, and variety designate linguistic practices that index (point to, co-occur with) through interaction some set of social relations, social identities, situations, and values, and are necessarily interpreted by speakers and listeners through language ideologies that are about pragmatics (Gal, 2006: 17). For instance, *register* (first used in a linguistic context by Reid in 1956) is variously defined as "linguistic traits dependent on the 'use'" (Allwood, 2013: 4904) or as a linguistic repertoire that is associated with particular social practices and with persons who engage in such practices. Using a register conveys to a member of the culture that some typifiable social practice is linked indexically to the current occasion of

language use, as part of its context (Agha, 2000: 216; Agha, 2004: 24). All individuals have a register range –the variety of registers with which they are acquainted – (Agha, 2004: 24). This equips them with portable emblems of identity that allow access to zones of social life. At the same time registers are linked to social practices of a diverse nature, and displaying a specific register competence is required for some professions and jobs, and also to access some social networks (Agha, 2004: 24). Differences of register competence are thus often linked to asymmetries of power, socioeconomic class, position within hierarchies, and the like (Agha, 2004: 24).

Similarly, Shohamy mentions that "language is personal and unique and varies from one person to another" while arguing that "dictating to people how to use language in terms of accent, grammar, lexicon" and the like, can be seen as a form of personal intrusion and manipulation: indoctrination, ideology and hegemony are, consequently, at play (Shohamy, 2006: 1-2). This is further illustrated by Bourdieu regarding the standard, defined as the official language of a political unit existing within the unit's territorial limits, imposed on the whole population as the only legitimate language; it is produced by authors who have the authority to write, fixed and codified by grammarians and teachers who are also charged with the task of inculcating its mastery; the official language is thus a code not only in its linguistic sense but "also in the sense of a system of norms regulating linguistic practices" (Bourdieu, 1991: 45). The definitions of the *standard* (norma culta) presented below in a translation from Portuguese and in Spanish are also similarly phrased: "A set of linguistic practices belonging to the place or to the social class that enjoys the highest prestige in a given country" (Mattoso-Câmara Jr., 1978: 177; my translation). The *Real Academia Española* (RAE [Royal Academy of the Spanish

Language]) puts the term in such a way that hegemony is concealed but still deems other registers as incorrect:

> *Norma culta* equals Standard Spanish: the tongue *we all* use, or *aspire to use when we need to speak correctly*; the language taught in schools; the tongue we use with varying degree of correctness in public speaking, the one employed by the media, the language of essays and technical and scientific books. It is *definitely the one that sets the standard*, the shared code that allows Spanish-speaking people of diverse background to understand each other easily, and to recognize themselves as members of the *same linguistic community* (Real Academia Española, 2005; my translation and emphasis).

The reality is that the standard is just one register among many that in a common ideological view is just "the language" (sic), the baseline against which all other facts of register differentiation are measured. The major difference is that the standard is promoted by institutions of such widespread hegemony (such as the *RAE*, and the *Cervantes Institute* in the case of Spanish) that it is not ordinarily recognized as a distinct register at all. Yet from the standpoint of usage a standard language is just one register among many, highly appropriate to certain public/official settings, but employed by many speakers in alternation with other varieties – such as registers of business and bureaucracy, journalism and advertising, technical and scientific registers, varieties of slang, criminal argots– in distinct venues of social life (Agha, 2004: 24).

The *RAE* definition affirms that the standard "is the tongue we all use, or aspire to use when we need to speak correctly" but this is far from the truth as only those that are highly educated master it, and they are a minority in terms of numbers: though the national standard language is a language variety by definition distributed evenly over the territory of the nation-state, it is in no way evenly distributed across the social layers of the population (Auer &

Schmidt, 2010:xi). To this we can add the huge complexity of dialects and variation across the Spanish-speaking world, including the linguistic practices seen in Tijuana that are distant from this *norma culta*. Also, it is problematic to define one "standard" as the Academy purports because Spanish is a pluricentric language: there is a Colombian standard, a Mexican standard, and so on. The nation-state as a community is symbolically present through its national standard language (Auer & Schmidt, 2010:xi), and in those respects there are more than twenty nations where Spanish is the de jure or the de facto language. Mexican lexicographer Lara often talks about linguistic insecurity on the part of Mexicans and the need for Mexican Spanish to have its own lexicographic works (Lara, 2015, 2016, 2018). Furthermore, there is no scientific evidence to back up a statement that deems other registers as "incorrect".

To sum up this subchapter, the reconceptualization of conventional views of language centered on practices allows us to analyze the way sepakers create and negotiate meaning in social interaction (Rubdy & Alsagoff, 2014b: 7) in this era of globalization and complexity where languages, cultures, the local and the global intertwine.

## 3.6 Language, linguistic practices and identity

Language has come to be seen as local and global at the same time. Some of this conception is based on Geertz's ideas about local knowledge as he states that "to an ethnographer, sorting through the machinery of distant ideas, the shapes of knowledge are always ineluctably local, indivisible from their instruments and their encasements" (Geertz, 1983: 4); glocality is thus defined as "the simultaneity and the inter-penetration of the global and the local," or the universal and the particular (Robertson, 1994: 38). If knowledge is local, so can be linguistic practices. Local language practices draw on a range of language resources, whether

these be from different varieties, registers or languages (Pennycook, 2010: 84) while at the same time the global maintains a presence. Higgins explores how East Africans exploit the heteroglossia of language to perform modern identities through localizing global linguistic and cultural resources while generally maintaining the multiple layers of meaning from both the global and the local (Higgins, 2009: 148). This idea takes us beyond pluricentric languages or so-called standard varieties that boast prestige and set the norms. Viewing language as a resource instead of a system moves the conception of language beyond hard linguistics and its insistence on counting languages as separate systems and the putative language counts that both Makoni and Pennycook insist are used as an enumerative strategy when diversity and multilingualism are discussed (2007: 2; Pennycook, 2010: 82; Blommaert, 2006, 2010: 4; Silverstein, 1998b: 407). The idea revolves around looking at the "use of diverse language resources" or features instead of thinking that a phrase is in one, two or more languages (Pennycook, 2010: 84) as in the polylingualism norm proposed by Jørgensen (2008: 163) that states that "language users employ whatever linguistic features are at their disposal to achieve their communicative aims as best they can, regardless of how well they know the involved languages".

Speakers that do not perceive those features as belonging together do not necessarily have to be monolinguals but could be the language users of those features as well. We have been exposed to the standard, and its norms for so long that we have come to accept that anything that deviates from the norm, as arbitrary as that is, is wrong, non-standard or inferior.

On his side, Harris claims that the fundamental error in contemporary linguistics is still the same of Saussure's original thesis; such error "involves a crude process of abstraction by which certain phenomena are segregated from the continuum of human communication, and these segregated phenomena are then, rather capriciously, set up for academic purposes as

constituting the *linguistic* part of communication". This segregation separates language from non-language and linguistics from all other investigations dealing with human behavior (Harris, 2014: 22). In Bourdieu's (1991) words, when linguists speak of *the* language without further specification, they tacitly accept the official definition of the official language of a political unit that imposes its normative language as the only legitimate language within its territorial limits (Bourdieu, 1991: 45). This is further illustrated by the function of metalinguistic discourse on language, normative in nature, "it tells us how, as linguistic agents, we *should* behave" (Taylor, 1990: 9-10). Some of these claims are also shared by Urciuoli (2001) who criticizes the "fallacy that languages are *things* (sic), which come in neat packages matching ethnic, racial, regional, or national types of people" (Urciuoli, 2001: 190) and by Canagarajah, who says that linguistics treats language as a thing in itself, an objective, identifiable product; as a discipline, it gives importance to form, and deals with "language as a tightly knit structure, neglecting other processes and practices that always accompany communication" (Canagarajah, 2007: 98); in short, linguistics overlooks the fact that language is a social phenomenon, shared and exclusively acquired and practiced in interaction with others (Jørgensen & Juffermans, 2011a: 1).

Pennycook as well challenges the notion of language as a system in favor of a view of language as doing (Pennycook, 2010: 2). Language as doing places emphasis on speakers and the use of their linguistic repertoires to communicate. Shohamy (2006) illustrates this: "viewed in general terms, language expands beyond its traditional boundaries towards the legitimacy of infinite mixes, combinations, hybrids and fusions" (Shohamy, 2006: 2); she also declares that 'languaging' refers to 'language as an integral and natural component of interaction, communication and construction of meaning" (Shohamy, 2006: 2); the construction of meaning can become free and creative evidencing the agency speakers can have in the process. Mignolo

points out that languaging, defined as thinking and writing between languages and speech and writing, moves us away from the idea that language is a fact (e.g., a system of syntactic, semantic, and phonetic rules), and moves us toward the idea that speech and writing are strategies for orienting and manipulating social domains of interaction (Mignolo, 2012: 226), which once ag.ain brings up the idea that relations of power (dominance and subordination, hegemony and the subaltern) and ideology are ever present. Citing Becker (1991), he also declares that theorizing languages within social structures of domination is dealing with humans' "natural" plurilingual conditions "artificially" suppressed by the monolingual ideology and monotopic hermeneutics of modernity and nationalism (Mignolo, 2012: 227-228): when we are told the language we speak at home is no good or when a Latino on his cell phone is punched by a man in the face for speaking Spanish in public (Lippi-Green, 2012: 267), or when Hebrew-speaking people are beaten until they hit the ground for speaking what is thought to be Spanish when they "should" speak English in "America" (*NBCLatino*, 2013). In those instances, the monolingual ideology endorsed by the upper classes has trickled down to the masses in the form of those working-class white male assailants's practices: their interpretation of nationalism (and nation-making) is monotopic and inexorably linked to a monolingual ideology that encapsulates English and being American together.

Language also indexes an identity and plays a part in its creation. For example, others label us based on the language we speak, and we, in turn, may attach importance to language as a way of preserving our identity or performing one or several identities. But how do we define 'identity'? Authors identify it in various ways. Schatzki claims that identity in the sense of I-ness is not an inherent property of a thing or substance called the subject but a *social construction*, an achievement realized only through the incorporation of human beings into the institutions and

structures of social life (my emphasis). Mouffe (1992) theorizes that identity is acquired in the sense of who one is as the assumption of 'subject positions' (determinations, or identifications, that enter into and help compose who people are) that are made available to people by the practices in which they participate in various social arenas (Schatzki, 1996: 7) so that instead of a unified, homogeneous entity we find a "plurality dependent on the various subject positions through which it is constituted within various discursive formations" (Mouffe, 1992: 372); to that, we can add social conditions such as age, nationality, race, ethnicity, religion, class, sexual orientation, gender and the like that are part of identity construction (Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2001; Schatzki, 1996: 8). Likewise, Bauman (2000) puts identity as "an emergent construction, the situated outcome of a rhetorical and interpretive process in which interactants make situationally motivated selections from socially constituted repertoires of identificational and affiliational resources and craft these semiotic resources into identity claims for presentation to others" (Bauman, 2000: 1).

In like manner, identity is defined as the "linguistic construction of membership in one or more social groups or categories" (Kroskrity, 2001: 106). Language and communication are central to the production of a wide variety of identities expressed at many levels of social organization (Kroskrity 2001: 106). According to Pavlenko and Blackledge (2001, 2004) identities are produced and legitimized in discourse and social interaction while Kroskriti even mentions a repertoire of identities to adapt to the multicultural situations (Kroskrity 2001: 106). Drawing on contributions to the study of situational ethnicity by Cohen (1978) and Royce (1982), Royce postulates that "ethnic identity goes far beyond simple either/or ascription" (Royce, 1982: 184). Cohen presents a view of ethnicity as "one in which the identities of members and categorizations by others is more or less fluid, more or less multiple, forming

nesting hierarchies of we/they dichotomizations" (Cohen, 1978: 395). With this in mind, identities would have more to do not with "who" but "when, how and why" a particular identification would be preferred. Kroskrity posits the advantage of a *repertoire of identities* approach that allows the attribution to "members of a multiplicity of *alternating* identities, and directs attention to when and how identities are interactively invoked by sociocultural actors and the relations between various identities". Instances of that include the compartmentalization or convergence of ethnic, social, and culturally available voices as well as the means by which they are communicated between members (Kroskrity, 1993: 222).

In addition to the terms mentioned above, *ethnolects* (*ethnolectal practices*), *style shifting*, *code-switching* and *crossing* are ways of referring to linguistic practices that allow the creation and negotiation of identity. Some of these terms will be explored in the next chapter. Jaspers (2008) contends that the concept 'ethnolect' "buttresses the idea that linguistic practices are caused by ethnicity, when it is more likely to assume language use is shaped by how speakers interpret prevailing representations of ethnicity and style their language use in relation to that"; what is clear is that an ethnolect may be a distinguishing mark of social identity both within the group and for outsiders. Other researchers like Mallinson (2007) see language use as one of multivariate, intersecting symbols and practices that construct class-related social divisions (Mallinson, 2007: 161).

As group members, speakers rely on multifold strategies to claim social identities as individuals, and to build normative identities. Such strategies comprise the use of symbolic and socialization practices, and topic management among others (De Fina, 2007: 65). They create affiliations through contextualized uses of language (De Fina, 2007: 65), therefore language provides individuals with resources, i.e. linguistic and discursive forms, for the negotiation of

identity (Bailey, 2007: 29) as in language crossing, code-switching and style shifting (De Fina, 2007: 65). De Fina adds that linguistic resources like language choice, code-switching and mixing have been traditionally associated with identity (De Fina, 2007: 65). Gumperz (1982), for instance, presents the 'we-code' for the ethnically specific minority language as opposed to the 'they-code' for the majority language as a marker of group identity. The first is used with in-group and informal activities; the second one is associated with the more formal, stiffer and less personal out-group relations (Gumperz, 1982: 66).

Heller asserts that code-switching generally characterizes the usage of only those members of a community who find themselves at the boundary between social groups (Heller, 1988: 266), the same could be said of crossing as it is the case of Asian, whites and blacks studied by Rampton. Mixtecs in Tijuana most likely operate in fringe areas where they come into contact with monolingual Spanish speakers and with English speakers in the case of Mixtecs in a transborder situation. For the Chinese in Baja California, Cantonese is the 'we-code' while Spanish (oftentimes displaying syntactic and phonological traits characteristic of Cantonese or Mandarin) is used in activities outside their community and to address Spanish-speaking customers in their businesses.  Present-day Tijuanans' linguistic practices include the use of terms and expressions which are not part of standard Mexican Spanish. Local discouse is laced with hybrid forms such as *clotch* (clutch) while *capitalinos* (people from Mexico City) use *embrague* and thus arguably speak a Spanish variety closer to the international standard. Jourdan explains the situation as one where different ideologies coexist and often confront one another: a result is that people "play with languages to modulate their urban selves and to express their individuality" (Jourdan, 2007: 45) as phrased by Maher (2005), and Otsuji and Pennycook

(2010) among others. In sum, identities are constructed and validated through linguistic practices available at a particular point in time and space (Blackledge & Creese, 2010: 37).

## 3.7 Communities of (linguistic) practice

Within sociolinguistics, speech communities were at the core of studies of different sorts, with the eventual incorporation of terms such as communities of practice and social networks. Rather than focusing on language as a system, current trends center on social groups and their practices, i.e., language in use. Though Jakobson stated that "as a rule, everyone belongs simultaneously to several speech communities of different radius and capacity; any overall code is multiform and comprises a hierarchy of diverse subcodes freely chosen by the speaker with regard to the variable functions of the message, to its addressee, and to the relation between the interlocutors" (Jakobson, 1973: 20) in what seems like an early definition of 'multiple networks,' Eckert and McConnel-Ginet brought the construct into sociolinguistics, which they defined as "an aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in an endeavor" (Eckert & McConnel-Ginet,1992: 464) in the course of which practices emerge; practices are "ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, values, [and] power relations" (Eckert & McConnel-Ginet,1992: 464), as grounded in and shared by a community" (Eckert and Wenger 2005: 583). Both Eckert and McConnel-Ginet felt that 'speech community' did not encompass the dynamics seen at present where communities overlap and may be interconnected and not necessarily bound up by geography as language has come to be viewed as a mobile resource. Eckert explains that "the term speech community tends to imply a coalescence of residence and daily activity" without taking into account that speakers move around both inside and outside their own community (Eckert, 2000: 34). This new construct shifts attention away from focusing on communities as static units precluding change; instead, it views them as social creations, as

dense and multiplex networks in which individuals consolidate symbolic resources that may be changed to suit the setting (Eckert, 2000: 34). Furthermore, instead of viewing a community as a unit to which speakers belong, these belong to "multiple communities of practice on multiple levels" (Eckert, 2000: 171). To sum up, a community of practice is "a group of people who come together through some shared social enterprise" (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes, 2006: 389): a bowling team, a book club, a friendship group, a nuclear family, a church congregation.

Eckert asserts that the construct community of practice, serves as a way to locate language use ethnographically so as to create an accountable link between local practice and membership in extralocal and broad categories such as nationality, ethnicity, gender or social class (Eckert, 2006: 684). She further claims that people do not develop their ways of speaking directly from those larger categories but from their day-to-day experience as people who combine those and other memberships resulting in a process articulated by participation in activities and communities of practice that are particular to their place in the social order. Within these communities, speakers develop an identity and linguistic practices that articulate that identity (Eckert, 2006: 684), in other words, the community plays a central role for many of its participants because it functions as a locus for identity construction thus allowing for the complex construction of linguistic styles.

One of the characteristics of a community of practice is that of the members' shared repertoire, an analysis of which might help locate how resources (linguistic or otherwise) are the cumulative result of internal negotiations (Meyerhoff & Strycharz, 2013: 430). These linguistic resources, used to negotiate meaning, include specialized terminology and linguistic routines, but also nonverbal communicative resources like gestures that have become part of the community's practice (Holmes & Meyerhoof, 1999: 176). The notion of "practice" becomes central in its

definition, making the construct lend itself to sociolinguistic research more than concepts like

"speech community" and "social networks" (Holmes & Meyerhoof, 1999: 174) especially if

linguistic practices are to be studied, which are central to this thesis. The term has been further

refined to "communities of linguistic practice;" obviously, conceptualized on the analogy of

community of practice (Eckert, 2000: 35) which is defined both by (formal) membership and by

shared practice, i.e. members develop similar cultural and linguistic practices.

# Chapter 4 Linguistic practices in multilingual environments and LL

## 4.1 Overview

I first start by presenting how authors have tackled the theoretical issues surrounding language in its various forms that start with bilingualism and multilingualism. I also discuss terms encapsulated in translanguaging as it is defined nowadays such as code-switching, Spanglish, language crossing, metrolingualism and hybridity, and translingual practices. Some of these terms appear to be competing with translanguaging. I also present the reasons for my choice of translanguaging for this study. In closing, I sum up the main points and share my own reflections on the ongoing processes that shape the way speakers communicate in their communities.

## 4.2 Bilingualism and multilingualism

Since the signs included in the study are bound to be bilingual if not multilingual, it is useful to look at these concepts taking the speaker as the point of departure. *Multilingual*, as an adjective and in contrast with *monolingual*, is used to refer to a community which makes use of two or more languages, and as adjective or noun, the term applies to the individual speakers who have this ability. In turn, *multilingualism* (or *plurilingualism*) in this sense may subsume

bilingualism, but it is often contrasted with it in the case of communities or individuals in command of *more* than two languages (Crystal, 2008: 318, original emphasis).  A bilingual may be defined as someone who can use two or more languages (or dialects) (Baker, 2001; Crystal, 2009: 318; Grosjean, 2006: 34; Mounin et al., 2004: 52); and bilingualism, besides existing as a possession of an individual, also applies as a characteristic of a group or community of people (Baker & Jones, 1998: 3), defined as the coexistence of two languages in the same community provided that the majority of speakers are indeed bilingual as in Catalonia, where most of the population speaks Spanish and Catalan; though some sociolinguists use this last term to refer to the individual, and prefer "diglossia" when referring to bilingualism in a community (Mounin et al., 2004: 52).

According to Romaine, bilingualism has often been defined and described in terms of categories, scales and dichotomies such as ideal vs. partial bilingual, coordinate vs. compound bilingual, etc., which are related to factors such as proficiency, function, etc. (Romaine, 1999: 11). Blackledge and Creese question the concept of 'bilingualism' as a fixed and static entity and prefer the term 'multilingualism' to convey a conception of linguistic practices as "multiple, plural, shifting, and eclectic, by drawing on features of what we might call languages" (Blackledge & Creese, 2010: 23) as was discussed in chapter 3.

A far cry from the Labovian paradigm, linguistic anthropology has taken  "a constructivist approach to bilingualism", which involves "co-constructed practices critical in the production of bilingual repertoires of identity and the centrality of language" (Zentella, 2008a: 6): Unlike quantitative sociolinguists's considerations, bilinguals display their gender, class, racial, ethnic and other identities by following the social and linguistic rules for the ways of

speaking that reflect those identities in their homes and primary networks and by becoming active agents who exploit new ways of doing and being.

Early on, Romaine claimed that "what distinguishes bilinguals from monolinguals is that bilinguals usually have greater resources" as they draw from both codes on the linguistic level (1995 [1999]: 173) and hybrid forms resulting from language contact are part of their repertoires (Bailey, 2007: 29); such claim might lead us to consider the possibilities as to the kind of resources multilingual speakers could have at their disposal. In that regard, Bailey (2007) adds that bilingual and bicultural individuals have both an expanded set of resources for the negotiation of identity, "and a broader range of social categories that can be made relevant through talk as compared to monolingual, monocultural individuals" (Bailey, 2007: 29). Similarly, Kramsch (2009) affirms that multilingual individuals have at their disposal "more modalities of signification than one single symbolic system" (Kramsch, 2009: 99). For decades, languages have been viewed as separate entities that can be counted, and bilingual and multilingual speakers were said to speak so many languages, again with an emphasis on numbers. Romaine (1999: 281) asserts that "the idea that any given speech event must belong to a particular named language" may not be a useful concept in dealing with codeswitching and that codeswitching may not in fact involve separately stored, independent codes; such tenet may very well apply to linguistic practices like crossing and translanguaging. García and Wei (2014) touch on this by claiming that "we are all languagers who use semiotic resources at our disposal in strategic ways to communicate and act in the world" (García & Wei, 2014: 10); the semiotic resources they refer to are what bilinguals and others recognize as belonging to different sets of "socially constructed 'languages" (García & Wei, 2014: 10). Similarly, Higgins (2009: 148) uses the term "heteroglossia", and affirms that it  has been shown to be a source of creativity,

playfulness, strategy and most of all, identification in the form of multivoiced multilingualism (see also Jourdan, 2007: 45).

Romaine also argues that the idea of an "individual" linguistic competence may hold little meaning outside the context of testing procedures, which is the ideology that dominates public, particularly educational, policy on bilingualism (Romaine, 1999: 280). Testing operates from a monolingual point of view, judging bilingual or multilingual speakers from the hegemonic position of the language in which the testing is to take place: it is evident a monolingual speaker might have an advantage as bilingual and multilingual speakers may perform differently in the languages they speak. Bilingualism studies focus on competence measured as test answers, but never assessments of community-based communicative competence. After all, language is used primarily to communicate, as bilingual and multilingual speakers may rely on their repertoire to achieve that end, it seems illogical to try measure their competence by means of tests elaborated with a monolingual frame of reference as the base (Romaine, 1999: 280). As with testing, monolingual attitudes and standardization view the mixing of languages (again perceived as separate entities) as downright wrong or non-standard without taking into account that what bilingual and multilingual individuals do is simply access their linguistic repertoires to communicate in community social networks. Linguistic repertoires "may cut across more than one language, with switching from one language to another, or to a mixture, taking place in much the same circumstances as style switching in monolingual repertoires" (Milroy & Milroy, 2002: 102). In theorizing this dynamic activity, some scholars have begun to explore how successful communication depends on aligning the linguistic resources one brings to the social, situational, and affective dimensions operative in a context

(see Kramsch, 2004). In other words, language learning involves an alignment of one's language resources to the needs of a situation.

Heller (2007: 1) aims to move the field of bilingualism studies away from a highly ideologized view of bilingualism as the coexistence of two linguistic systems, whole and bounded, to a critical perspective which allows for a better grasp on the ways in which language practices are socially and politically embedded; an approach which privileges language as social practice, and considers speakers as social actors who draw on linguistic resources, organized in ways that make sense under specific social conditions, and boundaries as products of social action.

## 4.3 Code-switching

The term *code-switching* (with and without the hyphen) was favored in the past to refer to some language practices of bilinguals; though some researchers still use the term, new terms have gained currency, and are preferred for reasons explained below. Code-switching involves alternation between two languages on the part of the speaker who maintains these two as separate systems of communication with their respective rules. Gumperz (1982) remarks that conversational code switching "can be defined as the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems" (Gumperz, 1982: 59). Broad definitions of code-switching include the "use of words and structures from more than one language or linguistic variety by the same speaker within the same speech [event], conversation or utterance" (Callahan, 2004: 5) or "the ability on the part of bilinguals to alternate effortlessly between their two languages" (Bullock & Toribio, 2009: 1). This so-called 'effortlessness' might not always be the case since speakers may code-switch out of necessity,

i.e., the switch may entail some effort as when pausing to look for the right words to convey one's meaning, specifically in instances of low proficiency, language loss or language attrition in one of the linguistic systems.

Dominant groups force minority groups to assimilate by means of educational language policies and practices seeking to maintain the status quo of those in power (who also speak the dominant language); additionally, speakers' lack of power impacts the status of their minority language, which is seen as linguistically inferior (Zentella, 1997: 212; Tse, 2001: 41; García & Mason, 2009: 79; Baugh, 2009: 75-76). To be realistic, minority speakers have limited access to resources due to reasons other than purely linguistic ones. Nevertheless, as a result of policies and language ideologies on the part of the dominant group, code-switching and language mixing of any sort tend to be stigmatized.

The communicative competence of speakers who make everyday usage of two or more codes includes drawing on each of these codes, plus the ability to mix them and switch among them, the structure of each code taken separately is usually reduced in some dimensions. Therefore, if the speakers' verbal ability is evaluated in a situation where they are forced to stay within a single code, such as in all contact with the monolingual community, these speakers' communicative competence will seem to be less rich than it actually is. On the other hand, the speaker's total repertoire is fully exploited in those bilingual settings where the speaker can call on the resources from each of the available codes and on the strategies of switching among them (Lavandera, 1978: 391). Nevertheless, as long as a monolingual orientation prevails in any given country, people who make use of their repertoires (regardless of the languages or linguistic codes/systems involved) will continue to be frowned upon.

Bullock and Toribio draw parallels between monolingual and bilingual language use as monolinguals "shift between the linguistic registers and the dialects they command" (Bullock & Toribio, 2009: 2). In her studies of African multilingual communities, Myers-Scotton explains that code-switching is essentially a "juxtaposed multiple-language production which can also be studied between dialects or styles (registers)" (Myers-Scotton, 1993: vii); in other words, instead of code-switching we find style and register shifting among monolinguals but bilinguals do *that* and more in their mixing of resources. Larger groups, at a society level, can be divided into sub-groups, each identifiable by their characteristic code-switching patterns, "as monolinguals can by discourse styles and registers", e.g., from a casual to a formal variety of speech (Gardner-Chloros, 2009: 5) or in *bidialectalism*, the switching between dialects, whether regional or social, as in regional varieties and the standard (Crystal, 2008: 52). The nonambiguous difference is that code-switchers alternate between at least two languages, which can be very well in an unchanged setting, in the same utterance (Bullock and Toribio, 2009: 2) or between larger segments but always in the same conversation, turn or speech event; in addition, code-switchers command different registers in each language as emphasized above. Code-switching may extend from the insertion of single words to the alternation of languages for larger segments of discourse such as phrases; in other words, it may occur at inter- and intrasentential (within the same sentence) levels (Callahan 2004: 5; Myers-Scotton,1993: vii) and may be deployed for a number of reasons: filling linguistic gaps, expressing ethnic identity, and achieving particular discursive aims, among others. For example, bilinguals may combine their languages in a particular community to express their group identity, in a way similar to having a characteristic accent (Gardner-Chloros, 2009: 5). For the sake of argument, it seems only logical to assume that polyglot speakers can actually code-switch in more than two languages if the setting demands it.

Comparing code-switching across different communities and different language combinations can help reveal the relative role of linguistic and sociolinguistic factors (Gardner-Chloros, 2009: 5).

In line with that, Myers-Scotton came up with her negotiation maxims as a model which explains variation in linguistic code choice (Myers-Scotton ,1983: 115), and looks at code-switching in so many different ways: as accommodation, as a deferential strategy (defer to those from whom you want something), as an exploratory choice, as following the virtuosity maxim (make a marked choice to avoid being infelicitous) (Myers-Scotton, 1983: 123, 125) or as following the multiple-identities maxim (Myers-Scotton, 1983: 126) when more than one code is chosen and multiple identities are negotiated. She has also explored if codeswitching entails an unmarked choice or a marked one, a sequential unmarked or a strategy of neutrality (Myers-Scotton, 1993a, *passim*). The marked and unmarked status of non-native material in the speech of urban multilinguals means that where people use a mixed language regularly, codeswitching represents the norm (it is an unmarked choice). In instances where people invoke another language in an obvious way, position of relative social, political or economic strength is often being negotiated, then codeswitching represents a marked choice (Eastman, 1992: 1). Myers-Scotton's markedness model might serve as a framework to analyze language choice on the part of speakers who weigh up the advantages and disadvantages of choosing one code depending on the situation and interlocutor involved.

In her ethnographic studies in *el bloque,* Zentella found that the decisive factors that determined the language dyads at home and elsewhere were physical features, gender, and age (Zentella, 1997: 85); in other words, speakers draw primarily on their language repertoire as "required by the 'observables' of the speech situation, e.g. pragmatic norms, specific setting, and

participants" (Toribio, 2004: 42). Speakers code-switch when interacting with bilingual speakers but prefer to address older speakers in Spanish. If someone does not look Latino, they stick to using English. A study also placed in New York found that Chinese speakers who speak mutually unintelligible Chinese dialects communicate with other Chinese speakers in Cantonese or in Mandarin. The latter is part of a shift in lingua franca from Cantonese to Mandarin. Still both languages bridge the gap when speakers must decide on the right code to communicate with speakers of other dialects; these Chinese speakers frequently resort to code-selecting and code switching (Pan, 2002: 244).

Another issue that has been tackled is the fact that linguists take monolingualism as the basis from which to explain other linguistic phenomena such as bilingualism, and multilingualism, when in fact, a great percentage, probably a half, of humankind is at least bilingual (Romaine, 2000), and the world has probably been multilingual from its beginnings (Calvet, 1998: 202). Auer and Li estimate that most of the human language users in the world speak more than one language, i.e., they are at least bilingual, a similar claim made by Baker and Prys Jones, (1998: vii) and put their number at two thirds of the world's population. In quantitative terms, then, monolingualism may be the exception and multilingualism the norm (Auer & Wei, 2007: 1) but then again, those with a prescriptionist agenda have permeated not only language policy and planning but also linguistic areas such as lexicology, lexicography and applied linguistics. Purists, very much infused with the ideology of the dominant language, may be the first ones to condemn code-switching as deviant or as an aberration. Such reactions are by no means new, Adams states that Cicero seemed to condemn the practice (Adams, 2004: 19): what occurred more than 2,000 years ago is still happening. Outsiders tend to see code mixing as a sign of linguistic decay as a result of not knowing at least one of the languages involved very

well (Appel & Muysken, 2005: 117) when it is actually a linguistic resource as it will be further discussed. Though there is significant progress in many parts of the world where multilingualism, in the sense of having different languages coexisting alongside each other, is beginning to be acceptable, what remains hugely problematic is the mixing of languages (Wei, 2017: 6).

Bilingual speakers confident about their language skills in both the heritage language, and the dominant one may wield authority in their realization of linguistic power excluding outsiders in defiance or in indifference for as Zahavi and Zahavi (1999) argue, though social rank is easy to discern, as could be their blue or white-collar status; prestige, on the other hand, is complex and harder to measure precisely because it has to be accepted by the subordinates (Zahavi & Zahavi, 1999: 144). By rejecting the prestige claimed by others, these speakers reject a language ideology imbued with a pretended superiority. Since the situation is reversed on the Mexican side of the border, Mexican speakers might feel proud of their linguistic prowess and experience a sense of empowerment as EFL learning can be associated with elite groups and/or with cosmopolitanism though they may also experience backlash if they speak English in Spanish monolingual settings. As Gardner-Chloros observes: the study of code-switching only became possible once the results of two languages coming into contact ceased to be considered as aberrations and ceased to be compared with narrowly defined monolingual norms (Gardner-Chloros, 1991: 47). Once the results of language contact are no longer considered arbitrary aberrations, the need arises to classify them and describe the relations between them (Gardner-Chloros, 1991: 48).

In light of the current multilingual paradigm, i.e,, translanguaging,  which involves the deployment of entire linguistic repertoires on the part of speakers I decided not to use the term

"codeswitching" due to three main reasons. On the one hand, translanguaging includes this so-called code switching or mixing, which renders its use unnecessary. On the other hand, codeswitching approaches keep linguistic resources apart as if they were independent concrete systems, i.e, named languages. And finally, translanguaging is better suited to analyze the LL because of its multimodality and its inclusion of language in its written form (Wei, 2017:1).

## 4.4 Spanglish and surrounding controversies

*Spanglish*, the composite language of Spanish and English, has prompted most researchers to take sides in terms of use of the term and on its legitimacy as a set of language practices. Some of the critics, view Spanglish as an invasion of Spanish by English in accordance with normativity and linguistic purism. Among the researchers against the use of the the term, Otheguy rejects the term because, according to him, Spanglish is dangerous to the survival of Spanish in the U.S. and proposes 'popular' or 'colloquial US Spanish' (Zentella & Otheguy, 2009). These proposed labels are, in a way, limiting and confusing because 'popular' or 'colloquial' are registers commonly monolingual (i.e., part of the same linguistic system) and characterized by the frequent use of slang, by their informal character, by using words instead of terms (e.g., specialized language), and many of the words and expressions utilized are not part of la *norma culta*. Adding to the controversy is the fact that the core of code switching is the mesh of resources said to belong to different linguistic systems, which in a way overlaps with what is thought of as Spanglish. Some authors like González Echevarría take a more pragmatic approach and concede that "loans and calques are fine when there are not any equivalents in Spanish" but unjustified otherwise (González-Echevarría, 2008: 116). Again, this sounds like a restriction on the linguistic practices of bilinguals. But the negative views towards hybridity do not stop there: González-Echevarría views Spanglish as the language of poor illiterate Hispanics, and also as a

danger to Hispanic culture and as an obstacle to the social advancement of Hispanics in the mainstream U.S. (González-Echevarría, 2008: 116). Penfield (1985:14) also considers the label "Spanglish" derogatory because it suggests that code switching is no more than a bastardized or corrupted version of Spanish and English mixed together. According to Farr and Domínguez-Barajas, Spanglish is "often denigrated by English and Spanish speakers alike" (Farr & Domínguez-Barajas, 2005 :14; see also Hidalgo, 1986: 215).). Linguistic purism is rooted to such an extent that many people while accepting the existence of different languages, reject mixing as a form of 'contamination' of their language. Such language belief is one of the reasons mixed languages are ridiculed (Wei, 2017: 6) as are *Chinglish* or *Spanglish*, even though the creative process mixing represents is an important and integral part of language evolution (Wei, 2017: 6)

Some researchers avoid the use of the term altogether. Sánchez (1994) focuses on loanwords, registers and stylistic shifts within Chicano Spanish instead of using "Spanglish" to describe the results of English-Spanish contact, whose traits could be classified as belonging to Spanglish by some. In addition, she focuses on code-switching discourse by Chicanos and argues that it is characteristic of Southwest Spanish, which she also calls authentic Spanish varieties (Sánchez, 1994: 98). Again, the processes she tackles could be described as Spanglish by some. Fought (2003:5) also mentions that codeswitching is referred to as "Spanglish", which should not be confused with *Chicano English*, an English variety. Codeswitching has been stigmatized through time, Gumperz (1982) reports that code-switching is stigmatized in Texas and throughout the US Southwest, and that the derogative term 'Tex-Mex' is widely used to refer to it while in Quebec the word 'joual' refers to a hybrid variety of French (that presents its own

lexical traits and shows signs of creolization vis-à-vis Canadian English) that has similar stigmatizing connotations (Gumperz, 1982: 62-62).

Of those in favor of the use of the term, Zentella equals Spanglish to codeswitching (2008b) and maintains that although Spanglish has a negative meaning the term is useful for challenging an imposed normativity. Additionally, she argues that Spanglish captures conflict and the linguistic oppression of speakers of Spanish in the U.S. (Zentella & Otheguy, 2009).

For the hybrid linguistic practices I found during my research, I opted for the term *translanguaging* because it treats language as a resource without resorting to labelling each lexical item as belonging to different languages; instead many of the words found in Tijuana's LL belong to Tijuanans' linguistic repertoire as speakers of Spanish. Moreover, the language situation found in Tijuana has nothing to do with the oppression Zentella (2009) or Anzaldúa (1987) describe. Another reason to lean towards alternatives such as translanguaging is that they may encompass what is viewed as *Spanglish*, and in doing so they are free of lopsided positions, biases, and normativity. Normativity itself is lopsided as it leans towards rules that are set by those with privilege. Terms such as *translanguaging* or *translingual practices* view linguistic practices as repertoires in use, maintaining a scientific approach towards language and treating it as valid language in use without necessarily attaching labels such as "correctness" or "propriety". Any register can be viewed as equally valid and as serving the purpose of allowing speakers to communicate amongst themselves and with others.

## 4.5 Language crossing

Rampton recommends that the study of code-switching be taken a step further beyond bilingual ingroups focusing instead on the emergence of new plural ethnicities and on the

exploration and/or renegotiation of reality characterized by race stratification and division (Rampton, 2002: 291). Taking the code as currency, "language crossing or code-crossing refers to the use of a language which isn't generally thought to 'belong' to the speaker".  In those respects, language crossing "involves a sense of movement across quite sharply felt social or ethnic boundaries, and it raises issues of legitimacy that participants need to reckon with in the course of their encounter" (Rampton, 2002: 291). A striking difference between code-switching and code-crossing is that in the former, the participants arguably belong to the same group and/or to the same speech community or community of linguistic practice (if not locally, on a large scale, for example, having a common origin) whereas in the latter, they do not. As a consequence, speakers move outside their normally used language varieties, and briefly adopt codes which they do not have full and easy access to (Rampton, 2002: 298) for the reason that they do not belong. Canagarajah (2013: 3) defines it as the "practice of borrowing words from the languages of out-group members for purposes of temporary identity representation and community solidarity" but it goes beyond lexis to include phonological, syntactic and semantic traits. The term 'ethnolect' is also used to refer to varieties of a language that mark speakers as members of ethnic groups who originally used another language or distinctive variety (Clyne, 2000: 86), and as such, is "increasingly being applied to the linguistic practices of the urban young" (Jaspers, 2008: 87). In major cities like New York, Los Angeles or London, speakers with an ethnic background are said to speak an *ethnolect*.  In such places, white speakers may use the variety (the ethnolect) for styling purposes; in fact, ethnolects are stylized in the media (e.g., in movies, on television, comics, rap music, hip-hop, and the like).

What we see here is that they play not only with language but with their identity; it is what Jourdan (2007) calls *Homo Ludens*: individuals use language to create themselves (Jourdan,

2007: 45). This statement is not far from what critical forms of multiculturalism envisage: "a different 'practice of the self' and new forms of self-fashioning and subjectivity based on more progressive conceptions of freedom and justice" (McLaren, 1994: 51); thus, opening up a window for subaltern identities to empower themselves by redefining the constructs surrounding them. This so-called 'self-fashioning' will be further explored below. Language, as seen in the previous examples, becomes an indicator of the richness of the social scene and its complexity where each community of practice represents a group in which "language produces and indexes identity creation" (Jourdan, 2007: 45).

The difference between *crossing* and *codeswitching* is, according to Rampton, that the former "focuses on code-alternation by people who aren't accepted members of the group associated with the second language they employ" (Rampton, 2005: 270). *Crossing* implies moving across social or ethnic boundaries and and also raises issues of social legitimacy that participants need to negotiate (Rampton, 2005: 270-271). In contrast, *codeswitching* is an ingroup phenomenon restricted to those who share the same expectations and rules of interpretation for the use of the two languages, and can be "used to affirm participants' claims to membership and the solidarity of the group in contrast to outsiders" (Woolard, 1988: 69-70).

Rampton 2005: 270) remarks that many of the most influential studies have looked at the conduct of groups in which the use of two or more languages is a routine expectation because speakers are born with a multilingual inheritance or because of migration to places where other languages are spoken. The concept, though relevant to grasp part of the meaning of *translanguaging*, does not apply to the linguistic practices seen in Tijuana because of its limitations to ethnic groups and ethnic boundaries and the practices they engage in.

## 4.6 Metrolingualism and hybridity

Metrolingualism, a concept based on Maher's "metroethnicity," (2005) understood as "a reconstruction of ethnicity: a hybridized ''street'' ethnicity deployed by a cross-section of people with ethnic or mainstream backgrounds who are oriented towards cultural hybridity, cultural/ethnic tolerance and a multicultural lifestyle in friendships, music, the arts, eating and dress" (Maher, 2005: 83): In short, this concept involves the shift from examining our identity as the site of historic struggle and focusing on what we can achieve as individuals (Maher, 2005: 84). He also defines the concept as a performative style based upon and derived simultaneously from the symbols of both disaffiliation and association (Maher, 2005: 84). Individuals may distance themselves from their ethnic group and language spoken by the group; such self-assertion made on their own terms challenges mainstream assumptions and constructs. Looking onto the present, and maybe the future, they may even break away from the past to construct a new self who may not show language loyalty or commitment to ethnic struggles (Maher, 2005: 84). They minimize commitment to ethnicity and ethnic language while "recognizing ethnic affiliation as something that can be usefully deployed: fashion, music, lifestyle, and so on" (Maher, 2005: 84). We thus witness the reification of hybridity.

And hybridity is not restricted to certain regions but may very well be a worldwide phenomenon. For instance, Bosire (2006) explains that the hybrid languages of Africa are contact outcomes evolving in a "postcolonial situation that included rapid urbanization and a bringing together of different ethnic communities and cultures with a concomitant exposure to different ways of being" (Bosire, 2006: 192). Though not in a recent postcolonial situation,

Mexico has undergone some major changes that have included rapid industrialization and ensuing migration from rural to urban areas, where young people are exposed to different social constructs. As Bosire elaborates, younger generations are caught up in a transition as they belong to two worlds and find ways to express their duality. The youth are caught up in this transition; they are children of two worlds and want a way to express this duality, their new ethnicity (Bosire, 2006: 192), and as the world is "getting smaller" it is indeed easier to draw on multiple influences, even if far away, at once: a hybrid identity is consequently created as if it were a collage or a multilayered pastiche.

Otsuji and Pennycook propose "metrolingualism" as a cover term for "a product of modern and often urban interaction, describing the ways in which people of different and mixed backgrounds use, play with and negotiate identities through language" (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010: 240). During the interactions that take place "the use of both fixed and fluid linguistic and cultural identities is part of the process of language use" (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010: 241); consequently, language users may "move away from ascriptions of language and identity along conventional statist correlations among nation, language, ethnicity," culture and even geography (Pennycook & Otsuji, 2015: 3); hence the fluidity and the different forms that belonging may take far from the established correlations and ownership of language. In these respects, there exist some similarities with Rampton's ideas of interethnic (or interracial) crossing. Otsuji and Pennycook describe a man with an antagonistic view towards pre-given fixed ascriptions of cultural identities who shifts from a fixed to a fluid cultural identity in his search of belonging to Japanese culture while code-switching between Australian English and Japanese.

The linguistic, cultural and social practices endorsed by metrolingualism and characterized by hybridity, fluidity, and crossing in urban interaction are also captured by

translanguaging, which in turn, supersedes the grasp of metrolingualism by going beyond urban environments and having a wider inclusiveness.

## 4.7 Translingual practices

This increased ethnic, social, and cultural diversity of industrialized societies is one of the consequences of globalization (Kramsch, 2004: 4), which has also prompted an increased demand for the flexibility to move in and out of frames within professional encounters and to deal with cross-cultural misunderstandings (Kramsch, 2004: 4). Driven by new technologies and by a neoliberal economy, the new patterns of global activity are not only characterized by intensive flows of people but also by capital goods and discourses (García & Wei, 2014: 9).

Though we all may have an idea as to what globalization entails, it is convenient to look at what experts say. Globalization of the world economy denotes a process in which national and international markets are combined into a single complex whole for goods, services and factors of production, including capital, labor, technology and natural resources, covering all countries and economic regions (Bozyk, 2006: 1), and "from a theoretical point of view, globalization means an unlimited access to these markets for all interested businesses regardless of country of origin and economic region, and an increased feedback between these markets" (Bozyk, 2006: 1). For these interactions, global languages like English and Spanish are needed, but regional languages may also play a part in regional markets (e.g., Guarani) and agreements such as Mercosur (Southern Common Market). As diversity increases and globalization extends, so do contact zones, the "social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out in many parts of the world today" (Pratt, 1991: 34). Pratt's

metaphors describe some of the possible processes that take place when cultures come into contact, but her description can also be applied to the social spaces where language contact occurs, where linguistic practices of different sorts take place, and, in that regard, translingual practices are no exception: though constrained by power, they are open to renegotiation is Pratt's contact zones perspective (Canagarajah, 2013a: 30). Though a different term, more in the realm of literacy and translation, its prefix renders it akin to 'translingual' and the dynamics of language contact involved undergo a similar process as languages interact with different outcomes.

In an attempt to cause a paradigm shift from the dominant monolingual orientation to a translingual orientation, Canagarajah has come up with his own construct: translingual practices. Though it may seem a novel term, translingual practices have always characterized the practices of diverse communities in the past (2013b: 2). He thus justifies the need for a new term:

> Terms belonging to the monolingual orientation are informed by values and philosophies that gained dominance during a particular historic period in relation to particular social conditions. These values in fact became dominant very recently—specifically, eighteenth-century modernity. They are also associated with a particular geographical and cultural location—namely, Western Europe (2013a: 19).

He adds that "existing terms like *multilingual* or *plurilingual* keep languages somewhat separated even as they address the co-existence of multiple languages;" a fact that also implies that competence "involves distinct compartments for each language one uses" whereas the term he proposes "enables a consideration of communicative competence as not restricted to predefined meanings of individual languages, but the ability to merge different language

resources in situated interactions for new meaning" (2013b: 1). Language constitutes hybrid and fluid codes labeled only in the context of ownership ideologies when, in reality, people "shuttle across languages, communicate in hybrid languages and, thus, enjoy multilingual competence" (2013b: 2). In spite of normativity, language resources come into contact in actual use and shape each other (2013b: 2) as meaning is constructed in diverse and creative ways.

In those respects, 'translingual' seems to harken back to translanguaging. The term may also allow us to go beyond the dichotomy mono/multi or uni/pluri as these concepts may give the impression that cross-language relations and practices matter only to those considered multilingual when, in fact, they matter in all acts of communication that involve mono and multilingual speakers; though widespread in communities and everyday communicative contexts, translingual practices are ignored or suppressed in classrooms (2013b: 2). This oversight may also take place in language teaching as the standard is the vehicle: anything else is plainly a deviation: e.g., categories of speakers remain simplistically black-as-marked, as in the case of African-American Vernacular English, and white-as-unmarked/normative, also seen as the basis of race ideology in the United States (Urciuoli, 2001: 195). As Kramsch puts it, "the language learner herself is an idealized, standardized, non-native speaker anxious to abide by the rules of the standard native speaker" (Kramsch, 2009: 180; Kramsch, A'Ness and Lam, 2000: 81).

Canagarajah´s words also echo those of Liu (1995), whose goal when she came up with the term 'translingual' was to "reconceptualize the problematic of 'language' in a new set of relationships that is not predicated on some of the familiar premises of contemporary theories of language, which tend to take metropolitan European tongues as a point of departure" (Liu, 1995: 27). Her aim was also to move away from Eurocentric language ideologies while suggesting that "the study of translingual practice examines the process by which new words, meanings,

discourses, and modes of representation arise, circulate, and acquire legitimacy within the host language due to, or in spite of, the latter's contact/collision with the guest language" (Liu, 1995: 26). Anticipating Makoni and Pennycook (2007), she writes that meanings are not so much "transformed" when concepts pass from one language to another as *invented* within the local environment of the latter (Liu, 1995: 26; my emphasis).

According to Canagarajah, the label translingual highlights two key concepts of significance for a paradigm shift. Firstly, communication transcends individual languages and, secondly, it transcends words and involves diverse semiotic resources and ecological affordances (Canagarajah, 2013a: 6). In short, communication is an alignment of words with many other semiotic resources involving different symbol systems (i.e., icons, images), modalities of communication (i.e., aural, oral, visual, and tactile channels), and ecologies (i.e., social and material contexts of communication) (Canagarajah, 2013b: 2). He tackles the dynamics of current societies as he pinpoints social relations and communicative practices in the context of late modernity, which is characterized by migration, transnational cultural, economic, and production relationships, digital media, online communication and globalism. All of which "facilitate a meshing of languages and semiotic resources" as increasing contact is taking place between languages and communities (Canagarajah, 2103b: 2) not only in border areas but everywhere.

As for the definition of translinguals, Canagarajah applies the term to speakers who "have the capacity to use English in relation to the other codes in society and their personal repertoires" or, in short, a capacity for translingual practice (Canagarajah, 2013a: 16); the term also treats practices "as hybridizing and emergent, facilitating creative tensions between languages" (Canagarajah, 2013b: 2). Of course, English is given as an example but it very well can be any

other language. As in translanguaging, one linguistic repertoire could never be split into one or another language as all resources appear to work as a unit, in unison unlike code-switching, in which languages are theoretically kept apart as different systems; thus, "the term moves us beyond a consideration of individual or monolithic languages to life between and across languages" (Canagarajah, 2013b: 1).

In reference to the latest tendencies in sociolinguistics, García and Wei (2014) explain that "a critique of nation-state/colonial language ideologies has emerged, seeking to excavate subaltern knowledge", and that these poststructuralist critical language scholars (Canagarajah, Makoni, and Pennycook among others) treat language as contested space – as tools that are reappropriated by actual language users (García & Wei, 2014: 10). They further argue that the "goal of these critiques is to break out of static conceptions of language that keep power in the hands of the few, thus embracing the fluid nature of actual and local language practices of all speakers" (García & Wei, 2014: 10) with a focus on linguistic practices of language users in which the speakers' agency is the means to create meaning, a far cry from elitist normative practices. Moreover, Trim (2002) reminds us that the dynamic forces at work in the everyday activity of language communities are far more powerful than conscious, ideologically motivated policies (Spolsky, 2004: 7). Even where there is a formal, written language policy, its effect on language practices is neither guaranteed nor consistent (Spolsky, 2004: 8).

Speakers in Tijuana are taught Standard Spanish at school, while a standard variety of English (General American) is also taught as a foreign langage. Those who study in San Diego learn English either as ESL or as the language of instruction. At any rate, speakers swing between two standard languages, each dominant on one side of the border, while their linguistic practices display traits that defy traditional expectations as these include besides different

dialects of Mexican Spanish and possibly some dialectal levelling, code-switching, translanguaging, transfer, play on words--Homo Ludens at work, style shifting, register changes between languages that evidence their linguistic repertoires in action without even thinking about languages as separate systems but as ways of achieving different ends, be it communicative, humorous, financial, a display of in-group solidarity, or strategic, when it comes to exclusion.


## 4.8 Translanguaging

Translanguaging was originally introduced as  'Trawsieithu' by Cen Williams in the 1980s (Williams,1994, 1996)  for use in Welsh high schools and research in Wales (Baker, 2001: 281; García & Wei, 2014: 64) and refers to how input (e.g., reading and listening) and output (e.g., writing and speaking) are deliberately in a different language and are systematically varied to help students enhance their skills (Baker 2001: 281; Baker, 2003: 82; García, 2011: 147; Williams, 2002: 40). *Translanguaging* competes for academic discourse space with some of the terms covered earlier in this chapter, and seems to have wider currency than rivalling terms like *codemeshing*, *flexible bilingualism, heteroglossia*, *hybrid language practices, metrolingualism, multilanguaging, polylanguaging,  polylingual languaging* and *translingual practice* (Jaspers, 2018: 1; Wei, 2017: 1).

The notion of translanguaging has been further expanded to include the language practices of bilingual people (García, 2012: 1), otherwise explained as "the act performed by bilinguals of accessing different linguistic features or various modes of what are described as autonomous languages" (García, 2009, p. 141). The term is also used to "describe the usual and normal practice of 'bilingualism without diglossic functional separation'" (Baker, 2003: 72;

García, 2007: xiii), which means that traditionally the languages spoken by bilinguals or multilinguals have been viewed as separate systems. Instead, translanguaging is viewed "as one linguistic repertoire with features that have been societally constructed as belonging to two separate languages" (García & Wei, 2014: 2). Jaspers elaborates on this further and affirms that actual language use and people's perception of it do not always correspond with the distinct (national) languages we conventionally identify and that these labels hide significant variation between different idiolects (Jaspers, 2018: 2). Instead of speaking a so-called language speakers engage in 'languaging', a process through which they combine sets of linguistic resources that may, or may not, agree with canonically recognized languages, codes or styles. However, languaging does not stop there as these resources are deployed alongside other semiotic resources such as signs and gestures (Jaspers, 2018: 2). However, there is also a growing discussion of the fluidity of codes, and such codes are perhaps better described from an ideological perspective than from a linguistic one (Bailey 2007; Creese & Blackledge 2010).

Summing up Williams' theory, Lewis, Jones and Baker (2012) state that "translanguaging requires a deeper understanding than just translating as it moves from finding parallel words to processing and relaying meaning and understanding" (Jones & Baker, 2012: 644) but it seems uncertain whether translation requires the same or not. Translation is not only about finding parallel words because it is not restricted to words for it involves more complex structures such as sentences and longer chunks of discourse, images like metaphors and similes, finding equivalent sayings, proverbs and idiomatic expressions that may be at play which involve intercultural knowledge, history and the like, and it also involves relaying meaning and understanding by applying translation techniques such as ommission, transposition or explicitation. I would rather think that translanguaging may involve translation but involves

working with a linguistic repertoire functioning as one instead of two separate codes at it is the case of translation and interpretation for that matter.

For Wei (2011: 1223), translanguaging includes "going between different linguistic structures and systems, including different modalities (speaking, writing, signing, listening, reading, remembering) and going beyond them". These represent the full range of linguistic performances of multilingual language users that transcends the combination of structures, the alternation between systems (the so-called languages), the transmission of information and the representation of values, identities and relationships (Wei, 2011: 1223). He also argues that translanguaging is transformative in nature as it creates a social space for the multilingual language user where different identities, values and practices combine together to generate new identities, values and practices (Wei, 2011: 1223).

A broader definition of translanguaging, which includes monolinguals, suggests that translanguaging is "the deployment of a speaker's full linguistic repertoire without regard for the watchful adherence to the socially and politically defined boundaries of named (and usually national and state) languages" (Otheguy. García & Reid, 2015: 281). After all, a named language is a social construct, not a mental or psychological one (Otheguy. García & Reid, 2015: 283).

According to Otheguy. García and Reid (2015: 281) named languages are social, not linguistic, objects. In contrast, individuals speak *idiolects*, linguistic objects defined in terms of lexical and structural features. As for named languages, their boundaries and membership cannot be established on the basis of lexical and structural features alone, and as such exist only in the outsider's view. From the insider's perspective of the speakers, there is only their full idiolect or

repertoire, which belongs only to the speakers, not to any named language (Otheguy. García & Reid, 2015: 281).

García posits translanguaging as "multiple discursive practices in which bilingual engage in order to make sense of their bilingual worlds (García, 2009: 45); that means that individuals translanguage not only in the classroom but also to communicate within their families and communities. García uses the term in a comprehensive way to cover multilingual practices which have traditionally been described as translation, borrowing, codeswitching, code-mixing, crossing, creolization, foreigner talk. These multilingual practices also include discourse in the form of text, and strictly speaking, texts are part of literacy or discursive practices.

Though other terms have been used for multilingual discourse such as *languaging* and *metrolingual practices* (Wardhaugh & Fuller, 2015: 86), I will use the term *translanguaging* (García, 2009) as it seems more appropriate with the "trans" prefix than *languaging,* and does not give the idea of restriction to cities like *metrolingualism* may suggest; and I will definitely not use instead *code-switching* or *code-mixing*, as these latter terms imply a normative monolingual ideology which is at odds with current research trends in language contact.

The way I use translanguaging for the analysis of text on LL signs corresponds to the description Wei (2017) gives of Williams' and Baker's notion that translanguaging is not conceived as an object or a linguistic structural phenomenon to describe and analyse but a practice and a process—a practice that involves dynamic and functionally integrated use of different languages and language varieties (Wei, 2017: 7). Tijuana's LL presents not only different languages but also language varieties and mixing.

In sum, translanguaging first began in Welsh bilingual educational contexts as input and output i that had to do with literacy practices, that is, as reading was conducted in one language and writing about the reading text in another language and also speaking and listening, as two other major skills. Ever since then, it has been expanded, and because it included literacy practices it was a matter of time before it was applied in other settings. Translanguaging then appears as a new approach to multilingualism that "tries to capture flexible and dynamic multilingual practices" not only in interaction but also in physical landscapes; as such, translanguaging can be applied to "foreground the co-occurrence of different linguistic forms, signs and modalities" like those present in the LL (Gorter & Cenoz, 2015: 56). The discursive texts the LL conveys, qualify as literacy and linguistic practices that may reflect translanguaging where multilingualism and language varieties exist.

## 4.9 Linguistic landscapes (LL)

The scope of sociolinguistics has been recently expanded to include 'linguistic landscapes' even though, according to Coulmas, linguistic landscapes are as old as writing (2008: 13). This notion refers to "the visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs in a given territory or region" (Landry & Bourhis, 1997: 23) or more specifically to how "the language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration (Landry & Bourhis, 1997: 25). Blommaert (2013: 1) defines it as "the presence of publicly visible bits of written language" that include "billboards, road and safety signs, shop signs, graffiti and all sorts of other inscriptions in the public space" in the late-modern, globalized city but it is, of course, not restricted to cities. As the number of linguistic tokens is especially high in shopping areas of

cities, linguistic cityscape is also employed (Gorter, 2006: 2). Written language attests the presence of a "wide variety of (linguistically identifiable) groups of people" who live in multilingual environments not only in large metropolitan areas like London, Paris or New York City, but also in smaller cities like Tijuana and San Diego. In Tijuana, for instance, we can see billboards, road and shop signs in both English and Spanish, and shop signs in Korean and Chinese. In *Valle Verde*, one of Tijuana's working-class neighborhoods with a strong Mixtec presence, an elementary school bears its name in Mixtec (*Ve'e Saa Kua'a*) and in Spanish (*La Casa de la Enseñanza*), roughly translated as "The House of Teaching"; it is a place where the languages of instruction are Spanish, Mixtec, Purépecha and Nahuatl, each language representing the demographics found in the area, Spanish being the second language of the different ethnic groups.

In addition, Blommaert mentions that studying the LL expands the range of sociolinguistic description from people to the spaces they dwell in (Blommaert, 2013: 1). The LL is also a tangible indicator of language contact, and may serve important informational and symbolic functions as a marker of the relative power and status of the linguistic communities inhabiting the area as Landry and Bourhis (1997: 23) propose. Besides the linguistic content, the representation of the languages is of particular importance because it relates to identity and cultural globalization, to the growing presence of English and to revitalization of minority languages (Gorter, 2006: 1).

Though Landry and Bourhis (1987) popularized the term "linguistic landscapes" in their Canadian study, publication of research in this area began in the 70's as indicated by studies of the linguistic landscapes of Tokyo (Masai, 1972), Jerusalem (Rosenbaum, Nadel, Cooper & Fishman, 1977), Brussels (Tulp, 1978); and later on of Montreal (Monnier, 1986, 1989),  Quebec

(Maurais & Plamondon, 1986), Paris and Dakar (Calvet, 1990; 1994), Jerusalem (Spolsky & Cooper, 1991), and Brussels (Wenzel. 1996) among others. Smalley (1994), for instance, dedicates part of a chapter to Bangkok's LL and offers a general discussion of the landscape in smaller towns. To these, we can add the studies conducted in by a council and a committee in Montreal, Canada (Conseil de la langue française, 1997a, 1997b, 2000; Comité interministériel sur la situation de la langue française, 1996)). Additionally, Scollon and Scollon (2003) offer some general observations about language on signs worldwide (examples are taken from Chinese, Hong Kongese, Japanese, Welsh, Irish and Quebecois contexts). In the following years, many works focused on cities, regions, and even rural areas made their appearance: Tokyo (Backhaus, 2007; Inoue, 2000; Someya, 2002), Lira Town, Uganda (Reh, 2004), Seoul (Lawrence, 2012), Jerusalem (Ben-Rafael, Shohamy, Amara & Trumper-Hecht, 2004), Rome (Bagna & Barni, 2005, 2006; Barni, 2006; Griffin, 2004), Bangkok (Huebner, 2006), Oaxaca, Mexico (Sayer, 2010), Berlin (Papen, 2012), Seville (Pons-Rodríguez, 2011, 2012), Brussels (Vandenbroucke, 2014) Kuala Lumpur (Coluzzi, 2016), and Petra, Jordan (Alomoush & Al-Na'imat,  2018) among others. A couple of works have centered on borders: one in Reynosa, Mexico, along the Tamaulipas-Texas border (Martínez, 2003), and another that examines identity construction along the Luso-Spanish border (Pons-Rodríguez, 2014).

But ever since Landry and Bourhis (1997) groundbreaking article, new studies have proved that the correlation between a language's visibility in public space and its vitality, between its communicatives currency and an active presence is empirically no longer tenable in the face of globalized and increasingly complex landscapes (Vanderbroucke, 2015) as evidenced by the global push of English and other languages present in places where tourists have purchasing power, e.g., Chinese signs in Irkustk, Siberia or Japanese signs on *Avenida*

*Revolución*, in Tijuana, which reflect not only language policy but also commercial interests (Gorter & Cenoz, 2015: 70).

According to Gorter and Cenoz (2015: 70) translanguaging, as dynamic concept or approach, makes it possible to propose that the LL has come to be viewed as a multilingual and multimodal repertoire used as a communication tool to appeal to passers-by, and also allows us to link multilingualism in the LL to the communication practices among multilinguals. By relying on this approach, we can go beyond single signs and separate languages to consider the landscape as part of the speakers' repertoires. Gorter and Cenoz also propose to take translanguaging beyond the individual level to that of the neighborhood or larger areas as in the study of the LL of Prenzlauer Berg, a newly-gentrified area in East Berlin, conducted by Papen (2012) or the one by Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) in Israel. The neighborhood as a level of analysis, thus can be used "as an instrument for pointing to social change" (Blommaert, 2013; Gorter & Cenoz, 2015: 70) as it allows us to uncover social realities, and informs us of the character, composition and status of neighbourhoods, and relations between groups, the public authority and the civil society (Ben-Rafael et al, 2006: 9). Some researchers like Papen (2012: 56) even go as far as to affirm that the  reflects and even shapes social change and urban development.

Moreover, Gorter and Cenoz (2015) remind us that just because the signs in the LL appear to be static and passive they should not be understood as such; on the contrary, they should be seen as dynamic and interactive not only because they are not permanent and change over different time spans but also because readers and onlookers interact with what they read and see, and also because the signs reflect various changes that occur in the city where they are displayed. In sum, people's linguistic practices "imprint themselves in the shaping and reshaping of the LL" (Ben-Rafael et al, 2006: 9). As we will see in the images I include, Tijuanans

command rich, mixed linguistic repertoires whose written forms appear to be competing at a first glance, but in reality complement each other as a diverse population interacts without conflict in the shaping of the LL.

# Chapter 5 The data: Presenting Tijuana's linguistic landscape

## 5.1 Overview

This chapter centers around Tijuana's LL and the kind of diversity observed in the city. Then, it proceeds to discuss the corpus of digital images and its charcteristics as well as those of the loci where I collected it.

## 5.2 The LL in Tijuana

Tijuana has a landscape dominated by Spanish, followed by English, with other minority languages as part of the equation. The presence of English in Tijuana's linguistic landscape is not only due to Tijuana being a border city with transborder flows, but also to English being a global language. Signs can be divided into top-down, those issued by government; and bottom-up, those posted by private people (Shohamy & Gorter, 2009: 3). Spanish, as expected, dominates most of the linguistic landscape both top-down and bottom-up, followed by English, mostly bottom-up with some top-down signs. Language policy and planning can account for the top-down signs as Spanish is the de facto language of Mexico, and though indigenous languages are national languages, they are absent with one exception and one sole example in enclaves where the population is indigenous. Tijuana's landscape includes signboards, billboards, banners, and

digital marquees where economic resources are more abundant, and wall inscriptions (graffiti included) where such resources are scarce; indeed, in working-class neighborhoods, hand-painted wall advertising is still fairly common. However, the city itself reflects the fact that Mexico is an emerging economy, and this can be attested by a gentrification process sweeping across the town, mainly visible in new middle-class neighborhoods and on thoroughfares that used to have shabby-looking businesses with wall inscriptions which have now been replaced with an infrastructure similar to that found in prosperous first-world countries.

The city's linguistic landscape has begun to reflect the diversity described above. Some groups like the Chinese are more visible, not only because of their numbers, but also as attested by the multiple restaurant and other commercial signs in Chinese characters, alternating with Spanish and English at times: linguistic landscapes inform us of the Chinese presence in the city, and their customer base. In recent years, other languages like Korean and Japanese have become more prominent in the linguistic landscape of the city as both restaurants and retail businesses that cater to Korean and Japanese customers increase in number. The fact that corporations like Hyundai, Toyota and Panasonic among others have had assembly factories in the area for years might contribute to this as part of their workforce comes from their countries of origin.

Translanguaging is not the same everywhere as such practices depend in part on the context and may be dissimilar in neighborhoods as different as a central shopping street and a residential area (Gorter & Cenoz, 2015: 70); data captured in other areas of Tijuana shows for instance that on *Avenida Revolución* global English, Spanish and American English alternate. In other parts of town, where most customers are Spanish-speaking global English is present but not English addressing English speakers with the exception of *Walmart* branches throughout Tijuana, e.g., *Walmart Galerías* and *Walmart Macroplaza*, which have multilingual duplicating

writing (see Fig 107 and 108) with Spanish prominently displayed. The former is in an upscale neighborhood while the latter is in a low to middle-class area. The practices seen there suggest that English is included because English-speaking customers shop there.  The opposite is in force in San Diego, California where *Walmart* stores have bilingual signs that feature English prominently. The practices observed on both sides of the border reflect national language ideologies where regardless of the percentage of speakers of the national language that frequent the premises, the national standard language is given prominence (see Fig 109 and 110). In regard to other languages, there are spaces such as restaurants and stores that Korean and Spanish share. Korean restaurants, for instance, display duplicating multilingual writing as they do not expect Mexican customers to understand Korean but also do so to accommodate both Korean-speaking and Spanish-speaking patrons.

Translingual practices observed in the LL of *Avenida Revolución* reflect the fact that it is a locus where English as a global language intersects English signs aimed at English-speaking customers, and Mexican Spanish, or perhaps more appropriately, transborder Spanish. *Avenida Revolución* is a place shaped by its context, a border context that includes its being a Tijuana landmark in the oldest part of town, where Mexicans work, dine, dance and shop alongside U.S. visitors and tourists from other places. In fact, recurrent visitors such as bikers from the U.S. form transient multilingual communities, defined as social configurations where people from diverse sociocultural and linguistic backgrounds come together (physically or otherwise) for a limited period of time around a shared activity" (Mortensen & Hazel, 2017: 256), in this case leisure and tourist activities. The number and types of texts seen speak of the demographics present along the avenue: a higher number of Spanish and English signs reflects the higher number of visitors who can read these two languages, and the other languages present (Chinese,

Japanese) also give account of global dynamics in which Chinese and Japanese tourists are ranked respectively, first and eighteenth on the list of the world's biggest spenders (World Tourism Organization, 2018). The combination of individual signs seen on *Avenida Revolu*ción gives shape to a diverse LL, more so than other parts of town, where mostly Spanish and English predominate.

My data also show changes diachronically, so this study is to some degree longitudinal: when I first started gathering data, some businesses and their signs were not present, e.g., the Japanese Ramen restaurant, *La Casa de la Tlayuda* or the Middle-Eastern restaurant. Their signs brought respectively terms like *ramen*, *tlayuda* (a very large tortilla and a staple of Oaxacan gastronomy), *shawarma* and *falafel* to the forefront of an already diverse landscape or the chain Baristi, whose name as the plural of *barista* stands out. In these lexical examples we find the global and the regional together. Few Mexicans outside Oaxaca know what a *tlayuda* is but considering the growing prestige of regional cuisines and the growing numbers of Oaxacans in the state, it seems only logical to launch such a place where other terms will also be probably unfamiliar to locals. These changes lend the now-gentrified avenue an air of cosmopolitanism along with the recently established artisan breweries that have also brought to the forefront lexical sets unfamiliar or never thought of before, terms that beer aficionados know well such as *IPA* or *ale*. Passers-by undergo an experience of going across more languages and a richer vocabulary than ever before when before *tacos* and *beer* were the major occurrences.

## 5.3 A corpus of signs

The present study includes a corpus comprising digital images of 300 hundred signs found on *Avenida Revolución* or *La Revu* (short for *La Avenida Revolución*) as locals call it, and

1,700 signs from other venues in the city. This avenue was built in 1889 (Gobierno del Estado de Baja California, 2015) and eventually became a Tijuana landmark with a long history of interaction between locals and foreigners, and because of that, a place characterized by linguistic borders. Data was also collected in other areas of Tijuana such as adjacent streets in downtown Tijuana, on Díaz Ordaz and Tecnológico boulevards as they are among Tijuana's main thoroughfares, and some major shopping centers in upscale, middle, and working-class neighborhoods were added for contrast. Locations that evidence top-down LL comprise the Tijuana-Ensenada toll highway, the Otay border crossing area and *Avenida Revolución*.

*Avenida Revolución* runs from Boulevard Aguacaliente to Vía Internacional as shown in Figure 1. The corpus hereby presented comprises pictures of signs taken from Calle Primera (1st St) to Calle Diez (10th St), nine blocks in total where almost all of the businesses are located. I photographed Commercial/business signs, and some official signage. Data collection took place from 2014 to 2016. Needless to say, the catchment area of *Avenida Revolución* is not limited to Tijuana as it not only attracts locals but a population segment across the border

Interspersed along the avenue we find branches of *Calimax, Waldos, Soriana, Sanborns, Burger King, Carl's Jr, Domino's Pizza, Oxxo, Bancomer* and *HSBC*. As they are supermarket, retailer, fast food or bank chains, they will be included in the analysis only for contrast as the text they display is usually the same everywhere with exceptions noted.  Though *Caliente Casino* has branches throughout Baja California, it will be included in the analysis as it harkens back to the *Casino de Agua Caliente*, a popular destination during the U.S. Prohibition and the place in which Hollywood films such as *In Caliente* (1935) were shot, and because it allows a contrastive analysis.

In addition to the international and national chains, most businesses belong to the following categories:

a) medical services

b) pharmacies and drug stores industry

c) restaurant and service industry

d) bar, tavern and nightclub industry

e) legal services

f) curios stores ("crafts" is already replacing "curios")

g) liquor stores

h) other businesses

As for the nature of the signs, the languages or combination of repertoires they are in have been divided into several types: English only, Spanish only, mixed linguistic resources, unusual spellings, other languages, multilingual, slogans and additional information. Slogans and additional information will be analyzed in conjunction with the name of the business they belong to.

The corpus also includes samples collected in several parts of the city, which comprise major boulevards such as *Agua Caliente, Díaz Ordaz, Gato Bronco*, and *Calzada UABC-Tecnológico*, as well as several neighborhoods in *Otay, La Mesa, Soler*, and *La Libertad*. I also surveyed major shopping centers such as *Macroplaza*, *Galerías* and *Plaza Americana*. The languages represented by the signs include Chinese, Mixtec, Korean, Japanese, English, and Spanish signs as well as top-down signs in English found in different locations. The Chinese, for instance, are in the restaurant industry and in retail, and to illustrate that, a sample of the LL

carrying Chinese characters and Roman letters was included. The Korean landscape is also in the same sector, and signs of the sort were added. Restaurants bearing transliterated (rōmaji) Japanese names are now commonplace though most were found having the Japanese writing system (kanji and kana). For top-down signs in English, signs along the toll road bound for Ensenada were photographed as well as some signs near *Avenida Revolución*, and the Otay border-crossing area. Global English has taken its hold and it is widespread, regardless of social classes for it is present in businesses located in working-class, middle class and upscale areas, be it shopping centers and individual businesses.

Fig 1: *Avenida Revolución*, marked by the pin, runs from *Boulevard Aguacaliente* (aka *Avenida Andrés Quintana Roo*) all the way to the international border (Source: Google Maps).

# Chapter 6 Methodology

## 6.1 Overview

This chapter deals with the methodology in regard to the loci considered for the study, the choice of observation zones,  the process to analyze the signs, and how CDA is relevant to accomplish that given the qualitative nature of the study.

## 6.2 Methodology

The methodology to create this corpus of signs is based on the following steps: (1) the determination of the survey areas, mostly in Tijuana, Mexico but also binationally, as a sample from San Diego, Otay Mesa, and San Ysidro, California was included, (2) the determination of countable items, and (3) the distinction between monolingual, multilingual signs, while at the same time considering whether the signs reflect local linguistic practices or of the national or supranational type.

### 6.2.1 Choice of observation zones for the survey

I chose newly gentrified *Avenida Revolución* by considering two criteria: the types of visitors, both domestic and international according to linguistic considerations, and the symbolic value the avenue has as a Tijuana landmark since the city's founding. Linguistic considerations included the fact that language contact occurs on this avenue because English-speaking visitors interact with locals and with signs that bear text addressed at them.  In fact, *Avenida Revolución*

forms a linguistic border in downtown Tijuana, which is for the most part monolingual: it is also

a practiced place in de Certau's sense characterized by people's mobility (de Certau, 1988: 117).

It is a space that several languages and registers share and whose multilingualism fades out a few

meters away from the avenue itself as monolingualism fades in as if preparing passers-by and

readers of signs for the adjacent *Avenida Constitución* and *Avenida Madero* that run parallel to

the renowned avenue. Its symbolic value should be understood as equated to the city in the social

imaginary on both sides of the border.

As for other areas, I decided to include Asian businesses in different parts of town to

exemplify representation of minority languages, a Mixtec enclave, and various areas where the

effects of global English and the national standard can be seen to contrast with local linguistic

practices and with the practices observed on *Avenida Revolución*. Including other neighborhoods

as part of the sample was necessary because these places are where Spanish-speaking locals shop

and live. Doing this also allowed me to include a bigger sample to obtain data for contrast

between *Avenida Revolución* and the neighborhoods where Tijuanans dwell.  The discursive

practices reflected by the signs are in accordance with social practices.

Among the other areas I included are *El Gato Bronco* and *Díaz Ordaz*, two boulevards

where junkyards, mechanical shops, and auto parts stores are established. The purpose here was

to exemplify commercial practices and their respective linguistic practices that have to do with

automobiles. I also included neighborhoods in *Otay, Playas, El Soler*, and *La Mesa*, all

neighborhoods of the Tijuana municipality with middle and low SES sections. Finally, I also

collected data in sites where older signs of language contact and translanguaging between

English and Spanish can be attested and that comprise terms such as *lavamática*, *car wash, auto

parts, swap meet*, and *mini market* which in most cases alternate with words belonging to the

national standard register. From the San Diego area I took a sample that included *Walmart* locations, shops in San Ysidro, and top-down signage at both points of entry, namely San Ysidro and Otay Mesa. The purpose was to contrast the contents of signs displayed there with corresponding signs in Tijuana (including Walmart stores) and adjacent areas.

To count the items, a sign, containing written text, is considered as such within a frame, and for linguistic considerations are taken as either monolingual or multilingual (bilingual, trilingual, etc). In some instances, signs are accompanied by other symbols such as drawings or visual signs with no text.

## 6.2.2 The analysis of multilingual signage

Mutilingual signage has been analyzed in ways that include the written equivalence of what code switching is in oral discourse. For example, Huebner (2006) mentions that languages in multilingual places appear either clearly separated or mixed to some degree. Methodologies have also been put forward by Backhaus (2007), Reh (2004) and Sebba (2013). For part of the analysis of the data I will be using the model Reh (2004) proposes for describing and analyzing multilingual written texts as it looks at how multilingual information is arranged. Reh's typology includes four possible combinations of languages (Reh, 2004: 12-14) and information as follows:

(1) Duplicating multilingual writing in which exactly the same text is presented in more than one language, meaning that more than one language is spoken in the target community

(2) Fragmentary multilingualism refers to the use of multilingual texts in which the full information is given only in one language, and selected parts are translated into one or more languages.

(3) Overlapping multilingual writing, in which only part of its information is repeated in at least one more language, while other parts of the text are in one language only.

(4) Complementary multilingual writing encompasses texts in which different parts of the overall information are each rendered in a different language, presupposing a multilingually competent readership.

According to Sebba (2013), bilingual formats involve a collective reading and are designed to match the particular literacies and literacy practices of the target readership but they also entail the literacies and literacy practices the authors, and their assumptions about the literacies and literacy practices of their addressees (Sebba, 2013: 100) while "the absence of mixing is a response to a pervasive language ideology of monolingualism and purism and a preference for standard forms" (Coupland, 2010; Sebba, 2013: 109).

Once we look at the LL with a positive criterion in mind and away from purist attitudes influenced by the standard, we can then look for aspects of texts that make creative use of the grammatical, semantic and cultural resources of each language (Coupland, 2010: 92). When that happens, a glimpse of the *Homo Ludens* using language to create themselves (or by extension) the LL begins to emerge (Jourdan, 2007: 45); this self-fashioning (McLaren, 1994: 51) may appear free of imperialistic notions; thus, opening up a window for subaltern identities to empower themselves by redefining the constructs surrounding them. Tijuanan entrepreneurs, for instance,  are already distancing themselves from Central Mexico by producing beers named *La Liber*, *La Revu, La Rumorosa*, *Cerro Prieto, Cerveza Cucapá, Cerro Ticuán*, and *Cerveza Frontera*. All brands bear names that mean something locally and become a banner of border identity with a rich past that goes back to ancient Yuman tribes. These brands also appear in the LL through billboards promoting them. Apparently, the first beer to begin this commodification

of identity and local meaning-making was *Cerveza Mexicali*, whose production began in Baja

California's state capital, Mexicali, also a border city in 1923 when the Prohibition (the U.S.

nationwide ban on the production, importation, and sale of alcoholic beverages from 1920 to

1933) was in full force across the border.  Then another beer with a local name came along:

*Tecate,* named after the neighboring border city where it was first produced in 1944 to be later

acquired by an international corporation . This was followed by *Cerveza Tijuana* in 1998 (Baja

California Gobierno del Estado, 2015). The production practices we see here point to local

border needs, to the supply and demand that characterizes border areas, and history can show

that these Baja California companies were not looking to supply the domestic market (selling

beer to Central Mexico) but to cater to U.S. borderlanders eager to escape Prohibition. It is no

coincidence that *Cerveza Mexicali* emerged in 1923 when Prohibition in the U.S. was in full

swing or that *Tecate* beer did so in 1944 when U.S. marines would swarm along Avenida

Revolución for recreation when World War II was raging in Europe and in the Pacific. In fact,

Tijuana became famous as a party destination during the years of Prohibition. In a way, besides

indexing and co-occurring with the creation of identity eliciting "authenticity" Language, as seen

in the previous examples, becomes an indicator of the richness of the social scene and its

complexity where each community of practice represents a group in which "language produces

and indexes identity creation" (Jourdan, 2007: 45).

In the words of Gorter and Cenoz translanguaging as an approach to linguistic landscapes

enriches the study of multilingualism and takes it forward by making it more comprehensible and

by identifying its relevant structures and modes of operation (Gorter & Cenoz, 2015: 71), and in

doing so, it helps us go beyond description by putting language in a context that takes into

account repertoires and not single language as separate units, and also aids us to identify the social, historical, economic and cultural elements at play.

## 6.2.3 Analysis methodology: The nature of this study and CDA

I complemented the use of CDA through the observation of signs and the surrounding areas to get a holistic view of the social. Qualitative in nature, this study sought to understand linguistic practices along the U.S.-Mexico border in accordance with Creswell's definition of qualitative research as "a means for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem" (Creswell, 2009: 4). For Flick (2007: ix) qualitative research is intended to approach the world not in laboratories but 'out there', and to understand, describe and explain social phenomena from the inside' in a number of different ways either by analyzing experiences of individuals or groups, or interactions and communications, or documents, or as here, the texts seen in Tijuana's multilingual linguistic landscape.

As Clarke (2005) remarks, qualitative research has moved beyond field notes and interview transcripts to include discourses of all kinds (Clarke, 2005: 145), and my study analyzed in linguistic terms the results of the speakers' agency: individuals create meaning through their practices, they are not objects but actors, agents displaying their creativity by using their linguistic repertoires in dissonant ways from the point of view of normativity but that serve many purposes in their communities of linguistic practice. Their multilingual repertoires of identity may incorporate diverse rules and include hybrid linguistic and cultural practices that defy narrow classification (Zentella, 2008: 6). Tijuana's linguistic landscape presents us with

many examples of hybrid linguistic practices that draw on English and Spanish elements to create new meanings.

According to de Beaugrande (1994), the highest goals of discourse analysis are to support the freedom of access to knowledge through discourse and to help in revealing and rebalancing communicative power structures (de Beaugrande, 1994: 209). The word "revealing" tells us that power structures operate and are naturalized through discourse as if they were a given, a problem already tackled by Bourdieu, who stated that "relations of domination have the opacity and permanence of things and escape the grasp of individual consciousness and power" (Bourdieu , 1995: 184). Citing Bourdieu, Fairclough uses 'opacity' to refer to the covert "linkages between discourse, ideology and power" and to social practice, as bound up with causes and effects not at all apparent (Fairclough, 1995: 132; see also Fairclough & Wodak, 1997 [2000]: 258). Discourse is socially constitutive and socially shaped: "it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. It is constitutive both in the sense that it helps to sustain and reproduce the social status quo, and in the sense that it contributes to transforming it" (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997 [2000]: 258).

CDA is then a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context (van Djik, 2001: 352). Discursive practices may have major ideological effects as they can help produce and reproduce unequal power relations between social classes, women and men, and ethnic/cultural majorities and minorities by representing things and positioning people (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997 [2000]: 258). In Mexico, for instance, the word *naco/a* is an insult hurled at someone who is poor, ignorant, and who has bad taste. The

insult itself operates on the assumption that poverty equals bad taste and lack of sophistication: if the one insulted believes it to be true and feels bad about himself/herself, then domination works in not so subtle ways as the so-called *naco* accepts the "fact" that only the rich have good taste, thus placing them higher on the social scale.

In the words of Fairclough and Wodak (1997 [2000]) CDA sees itself as engaged and committed [...as a] form of intervention of social practice and social relationships (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997 [2000]: 258); it involves "dissident research" and taking explicit positions whose aims are "to understand, expose, and ultimately resist social inequality" (van Djik, 2001: 352). CDA is also useful to analyze agency and the contexts in which social actors are represented as agents and/or patients, namely sociological agency realized by linguistic agency (van Leeuwen, 2008: 23). Currently, individuals have agency when it comes to creating new meanings, which are just as valid as dictionary entries, in their milieu for communication purposes and social interaction. As a consequence, their linguistic practices appear free from the repressive standard that represents those in power and helps reproduce unequal power relations.

CDA also focuses on institutional environments as key sites of research to establish the connections between language, power, and social processes (Blommaert, 2005: 34) as seen in instances of social interaction that take a linguistic form, even if partially (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997 [2000]: 258). For her part, Wodak asserts that "'critical' is to be understood as having distance to the data, embedding the data in the social, taking a political stance explicitly, and a focus on self-reflection as scholars doing research" (Wodak, 2001: 9). For these reasons, I also chose top-down signs as part of my research so that I could focus on language ideologies from both the Mexican and the U.S. government and their issuance of official traffic signs and public notices. The monolingual nature of such signs reflect the monolingual orientation that

characterizes both societies. One of the differences between both nations is connected to power as the U.S. yields more power than its neighbor: aside from a handful of bilingual signs,  the absence of Spanish, or better yet, of duplicating multilingual signs on U.S. soil at border points of entry along its southern border signals a power imbalance between both nations .

Revisiting the contrast between language as a linguistic system, and language in use, Van Leeuwen claims that a "neat fit between sociological and linguistic categories" does not exist and that if CDA dwells on specific linguistic operations or categories, many relevant instances of agency are bound to be missed (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 24). In addition, discourse is not limited to language as it also includes visual images, symbols, nonhuman things/material cultural objects, and other modes of communication (e.g., nonverbal movements, signals, sounds, music, dance) resulting in multiples modes typically combined in any given discourse (Clarke, 2005: 148). The LL with its combination of text and signs, where symbols are presented in so many ways appears as a multimodal array.

Likewise, Fairclough describes CDA "as aiming to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes" (Fairclough, 1995: 132): in fewer words, it is a form of social practice (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997 [2000]: 258); furthermore, CDA "investigates how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power" (Fairclough, 1995: 132). Social structure intended in the thematic concern with "talk and social structure" includes a concern with power and status and its distribution among social formations such as classes, ethnic groups, age grade groups, gender, and professional relations (Schegloff, 1991: 45). Like Fairclough, Kincheloe and McLaren (1994) consider all thought as "fundamentally mediated by

power relations that are social and historically situated" (cited in Locke, 2004: 25). As discourse is thought, discourses are positional (involving positions taken within the discourse) and situational, located in culture, history, and immediate situations (Charmaz, 2011; Clarke, 2005) meaning that context is essential for a proper analysis as texts cannot be removed from it as language is in linguistics. Additionally, because discourse analysis focuses on identifying and describing discursive resources research participants use, and their purposes and consequences (Charmaz, 2011: 299) it seems the logical choice to rely on it to investigate linguistic practices and to use it in the analysis of the corpus of signs I collected. This is further buttressed by the tenet that both text and talk (also called oral text), either public or private, are the subjects of CDA (Kovács, 2005: 269). In the same vein, discourse analysis views meaning as constructed, situated, and negotiated (Charmaz, 2011: 297) as a form of social practices.

In sum, this research relied primarily on observation and photography to account for linguistic practices and the LL in Tijuana to generate and analyze qualitative data from firsthand experience and examination (Schwandt, 2007: 93; Silverman, 2005: 111). In addition to that, photographs of Tijuana's LL serve to illustrate how languages and linguistic resources of different backgrounds interact visually. The fact that I am a local and long-time resident in the city allows me to assess to some extent how the city's landscape and demographics have changed in the past few decades. I am aware of my insider status but can still distance myself to a position of objectivity despite this.

The analysis of Tijuana's LL goes from a microlevel analysis of individual signs to how they function as whole on a larger scheme at the level of the neighborhood and even at that of the city. Each business can be seen as a single unit potentially having several messages. The basic unit of analysis is the message the main sign carries such as the name and nature of the business,

but at times the analysis is extended to the business as a whole, a unit comprising subunits, namely, smaller signs containing messages, which consist mainly of text, and occasionally of symbols, which are at times images. To begin, I remark the presence of various languages in the businesses and then in adjacent signs to continue with the discussion on how linguistic borders appear and how local practices are situated.

Drawing on Backhaus (2007), Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) Blommaert (2010), Gorter (2014), Cenoz (2014), Shohamy (2009) and others, the research for this study consisted of visiting different areas of Tijuana based on demographic considerations, and of taking pictures of public signs, and then analyzing such signs according to language, location, and domains while adding a linguistic dimension. The data is also analyzed following Reh's typology of multilingual writing as duplicating, fragmentary, overlapping, and complementary. English text is analyzed as symbolizing or indexical: it eithers indexes an English-speaking community or it symbolizes something else. To determine if it indexes an English-speaking community the survey included not only the shop names but also commercial slogans and information about services and products.

# Chapter 7 Data analysis

## 7.1 Overview

This chapter covers the analysis of the data collected, from bottom-up to top-down signage found along Avenida Revolución and in the other places surveyed. I first analyze the types of signs and then center on sociolinguistic issues. Then I proceed with a linguistic analysis focused on syntax and lexis and on translanguaging. The collection of 108 photographs here presented are set in a time-frame ranging from 2014 to 2019, and are part of a digital corpus comprising 2,000 images. The sites include Tijuana, central to this investigation, plus areas of and border and near-border sites.

## 7.2 *Avenida Revolución's* bottom-up LL: The data

*Avenida Revolución* used to have consistently a monolingual landscape where English was the preeminent language both visually, and orally as the language in which vendors hawked their wares, and night club door attendants offered drinks and discounts to passers-by. Ever since September 11, 2001, the number of U.S. patrons dwindled and many businesses went out of business; violence and high crime rates also drove tourists away. One of the positive consequences of that situation is the gentrification the avenue has undergone, and the bulk of customers nowadays are locals who have, in a way, reclaimed this iconic space as their own (*San Diego Union Tribune*, 2012). One of the obvious results is that people who work along the avenue do not address you anymore in English but in Spanish, unless you look "all-american"

and they are selling something like crafts or a photo with one of the donkeys found on the avenue as a tourist attraction. The languages observed are mostly Spanish and English, with Japanese and Chinese in two locations, and two examples of multilingual signage that display information in more than two languages. Top-down signage is solely in Spanish with the exception of an information booth and several signs with the phone number for assistance. The avenue is among streets where most of the customers are Tijuanans and most bottom-up signage is in Spanish but its main distinguishing trait is that signage is multilingual unlike adjacent streets where most of the signage is monolingual as in the rest of the city. In these respects, *Avenida Revolución* intersects a mostly monolingual area as if drawing a multilingual border.

*Avenida Revolución* has most businesses located along the sidewalks on both sides, with a few plazas and shopping passages interspersed from *Calle Once* to *Primera* (a 10-block stretch). It used to have 12 passages (*AFN,* 2013) but nowadays only a few remain, and some are empty: *Pasaje Rodríguez, Pasaje Gómez, Pasaje Revolución, Pasaje Condominio, Pasaje Ciros*, and *Pasaje Sonia*. The fact that only 35 out of 3,500 crafts stores are still operational gives us an idea of how the avenue and its customer base have changed after sales dropped due to a variety of reasons (*San Diego Red*, 2016).

At the *Bella Plaza* all of the signs are written in Spanish (travel agency, lawyer's office, private passport expeditor).  This plaza's name also strikes as the usual syntactic order in English. Both English and Spanish have a similar sequencing of subject, verb, and object (SVO) with some major differences (see Fig 2). Unlike English nouns, Spanish nouns are usually followed by the adjective, with some exceptions of course (English too has its own set of exceptions) but a change in word order entails a change of meaning as in "hombre pobre" and "pobre hombre" (the first one being matter-of-factly, the second one empathetic as in "poor

thing"). Plenty of examples are seen along *Avenida Revolución* such as *La María Cantina* and

*Caliente Casino*, unlike the former *Casino de Agua Caliente*, follows English convention.

Martínez (2003) found a similar situation in his study of the LL in another Mexican border city,

namely Reynosa.



Fig 2: *Bella Plaza* entrance. Tattoo shops can be seen next to it, and Hotel Ticuán, far right.

*Viajes Monfort Travel Agency* is a prime example of translanguaging. In what seems

redundancy, the type of writing is duplicating as the sign bears the nature of the business in both

Spanish and English. Rest of the information is in Spanish, which means that their customer base

is Spanish-speaking. Each of the visible messages confirms this: Boletos de avion/ paquetes y

cruceros. Parking information is also provided in Spanish, and we can see the use of semiotic

symbols such as an arrow to point in the direction of the parking lot, and a drawn blue phone

next to the phone numbers. The e-mail address reads "viajesmonfort@" and not "Monforttravel"

or something like that (see Fig 3, 4 and 5). A piece of paper takes the place of a "now hiring"

sign and the handwritten text reads "solicito personal/Informes interior/#22" (now

hiring/information at suite 22). A small sticker that reads "Travel Agency" is on the door, a sign

that the place also caters to English-speaking customers.

The *Dcon* (Diseño construcción valuación) sign next to the travel agency's sign is also a

case of duplicating multilingual writing to some extent as "ABC appraisers" is set off in red and

black (see Fig 3 and 4). The rest of the information regarding the suite number, phone numbers

and the INFONAVIT logo are for the benefit of Spanish speakers, as INFONAVIT is a

government housing agency that serves Mexican workers. A private passport expeditor suite put

up a sign that bears "PASAPORTE MEXICANO SENTRI US PASSPORT" and "CITAS VISA"

in a much larger font size. Local residents are familiar with the meaning of "SENTRI" (Secure

Electronic Network for Travelers Rapid Inspection), and we can see that the business caters to

Mexican and U.S. citizens as Mexican and U.S. passports are processed as the bilingual sign

indicates. As for the larger words, it is obvious in the local context that "visa appointments" refer

to visa applications to be processed at the United States General Consulate located in Tijuana,

and not to any other type of visa. This meaning is correctly inferred by readers of the sign only if

they are familiar with the city's border context and its reality as Mexican citizens need a valid

visa to enter the U.S. *El Cabo Mariscos-Sea food* (sic) is yet another place whose sign tells us

that it caters to both speakers of Spanish and of English, and can be classified as overlapping

multilingual writing though the syntactic order in standard Spanish would be *Mariscos El Cabo*.

Along the avenue there are several tattoo shops: *Tattoo Studio*, whose neon sign reads

"Tattoo," and another sign read "custom Javier tattoos"; *George Tattoos* (neon signs read "open,

piercing"). Another shop named *Last Temptation* (whose additional signs, both in neon and

painted, read "tattoo" and "body piercing". Tattoo businesses along *Avenida Revolución* seem to

prefer the use of English in their signs (see Fig 6); at first sight we might think that the reason is that the clientele is English-speaking but a tour around town reveals that the use of the word "tattoo" has in fact displaced Spanish *tatuaje*: the names of businesses located throughout Tijuana, and even in working class neighborhoods where the population speaks Spanish, such as the ones on *Avenida Tecnológico* carry the word "tattoo" not "tatuaje." What seems revealing is that customers, regardless of what neighborhood they are from, belong to a younger generation most likely familiar with the English term, now part of their linguistic repertoire for "tattoo" has undergone phonological changes that make it sound not like tatuaje [taˈtwaxe] but like "tatú" [taˈtu] and corresponding to the Spanish vowel and consonant inventory, as the vowels are those of Spanish, not /ə/ and /uʷː/ as in English, and the t's are also unaspirated and dental or dentialveolar whereas English "t" is aspirated and alveolar. In addition, the way the text is displayed is different from what Spanish and even English versions would be, so the authors of the signs are in fact translanguaging in what seems a mix of resources. In the English monoglot standard the given names would be in the genitive case: Javier's, George's, and perhaps the word "shop" would also be displayed after "tattoos" and also *Last Temptation* would be *The Last Temptation* with the definite article. As for Spanish, it we had something similar, like say, "Tatuajes Jorge" the resulting literal translation would be "Tattoos George." We can see how syntax and the grammatical case (nominative) are different in Spanish.

Some places like *Washington Dental Clinic* have duplicating multilingual writing as the same information is posted in both Spanish and English in separate frames:

- "Estacionamiento privado"/"Únicamente pacientes de Washington Dental Clinic"/"SE USARÁ GRÚA"/

- "Private parking"/"Only for Washington Dental Clinic patients"/"Will be towed" (see Fig 7).

This series of bilingual signs are indications that the place caters to either a bilingual clientele, or customers understand either English or Spanish. Incidentally, the name of the clinic is solely in English but this is in accordance with practices observed elsewhere in Tijuana. In contrast, a clinic that targets monolinguals carries a sign solely in Spanish (Dentista Ortodoncia Ortopedia) without translation.

Another business that displays duplicating multiling writing is *Sex shop in the City*, with a bilingual slogan in which English and Spanish appear side by side in a flawless translation: "Add excitement to your sex life/Haz más excitante tu vida sexual" (see Fig 8). Other information is also addressed to a bilingual/binational clientele:

- "Open"
- "Push"/"empuje"/
- "Prohibida la entrada a menores de 19 anos"/"No Admittance to anyone under 19".

All of the signs exhibit duplicating multilingual writing with the exception of the neon "open sign" and the name of the store, which is in English only, and seems an allusion to the TV series *Sex and the City*. In fact, the "open sign" in English only is found throughout the city without the Spanish equivalent. This suggests that the meaning is widely known even among the monolingual population and also points to transborder shopping practices as that sign is readily available in San Diego at low prices.

Duplicating multilingual writing is a telltale sign that patrons are either bilingual or monolingual, and the signs' objective is to reach and please a wider target audience. This type of

writing has the higher frequency of the different types. Duplicating multilingual writing can also be seen in other parts of town, even if far from *Avenida Revolución*, like in the *Koreana BBQ* restaurant, which will be discussed further down below. This establishment has equivalent information in both Korean and Spanish even on small handwritten signs posted on walls.

Based on the data I collected, complementary multilingual writing was absent from the local LL. This type of writing requires a competent multilingual readership. The fact that languages are kept separate through duplicating multilingual writing reveals advertisement practices that follow monolithic language ideologies that dictate that linguistic resources be kept apart.

## 7.3 Top-down LL in the city

Most of the top-down LL found in the city and adjacent areas is in Spanish only as in most of the Mexican territory. The exceptions found in the city and in neighboring municipalities include touristy, border and coastal areas. The touristy areas include *Avenida Revolución*, of course, the area around the border at the San Ysidro Land Port of Entry and *Zona Río*, the city's financial center, and one of the city's major attractions where diverse leisure activities take place. The Baja California Ministry of Tourism is responsible for the several signs present on *Avenida Revolución* that read "For visitor assistance dial 078". The Honorary Consulate of Austria is the only consulate still found on the avenue is represented by a sign that reads "Consulado de Austria" with no German equivalence. The Tourist Assistance and Information Center has information in several languages as the Visitor Information booth proves, but these signs are for the benefit of tourists and only reflect the types of visitors the avenue receives, and do not necessarily index resident communities.

The Visitor Information booth bears its name at the top of the poster: "Nuevo módulo de información turística" (see Fig 9 and 10). At the bottom are the names of other organization and government offices responsible for the place:  Comité de Turismo y Convenciones de Tijuana (Tijuana Tourism and Convention Board) and Ayuntamiento de Tijuana (Tijuana Mayor's Office) and its slogan "¡Tijuana Tienes que vivirla!" (Tijuana, you've got to live it!). On the side, we find the information sign and the words "Visitor information". Besides prominent Spanish and English "welcome" greetings, other languages included are Albanian, Arabic, Chinese, Danish, Finnish, French, German, Hungarian, Italian, Korean, Malay, Norwegian, Polish, Portuguese, Russian, Serbo-Croatian, Slovak, and Swedish, though in smaller print, sending a clear message that the main receivers are Spanish, and English speaking. Semiotics also plays a part as the lower-case i symbol for information takes centerpiece to send a clear message across language barriers. A few errors are found in such a small text, French "bienvenue" is mispelled and French "accueil" does not exactly mean "welcome," and the Malay greeting appears to have an extra letter.

At the Otay border crossing area as in San Ysidro, border crossers can see that U.S. gates provide information (All Traffic, Ready Lane, Sentri only [Secure Electronic Network for Travelers Rapid Inspection], Cars & buses) solely in English as if digital marquees did not have room for messages in Spanish (see Fig 17); as for other signs, only selected information is in duplicating multilingual writing (Stop here/Alto aquí. Even a sign that contains information less easily understood by monolingual Spanish speakers is not translated: Observe signal/Severe tire damage. The only concession is legally-bounding and health-related as the signs reads as follows:

- "All vehicles and occupants are subject to inspection. All vehicles referred to secondary inspection will be scanned using extremely low-level x-rays within the health and safety limits allowable for members of the public"/"Todos los vehículos y sus ocupantes son sujetos a revisión. Los vehículos que sean referidos a inspección secundaria serán escaneados utilizando un sistema de rayos X de muy baja intensidad, permitida para la seguridad y bienestar para el público" (see Fig 16).

In the secondary inspection area, the exit sign is in both languages. In contrast, the Mexican corresponding area offers more duplicated information such as "Carril para declarar/ Declaration lane" and "Nada que declarar/Nothing to declare".

Unlike San Diego, Tijuana also has English signs in areas where tourists commonly drive or walk around like *Zona Río*, which is near the San Ysidro border crossing area, and along the toll road bound for Ensenada (see Fig 11-15). In 2016, signs found in Zona Río included those that read "with pass only/solo con pase" but as of 2018 new English signs have been added not only on Revolución but also in Zona Río and along main roads that lead to the border crossing areas such as *Calle Segunda, Vía Rápida Poniente, Vía Rápida Oriente* and *Avenida Internacional*. U.S. Freeway signs (I-5) have also been added. Signs that point to "Av. Revolución Downtown" are displayed as well as signs for crafts and information. The toll road displays a variety of signs without text (gas station, ambulance, the Red Cross, beaches, restaurants and lodging, no bicycles permitted, hand washing, fasten seatbelt). Though most signs in Spanish have English equivalents (Salida peligrosa a 500 m/Dangerous exit ¼ mile, Ensenada scenic road, Caseta de cobro a 250 m/Toll booth 1/6 miles [sic]) about 20 signs do not (e.g., overpass height, speed radar sign, construction work ahead).

Fig 3, 4: *Bella Plaza* businesses.
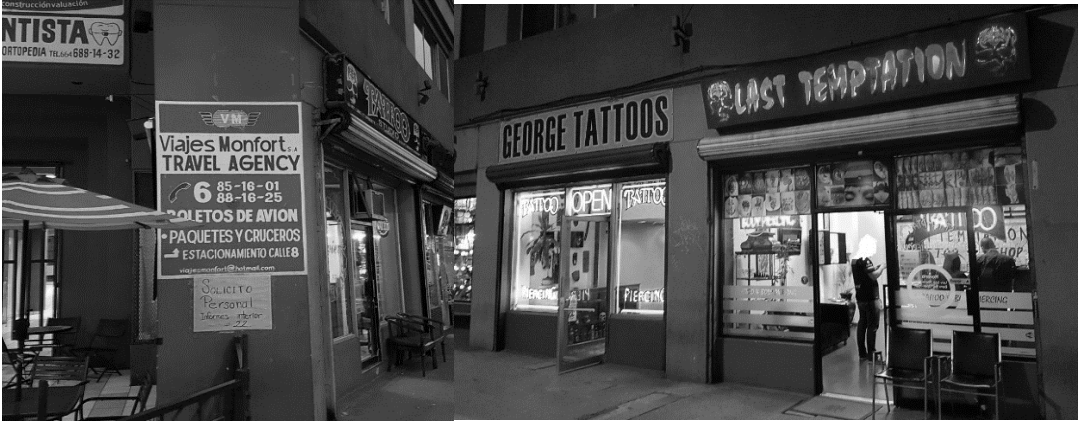


Fig 5, 6: Duplicating multilingual writing and tattoo shops.
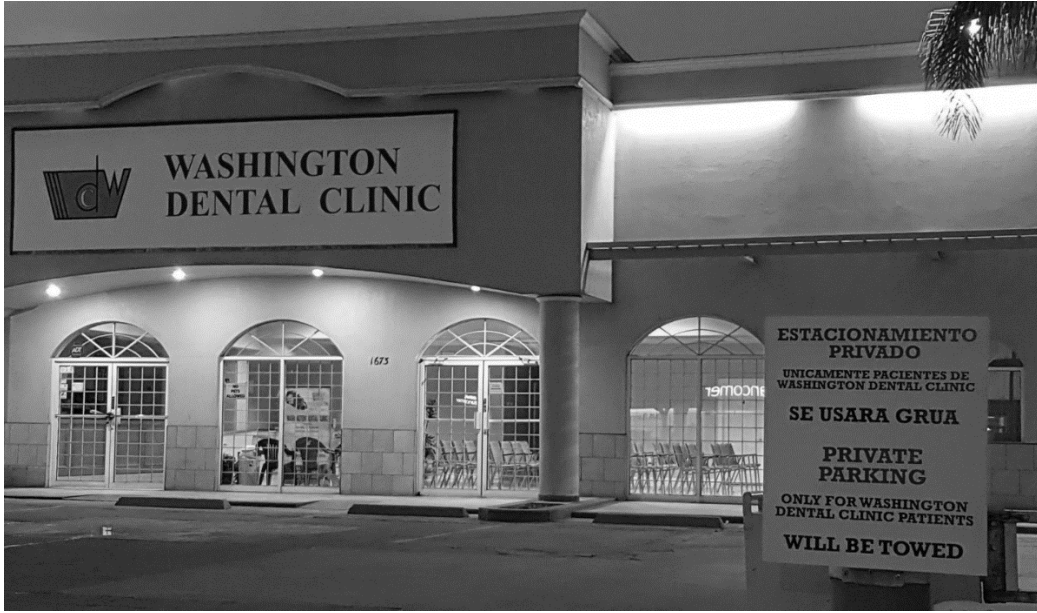
Fig 7: An example of duplicating multilingual writing.



Fig 8: A sex shop displaying duplicating multilingual writing.

## 7.4 Commodification of language, culture, and ethnicity

The Italian restaurant Vitorio's bears its name in Italian (Ristorante italiano Vitorio's) with some influence from English usage in the form of the apostrophe. The use of the apostrophe with proper names as genitive and locative is one of the traits of the English language. Its use, oftentimes in an unorthodox way, is seen throughout Mexico in the names of businesses, and this *ristorante* is no exception. Other Italian restaurants also use Italian to convey this air of Italianness and authenticity not only in middle-class areas but also in working class neighborhoods like *El Soler* (see Fig 36, 39 and 40). Additional text found includes the following:

- *Pizza, pasta, mariscos*
- *Cocina italiana/para llevar, Teléfono, Combinación spaghetti ravioli, lasagna, tiramisu, capuccino, espresso*

Some of the text is in Spanish (*mariscos, Cocina italiana para llevar, combinación*) and words like "pasta" and "pizza" are identical in both Italian and Spanish, though pizza is phonetically realized as [ˈpisa]) instead of [ˈpitsa]. Since all of these words are part of the lexicon of many languages (English included), many Italian loanwords that have entered the Spanish lexicon have long undergone hispanicization: *spaghetti* became *espaguetti*, lasagna is now *lasaña* (ñ or n with tilde), a *capuccino* is *café capuchino*, an *espresso* is *café expreso* and *tiramisú* has an acute, not a grave accent. This restaurant perhaps keeps Italian spellings in an effort to lend the place a more authentic Italian air like *Giusepis*, a restaurant a few blocks down the avenue, which displays next to its name *Cucina Italiana* (Italian cuisine), and the year *1943*,

the year the first restaurant of this local chain was established. Below we read  "pasta, milanesas, pizzas" and a marquee on one side that reads "Ristorante". Semiotically, the silhouette of a gondolier over the entrance contributes to this commodification. A restaurant in *El Soler*, a working-class neighborhood, also has its name in Italian.

Mexican culture has long undergone commodification and so have ethnicity and even Spanish in words and phrases such as *amigo*, *vaya con Dios*, and *mi casa es su casa*. Culture and ethnicity are commodified in the form of sombreros, ponchos, the Aztec calendar in a myriad of presentations, Amerindian crafts, and the like. A recent addition to the avenue is *Hotel Ticuán*, a hotel whose name harkens back to Tijuana's founding as it is commonly believed that Yuman tribes called the place where Tijuana lies as *Ticuán* or *Tijuán*, meaning *Cerro Tortuga* (Tortoise Hill) due to its shape (*AFN*, 2012). At first glance, the name appears as a salute to Yuman tribes but commodification of ethnicity is in place. This business introduces itself as "una empresa de origen mexicano" (a bona fide Mexican company) to profit from a sense of nationalism and faithfulness to an inclusive Mexican history. In addition, the syntactic order is typically Spanish, as if to further add an air of authenticity to its exotic-sounding name for it does not read Ticuán Hotel as it is the case of so many hotels and other types of businesses that prefer the English-syntactic order to convey a sense of modernity and sophistication.
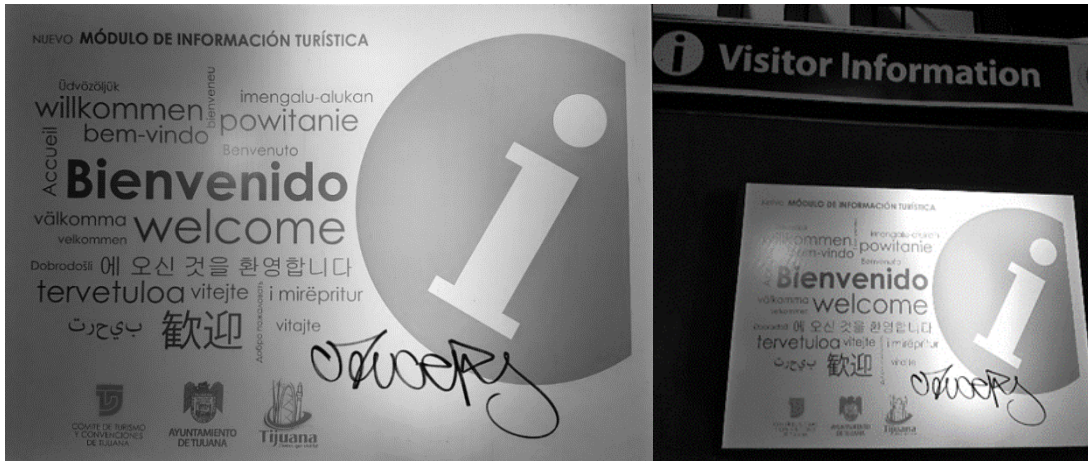
Fig 9, 10: The Visitor Information booth and its multilingual sign.



Fig 11, 12: Examples of bilingual top-down LL.



Fig 13, 14, 15 (below): More examples of bilingual top-down LL in Tijuana.
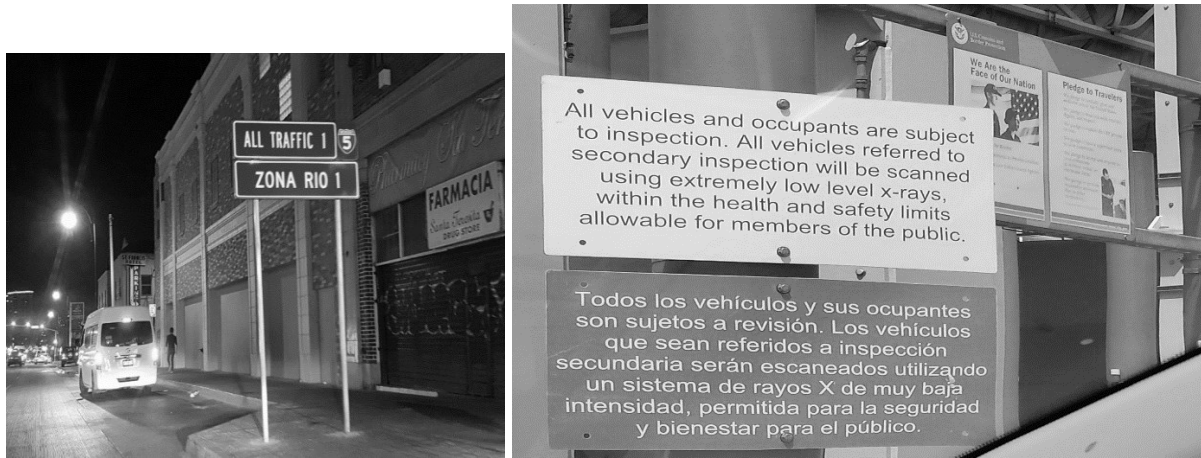
Fig 16 (right): Only selected information is also available in Spanish at the Otay Border Crossing
Port of Entry. Notice how the signs to the far right are in English only.
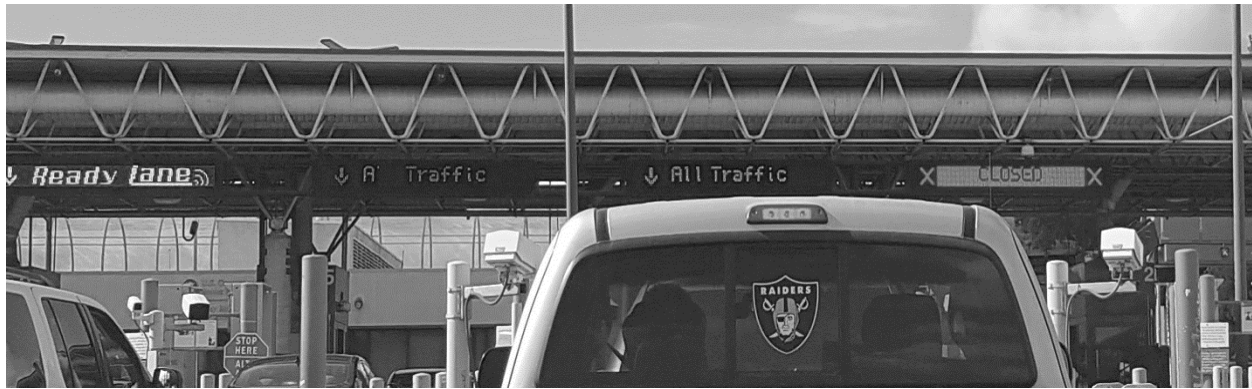


Fig 17: The U.S. monoglot standard: lack of reciprocity even on digital marquees.

## 7.5 Translanguaging in Tijuana: Syntactic and lexical differences found in the city's LL

Evidence found in the landscape points to some syntactic and lexical differences in
relation to standard English and Spanish, taken as the baseline only for comparison in order to

establish differences. Syntax-wise for instance, at money exchange houses/offices (bureaus de change), we find the calque *No comisión*, in which the adverb "no" precedes the noun in Spanish, a result of language contact as we come across "no commission" on the U.S. side of the border. Standard Spanish and translation techniques effectively seeking normativity would insist that the passive voice "no se cobra comisión" or that the active voice ("no cobramos comisión") are proper Spanish. It is in fact not a matter of space or a case of saving ink or other materials because Standard Spanish also has the use of "sin" (without) before nouns; in other words, if saving money or space were the intention, "sin comisión" would work as well as "no comisión" as a one-letter difference is negligible. For all intents and purposes, the phrase "no comisión" is very clear to local users, and many Tijuanans do have a linguistic capital that positions them as binational and bicultural individuals who are also border crossers exposed to a LL on both sides of the border. In my own experience, people coming from the south of Mexico (especially from Mexico City) are sometimes critical of Tijuanans' linguistic practices. During my research I only encountered one money exchange office where they opted for the "no cobramos comisión" message (in Spanish "we do not charge commission," and which can be translated for the simple "no commission"). Their choice is at odds with the vast majority of money exchange offices found in the city (see Fig 20 and 21).

*Hobby's & Toys* is a store with an unsual name because Hobby's is in the genitive when the inflected plural form of hobby is "hobbies" to agree with the plural "toys". The use of the ampersand is common in names of businesses not only in English but in other languages, as it has replaced conjunctions in a number of languages. The same can be said of the use of the apostrophe after a proper or given name, but this particular use while common in Tijuana seems to be widespread across Mexico, and internationally (Baumgardner, 2006: 264). This English

usage, or its influence on the linguistic repertoires of the creators of signs may be an effort (no matter how awkward it may look) to symbolize foreign taste and manners as Scollon and Scollon (2003: 118) point out, and by no means indexes an English-speaking community; on *Avenida Revolución Licores Tavo's & Victor's* follows a Spanish syntactic order but it is Anglicized to the extent of using the genitive and the ampersand. It has another message that reads in English "The last chance liquor store Duty free prices," which serves as a clue that this liquor store aims at foreign visitors, and not at locals. The use of the apostrophe can even be seen in a business that looks unclean and disorderly like a junk yard such as *Yonke El Pato's* (see Fig 18).

*Avenida Revolución* also has a number of businesses that follow the English syntactic order even if the name of the business looks like Spanish: e.g., *El Cabo Mariscos-Sea food* (sic.), *Tostados Red Caffé, El Oasis Veggie Food, Intervalo Café, Angelo's Pizza*. In contrast, other businesses follow the Spanish syntactic order:

- *Mariscos el Palmar, La Casa de la Tlayuda, Fábrica de Crepas, Ice Cream 42 Sabores, Empanadas El Tucumano*. In those respects, *Rhinos Tacos Grill*, and *Los Panchos Taco Shop* contrast with *Tacos La Revu* and with *Tortas Ranchito*.

Other places present both syntactic arrangements:  *Andy's Hamburguesas* and *Desayunos Andy's* designate one place whereas *Giuseppis Cucina Italiana Ristorante* designates another, and *58 Restaurante con Sabor* a third business.

Another place with an English syntactic structure is *La Maria Cantina* as the order in Spanish would be "Cantina La María." In Spanish, the name of this bar follows popular usage of the determinate article "la" before feminine proper names (and "el" for masculine ones); and such use is probably endearing to customers (see Fig 22). Standard usage in both Mexico and

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Spain dictates given names be used without articles as such use is deemed colloquial (Calderón-Campos, 2015: 79; Fernández-López, 2018), and even rustic (Fernández-López, 2018) but the standard form does not have that affectionate and friendly air that the use of the determiner (el, la) may confer. Moreover, the article adds a new dimension to meaning, as the person designated with the determiner is known by the speaker, and also indicates the existence of a certain degree of intimacy between the parties involved (Boluda-Rodríguez, 2012: 484); according to Calderón-Campos (2015), the determiner adds three values: the first and foremost, that of intimacy with or closeness to the individual so designated; secondly, an attached value judgement that oscillates between contempt and praise, and thirdly, connotations that label the designated individual as belonging to the lower classes (Calderón-Campos, 2015: 90-91). *Mi pueblo Karaoke Bar*, like so many businesses in Tijuana diplays the "Open" sign in place of Spanish *abierto*, and also has an English syntactic order in its name. It is definitely a place where customers are English-speaking foreigners, and in which a certain commodification of ethnicity has evidently taken place as the "Mi pueblo" name seems to suggest. In contrast, *La Casa de la Tlayuda* bears its name in Spanish and follows Spanish syntactic convention with "tlayuda" being a Oaxacan large tortilla specialty. The use of the words intends to convey a sense of authenticity in a place where donkeys are made up to look like zebras, the so-called "burrozebras" in Spanish or "zonkeys" in English. Businesses and brands that seek to accomplish the same as *La Casa de la Tlayuda* resort to using Spanish, and particularly Mexican Spanish, like *Tequila Chamucos* and its slogan "Si amanece nos vamos" (see Fig 19).

Another example of translanguaging is the business named *Raul Bikes*, which also displays the sign *Pa'la línea, and Bici partes*; overall, this shop displays elements that syntactically or lexically are neither Spanish nor English but rather a mix of resources, the very

essence of translanguaging. "Bikes" and "bici" are both part of colloquial registers of English and Spanish respectively. Besides, the sign also bear the word "partes" for "parts" a local way of saying "refacción" (as in the examples of *auto parts shops*). At the same time, the informal register is also illustatred by "pa'la" instead of "para la" and uses a local term to refer to the international border, namely, "la línea" (translated literally as "the line"). Anybody who is from Tijuana knows that la "la línea" is the borderline, and uses the expression in collocations such as "cruzar la línea," "trabajar en la línea" and so on (see Fig 23). Another business where the mesh of resources is also seen is *National & Regional Arts & Crafts Most Complete Store*. Here the author(s) of the sign translanguaged in a way that the Spanish word "nacional" to refer to "domestic" in the sense "of, relating to, or originating within a country and especially one's own country" (*Merriam-Webster*, online) seems to be written in English. Another idiosyncrasy is the absence of the determiner in "most complete store". At times, the way the creators of the sign translanguage leads to concepts absent in either English or Spanish as it is the case of the business *Medicine Store*, which English-speaking readers, seeing the store's items on display, may infer that its name is equivalent to pharmacy or drugstore.

A landmark on *Avenida Revolución*, the striking *Jai Alai Palace* is a testament to the evolution of the city; formerly named *Jai Alai Games*, this oddly Moorish building dates from 1928 and for decades hosted the ball game of jai alai which drew crowds and even stars from the States. The name in big red letters remains as well as an outside statue of a jai alai player but *El Foro Antiguo Palacio Jai Alai* took its place now turned into a venue where mostly concerts and plays for Spanish-speaking people take place. A remainder of days gone by, the building still bears its English name, which shows that it used to cater to an English-speaking customer base. Its change of denomination from English-sounding *Jai Alai Games* to *El Foro* (The Forum) gives

a clear idea of who the present-day target audience is, a fact confirmed by the array of Spanish-speaking performers who perform for an equally Spanish-speaking audience while retaining the charm and flavor of yesteryear by stating in its denomination that it is indeed a "former palace". At the same time, the change in the type of business and its customer base demonstrates that *Avenida Revolución* is undergoing gentrification and becoming more Hispanicized while at the same time is a place where translanguaging takes place in the meshing of resources that Canagarajah identifies as *code meshing* (2013b:2).



Fig 18: Use of the apostrophe on a sign. Fig 19: *Tequila Chamucos* sign.



Fig 20, 21: Two money exchange offices. The first one follows Spanish convention. The second one does not, and reflects the most common practice found in Tijuana by far.

Fig 22: *La María Cantina*



Fig 23: *Raul Bikes: bici partes p'a la línea*.

## 7.6 Play on words: Creativity and the art of escaping censorship

*Avenida Revolución* used to have more strip clubs with a bordello on the side than today.

One of the few remaining businesses tries to lure American men with a flashy name. In the

words that appear in succession to the naked eye "Hot girls private dances Cold beer! WellCum"

we can read the adjectives "hot" and "cold", of which one takes on metaphorical meanings while

the other stays matter-of-factly. Here women are commodified by the use of terms such as "hot"

and its connotation of sexual attractiveness; at the same time, the women there are by no means

"girls" but the term is probably used to convey youth and desirability, a practice not uncommon

in the English-speaking world. The pun "WellCum" references a possible sexual outcome,

"cum" and its taboo meaning probably escaped the eyes of local government censors by being

written in English because if it read something like that in Spanish, it would have been banned,

and the establishment fined on charges of obscenity (see Fig 25 and 26). Tijuana has had a

terrible past reputation of being a depraved city catering to American degenerates' needs, be it

sexual or related to substance abuse such as drugs and alcohol. Recently, the authorities have

tried to shake off Tijuana's so-called black legend by turning the city into a place of investment,

a culinary and cultural mecca but at the same time, they launched *Tijuana Coqueta* (which can

be translated as "Flirtatious Tijuana" or "Tijuana, the Coquette"), a campaign that has polarized

people as it has been criticized for promoting sex tourism (*Frontera.Info*, 2015; *The San Diego*

*Union Tribune,* 2015). Most tawdry businesses have moved out of *Avenida Revolución*, and into

neighboring Zona Norte (the red-light district) or some locations in the Eastern, newer parts of

town that have become smaller red-light districts. As a result of the aforementioned campaign,

Zona Norte has seen a rebirth as a place similar to Vegas in terms of decor and its infrastructure

and image have been vastly improved.

An example of a place that can mean different things to different people is the food venue

*Quicky´s Taco Fish*: from a monolingual U.S. perspective, it may set off a red alarm in people's

heads as those versed in American English slang know that a "quicky" is a quick sexual act, and

"taco" is a word used instead of "vulva", and "fish" is simply a suspicious combination (see Fig

26). The apparent utilization of American slang seems to suggest that the end consumers are

from the United States but at the same time the sign can be analyzed from the perspective of

translingual practices as the word "quicky" may very well be part of a speaker's linguistic repertoire, and anyone who has seen a Mexican street taco vendor prepare tacos in rapid succession to serve hungry customers knows that speed is highly valued when working in the industry. The use of the word thus appears as a creative way to convey "fast service" to those who read the signs. From the standpoint of the monolingual standard, the way language is used here would be obviously rejected (Martín-Rojo, 2017: 91), but putting that aside, what we see is the signs creators' use of their linguistic repertoires in a creative and playful way.

By contrast, *Amnesia Show Girls* purports to be a "Bar & Men's club" but displays its menu in Spanish, full of loanwords nonetheless, but again, we treat them as part of current linguistic practices of border Spanish speakers regardless of etymology. The alternation of languages in duplicating multilingual writing seems to indicate that the crowd is mixed: foreigners and locals are sought-after patrons. The locals possibly know the English terms, and if not, their meaning or purpose is conveyed by multimodality as the shapely feminine figure sign next to the name of the club is hard to miss. The place is not only a place where table dancers are found but also has prostitutes who dance with customers for money and get these men to pay for drinks with them; and on top of that, it is also some sort of tavern as it serves fast food. The written menu viewed from the street reads "Papas a la francesa/Empanada de queso/Nuggets de pollo/Club sandwich/Dedos de queso/Nachos c/carne". Additionally, business hours are provided in Spanish, conjugated in the first person plural: "Abrimos desde las 6:00 PM" ([we] open at 6:00 PM) instead of the more impersonal English equivalent. *Papas a la francesa* is a calque of "French fries" (chips as they are called in the UK) in the Mexican version of "patatas" instead of "papas fritas". *Palitos de mozzarella* is most likely a calque of mozzarella sticks). *Nuggets* are

now part of the Spanish lexicon the same way that *tacos* and *gorditas* are part of American

English vocabulary.

Linguistic practices and the landscape also inform us of the senders' intention to reach a

particular group of receivers, in this case, the target are men willing to pay for the company of

women whom this place calls "girls", a sexualized term considering the way the sex industry

uses it. However, the objectification of women through language is by no means restricted to this

type of businesses but to others as well. One of the newer additions to the local LL is the local

chain of gas stations *Rendichicas*, with about 15 locations in the Tijuana municipality

(rendichicas.com, 2018). The name itself, a portmanteau of *rendir* (to perform, to yield) or

*rendimiento* (performance, output) and *chicas* (girls) seems sexist and with possible sexual

connotations: in the past few years an increased linguistic awareness has led to criticism of what

can be construed as sexist language such as calling a woman "girl," which is currently

considered discriminatory and demeaning (*ABC News*, 2016; *Tablet*, 2017; *The Guardian*, 2015).

The company's website advertises *Rendichicas* as a 100% Mexican company; that is, owned by

Mexicans, in hopes of attracting more customers who support domestic companies by becoming

patrons. The discourse used reveals an attempt at appealing to patriotism, to practices of

solidarity (see Fig 28 and 29). *Rendichicas'* slogan reads "transformando el concepto de las

gasolineras mexicanas: Empresa 100% mexicana que empodera mujeres, da litros completos y

entrega el mejor combustible de México a sus clientes" ([we're] transforming the concept of

Mexican gas stations: A company 100% Mexican that empowers women, delivers real liters and

the best fuel in Mexico to its customers). Its slogan not only plays the nationalism and honesty

cards but also claims that the company is responsible for changing the concept of Mexican gas

stations and for empowering women. In addition, their logo displays a cartoon of three light-

skinned young women wearing pink bowties and purple outfits that cling to their shapely

feminine bodies A quick stop at any of their locations belies some of those claims: ageism seems

to be in place for all the employees are young women. As for physical attractiveness, the

women's uniforms are skin-tight, and they are what Mexicans call *gordibuenas*, moderately

obese women with shapely feminine bodies.

In some instances, for readers to interpret signs, they have to draw on both local and

global sources. Laitinen (2014: 65) calls them 'glocal signs' as they are "meaningful blends of

local and global dynamics." *Aki-toi*, a fast food restaurant located in colonia Buenavista, a

working-class neighborhood, has its name in a letter type reminiscent of Japanese script in an

attempt to offer some sense of authenticity: it is a place that caters to Mexican speakers in the

area and serves Japanese food modified to suit local taste. So, the front of the restaurant appears

like a monolingual Spanish sign but at the same time as Mock Japanese for readers that get the

joke (see Fig 29 and 30). Readers draw on both global semiotic material (Japanese scripts, anime

and manga) and local or even (inter)national semantics as a joke related to the food outlet's name

has been around for decades. This little restaurant also plays around the "close" sign as it reads

"Domingos no toi" (short for "Domingos no estoy" and translated "([I'm] not in on Sundays")

again in the same type of script with a Japanese flair.

Tijuana, like so many cities around the world, is populated by signs displaying logos and

brand names from international corporations such as *Pepsi, Domino's, McDonald's*, and *Coca-*

*Cola* among other symbols of popular and global culture (Gorter & Cenoz, 2015: 68); thus, we

find these signs interspersed with signs belonging to local meaning systems such as *Q'Curado*

*Café*, a local bistro whose name makes sense only to borderlanders. Although globalization takes

away many of the specifics of local signage, the global and the local are two opposite but

complementary trends, and multilingual readers navigate without effort through these signs. They read them day in and day out and it does not matter whether they are spatially together inside one frame or separate. Perhaps monolinguals can read signs separately but multilinguals tend to see them as whole (Gorter & Cenoz, 2015: 68). One of the probable reasons for this is that if the discursive content, regardless of what linguistic resources are employed, can be decoded, multilingual readers take it in for processing while monolingual readers stop where the linguistic signs can no longer be decoded.

Native Tijuanans perform translanguaging when they, for instance, "se van de páry" or "tiran pári" [from Eng *party* as in "to party" or "to go partying", and also in the sense of "to go clubbing"]" (Martínez, 2007: 121-122; Molina-Landeros, 2015: 257) while newcomers very likely use "reventón" or "antro", both terms with currency outside Baja California (Academia Mexicana de la Lengua, 2010: 26, 524; Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española, 2010: 121, 1868). In Tijuanans' above collocations we can see traits of translanguaging as lexical items belonging to distinct languages come together. In the examples listed that other Mexicans use we can see only monolingual linguistic resources. Tijuanans, on the other hand, seem to have adapted "cool" for "curada", an adjective which unlike most Spanish adjectives lacks gender inflection, and behaves much like English adjectives. Again, locals perform translanguaging by using "curada" for both masculine and feminine nouns while also using semantically similar terms of national currency in different settings (see Fig 7 for use of this word by a store catering to Tijuanans, thereby underpinning their sense of belonging, community building, and identity).

As mentioned before, Tijuanans use *curada* as an adjective that can apply to masculine and feminine nouns even though it looks like the inflected feminine form, and morphologically only takes the plural (Martínez, 2007:37). The owners of the bistro *Q'Curado Café* give their

business a local touch by using such a locally popular adjective (*curado*), though Tijuanans use

*curada*, and outsiders trying to fit in follow Spanish inflection rules without realizing that they

have the tendency to modify *curada* to *curado* if the noun is masculine (Molina-Landeros,

2015:253-254). In a way, their inflected form becomes a shibboleth that gives them away as

outsiders. In contrast, *La Tienda Más Curada de Tijuana* appeals to Tijuanans by celebrating

their linguistic practices. Additionally,  semiotic elements such as the "heart" play a part as an

intensifier on the "I love 664" sign, which is a referent to Tijuana's long distance code, and the

code metonymy for Tijuana  (see Fig 24).



Fig 24

If we look up the *Diccionarios de tijuanismos* (Martínez, 2007), we find that some of the

words Tijuanans use include the following: *baica* (bike), *burra* (bus), *calafia* (small public

transportation bus), *carro* (car), *curada* (cool), *agarrar cura* (to kick back), *guachar* (to watch;

to see someone later), *ir* or *cruzar al otro lado* (to cross the border, to go to the U.S.) , *Los* (Los

Angeles, LA), *darse un shower* (to take a shower), *La Revu* (*Avenida Revolución*), *paniquear* (to

panick), *pari* (party), *parquear* (to park), *raite* (ride), *soda* (soda, soft drink), *swap meet*, *tirar

pari* (to party), *yonke* (junk yard), *tijuanear* (to overuse; to wear out), *tijuaneado* (worn out,

downtrodden). I would not call these terms "tijuanismos", defined as words or expressions *from*

Tijuana, because most of these words/expressions are found elsewhere. The same argument can be used in regard to all *-ismos* (*mexicanismos, colombianismos, cubanismos, venezolanismos*, etc.) because language is no longer restricted to bounded communities as it experiences simultaneity due to informations and communications technology; a process further deepened by social mobility across space because of migration, transnational flows and tourism. In sum, language is a mobile resource that has superseded the speech community. In addition, labelling language varieties and registers with *-ismos* remind us of normativity, where we have the *norm* or *the standard*, and *deviations*. Until 2017 when it was decided that the Spanish (from Spain) *dialect label* would be included in the online *Diccionario de la Lengua Española* or DLE (formerly known as DRAE),  Spanish lexicographers treated Castilian Spanish as the *norm* for they would not call Spanish words or expressions *españolismos* (RTVE, 2017) or *peninsularismos* (Zimmermann, 2003:74). As it turns out, most Latin American lexicographers kowtowed to the DRAE and the norm set by it, namely standard Castilian (Lara, 1996; Zimmermann, 2003:74).

The decision to add the corresponding dialect label points to inclusiveness and equality. About "tijuanismos" I still argue that perhaps the best way to go about this is by using "*léxico de uso común en Tijuana*" or "*Español de Tijuana*" or by adding a register to the title such as "colloquial", "slang" or something similar to what Luis Fernando Lara did for *Diccionario del español de México* (DEM), which was recently published as *Diccionario del español usual en México*.

Some of the above-mentioned terms are listed in earlier studies (Gavaldón, 1982: 75; López-Rodríguez, 1982: 47-54). While most of these terms are the result of language contact between English and Spanish, and between different Spanish varieties, some of them are by not

means restricted to local use as they are also found in U.S. Spanish or in other countries as in the case of *carro*, which can be found in Central America, the Caribbean, Colombia, Venezuela, and Peru according to the *Diccionario de Americanismos* (Real Academia Española, 2015). Still, others are locally situated such as *La Bola* (*The Tijuana Cultural Center*), *burra*, *calafia*, *ir a la comida china* (a euphemism that means "to go to the Hong Kong (local strip club)", *dar (a beber)/beber agua de La Presa* (literally "to drink water from the dam" [Tijuana's *Abelardo L. Rodríguez* dam]), which is used to refer to someone who immigrated to Tijuana, grew to like the city, warts and all, and stayed as in "le dieron de beber agua de La Presa" or "ya bebió agua de La Presa". In addition, Tijuanans perceive the use of some terms as "local" (even if the term is used in other areas) as several Youtube videos focusing on Tijuana's Spanish show. In perceptual dialectology, the study of non-linguists' perceptions of language variety permits a fuller understanding of the role of language awareness in a given community (Preston, 1988: 475). A Prestonian methodological framework includes speakers beliefs regarding speech differences and similarities between their own variety and others, concerning dialect areas of a region, and about characteristics of regional speech among other central concerns (Preston, 1988: 475-476; Preston, 2010: 90)



Fig 25, 26: A club, and a fish taco restaurant below displaying a play on words.

Fig 27: A taco shop. Fig 28: The gast station *Rendichicas*, with its slogan below.



Fig 29



Fig 30, 31; A sushi restaurant showing a pun as its name, and another on its "closed on Sundays" sign.

## 7.7 Multilingual Tijuana: More instances of translanguaging

Other languages present in Tijuana's LL include Asian languages: Chinese, Korean, and Japanese. The only Amerindian language indexing a community is Mixtec, and this process is only through the name of an elementary school. Asian businesses, mostly Chinese restaurants, have signs similar to those of Asian businesses found elsewhere, i.e., signs in Chinese characters and in the Latin alphabet, with a couple of exceptions where only Latin letters are used (see Fig 36 and 37). Chinese restaurants are seen throughout Mexico from Baja California to the Yucatán peninsula not only in major cities like Mexico City but even in small towns (e.g., Tecuala, Nayarit with a population of around 15,000). The fact that Chinatowns are virtually inexistent in Mexico can be partly explained by historical reasons: anti-Chinese campaigns in the 20th century that went as far a to the massacre of 303 Chinese and 5 Japanese led to the remaining Chinese and their descendants to keep a low profile as that was not an isolated incident (Curtis, 1995: 339-340; Jacques, 1974; Peña-Delgado, 2012: 105-106). Being concentrated in Chinatowns might make them an easier target in case of social upheaval. Even Mexico City with a population of about 21 million has a one-block Chinatownette. Almost a century later, Mexican media still comes across as xenophobic judging from the choice of words associated with Asians and other foreigners as "invade" and "invasion" are two of the words utilized in the following translated headlines:

- Korean businesses invade Monterrey (*El Horizonte*, 2014)

- Asian invasion of Sonora state (*Solo noticias*, 2010)

- The domestic market suffers an Asian invasion (Zócalo Saltillo, 2016)

- Haitians, Africans, Central Americans...invade Mexico (*La Razón*, 2016)

And even influential newspapers like *El Universal* (2009) publish articles with ideologically-charged incendiary language:

- Chinese investment forcefully drills the mining sector

- The Chinese invasion of the Mexican mining sector has started

The *Koreana BBQ* Restaurant displays duplicating multilingual writing in terms of texts directed at customers, who speak either Korean or Spanish (see Fig 31-33). The other six restaurants and one minimarket included in the sample do likewise. While some visitors might be competent in both languages, we can infer from the duplicated signs that some speakers (Spanish-speaking) are not expected to speak Korean. In contrast, the now hiring signs at the door are strictly monolingual, namely in Spanish, a fact that gives clues as to the nature of the personnel: customers may be either Spanish or Korean-speaking, but blue-collar workers are Spanish-speaking. I observed that a Venezuelan waitress would serve Spanish-speaking customers, while the Korean owner, who was at the cash register would sort out Korean customers' orders. In addition, the fact that the now hiring signs are in Spanish only, informs us that Koreans in Tijuana are white-collar professionals (as those sent by corporations like Hyundai and Samsung), and are consequently overqualified for jobs such as waitressing and dishwashing.

Japanese in Tijuana seems to have undergone a process of commodification just to give places an authentic-sounding name but Japaneses syllabaries are absent for the most part, and of the collected data, only two places display Japanese characters (see Fig 40 and 41). In contrast, Korean businesses, very much like in the case of Chinese, carry signs with both Korean and

Spanish, with a pronounced preference for English (see Fig 34). In the past two years, the presence of Vietnamese and new Middle Eastern restaurants has increased (see Fig 42 and 43)

There are in fact two Mixtec enclaves in the city, one in Colonia Obrera, and the other in Valle Verde but as mentioned above, only one bilingual elementary school is named *Veé sa kwa'aa* in that language and *Casa de la Enseñanza* (House of Teaching) in Spanish (Alonso-Meneses & Ángeles-Salinas, 2013; Montiel-Aguirre, 2009) ; apparently, the school bore both names in big print on its walls, but nowadays, we can only see prominent Spanish letters despite the fact that students there are of Indigenous heritage, that the school is placed amidst a Mixtec community, and despite the fact that Mixtec has a language academy, a literary tradition, and literacy practices in that language are numerous. At any rate, regardless of the degree of literacy in Mixtec in that area, this language is not represented in the landscape. As mentioned before, Sebba affirms that "the absence of mixing is a response to a pervasive language ideology of monolingualism and purism and a preference for standard forms" (Sebba, 2013: 109), in this case represented by Spanish, the language of the government, the provider of funds, and those in power. Gorter and Cenoz remind us that both the number and the type of texts in a given area depend also on factors such as the status of speakers, their self-esteem, and thus the number and type of these texts reflect the social layering within a community (Gorter & Cenoz, 2015:70). Indigenous communities are not organized like Catalans in Spain or the Quebecois in Canada, who have la Charte de la langue française (LégisQuébec, 2018) that mandates the use of French in article 58, which states that "public signs and posters and commercial advertising must be in French. They may also be both in French and in another language provided that French is markedly predominant even in all advertisements in order to protect their landscape from the predominance of English.

Aside from that fact, other languages such as Náhuatl and Yuman are seen only as commodities in the naming of businesses, and so become brand names that bear no relation to each ethnic community, and in a way this situation is similar to Spanish in California and the rest of the U.S. Southwest, and also Texas) where toponomy and street names have Spanish names, at times ungrammatically phrased (e.g., *Via de la Valle*, *Siempre Viva Rd*). The reality is that Hispanics (as the U.S. Census identifies them) are speakers of Spanish who are underprivileged and have little political clout in California. Naming a street in the language they speak does nothing to change their status quo. In Baja California, this type of government action is also present, some streets, neighborhoods and a mountain range bear Yuman names (e.g., *Boulevard Cucapá, Avenida Cochimíes, Boulevard Kumiai, Colonia Guaycura, Sierra Cucapá*) but the government does little to aid the Yuman impoverished communities and even does less to preserve their languages or to protect their way of life, e.g., denying ancestral rights, as the government maintains that the Cucapá's fishing practices, and their relationship to the territory they have inhabited for centuries, are not sufficiently "indigenous" to warrant preferred fishing rights (Muehlmann, 2013: 3).
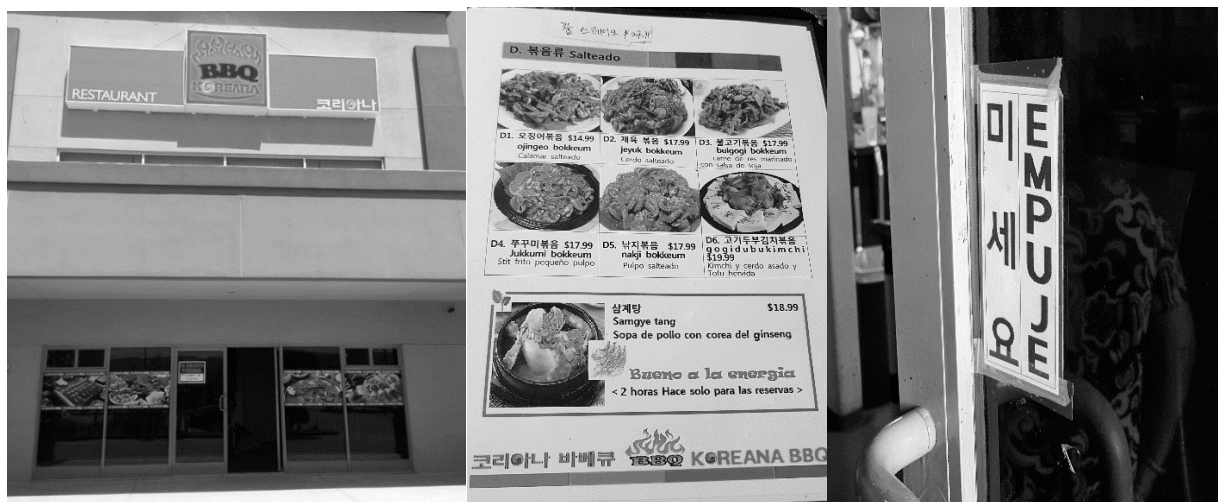


Fig 32, 33 and 34: *Koreana BBQ* restaurant, a case of duplicating multilingual writing.

Fig 35: A Korean buffet. Fig 36 (right): *Da Vinci's Bistro*: *Ristorante & Pizzeria.*



Fig 37: Translanguaging in three so-called languages or simply local Chinese speakers.



Fig 38: An older Chinese restaurant displaying only Chinese and Spanish.

Fig 39 and 40: A local Italian restaurant. Though menus are in Spanish, it retains the word "ristorante" and uses semiotics to convey a sense of authenticity (a lit gondolier).



Fig 41, 42: Japanese restaurant signs.



Fig 43, 44: Vietnamese restaurant signs along with Middle Eastern signs are the newest addition to the landscape.

## 7.8 Translanguaging locally: Some lexical pairs in a diglossic situation

Locally, we can hear competing discourses and part of what these discourses comprise can also be seen in the LL. From the data I collected I focused on six pairs of lexical pairs that give a clear idea of what local discourses are like in a dynamic in which Spanish in Tijuana meets American English and Mexican Spanish, that is to say, the national standards taught in schools and used by the government. The first consideration is that these lexical pairs and other words are in no way treated as *calques*, *loanwords*, or *lexical* or *semantic borrowing*. Instead, they are treated as part of Tijuanans' linguistic practices and their use of their linguistic repertoires that includes a situation of diglossia, a concept discussed in chapter 3. But again, diglossia is used here to refer to two alternating terms, none of which is deemed superior as was the case when diglossia was discussed in the past (one standard, the other dialectal). Instead, I argue that the differences in use have to do with speakers' practices and choices and/or place of origin, whether they are locals, born elsewhere or born to non-Tijuanans. It is also worth noticing that this diglossic situation belongs to Spanish in Tijuana, not to two different languages as can also be the case when discussing diglossia but originally, some of this alternation can be treated as translanguaging for two reasons: one the one side, we find that some terms belonged to English and were incorporated into Tijuanans' repertoires; and on the other side, we already know that translanguaging has been extended to include varieties and registers. Unlike Spanish in the U.S., the diglossic situation described here belongs to the repertoires of Spanish speakers in the same city even if the present use is a result of translanguaging. A Tijuanan is familiar with both *tune*-up and *afinación* or with *auto partes* and *refaccionaria*. They go to *swap meets* and to *mercados*, to *abarrotes* and *mini markets*. The myriad of practices that such activities and places

suggest are the result of the city's condition as a border city at the intersection of language

contact and transborder flows of a varied nature. Tijuana was in the periphery in the past, far

from Central Mexico and its centralized practices. This situation forced locals to depend on

California to subsist. This in turn impacted practices, commercial, migratory, linguistic and

otherwise.

These pairs are formed as follows:

- *parking/estacionamiento* (parking)

- *swap meet/ mercado* (swap meet/market)

- *mini market/abarrotes* (convenience store)

- *car wash/ autolavado* (car wash)

- *lavamática/lavandería* (laundromat)

- *auto partes/refaccionaria* (auto parts)

The last pair is also connected to *yonke* (junk yard). I also present some other items that are

found in the city, and which give account of an ampler spectrum of characteristics of Tijuanans'

linguistic practices.

A prominent diglossic situation is that of the pair *parking* and *estacionamiento* (parking lot).

*Parking*, which represents local linguistic practices as opposed to *estacionamiento* (the term in

the national standard; *aparcamiento* or *aparcadero* in countries like Spain) or *parque* and

*parquiadero* in Chicano Spanish (Vasquez & Vasquez, 1975: 62). Both alternate in Tijuana, and

not only on *Avenida Revolución* but also across town. One place on Revolución reads "Parking

and estacionamiento Parking público Open 24 hours" ; here monolingual readers can access part

of the sign content, what they can actually understand, while multilinguals may see a continuum

of a redundant message that makes sense. Though *Parking* is a word that has a long-standing

tradition in Tijuana, it has been in recession in favor of *estacionamiento* as the city's population

of immigrants from other places of Mexico has grown exponentially. Both terms are part of the

linguistic repertoires of Tijuanans, to whom it is only natural to refer to a "parking lot" either

way, the same happens when they understand *parquear* or *estacionar el carro* (to park the car).

Parking as a name for businesses remains in use mostly in downtown Tijuana but Tijuanans use

such sign privately, either by manufactured "no parking" signs that read "no parking" or by

inscribing the words on a piece of wood, metal or cardboard or by displaying a makeshift sign as

the one in Fig of such use in *Colonia Libertad*, one of the oldest working-class neighborhoods in

Tijuana. Once again, national and international companies prefer *estacionamiento* (the national

standard) while local, smaller businesses use *parking*. Many chains began arriving in Tijuana in

the 1980s, before that most businesses belonged to local business people not outsiders (see Fig

48-52).

And as mentioned elsewhere, some businesses appear to seek convergence. One of these

businesses does so by using both *estacionamiento* and *parking* is *Estacionamiento Super 8*. All

of its information, the word *parking* included, is intended for Spanish speakers: what this place is

doing is accommodating Tijuanans who use either of the terms. Nevertheless, parking conveys

its meaning to both Spanish and English-speaking customers. All of the information seen in Fig

46 is in Spanish. *Parking Revu* (Fig 50) also addresses Spanish speakers as it reads "abierto"

(open).

Tijuanans also language in a way that is situated, i.e., immersed in local circumstances

when it comes to *swap meet* in the sense that the term and concept is found in the United States

as part of the English lexicon, but not in the rest of Mexico. Indeed, Tijuana has had *swap meets*

for many decades, and locals learn the meaning of this two-word noun as they grow up while outsiders usually ask its meaning. These businesses are scattered across the city in working-class neighborhoods and the term itself indexes local shopping practices (see Fig 68-70). The most popular in the 1980s was the one on *Avenida Revolución*, the remnants of which can be seen in Figures 39 and 40. Since then, *Las Carpas*, *5 y 10*, and *Siglo XXI* are the most popular alongside *Mercado de todos*, which is in fact a *swap meet*, and not a market in the traditional sense as used locally and throughout Mexico (*Travel Report*, 2017). From the second figure we can see that it actually sells the same stuff a *swap meet* sells, in other words, it *is* a *swap meet* that someone (possibly from out of state) decided to call *mercado*. Tijuana has three popular *mercados* in the traditional sense, one in downtown, one on *Boulevard Benítez*, and *Mercado Miguel Hidalgo*, the one in *Zona Río* (see Fig 71). The goods found there are mostly groceries, foodstuffs, crafts, piñatas, candies, dairy products, kitchen equipment (including traditional Mexican items such as basalt mortars and tortilla presses) with eateries and foodstands interspersed around the market. These *mercados* are different from standardized supermarkets in various ways: they are not part of corporations but are privately owned by sellers who form a league, and the premises are divided by sections devoted to specific items. These traditional Mexican markets are the descendants of pre-Columbian Aztec markets which were hubs of social life where families could sell foodstuffs they produced and buy crafts, utensils and other items needed for daily life (de Valle-Arizpe, 2007: 49-51; Díaz del Castillo, 2015 [1632]: 159, 292; Hirth, 2013: 30; Reyes, 2007 [1923]: 53-59). Clothing, toiletries, makeup, jewelry, electronics and the like belong in a swap meet, made up by sections with individual stands and stalls. The concept of *swap meet* originated in the U.S. and was locally adopted in the 1980's. Unlike existing Mexican

"mercados" (markets) in the city, *swap meets* sell the same items their U.S. counterparts sell (see Fig 2 and 3 below).

In relation to that, Tijuana is indeed a city of contrasts and its binational and bicultural traits can be seen in Figure : the name of the *Swap meet* is *Lázaro Cárdenas*. Cárdenas is a highly respected national hero whose name alone is drenched in Mexican tradition as one of the greatest historical figures of Mexican nationalism. The term may be English in origin but the syntax is that of Spanish as its denomination indicates (*Swap Meet Lázaro Cárdenas*). At the same time, we can observe that local linguistic practices are in force in spite of customary nationalism which would enforce linguistic purism or at least normativity in regard to what the national language is. By using *swap meet*, a term whose origin has to do with local shopping practices and the practice of border crossing, locals express themselves free of normativity and its dictates. In contrast, *Mercado Miguel Hidalgo* (fig ) bears the name of one of the most revered figures of Mexican Independence (*Miguel Hidalgo*). The name of this place and its naming as a speech act reveal discursive practices and performativity that relate to patriotism and nation-making, of *Mexicanidad* (Mexicanness) imbued in tradition.



Fig 45 and 46: The remnants of a former swap meet between *Avenida Revolución* and *Avenida Constitución*.

These examples can inform us, on the one hand, about the linguistic practices of the creators and the kind of speakers they are, and on the other, of a probable tendency to gravitate towards normativity. A car wash that opened recently calls itself *Autolavado Glamour*. It is highly probable that they know that the term with the longest standing locally is *car wash* but opted for autolavado to distance themselves from other businesses that preceded them, and in doing so, from local practices. The fact that they call their business *Glamour* also speaks of a certain pretentiousness as the word is associated with French and sophistication; though the word is of English origin, it came into Spanish via French (*The Dictionary of the Royal Spanish Academy*), and has even retained the French pronunciation to some extent as such dictionary evinces in the two forms it lists (*glamour* and *glamur*); at any rate, the name sounds posh though it is hard to think of a car wash or what this business entails and conjure up glamorous images. This pull towards normativity is also demonstrated by a laundromat in Las Huertas neighborhood, which until 2017 was called *lavamática*; as of 2018, management calls it *lavadero*, and the two big signs that read *lavamática* are gone, but not other signs (e.g., the ones bearing parking information).

Local linguistic practices are also represented by the words *minimarket* (also mini market) and *abarrotes*, while the latter is also supranational. *Minimarket* gives account of the transborder flows that characterize the Tijuana region, a place where people come and go and pick up a word or two in another language. Language contact between English and Spanish results in the alternation of such pairs and at times with various spellings the way multilingual signs work elsewhere: the main difference is that in the pairs observed in Tijuana, the alternation is between different registers indexing locality or a national standard (see Fig 58-60). *Mini-market* is used in the sense of mini-mart and convenience store, but these businesses are in no

way franchised markets such as the ubiquitous *7-Eleven* or *Oxxo* convenience stores. Some of these businesses *Mini market Viva Tijuana* are located within walking distance from the international border (San Ysidro Port of Entry) but the vast majority are disseminated across town. More recently, the word *mart*, synonymous with market is also found as *Mini mart la 4*, and in combination as in *Rapimart*, formed by the shortening of Spanish "rápido" (quick, fast) and "mart." The spelling of the first is not hyphenated as it is in English.

Another pair that alternates is that of *lavamática* and *Lavandería* (laundromat). The first term is again local (there are a few occurrences in nearby Tecate and Ensenada) whilst the second is supranational (see Fig 53 and 54; see also 57 and 58). These laundromats are mostly located in working class neighborhoods where people who can not afford a washer go or in shopping centers where the clientele is mostly working class. We even find an effort at convergence and inclusiveness as the owners of *Lavamática Libertad* decided to display "lavamática" in big letters, and "lavandería" in a smaller sign with smaller print. It seems the owners were aware of an existing situation of diglossia and decided to deliver signs that all Tijuanans could understand (see Fig 55 and 56). If we search Google Maps by entering either word, results come up mixed (see Fig 59). From observation, I can deduce that dialectal levelling is in progress and although *lavamática* used to be the only word found a couple of decades ago, with immigration from other places of Mexico, *lavandería* has gained territory in the LL.

A car wash also called in two different ways in the city. Most car wash businesses are named either "car wash" or "autolavado" but as with laundromats, auto parts shops, mechanical shops and parking lots some businesses seek convergence by using both nouns that refer to the same thing (see Fig 60 and 61). The landscape only reflects the speakers' way to name such a place. *Rapidito Car Wash Express* also seeks inclusiveness as it seeks to suit its signs to

customers' linguistic repertoires. In bigger print on a larger sign we can see "car wash" and on a smaller sign positioned below "autolavado;" both can be rendered as "car wash" in English but the differences lie in who uses either of them. As mentioned elsewhere, Tijuanans have used "car wash" for generations while newcomers bring "autolavado" with them. Though located on Vía Rápida Oriente, where traffic is heavy and the clientele possibly middle-class, this practice of adapting to customers' linguistic preferences is also seen in Colonia Buenavista, an impoverished neighborhood, where a car wash favors the term "car wash" but also displays *autolavado* on a smaller sign, as if they were aware that newcomers call it that (see Fig 62 and 63).

*Rapidito Car Wash Express* comes across as a playful sign and example of translanguaging. Car wash has been in the locals' repertoire for generations while express is a common word internationally and *rapidito* is either an adverb in the diminutive or in Mexican slang a quicky. The way the words are arranged is at odds with both English and Spanish for both adjective are placed on either side of the noun (car wash). First, "express" also conveys a sense of fast movement or delivery, and in that sense, its use in Spanish is very similar to that in English as in "envío express," and in addition, very similar to what "rapidito" can also convey in Mexican Spanish in general; therefore, a redundancy of meaning is created through words that belong to different registers, colloquial (rapidito) and formal or even commercial (express). In addition, the use of *express* also reflects either English usage or Mexican Spanish use as it is the case of courier services and money transfers (e.g. envío or servicio express, dinero express) where it has increasingly replaced urgente.  The *Dictionary of the Royal Spanish Academy* only lists "exprés," with that spelling.

Businesses in the automotive industry such as junk yards, auto part stores, and mechanical shops can be divided into two groups: small privately-owned businesses and chains. Linguistic practices between these two groups also differ as small businesses represent linguistic practices with a local touch while corporations favor the national standard. In Figure 72 we can read that this business carries parts for "autos, van y pick up" to refer to vehicles that have similar names in English, whereas in the *Dictionary of the Royal Spanish Academy* we find *furgoneta* or *monovolumen* for *van* (locally realized as [ben]), and *camioneta* for *pickup*. The way *pickup* (pickup truck) is separated as if it were the phrasal verb may also be a trait of local linguistic practices. Similarly, locals use *clutch* instead of *embrague* to name the "clutch", and words like *brecas* and "frenos" to refer to breaks alternate, as well as *troca* and *camioneta* for truck.

The LL around town evidences the linguistic practices of sign creators who have adopted words of American English origin in their repertoires. Long-standing terms (originally loanwords and calques) from American English have existed for decades in the area and have since become part of Tijuanans' linguistic repertoires. The border characteristics of Tijuana, and Baja California, lent themselves to a closer contact between locals (many of whom were transborder residents) and Californians and Arizonans, and whose practices, linguistic and otherwise, led to the creation of terms that were in dissonance with echoes from Mexico City, the distant capital, where standard Spanish is still the norm. Baja California was a territory, not a state, for an extended period due to its scarce population (1824 to 1952) and its inability to subsist on its own unlike states (Gobierno del Estado de Baja California, 2018); as a result, the local population developed closer ties with their Californian neighbors in terms of trade, migration, transborder mobility and linguistic contact. In fact, Tijuana's economic growth has been propitiated by its

border location (Alegría, 2009: 79), and its establishment as a town was due to economic forces arisen from tourism from the U.S. (Griswold del Castillo, 2016: 34-35). One apparent reason (besides proximity to the U.S.) for the use of terms of U.S. origin related to certain domains such as the automobile industry is that the majority of border residents who own a car own a vehicle of U.S. provenance, that is, not made or sold in Mexico and usually a used car unlike the ones sold at local dealerships. Baja California has been a *zona libre* (free zone) since 1939 (Taylor-Hansen, 2000: 64), which means that it has enjoyed preferential duty on certain imported goods that promote development in the area. The free zone started with Tijuana and Ensenada in 1933 to help local communities survive the hardships of frontier life made worse by the Great Depression. Tijuanans and Baja Californians in general had to rely on vehicles and auto parts of U.S. provenance which led to translanguaging as things had to be named. A Chrysler dealership selling brand-new vehicles (domestic and otherwise) was not established until 1961 in neighboring Mexicali (Autoproductos, n.d.), almost a hundred years after Tijuana was founded. Pietikäinen et al. (2011) examine the historical aspect of the Arctic LL by identifying traces of different (historical, political, economic, legal and social) processes that have shaped it. A look at history and economy could shed light on how the concept of "swap meet" was taken from neighboring California as Mexican Spanish *mercado* did not match what a *swap meet* embodies and before most supermarket chains arrived in the state. To this day, we find several swap meets and a few *mercados* in the traditional Mexican sense that co-exist and fulfill different customers' needs.

The evidence collected shows many of the above-mentioned terms in actual use. One remarkable instance of differing practices between Tijuanans and people from southern Mexican states like *Chilangos* (people from Mexico City) is a series of terms related to the automobile.

Lexical sets range from *auto parts* to a lexicon related to cars. We thus find collocations like *pedir un raite* (to ask someone for a ride) more commonly than *pedir un aventón*, and *poncharse una llanta* (to have/get a flat tire) that illustrate different linguistic practices found in the area; also vehicles are named 4x4 (cuatro por cuatro), jeep, trailer, minivan, trolley [ˈtɾoli]); and parts such as clutch (realized as [klotʃ]), and *mofle* [ˈmofle] (from English muffler). The word *junkyard* was phonologically adapted to "yonque" or "yonke" while in other places across the Spanish-speaking world the equivalent is *depósito de chatarra*, *chatarrería*, *desguace*, *deshuesadero* or *basurero automotriz*. Locally, the use of the word has been extended to refer to anything or anybody old or no longer useful in the sense of "piece of junk" as in "*es un yonque*" (it's a piece of junk), to an old vehicle no longer useful or nearly useless (*tiene un yonque por carro/(s)he drives a piece of junk*) and even to old, overweight and ugly women (*esa vieja es un yonke/that is an old, ugly fat lady*), and has lexicalized as a verb (*yonquear*, *yonkear*) meaning "to discard, to throw away something old and/or useless" (Martínez, 2007: 170). This term, at times disparaging and fraught with ageism and sexism, exemplifies the differences between local linguistic practices and those seen elsewhere in Mexico: Tijuanans adapted the word phonologically closer to the English word: the /o/ in [ˈjoŋke] has a phonetic realization closer to /ʌ/ in /ˈdʒʌŋk/ 'junk' than the /u/ in /ˈɟuŋke/ 'yunke' as the word is used in neighboring state Sonora, in cities like Hermosillo, San Luis Río Colorado and Ciudad Obregón. There it appears the word was taken from English spelling, therefore adopted from written sources, whereas in Tijuana, it seems to have been taken up in a phonological context, i.e, in live interaction. Additionally, the word *auto partes usadas* is also used in Ciudad Obregón and Mexicali to refer to a junkyard. A yonke is different from a dealership on two accounts: it sells used auto parts from totaled vehicles unlike a dealership where besides new and used vehicles, brand-new auto

parts are sold: both the vehicles and auto parts sold there have names that embody the national standard whereas the auto parts (and names of vehicles) at a yonke represent local linguistic practices. That is to say, that at the auto parts section of a dealership you order a *puntal* while at a *yonke* you request a *strut*. The same can be said of various auto parts. *Yonkes* were originally set up out of necessity for a border region distant from Mexico's major industrial cities; they were modelled after junk yards found across the border in California. Though the middle class moved on to buy brand-new vehicles at local dealerships, *yonkes* are still a necessity for less-affluent Tijuanans (See also Fig 72-75).  In lexicographic works, the word has entries in dictionaries of Chicano Spanish and slang compiled in California, Baja California and in Ciudad Juárez, another major Mexican border city in the state of Chihuahua. *El libro del caló: The dictionary of Chicano slang* lists *yonque* as "junk; anything old" (Polkinhorn, Velasco, and Lambert, 1984: 65), which is also listed in *the Regional dictionary of Chicano slang* with that spelling and as *yonke*, the orthography observed in Tijuana, and translated as "junk, junk yard" (Vasquez & Vasquez, 1975: 80). Interestingly enough, the former bears in its title *Chicano slang* but data was primarily gathered binationally along the U.S.-Mexico border in the San Diego/Tijuana and Calexico/Mexicali areas. Spanish spoken in Tijuana or in Mexicali is in no way Chicano Spanish but a variety of Mexican Spanish.

The lexical items we can still find in Tijuana seem to indicate that when immigrants arrived in the first half of the 20th century they did not know terms in Spanish for so many things that have names similar to those in English; their situation was much like that of Anglo settlers in the frontiers of the New Spain when they learned from Spanish-speaking horse handlers words like *lasso*, *lariat*, *bronco*, *mustang*, *ranch*, *rodeo, stampede*, and *corral* (McCrum, MacNeil & Cran, 2003: 275): as frontiermens dealing with Indians and Mexicans they spoke pidgin English

using phrases like *long time no see* and *no can do*. In the past few decades, companies whose linguistic practices include the standard register have established branches in Tijuana; in addition, Mexico City, Monterrey and Central Mexico are a common point of entry for international corporations that adopt the terms utilized there; speakers moving into the city from that part and others in Mexico also bring terms of Standard Mexican Spanish with them in addition to those used in their own dialect. The co-existence of various Mexican Spanish dialects seems to point to koinezation but further studies are needed to confirm this. In the meantime, various forms that have been in use locally alternate with imported forms from out-of-state thus forming a diglossic situation (See also Fig 102-105 for some example of alternation that have to do with automotive vehicles, services and auto parts).

In addition, though some of the terms found here can be heard in U.S. Spanish and in the pratices of bilingual speakers of Spanish and English in the U.S. the terms observed in the local landscape are not found in the U.S LL. What we find in the U.S. is *junk yard*, without any Spanish translation or adaptation. In addition, we will not find the diglossic situation found in Tijuana in which the alternating terms belong to the *very same* linguistic repertoire of Spanish-speaking Tijuanans (e.g. lavamática/lavandería, car wash/autolavado, tune up/afinación) whereas in the U.S. the English terms monopolize the LL regardless of the demographics of an area, i.e., a term like *afinación* is not represented in the landscape, let alone a diglossic pair of that nature.

As for the naming of an auto parts business as "Autopartes (usadas)" o "auto partes," this use seems to reflect local practices, possibly of Tijuana-born speakers; we thus find a family-run small business as opposed to regional, national or international chains, which prefer the national standard to state their business (Autozone Refacciones, Refaccionaria del Valle) the national

standard imposes itself but only with bigger companies, and also differs from other varieties of

Spanish, in which we might hear "repuestos" or "tiendas de recambio" (see Fig 74 and 75). *Napa*

*Auto Parts* brought their own linguistic practices with them: they present themselves as *NAPA*

*Auto Parts* in Tijuana and in nearby locations and as *NAPA Auto Partes* (in Spanish) in other 15

Mexican states where they operate. Similarly, *Carquest Auto Parts*, which operates in California,

ventured into Baja California, and still keeps its name as in the U.S.

Similarly, in the case of *tune-up* and *afinación*, a regional chain like *Mercado de*

*Refacciones MR* favors the use of *afinación* while smaller businesses in accordance with local

linguistic practices use *tune-up* (see Fig103 and 105). A shop also seeks convergence and lists

both words, *afinacion and tune-up* (see Fig 103).  In their website they actually list both

refacciones and autopartes. Branches in both Baja California and BCS, and in neighboring San

Luis Río Colorado. Refaccionaria del Valle also operates in the same locations in the same three

bordering states. *Mercado de Refacciones MR* presents itself on its website as an "Empresa

100% mexicana" (a 100% Mexican company") and also displays a Mexican flag next to that

phrase as a way to convey a sense of nationalism.



Fig 47, 48 A diglossic situation, that of "parking" and "estacionamiento."

Fig 49, 50: "Parking signs" dominate the landscape. On *Revolución* and *Calle 8*.



Fig 51, 52: More "parking signs" from *Avenida Revo*lución and adjacent *Avenida Constitución*.



Fig 53: "Parking" is the preferred word, even at homes.

Fig 54, 55: "Lavamática," a local term, and "lavandería" from the Mexican national standard alternate.



Fig 56, 57: A "lavamática" seeking to accommodate differing linguistic practices as different frames display both diglossic terms. The same place with two, and with only one term on different dates.

Fig 58, 59: A laundromat that went from "lavamática" to "lavadero," shunning the locally used term perhaps in an apparent effort to standardize local Spanish. The same business in 2017 (left). In 2019 (right).



Fig 60: Google Maps has adapted to diglossic situations: Entering "lavamática" or "lavandería" produces mixed results.



Fig 61, 62: Alternation of "car wash" and "autolavado."

Fig 63, 64: Two car wash businesses seeking convergence by also displaying "autolavado."
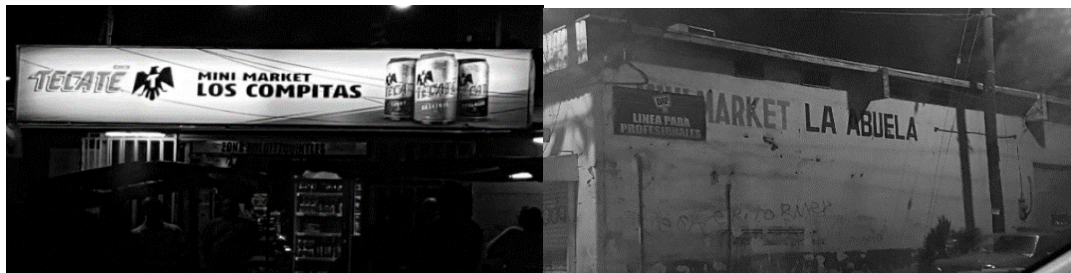


Fig 65, 66: A "minimarket" still open (left). To the right, proof that the term has been around for a while locally, a former minimarket on *Boulevard Benítez*.



Fig 67: "Abarrotes", the term used to refer to a family-run small convenience store still shows vitality in many parts of the city. Fig 68: Local usage of "mart" in yet another word for "convenience store."

Fig 69, 70, 71 (below): *Swap meets* are scattered across the city in working-class neighborhoods.



Fig 72: Traditional Mexican markets bear the name "mercado."



Fig 73, 74: A "yonke" sign displaying local uses. Right, an auto parts shop, also displaying local usage.

Fig 75, 76: The national standard at play.

## 7.9 Displacement of some Spanish terms or linguistic change in progress?

Though locals have had diglossic lexical pairs in existence for decades, of which we can mention among so many *garage*/*cochera*, and *pickup*/*camioneta*, some words like *peluquería* and *tatuaje* seem to be phasing out in favor of *barber shop* and *tattoos*. Words that seemed to be firmly entrenched in local linguistic practices like *gimnasio* are falling out of use altogether. The approach to these pairs is that of translanguaging, and they are treated as synonyms but the primary focus is to look at them as belonging to different registers, namely local and national, not as synonyms in the monolingual orientation because then they would be treated as anglicisms or barbarisms or regionalisms, all of them terms which would place locally used words below synonyms belonging to the Spanish monoglot standard.

Tijuana had *gimnasios* until the 80's. The city had *Gimnasio Bosco, Gimnasio Luis, Gimnasio Atlas* and *Gimnasio Silvestre* among others. Since then, the term has lost currency, and the words *gym* and *fitness* (*center*) have taken its place, and because of that, of the only remaining gyms from past times, *Gimnasio Bosco* and *Gimnasio Atlas* changed their name to *Bosco Gym* and *Atlas Gym* somewhere along the way, English syntax and all, and even a sign of

*Bosco Power* is displayed on the premises of the former. The trend is by no means local as both *gym* and *fitness* are used nationwide and internationally in various languages along with a set of related terms such as spinning, power, pilates, and so on. From a list of 47 gyms and/or fitness centers, only one place bears the word "gimnasio" while "gym" has the most occurrences, 32, followed by "fitness" with 16 and "sport" and "spa", with one occurrence each. Additionally, many of the words used in combination with the words designating each business do not look like Spanish: *Muay Thai, Balance, (Fitness) Room, Bodicore, Body, Coliseum, CrossFit, Family, LiftGym, Gladiator's, Evolution, Hardcore, Monster, Muscle & Curves, Strong.im, Symmetry, Total Sport, Xtreme, Working Body Fitness Center*, and *World*. Additionally, in some instances "fitness" and "gym" appear in the same name designating the place (see Fig 80-85).

Also, the syntax seen in the names corresponds to that of English as all of the adjectives precede the noun. In Spanish, we would find *Gym Universal* not *Universal Gym*, and *Gym y Fitness Ultra* not *Ultra Gym & Fitness*. Both "universal" and "ultra" are cognates in English and Spanish, but their placement either before or after the noun suggests either English or Spanish. Similarly, noteworthy is also the presence of the genitive case typical of English: *Aldama's, Leo's, Natural's, Gladiator's, People's, Tamayo's*. To that, we can also add the use of the ampersand, which is not restricted to local practices either as it is used internationally and even in documentation styles. Some gyms also bear elision of vowels before consonants as *D'Yolis* and *D'Luis*, a trait typical of Italian before vowels (not consonants) but not of Spanish, though it is widely seen across Mexico as if to lend the place bearing the name a more worldly, sophisticated air.

Of the list provided, only three gyms use the word *gimnasio* somehow. *Xtreme Results Gimnasio* is one of the few places that still uses the Spanish word in its name but its syntax

corresponds to English word order, and the three words seem to be the result of translanguaging. Local chain *Forxe Gym One* has two locations but only one of its branches bears the name *Gimnasio Forxe Gym*, another example of a redundancy and awareness of the co-existence of both words in the area. Another gym, *D'Luis Gym* downplays the word *gimnasio* as it is displayed inside its facilities but not prominently like *gym* outside. Some others display words related to workout and sports like *Total Sport* and let readers infer what the place is about. *Gym Evolution*, for instance, is different from the majority because it follows Spanish syntactic order, the opposite of say, for instance, *Físico Gym* but as the one with Spanish syntax carries an English word while the one with English syntax bears a Spanish term.

The use of English in advertisements in other languages has been attributed to utilitarian reasons as Western firms promote their brand names and logos in English, and to social reasons (Ustinova, 2006: 276): it has been reported as an "attention getter" (Bhatia, 1987; Martin, 2002), or as evoking a modern identity because English "represents modernity" (Baumgardner, 2008: 24): it is indeed a "sign of novelty, prestige, and high-quality products" (Ustinova, 2006: 276). As previously mentioned, Scollon and Scollon, (2003: 118) assert that English is used to symbolize foreign taste and manners, and that it does not index an English-speaking community in countries where English is not the mother tongue. The presence of English in the LL of Israel, especially in middle-class neighbourhoods owes its importance to benefit expectations as some areas are visited by tourists, to the prestige itself of the language in a globalized economy, and to its role as genuine status marker (Ben-Rafael et al., 2006: 24); similarly, the use of English-sounding names by some shops in Tokyo seems to elevate their status (MacGregor, 2003: 20-21) by using English, they were being "modern"; in a similar way, Ethiopians use of English in Addis Ababa indexes their aspirations towards an identity associated with prestige and modernity

(Lanza & Waldermarian, 2014: 492).  Moreover, English has even been viewed as having a

critical role in the process of language modernization of South Asian languages (Bhatia, 1987:

47).  As for local practices, Tijuanans have been languaging for decades with disregard for the

artificial separation of languages drawing on both English and Spanish to create new meanings;

recently, English has contributed with many more words not only in technology and science but

in domains that have to do with entertainment, science fiction, food, fashion, and sports among

others. American English influences Mexican Spanish the way French used to influence

European Spanish and Portuguese: Tijuanans say "soda" when Spaniards mean *gaseosa* (cf.

French *gazeuse*), Mexicans use *computadora* when Spaniards prefer *ordenador* (cf. French

*ordinateur*); and I say "used to" because nowadays English is probably the most influential

language worldwide, even the French seem to be using "soda".

The influence of English in literacy practices as seen in advertising and commercials in

Mexico has been attributed largely to the language contact area formed by Mexico and the

United States, but the influence of English on other languages seems to be a worldwide trend

(Baumgardner, 2008: 23) not only restricted to advertising as it has also impacted people's

linguistic practices (e.g., the common use of *cool* and *top* in France). English usage has even

been viewed as "showing off" and one of the reasons for the widespread use of English terms

and expressions in European Spanish (Ross, 1997: 22-23).

Another term that has become more common as mentioned above is "barber shop" (see

Fig 76-79). This English term is now part of locals' linguistic practices, and has replaced

*peluquería* in many places throughout the city and at present alternates with *peluquería*, *estética*

and *salón* (*de belleza*). The use of "barber" or "barber shop" demonstrates a tendency in

language practices to borrow English terms such as the use of "fashion" to mean "fashionable, en

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vogue, stylish" as in the sentence "Te ves bien fashion." This particular business, *Barber Shop Border*, on *Avenida Revolución* states its business in both English and Spanish (Barbería y estilismo profesional, which can be translated as barber's and professional hair styling). Then, a sign below reads "*Fashion salon*"; additionally, "*Expresso Coffee bar*" text is displayed, and the choices they offer (*Fades/Straight shaves/Classic haircuts Old & new haircuts*) in English (see Fig 87). Prices are in Spanish and in pesos, and more specific information such as "Afeitada de barba con toalla caliente" (hot towel shave) and "Corte de cabello todos los estilos" (haircuts for every style) have no English equivalents, and information concerning appointments, opening hours, e-mail and Facebook is solely in Spanish (e.g., *Para citas llamar al (664…*). Since *Avenida Revolución* is frequented by tourists, this barber shop also has a sign that reads "barber" in English along with eight other languages, none of which are the usual ones (e.g., French). It is in fact one of the few multilingual signs found in the city (see Fig 86).  Aside from that, the signs found on *Avenida Revolución* are not very different from those found in other areas of Tijuana, where the customer base may be Spanish-speaking but English is commonly found alongside Spanish, and in some instances has replaced Spanish as the attention-getter even in working-class neighborhoods where tourists are nowhere to be found.

The nature of the business also influences if English is present or not. Beauty parlors and clothing stores for instance are expected to display more English in their signs (see Fig 88-92). Studies conducted elsewhere demonstrated a similar situation, for instance, in Oaxaca, a colonial city in southern Mexico where English is viewed as fashionable, cool, advanced and modern (Sayer, 2010: 147) or in Tokyo, where the dominant retail types among the English-only shop names were women's clothing stores and hair salons, two industries in Japan which tend to view their foreign counterparts in western countries as superior (Haarmann, 1984; MacGregor, 2003:

20); likewise, businesses that deal with technology are bound to use more English than say a *tortilleria* (a place where tortillas are made and sold).

Some practices seem at first English *calques* or *transfers*. A sign hung outside a *Sears* store on *Boulevard Aguacaliente* reads "estamos contratando", obviously modelled after "(we are) hiring now" while the most widely used structure in Tijuana Spanish and elsewhere is "solicitamos" in a collocation including *empleado*(a), *personal*, or a more specific noun (*cocinero(a), vendedor(a) de mostrador*, etc.). At a first glance, and with Standard Spanish as the baseline such phrase seems incorrect as the simple present tense is preferred in Spanish over a verb phrase that functions similarly to the English progressive present tense (to be+-ing form) (see Fig 93-95). We may infer that people who work for *Sears*, a U.S international corporation, bring their own linguistic practices with them, and what they do is translate the English text into Spanish to the best of their knowledge and ability, which again, with standard Spanish as the target language, the rendered translation is flawed; but Sears is not the only place where we find such a sign, a local business also displays the same message, which might indicate bilingualism at play, with speakers using their resources as they see fit. In fact, it is hard to ascertain whether it is a case of ad verbatim translation or a case of translanguaging. A similar situation can be observed with *Amazon México*: in the U.S., whenever an *Amazon* customer buys something a typical email notification reads "arriving today by 8 PM" whereas in Mexico users get the message "llegando hoy", when an *order* is on its way but "llegando hoy" seems to be a poor translation of the English version or in the very least a *calque*. *Mercado Libre* (an Argentine corporation) which operates in Mexico, for instance, sends a text more in accordance with standard Spanish usage: "Tu pedido llegará" and then the date is given after that. In regard to the use of English-monolingual "hiring now" signs, these are found only in places that seek

bilingual employees with a good command of English, which is especially true of call centers.

Local linguistic practices are in sync with the national standard when it comes to "(se) solicita

personal" (translated as "now hiring"). Small local businesses reflect that situation (Fig 94 and

95)  whereas a call center has two signs where we can see equivalent content solely in English,

as it is intended for those with the necessary linguistic capital, and in one the figures the same

call center whose targets are bilingual deportees and returnees (repatriated Mexicans from the

U.S.) (See  Fig 96-98). Standard Mexican Spanish ("solicitamos") contrasts with an English

calque ("Estamos contratando"), symbolizing different linguistic practices to describe the same

process, those by Mexicans and those by global U.S. corporations (*Sam's Club* and *Sears*). The

sign by the first, seems to reflect a calque as a result of translation. Calques of this sort are also

seen in subtitles, heard in dubbed movies and are spread by media such as news agencies and

through news anchors. At the same time, the same poster displays information in the national

standard as it states "solicitamos" and not "estamos solicitando". In the second figure we can see

an add by a Mexican national chain reading "se solicita." The use of calques reflecting the

English present progressive tense should not be considered translanguaging carried out by

Tijuanans because such usage is still absent from the linguistic practices locals engage in. Rather,

they are the result of the work by translators who do not know how tenses are used in Spanish.

The power effects of these norms become particularly evident in schools and other

institutions, which function as "observatories" of linguistic "normalized" practices, where

students are trained and examined with them (Martín-Rojo, 2017: 91) but we have come a long

way from language attitudes present decades ago and linguistic purism when an authority in the

Spanish-speaking world like Lope-Blanch stated that Mexico was "a country highly exposed to

contagion from English" (Lope-Blanch, 1982: 32). Currently, an approach like translanguaging

helps us go beyond the boundaries of individual signs and languages (Gorter & Cenoz, 2015: 61)

so that we can consider the speakers' linguistic practices from a new perspective that describes

their repertoires and values their right to express themselves however they see fit.

Another group of words used by Tijuanans is *lonche* (its variants and related words)

which appears in the LL, especially at Chinese restaurants (see Fig 100). *Lonche* and its variant

*lunch*, and *lonchear* (var. *lonchiar*), translated as "to eat lunch" are listed by Polkinhorn,

Velasco, and Lambert (1984: 38) whereas *lonche* and *lonchar* (to go eat lunch) are listed by

Vásquez & Vásquez (1975: 54) along with *lonchera* (lunch box). In the *Glosario de caló de*

*Ciudad Juárez,* a glossary of slang spoken in Ciudad Juárez, similar headwords are presented:

*lonchar* (to eat lunch, comer ligeramente al mediodía); its author also adds that the same use is

seen among Spanish-speaking people in the United States (Aguilar-Melantzón, 1985: 146).

Melantzón also has entries for *carro* (car), and *brekas* (breaks). These are also headwords in *The*

*Regional dictionary of Chicano slang* (Vasquez and Vasquez, 1975: 62). As for more recent

lexicographic work, the *Diccionario de mexicanismos* compiled by the Academia Mexicana de la

Lengua also lists *yonque* (Academia Mexicana de la Lengua, 2010: 638), *troca*, *van*, *lonche*,

*lunch*, *lonchear*, *lonchera* and *lonchería* among other words used in Tijuana and some of these

forms have also made it to dictionaries compiled by the Royal Spanish Academy (e.g.,

*Diccionario de americanismos)*. Whether Chicano linguistic practices have influenced

borderlanders' speech (e.g. in Tijuana or in Ciudad Juárez) is hard to ascertain because

*fronterizos* themselves are border crossers who engage in various practices on U.S. soil: from

education, to shopping, to tourism, to work. A large number of *fronterizos* are also commuters

who live on the Mexican side of the border but work in the U.S. to keep a higher standard of

living. At the same time, transaborder flows as mentioned before, are strong, e.g., seasonal

migrants engage in transnational practices: they may be in Oregon one season, in the Los Angeles area next, and later in Tijuana for a sojourn on their way back to Oaxaca.

Family ties might influence *fronterizos* practices by interacting with Chicanos but that is one factor among so many. In addition to this, language attitudes in the north of Mexico (specifically along the border) towards Chicano speech and their lack of fluency in Spanish are mostly negative (as reported by Hidalgo, 1983, 1986; Zentella, 2009) and there even exists a 'pecking order' in which *fronterizos* berate Chicano Spanish (Zentella, 2009). Rather than Chicanos' linguistic practices having influenced those of Mexican borderlanders, I would say that because of its close contact with English, U.S. Spanish is subjected to a strong influence from English (Silva-Corvalán, 2001, 2002; Zentella, 2009) which may lead to its sharing some similarities with Spanish in Tijuana or in Ciudad Juárez. Depending on the intensity of contact, Spanish spoken in California, for instance, is expected to exhibit more influence from English not only lexically, semantically, morphologically or syntactically but even phonologically than Spanish spoken in Tijuana. One such example is Spanish in Los Angeles, Silva-Corvalán mentions that languages in in that situation can subjected to loans, transfer, interference, code-switching, simplification (e.g., in morphology, morphophonemics and phonology), language loss, and grammatical convergence (Silva-Corvalán, 2001: 296; 310; 2002: 216). Spanish in Tijuana may undergo some of these processes at the lexical level, and even at the syntactic level but it is highly unlikely that its phonology will be affected by contact with English. More than a century of contact, and the Spanish spoken in Tijuana still has the same phonemes and allophones that most varieties of Mexican Spanish have. In turn, border Spanish has at times be seen as too 'Americanized", reportedly with speakers of it showing linguistic insecurity in

practices that involve English in Ciudad Juárez, another major Mexican border city where the mix of resources was evaluated negatively (Hidalgo, 1986: 155, 215).

There are various words and expressions that characterize local linguistic practices. Among these are *lonche* (with variants), *aseguranza*, *curada*, *chaca* (or *chaka*). Some others are part of a larger community of practice and possibly have been around for decades such as *buffet* and *boutique* and like other terms are nowadays parts of speakers' linguistic repertoire regardless of their etymological origin. For instance, a sign on *Avenida Revolución* that targets Spanish-speaking U.S. residents seeking dental care is a banner in Spanish that reads "Aceptamos aseguranzas", which can be translated as "(U.S.) insurance accepted" (see Fig 101). *Aseguranza* has become a widespread term among Hispanics in the United States while in Tijuana, and the rest of Mexico and in other countries the legal term used is "Seguro" Nevertheless, words are by no means limited by geopolitical borders, and *aseguranza* is also heard in Tijuana. Another prominent word in the landscape is the word *lunch*, which is found as "lunch" or adapted as "lonche" or "lonch" on signs that target Mexican consumers. What the Chinese do here is reflect Tijuanans' linguistic practices who commonly use the word "lonche."

Similarly, the word *sushi* is part of the lexicon of many languages has given rise to *sushería* (again following Spanish morphological rules). A quick Google search will yield results that unmistakingly inform us that *sushería* is found in other latitudes like Taxco, Mexico, and of all places in Italy, and in Indonesia, where a Japanese-Mexican restaurant bears that name (see Fig 99).

*Avenida Revolución*, one of the city's landmarks, chosen for part of my data collection, reflected the city's border location better than any other with English not only spoken alongside

Spanish but also more prominently displayed in the LL to the point of often being dominant. In time, this avenue has gone from mostly catering to U.S. nationals to serving an increasing number of Mexican nationals; it has also undergone gentrification.

At the same time, the Spanish monolingual orientation in Mexico condemned the use of English, Anglicisms, Gallicisms, code-switching or the meshing of linguistic resources of any kind (a well-known case is that of the failed . The monoglot standard seemed to impose itself across Mexico but a sizeable percentage of speakers in the border area remained bilingual, bicultural, and binational displaying their identities in different ways, at times at odds with this so-called loyalty to what Mexico is, or whatever that might mean.

This chapter focused on lexical and semantic aspects of the LL in Tijuana. The linguistic practices reflect changes in the make up of the landscape as part of an evolutionary process in urban settings "emergent from contexts of interaction" (Pennycook & Otsuji, 2015: 3) where diversity results in a richer language with more words to describe different concepts.

Fig 77, 78: A barber shop's attempt at being inclusive in downtown Tijuana: "peluquería,"
"barber shop" and "barbería" are all displayed. The one, to the right, also in the city center only
displays "barber shop."
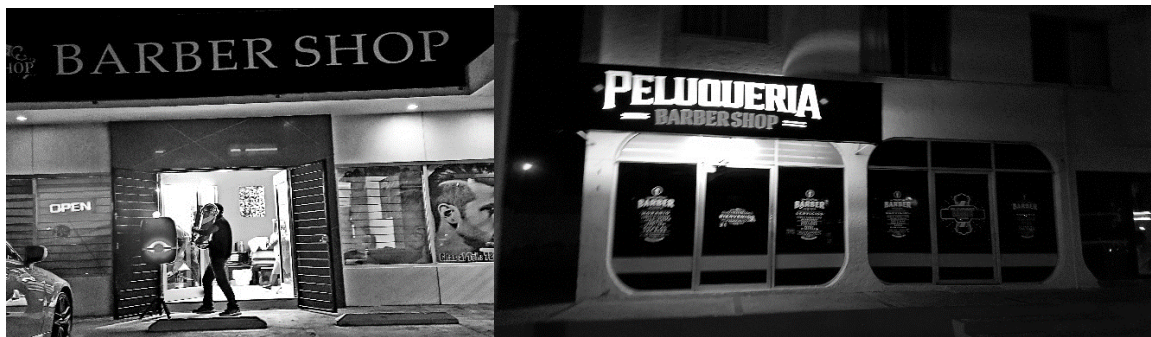


Fig 79, 80: In some instances, there is still alternation, as in the business in the right picture. As
of 2018, "barbería" and "peluquería" seem to be phasing out in favor of "barber shop".

Fig 81, 82: A gym seeking convergence, as both gimnasio (the term on its way out) and gym are displayed. "Gym" and "fitness" have displaced "gimnasio" for the most part.



Fig 83, 84: Gyms in *Otay*, a Tijuana neighborhood.

Fig 85 and 86: Fitness (center) comes in second in frequency; sometimes used in combination with "gym" (right).



Fig 87, 88: A bottom-up multilingual sign by the *Barber Shop Border* on *Avenida Revolución*, right.

Fig 89, 90: English words are part of linguistic practices in clothing, accessories and cosmetics retail stores.



Fig 91, 92: *My secret shoe place*, a shoe store; right picture, two stores on *Avenida Tecnológico*.

Fig 93: A shop selling fashion, cosmetics and accessories with a working-class clientele.
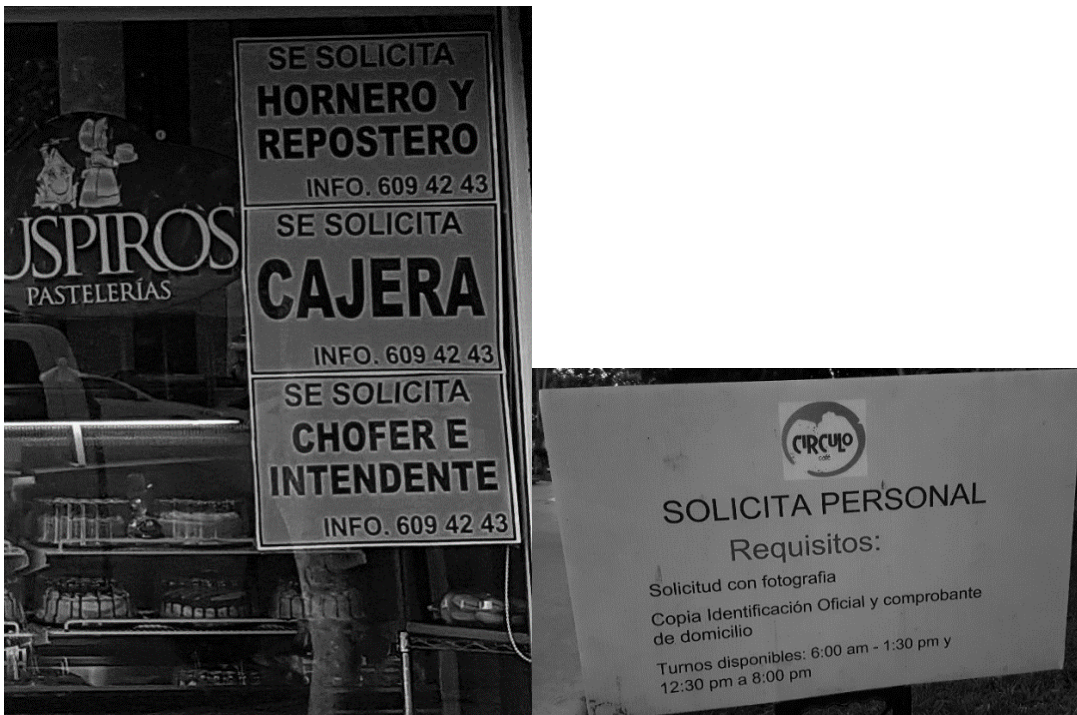


Fig 94, 95: Local "Hiring signs" that reflect the national standard.

Fig 96, 97: "Hiring signs" by global corporations.



Fig 98, 99: "Now hiring" signs from the same call center.

Fig 100: *Sushería 9* carries a Japanese term that has undergone Hispanicization as the word "sushi" has been adapted both phonologically and morphologically in a lexicalization process.



Fig 101, 102: Uses of "lonche" and "aseguranza" in the local landscape.

Fig 103, 104: Left, a business showing a common local use of an automotive term. To the right, another diglossic situation.



Fig 105: Performing translanguaging: This image presents a common lexical situation in small businesses in Tijuana. We can see "clutch," "tune-up" and "fuel injection" mixed with "frenos," "suspención" (sic.), and other terms; all part of local linguistic practices.

Fig 106: In contrast, a chain prefers to use "afinación" in place of "tune-up" or "tune up" as in the above picture.



Fig 107, 108: A *Walmart* location (*Galerías*) in Tijuana with multilingual signs displaying Spanish prominently.
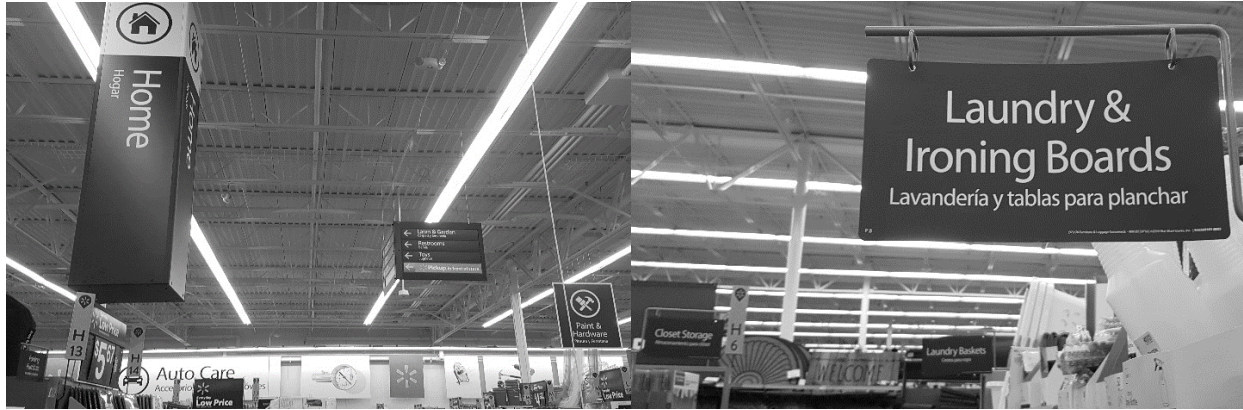
Fig 109, 110: In the San Diego area (Walmart store on H St in Chula Vista), evidence of the reverse process with English prominent.

# Chapter 8 Conclusions

## 8.1 Summary of the main study

This study focused on the LL found on the iconic *Avenida Revolución* and in major thoroughfares and neighborhoods in Tijuana, a northwestern Mexican border city, informed by a corpus consisting of 2,000 digital photographs taken from 2014 to 2019 in order to explore linguistic practices as reflected by the city's LL. The purpose of choosing various neighborhoods for data collection was to provide a more complete sample of the dynamics of language contact and the linguistic practices that speakers engage in through the LL.

## 8.2 Summary of major findings

Tijuana's LL is an arena of global, national, regional, transnational and local dynamics. In synchronic and diachronic terms its LL tells us of the city's evolution and transition from a small border town to a metropolis, from tradition to modernity, and it also informs us of the loci where language contact takes place and this process is reflected by the locals' linguistic practices. Competing discourses are seen throughout the city, each representative of the various groups of residents who share a common language but whose linguistic practices differ from those of one another in specific ways. Native Tijuanans who descend from other Tijuanans or long-time residents translanguage whereas newcomers and those who uphold the national standard, Mexican Spanish, favor the standard register (García & Wei, 2014). The data I have collected shows lexical and syntactic changes, displacement of some Spanish words in favor of newly incorporated terms which are the result of languaging. It also shows that some local terms

have stood the test of time, such as "yonke," which has not been displaced by "deshuesadero" or any other term used nationawide, and "swap meet," which also remains strong. Other local uses alternate with terms originally from out-of-state such as "car wash" (with "autolavado"), "lavamática" (wih "lavandería" and even "lavadero"), "parking" (with "estacionamiento") and "minimarket" (with "abarrotes").

According to the data I collected, signs reflect the following practices and ongoing processes:

a) Contact between Baja California Spanish and other Mexican Spanish dialects on a lexical level; various population segments bring their own regional lexical items that may not be part of Standard Spanish, i.e., they are a different type of register. It is represented in the linguistic landscape by means of alternating terms, with sometimes the sign creators seeming to be aware of alternating registers and wishing to be inclusive by means of convergence.

b) Contact between English and Spanish. This is amply represented in the linguistic landscape. As for the spoken language, this has also been documented by authors such as Martínez (2007) and Molina-Landeros (2015). Some barber shops display "peluquería", "barber shop" and "barbería" on the same window.

c) Contact between Chinese and Spanish. This can be seen mostly at Chinese restaurants and retail stores. Their menus and posters bear sentences such as "pollo piña", more in accordance with Chinese grammar, instead of "pollo con piña".

d) Contact between local Spanish speakers and speakers of other varieties of Spanish across the Spanish-speaking world by means of information and communications technology. By browsing websites where locals publish advertisements, we can see, for instance, that

they use slang terms that used to be confined mostly to the Iberian peninsula, or Spanish words from El Salvador, for instance, not in the cyberscape but in the linguistic landscape.

e) Lack of reciprocity on the part of U.S. agencies in terms of representation of Spanish in top-down U.S. signage even if large numbers of Spanish-speaking U.S. residents and Mexican speakers are present in the area. The fact that Mexican officials have top-down signage in English put up in Tijuana and at the border points of entry suggests a power imbalance between the two nation states.

The discursive practices I observed suggest that businesses that seek to convey traditional characteristics prefer the use of Spanish while businesses that cater to younger people, or those in the service industry, prefer English or foreign-sounding names (*Le Container, Andy's*, etc.) even if the business appears to target Spanish-speaking locals. In regard to languages other than Spanish and English, Chinese restaurants display both Spanish and Chinese characters with English included in their names at times. Similarly, Japanese and Korean businesses display signs in these languages and in English and Spanish also, often presenting language resources from three named languages.

Some signs display lexical, morphological and syntactic adaptations of English words with the phonological level reflecting those changes such as *La Tattooajería Tattoo Shop*. Other signs play with language in ways that suggest meanings that only bilinguals could grasp while others display words coined in creative and playful ways; this is indeed a sign of metrolingualism, of how linguistic resources are employed in the city, and viewed as language emergent from context of interaction not as language systems (Pennycook & Otsuji, 2015).

As for top-down signage, most of it is in Spanish only. This is in agreement with the predominance of Spanish as the de facto language of Mexico and with existing language ideologies. The Mexican government considers Amerindian languages national languages, but only Spanish is used in every domain and English is favored in the educational system because of its value as linguistic capital. For a long time, the Mexican government has viewed linguistic and cultural diversity not as valuable heritage but as an obstacle impeding progress (INALI, 2009:26). The argument that Amerindian peoples do not engage in literacy practices in their own languages is not entirely valid as there are several tongues (Mixtec, Huichol, Zapotec) with a written tradition though the number of speakers who can read in those languages is uncertain. The situation in Tijuana is in accordance with what can be observed in Oaxaca City, in Teotitlán del Valle and in Mitla, where the majority is Zapotec but their language is absent while apart from Spanish, English is prominently displayed for economic reasons.

But top-down signage extends to English. Spanish/English bilingual top-down signs are found where most tourists circulate: this includes Avenida Revolución, the border-crossing areas and adjacent points, and the toll roads and highways along the cost. Along the international border, top-down signage on the Mexican side of the border crossing area has duplicating multilingual writing while the U.S. side lacks reciprocity as mostly English monolingual signs are displayed with only a handful of sigs bearing duplicating multilingual signs. This lack of reciprocity on the part of U.S. agencies in terms of representation of Spanish in top-down signage even if large numbers of Spanish-speaking U.S. residents and Mexican speakers who are present in the area exist. The fact that Mexican officials have top-down signage in English put up in Tijuana seems to suggest a power imbalance between the two nation states. CDA was a useful tool for the analysis and interpretation of data in terms of text and its levels as linguistic and

social practices. An instance of this, Figure 14 shows that digital marquees at the *U.S. Otay Mesa Point of Entry* display information only in English even though signs are directed at border-crossers coming from Tijuana, who also make up the majority of drivers and passengers. CDA treats discourse as linguistic practices not dissociated from social practices. The lack of reciprocity on the U.S. agencies' part (Mexican points of entry do have Spanish-English bilingual signs in an effort to be inclusive and accommodate travelers) indicate social practices of exclusion and a reaffirmation of linguistic hegemony, and therefore may be labelled as inconsiderate towards Spanish monolinguals. One of the justifications for not having multilingual signs in some multilingual societies is cost, as putting up multilingual signs causes costs to increase. But in this case, digital marquees could also accommodate text in Spanish which would alternate with English text without incurring any additional expenses aside from translation services.

Businesses exhibiting duplicating multilingual writing in smaller signs seem to cater to a mixed clientele. In contrast, if the name is in English or a mix but no minor signs present multilingual writing, I assume that the business clientele is mostly Mexican, and that the English sign does not index an English-speaking community and has a symbolic use instead (Scollon & Scollon, 2003).

Small local businesses in the automotive industry (junkyards, auto parts stores, mechanic shops, car wash and detailing) display signs where translanguaging is strong as they draw on resources that could originally be construed as belonging to two separate languages. Speakers' linguistic practices work in concert with other practices they engage in that leads them to use the terms shown by the local LL. The diglossic situation observed in Tijuana is different from Spanish in the U.S. and from Spanish in the rest of Mexico as these practices belong to the

repertoire of local Spanish speakers not that of bilinguals, which in turn, does not necessarily mean that they do not know or use the terms in question.

The words and symbols found in Tijuana's landscape reflect glocality, the simultaneity and the inter-penetration of the global and the local, or the universal and the particular (Robertson, 1994: 38); as we can see in some of the Figures, local and regional registers interact with the national standard and global dynamics such as the push of English and international corporations; thus, *auto partes* or *autopartes* (local use) interacts with "auto parts" (U.S. standard and global English) and with *refacciones* or *repuestos* (national standard) which in turn are also different from *recambio* (as used in Spain); similarly, we can establish parallelism in the same order of small local business (family-run) vs. regional, national or international corporations. The small local business favors names like *auto partes* or *autopartes*, while the regional chain or international corporation favors *refacciones*.  At the same time, global corporations like *Carl's Jr.* post adds displaying "charbroiled burger" for instance while local restaurants carry "hamburguesa a la parrilla".

Native Tijuanans perform translanguaging; out-of-state arrivals, and recent immigrants bring their linguistic practices with them, practices that include a somewhat different lexicon and phonology in the case of Mexicans, and obviously different languages with other groups (Chinese, Haitians, etc.). This by no means implies that that the latter do not language as the landscape shows that the Chinese took the word *lonche* (lunch) and gave it various spellings and possibly various phonetic realizations.

And finally, the push of global English has also caused the displacement of Spanish words such as "gimnasio," which used to be the common word, in favor of *gym* and *fitness*

(*center*). Though the use of such lexical items is commonplace in Tijuana, it is by no means restricted to the city as it can be attested elsewhere in Mexico and abroad, and not only among Spanish-speaking communities but also in places like France, to name another country. The word *peluquería* now alternates with *barber shop,* a recent addition to the landscape*,* though the former has been in use for decades in many parts of Mexico, including Tijuana. "Tatuaje" has been replaced by *tattoo* in most places surveyed. This process of substituting words does not mean in any way that Spanish is becoming a poorer language and that because of that should be protected as was the intent of the failed *Comisión Nacional para la Defensa del Idioma Español* (Commission for the Defense of the Spanish Language) in the early 1980's because language evolution is indeed a constant as the history of languages can attest.

## 8.3 Contribution of this study, limitations, and suggestions for further research

This study attempted to to contribute to the ongoing discussion on LL research by researching linguistic practices along borders in a span of four years. Its limitations include time and spatial constraints: attempting to cover a metropolitan area of nearly two million people represents a tremendous effort. This could be better achieved with more time and resources.

Additionally, a longitudinal study would be useful to further document changes in the local LL over time as it would provide further clues not only as to the evolution of the landscape and the dynamics at play of language and dialect contact: Spanish vis-à-vis other languages, and within Spanish, the convergence of different varieties.

Furthermore, more works focusing on linguistic borders are needed because borders and the contact area that form reflect flows of people and various language contact phenomena. In

addition, I suggest other studies to include instances that this work did not touch upon and specifically studies by domains for more specific results.

The lack of reciprocity on the part of U.S. agencies in terms of representation of Spanish in top-down signage even if large numbers of Spanish-speaking U.S. residents and Mexican speakers are present in the area can be explored. Such situation adds to the fact that Mexican officials do have top-down signage in English put up  not only at the border points of entry but also in Tijuana. This apparent power imbalance between the U.S. and Mexico offers an opportunity to research hegemony (linguistic and otherwise), colonialism, subalternation and other issues not limited to post-colonial studies.

The above list is by no means extensive or pretends to be all-inclusive but is the result of what I observed during my study. All of this is important because it helps explain the nature of language contact and local linguistic practices as it is the case of lexical terms found in the Spanish spoken locally and concepts such as *swap meet*, which have retained the original spelling and concept. Terms such as this one, were borrowed without morphological or phonological adaptations as the local pronunciation is closer to the General American phonetic realization, and spelling, lexical and semantic content have remained the same.

Finally, research seeking to identify traces of different (historical, political, economic, legal and social) processes that have shaped the local LL will add a gestalt dimension to language in use through the LL.

## 8.4 Final conclusion

This stuy sought to understand how the LL was laid out and constructed semiotically and linguistically in Tijuana. To do that, I attempted to cast off any preconceived notions of my

mastery of the standard and its contested superiority, and the tendency to keep linguistic data separate as part of distinct languages. This meant that I had to look at linguistic practices as situated, personal decisions on the part of speakers shaped by their border context with the complexity that characterizes it. Consequently, by means of translanguaging, I focused on linguistic repertoires instead of linguistic outcomes of language contact such as borrowing or foreigner talk that dissect them. This internal process allowed me to appreciate how speakers do what they do and however they can as they understand the world around them and convey meaning in their own social networks as part of the city. I consider all registers to be "correct" insofar as they suit people's needs in different settings and social networks. My data confirms that language contact is a consequence of factors that come with borders such as the physical proximity of speakers on both sides of geopolitical lines and the ensuing flows that come with varying degrees of interdependent and integrated borders. A border city such as Tijuana is fertile ground for sociolinguistic research of a wide diverse nature because it is at the crossroads of national, binational, and even global flows. Its LL reflects the city's traits of a globalized border city with significant transborder and international flows of people and trade, and strong migration mainly from other parts of Mexico, and from abroad as the city has gone from 750,000 inhabitants in 1990 to over 2 million in 2019.

Physical proximity to the U.S. and distance from the Mexican metropolis influence not only practices in general such as those pertaining to the social order but also those related to commerce, trade, migratory flows, and culture and also influence the way local linguistic practices take place. Continuing internal migration from other parts of Mexico has resulted in the alternating lexical terms discussed here where the local meets national linguistic practices, where a local dialect interacts with other Mexican dialects and is also influenced by General American

and International English, a composite of the features of English which are easily understood by a broad cross-section of native and non-native speakers (Modiano, 1999:27) that global corporations use in the most diverse markets around the world.

In agreement with other theorists of practice (Giddens, Taylor, Bourdieu, and Rouse), Schatzki (2002) reminds us that social life involves a range of practices that entail an integral bundle of activities (Schatzki, 2002: 70-71), which he defines as an organized nexus of actions that embraces two overall dimensions: activity and organization (Schatzki, 2002: 71).

Border residents who are also border crossers engage in negotiation practices, political practices, banking practices, recreation practices, religious practices, educational practices, trading practices, medical practices, shopping practices and the like on both sides of the border. The myriad of activities they carry out leads them to interact in different settings with a variety of interlocutors with whom they engage in an array of linguistic practices that may explain the language processes attested by the LL such as translanguaging between languages and registers.

Language has also become a mobile resource which has resulted in linguistic practices that draw on multiple sources and modalities as people come and go. As a consequence we find in Tijuana a richer, more diverse LL than ever before where language mixing is commonplace, and an immigrant koiné dialect may arise as different Mexican Spanish dialects are shared in an increasingly more complex urban environment. The existing diglossic situation of alternating Spanish synonymous terms, regardless of their etymological origin, seems to point in that direction.

# APPENDIX

## List of tables

Table 1: List of domains and businesses on *Avenida Revolución*.

| Medical services | Especialista en niños (Pediatrician's office), Centro Óptico Revolución (Revolución Optical Center), Washington Dental Clinic, Odontología, Implantium de México, Consultorio (Doctor´s office), Clínica Dental Panamericana (Pan-American Dental Clinic), Unidad Médica San Diego (San Diego Medical Unit), Dentista, Dentist, Grupo Médico de Especialistas (Medical Group of Specialists), Dentista Óptica, Dentista, Medicine Store, Dental Clinic Smiles 4 Less, Dentist, ,General & Cosmetic Dentistry, General & Cosmetic Dentistry Services, I love my dentist, Consulta Médica (Medical consultation), Dentist. |
|---|---|
| Pharmacies and drug store industry | TJ Pharmacy, Meds $ Less Pharmacy, Internacional Farmacia, Farmacias Similares, Farmacia Drug Store Star, Pharmacy, Meds4u Pharmacy, Sanborns Drugstore. |
| Restaurant and service industy | Ristorante Italiano Vittorio's, Tortas Ranchito, Vainilla Chocolate, El Oasis Veggie Food, Intervalo Café, Sweet Bacon, Tacos La Revu, Fábrica de Crepas, Rhinos Tacos Grill, Desayunos Andy´s, Andy's Hamburguesas, La Casa de la Tlayuda, Le Galleria, El Cabo Mariscos, La Placita, Tostados Red Caffé, Crepas y molletes, Postres, Los Panchos Taco Shop, Giuseppis |

| | |
|---|---|
| | Cucina Italiana Ristorante, 58 Restaurante con Sabor, El Tucumano, Mariscos el Palmar, La Ferretería Pizza Yardas Concert Hall, Quicky´s Taco Fish, Angelo´s Pizza, Ice Cream 42 Sabores |
| Bar, tavern and nightclub industry | Lava Industrial Bar,Okko Bonko Club, Amnesia Show Girls, Las Pulgas Video Disco Bar, Disco Club, La María Cantina, Mi Pueblo Karaoke Bar, Club Paradise, La Pachanga Nightclub, Mykes, Black Box, La Tienda 6th, Karaoke Bar Revolución, Porky´s Place, Zebra Mexican Pub, El Circo de la Sexta, Salon Escape Club del Rancho Grande, El Rancho Grande, Deck 22, Mister Maguey, Comuna Cervecería Multiforo, El Torito Pub, Night Club El Zorro Beers and Girls, Disco Salsa Latino´s Bar, Colibrí Lounge, Margaritas Village,  New Aloha, Copeo Sports Bar & Discotheque, Lounge & Espresso Bar Fine. In this category we also find restaurant-bars such as La Terraza Deli-Bar, Sanborns Tienda Restaurante Bar, Bar & Grill Tia Juana Tilly's, El Artesano Restaurante Bar, Caesar's Restaurant-Bar, and El Torito Dulces y Mas Bar grill & Dance |
| Legal services | Abogados asociados (Law office), Business & Law Office. |
| Curios (crafts) stores | Angie's Place, Tolan, Leather Factory, Emporium, Casa del Ángel, Kentucky Curios, Pasaje El Sombrero, National & Regional Arts & Crafts, Mexico Curios, Azteca (also in Japanese), Ray's Shop, Emporium, Villa Colonial Imports Curios |
| Liquor stores | Leyva's Liquor, Licores Tavo's & Victor's, Licores, Licores Premium |
| Other businesses | Tattoo Studio, George Tattoos, Last Temptation, Car Audio Stereos, Hobby's & |

| | Toys, Hotel D'Elegantes, The Future Games, Delia's Fifth Avenue, Edificio Ciros, Discount Fine Cigars, Parking Revu, Estacionamiento Super 8, Estacionamiento Leyva's, Parking Público, Hotel Ticuan, Bike Tours, Tourismo Express Ticketon (banner), Bici Partes, Raul Bikes Pa'la linea, Sex Shop in the City, Book Covers for J.W.s YMWH, Hotel España, Tattoo Studio No Mercy, Rio Rita Shopping Mall & Gallery, Mr. Cachuchas, Namaste Spa, Billares El Palmar, Hotel Nelson, International Centro de Espectáculos, Sexy Rosa Boutique Romántica & Sex Shop, Habana Tijuana Smoker's Outlet, Bella Plaza, Viajes Monfort and Travel Agency, La Casa del Habano. |
|---|---|

Table 2: Signs found on *Avenida Revolución* with messages.

| English only | <ul><li>Caliente Casino</li><li>Lava Industrial Bar</li><li>Tattoo Studio No Mercy</li><li>George Tattoos</li><li>Last Temptation</li><li>Washington Dental Clinic</li><li>Amnesia Show Girls-Bar & Men's club</li><li>Business & Law office</li><li>Leather factory</li><li>Drugstore www.sanborns.com.mx</li><li>Porky's</li><li>Zebra Mexican Pub</li><li>Cesar's</li><li>Bike tours</li><li>Kentucky Curios</li><li>Leyva's Liquor</li><li>Black Box</li><li>Angie's Place</li></ul> |
|---|---|

| | |
|---|---|
| | • Car Audio Stereos<br>• Rio Rita  Shopping Mall & Gallery<br>• Book covers for J.W.s YMWH<br>• Welcome back to Tijuana |

| | |
|---|---|
| Spanish only | • Especialista en niños<br>• Abogados asociados<br>• Centro Óptico Revolución<br>• Tortas Ranchito<br>• Odontología<br>• Vainilla Chocolate<br>• Clínica Dental Panamericana<br>• Consultorio Doctor's office in Spanish<br>• Estacionamiento super 8<br>• Tacos La Revu<br>• La Pachanga<br>• Fábrica de Crepas<br>• El Rancho Grande<br>• El Circo de la Sexta<br>• Edificio Ciros<br>• Dentista, Licores<br>• Licores Premium<br>• Tequila Chamucos<br>• Pasaje<br>• Casa del Ángel<br>• Pasaje El Sombrero<br>• Hotel España<br>• Grupo Médico de Especialistas<br>• Dentista<br>• Óptica<br>• El Cabo<br>• La Placita<br>• Azteca<br>• Pasaje Revolución |

| | |
|---|---|
| | • Consulado de Austria<br>• El Torito<br>• El Tucumano Mariscos El Palmar, Billares El Palmar<br>• 58 Restaurante con sabor<br>• La Casa del Habano<br>• La Casa de la Tlayuda<br>• Unidad Médica San Diego |

| | |
|---|---|
| Messages by means of translanguaging (either recent or long-standing) | • El Oasis Veggie Food<br>• Implantium de Mexico<br>• Jai Alai Games El Foro<br>• Parking Revu<br>• Bar & Grill Tia Juana Tilly's Cantina desde 1947<br>• Tourismo Express Ticketon<br>• La Tienda 6th<br>• Desayunos Andy's<br>• Andy's Hamburguesas<br>• Salon Escape<br>• Club del Rancho Grande<br>• La Terraza Deli Bar<br>• El Circo de la Sexta bar & antro<br>• Mr. Cachuchas<br>• Villa Colonial Imports Curios<br>• La Ferretería Pizza<br>• Yardas Concert Hall<br>• El Sombrero Arcade |

| | |
|---|---|
| Unusual spellings/Mixed syntactic order | • George Tattoos<br>• Hobby's & Toys<br>• Intervalo Café  Abierto lattes frappés smoothies deli (sic) |

| | |
|---|---|
| | • La Maria Cantina<br>• Leather factory "see our artesans working"<br>• Club Paradise –Entrance<br>• Mi pueblo Karaoke bar<br>• Licores Tavo's & Victor's The last chance liquor store Duty free price<br>•  Estacionamiento Leyva's  Parking Leyva's<br>• Caffe a granel Chiapas Oaxaca y Veracruz<br>• La Placita Patio Restaurant Bar De Ma Luisa |

| | |
|---|---|
| Other languages | • Ristorante Italiano Vittorio's –Pizza, pastas, mariscos<br>• Okko Bonko<br>• Tolan<br>• Hotel Ticuán<br>• Giuseppis Cucina Italiana Ristorante<br>• Le Galleria Pizza a la Piedra |

Table 3: Slogans and additional information.

| | |
|---|---|
| Slogans and additional information | • Estacionamiento privado Private parking Se usará grúa, will be towed<br>• Papas a la francesa, empanada de queso, nuggets de pollo, Club sandwich, dedos de queso, nachos c/carne Abrimos desde las 6:00 PM<br>• Alarmas, bocinas, amplificadores, DVD, aire acondicionado, carga de freón, stereos<br>• Welcome back to Tijuana Tourismo Express Ticketon |

| | |
|---|---|
| | <ul><li>Wholesale and retail Briefcases, jewelry, watchs (sic),</li><li>Ladies nights Reserva la fecha para tu evento/</li><li>Pioneros de Av. Revolución desde 1935/</li><li>Bienvenidos Música en vivo Norteño y banda/</li><li>Habitación express Habitación sencilla Lunes a jueves bajo nueva administración, Habitación sencilla con jacuzzi, Hotel spa</li><li>Venta y reparación Cel desblokeo</li><li>Welcome amigos Música en vivo Bachata merengue</li><li>Suite 202</li><li>Add excitement to your sex life Haz más excitante tu vida sexual</li><li>Open Push Empuje Prohibida la entrada a menores de 19 años No admittance to anyone under 19</li><li>Monedas billetes compro de todo el mundo/</li><li>Cell (664)*******/ USA 323-*******</li><li>Desde 1982 Patio</li><li>Lobster and steak</li><li>Most complete store/ Genuine silver Most complete store/ Silver jewelry Mexican arts & crafts</li><li>Bienvenidos welcome capucino lattes espressos tés tizanos</li><li>Craft beer artesanal Stout pale ale blonde ale Witbier</li><li>U.S. insurance welcome</li><li>Saturday Sunday</li><li>Bordados, bordados y más bordados Lentes carteras bonetes sombreros guantes</li></ul> |

|  | <ul><li>Mix drinks Clamatos mojitos Paloma cubeta</li><li>Say no to drugs say yes to tacos</li><li>Restaurant Discotheque</li><li>Free pool tables the best drinks in the West Fun for everybody</li><li>Facial relaxing massage 30 USD Full body massage Facials Manicure & Pedicure Full service hair salon Open Come in Push Horario Se solicita recepcionista bilingüe Se solicita terapeuta corporal</li><li>Bar grill & dance Mexican food & sea food Free mechanical bull</li><li>Orthodontics, oral surgery, implants/ We accept most U.S. insurances Fast lane medical pass available</li><li>Best prices guaranteed</li><li>Medicine geriátricos Genéricos perfume/</li><li>Authentic Argentinian food Auténtica empanada argentina</li><li>La pasión nos une Carne (beef) Frijol (bean)</li><li>Restaurant familiar</li><li>Save up to 30% on all brand name medicine</li><li>Abierto Bienvenidos</li><li>We accept most U.S. insurances Fast Lane Medical Pass Credit and debit cards welcome</li><li>Vitamins geriatrics antibiotics diet products</li><li>Hot girls private dances Cold beer! WellCum!</li><li>The best people like you</li><li>Elevator heater/ Entrada/ Open</li><li>Consulta médica 60 pesos Doctor's office/</li></ul> |
| --- | --- |

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|---|---|
| | • We have the new diet pills Best prices guaranteed Nobody beats our prices/ |
| | •  Se vende |
| | • Open Sundays |
| | • Café pastel crepas frappe smoothie vasito pasteles cono cappuchino cono de waffle crepas |
| | • The best prices in town/ Rx |
| | • Monedas (on pay phone) |
| | • Hoy música en vivo Hombres 50 pesos Damas gratis |
| | • Combos desde $60 m.n.(incluye papas y soda) |
| | • The last chance liquor store Duty free prices |
| | • Karaoke solicita meseras ayudante de mesero de 18-25 |
| | • Entrance/Est. 1982/Abierto |
| | • Horario  All R/C (sticker) |

Table 4: List of gyms found in Tijuana.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. *Aldama's Muay Thai Gym* | 16. *Forxe Gym One* |
| 2. *Atlas Gym* | 17. *Leo's Gym & Fitness* |
| 3. *Balance Gym & Fitness* | 18. *LiftGym* |
| 4. *Bárbaros Gym* | 19. *Evodem X Gym* |
| 5.  *Be Barre Fitness Room* | 20. *Gladiator's Gym & Fitness* |
| 6. *Bodicore Tijuana* | 21. *Gym Evolution* |
| 7. *Body Fitness* | 22. *Hardcore Fitness* |
| 8. *Bosco Gym* | 23. *Hércules Gym y Fitness* |
| 9. *Coliseum Gym* | 24. *Korban Gym* |
| 10. *CrossFit Kalika* | 25. *Kosmos Fitness Center* |
| 11. *D'Yolis Gym* | 26. *MG Fitness* |
| 12. *D'Luis Gim* | 27. *Mojac Gym* |
| 13. *Family Fitness* | 28. *Monster Gym* |
| 14. *Físico Gym* | 29. *Natural's Gym* |
| 15. *Fit* | 30. *Neo Spa* |

31. *Olympus Gym & Fitness*
32. *People's Gym*
33. *Muscle & Curves Gym*
34. *Strong.im Centro de Entrenamiento Físico/Fitness*
35. *Symmetry Gym*
36. *Tamayo's Gym*
37. *TJ Fitness*
38. *Total Sport*

39. *Ultra Gym & Fitness*
40. *Universal Gym*
41. *Xcalibur Gym*
42. *XGym*
43. *Xtreme Baja Fitness*
44. *Xtreme Results Gimnasio*
45. *Working Body Fitness Center*
46. *World Gym* and
47. *Zeus Gym*

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