Understanding language ideologies in Puerto Rico: From colonialism to translanguaging

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Abstract

This thesis provides an historical analysis of the evolution of the monolingual paradigm in Puerto Rico. It traces the origins of the monolingual paradigm from the rise of the modern European nation-state, through US colonization of Puerto Rico, until present day Puerto Rican society. Critical discourse analysis is used to analyze a selection of excerpts which are representative of the language ideologies in their respective time period, and through this analysis, the common threads of the monolingual paradigm are highlighted. The purpose of this identification is to reveal the incongruities between language ideologies found in Puerto Rican classroom, and society as a whole, versus the language practices in Puerto Rican classrooms. Instead of the adhering to the language ideologies reflecting the monolingual paradigm, the thesis suggests a translanguaging paradigm to view language, one which is more reflecting of the Puerto Rican language reality.

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Resumen

Esta tesis presenta un análisis histórico de la evolución del paradigma monolingüe en Puerto Rico que parte de la idea moderna de un estado nación, abarcando desde la colonización de Puerto Rico por los Estados Unidos hasta la sociedad actual puertorriqueña. Los hilos de dicho paradigma monolingüe se tejen a partir del uso del análisis crítico del discurso (ACD) en uns selección de extractos que son representativos de las ideologías lingüísticas en sus respectivas épocas. La meta de esta identificación es revelar las incongruencias entre las ideologías lingüísticas que se sostienen en las escuelas en Puerto Rico y en la sociedad puertorriqueña en conjunto, en contraste con la verdadera práctica lingüística que tiene lugar en las instituciones educativas. Para evitar las limitaciones que implican estas ideologías lingüísticas y que se evidencian en el paradigma monolingüe, la tesis propone un modelo de "translanguaging", el cual refleja mucho más acertadamente las prácticas lingüísticas de la realidad puertorriqueña.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Objective

The purpose of this thesis is ultimately to emphasize the need for the transformation of language ideologies in Puerto Rican classrooms from a monolingual paradigm to a translanguaging paradigm. In order to understand what that would entail, it is necessary to define "translanguaging" and what the "transformation" to "translanguaging" would look like. Whittling it down to its most basic idea, translanguaging, starts with the idea that languages are not concretely separate entities as many identify them to be (as in the "Spanish" and "English" language). There are several other terms that can look similar to the idea of "translanguaging", and these include "translingualism", "code-meshing", "polylingualism"(García & Li, 2013). Though there can be overlap in these terms, what they all have in common is that they seek to alter the idea that monolingualism is the default state of language knowledge (Canagarajah, 2013). Sometimes, terms such as "Spanglish" or "Singlish", are created in order to capture the essence of a new language, by combining the names of two or more languages. However, the use of such terms can not only be a stigmatizing force to those who speak the language (Duany, 2002; Miller, 2004), but also, they must still rely on the monolingual paradigm as their "point of departure" (García & Li, 2013, p. 42). The translanguaging perspective seeks to go beyond classifying the use of individual languages in and of themselves, and instead, can be thought of as an umbrella term, which includes all of those aforementioned perspectives. García explains, regarding translanguaging, that "bilinguals have one linguistic repertoire from which they select features strategically to communicate effectively" (García, 2012, p. 1). Therefore, the transformation of such practices in the classroom would mean that both the teacher and the

individual student would seek to completely utilize the "one linguistic repertoire" of that individual student in all aspects of the class, whether it is in lecture/presentations, class activities, homework assignments, or tests/quizzes. This idea calls for a paradigm shift, so that both the teacher and student can recognize the "one linguistic repertoire" as normal, thereby using translanguaging practices to help most effectively address the needs of each particular student in the classroom.

In order to discuss a paradigm shift, it is pertinent to analyze the origins of the monolingual paradigm, which coincided with the formation of the European nation-state (Makoni & Pennycook, 2007). Though language was obviously used prior to this historical event, it was here where the idea of language, race, and locale, all came to intertwine; creating what has been recognized as the very first "nations" of the world, in the modern sense (Canagarajah, 2013). After looking at how this paradigm developed initially, I will discuss its evolution and its role during the European/American colonialism/imperialism in their colonized territories. Starting off with general European/American colonial language ideologies, I will then analyze how American colonial language ideologies played a part in the development and evolution of Puerto Rican language ideologies, and consequently, Puerto Rican identities. Moving to the present day, I will analyze prevalent language ideologies in Puerto Rico concerning the use of Spanish, English, and Spanglish, manifested both at the institutional and individual level.

Justification

Through a selected analysis of the evolution of the monolingual paradigm in Puerto Rico, from the creation of monolingual language ideologies until present day Puerto Rican, it becomes clearer not only why these particular language ideologies exist, but also, what are the outcomes

of the existence of such ideologies. Language ideologies are often presented institutionally (schools, media, literature) and they often do not reflect actual language practices. Rather, language ideologies are more likely to be conceptions of language, which are imagined by a group of people who have the power to impose these ideologies, in order to create a situation that is more beneficial to them (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Ideologies, then, are a specific group's idea of how things should be. However, over time, ideologies evolve from being merely *ideas* into a *reality;* this reality is confirmed then by both the producers of the ideologies, and those who were constantly exposed to those ideas (Culler, 1997, p. 95). The thesis seeks to align monolingual language ideologies found in Puerto Rican classrooms (Clachar, 1997a; Clachar, 1997b; Mazak & Herbas-Donoso, 2014) with actual translanguaging practices of many Puerto Rican students (Buchanan, 2014; Mazak, 2008; Mazak & Herbas-Donoso, 2014; Mazak & Herbas-Donoso, forthcoming). By legitimizing translanguaging in the classroom, students will be able to benefit both pedagogically (Lewis, Jones, & Baker, 2012) and socially (García & Leiva, 2014), leading to personal growth both inside and outside of the classroom (Crawford, 2004).

Research Questions

The analysis that will be conducted in the thesis seeks to first reveal the reasons for this incongruity between language ideologies and language practices. Next, it will look to question the usefulness of these language ideologies considering the way that our globalized world has evolved. This would also take into account the evolution of the relationship between mainland Puerto Ricans and island Puerto Ricans, and also the relationship between the languages of Spanish and English. The intention then, as previously mentioned, is to align language

perception and language practice. In order to do this, the thesis will seek to answer the following questions:

1.   Where do monolingual language ideologies come from and how have they evolved?

2.   How does colonization and the concomitant language ideologies it produced/is still producing affect or influence identities?

a.   At the global level?

b.   In Puerto Rican society? (specifically referring to American colonization)

3. Why is it necessary to normalize/accept translanguaging practices in Puerto Rico and how can it be done?

a. How could this transformation improve educational practices?

Methodology

This research paper will deal with a historical analysis of the evolution of language ideologies, using the monolingual paradigm as its starting point. It will analyze various stages of this evolutionary process, as each stage is necessary to more fully understand the present day language ideologies in Puerto Rican society. Looking both at the institutional and individual level (macro and micro-social levels, I will search for manifestations of the language ideologies that stem from the monolingual paradigm of language. In order to more concretely analyze the different language ideologies and their effect on identities, I will be using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), as defined by Wodak and Meyer in their work *Methods of Critical Discourse and Analysis.* As they state, CDA is generally "characterized by the common interests in de-mystifying ideologies and power through the systematic and *retroductable* investigation of semiotic data (written, spoken, or visual)" (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 3). Fairclough and Wodak (2007) regard language, or better yet discourse, as "socially constituted as well as socially

conditioned-it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people" (as cited in Meyer & Wodak, 2009, p. 6). In other words, discourse (spoken and written language), is inherently linked and contingent on the context in which it is presented, but reciprocally, it also has the power to create a new context and a new reality, because people who encounter that discourse are given a new way to see the world, which essentially, becomes their world. Discourses, then, have quite a transformative power; in the way they can have "major ideological effects- that is, they can help produce and reproduce unequal power relations between social classes, women and men, and ethnic/cultural majorities and minorities" (Meyer & Wodak, 2009, p. 6). Discourse helps give rise to certain ideologies, which give rise to new realities, as ideologies give people a way to evaluate the world, a way that becomes so ingrained and "normal" for them, that it no longer becomes a framework through which they see the world, but quite simply, it becomes a normal part of the world itself (Culler, 1997).

In order to analyze discourse effectively it must be done in a "critical" way, as "any social phenomenon lends itself to critical investigation, to be challenged and not taken for granted" (Meyer & Wodak, 2009, p. 2). As we have already seen, discourse has the ability to create new frameworks to see the world, which in effect, can change the world itself (as reality must have a lens through which one sees it). The idea of a "Critical Theory" is based on the thoughts of the Frankfurt School's Max Horkheimer, and is a social theory which "should be oriented towards critiquing and changing society" (Meyer & Wodak, 2009, p. 6). In other words, critically analyzing a certain phenomenon in society can help answer the question why things are the way they are, and can lead to revealing the "interconnectedness of things" (Meyer & Wodak, 2009, p. 7). Most importantly, critical theories want to help produce self-awareness and self-

reflection in the individual agents of society, as it seeks to "produce and convey critical knowledge that enables human beings to emancipate themselves from forms of domination through self-reflection" while simultaneously helping to "root out a particular kind of delusion" all in the interest of serving the "needs and interests" of the individual agent. (Meyer & Wodak, 2009, p. 7).

As already mentioned, CDA can be a framework used to critically analyze discourse related to any type of social phenomenon. This thesis will focus particularly on analyzing discourse related to the language ideologies that are present both at the institutional (school, media, government) and at the individual level. As the data for such an analysis can be quite ponderous, the manner in which I analyze the data is organized chronologically. First, I will look at discourse from the period of the formation of the European nation-state, which was where the monolingual paradigm was born (Canagarajah, 2013). Next, I will analyze discourse from European colonial rhetoric which segues into the American colonial rhetoric, focusing particularly on discourse directed to Puerto Ricans. I will look at discourse related to three specific events, and though they are chronological in their formation, they are not necessarily tied down to an exact event. First, I will look at American colonial discourse in relation to language and identity, which gave rise to certain language ideologies that still exist today. Next, I will look at discourse from Puerto Rican politicians and institutions (specifically after 1953 when Puerto Rico became a free associated state with its own constitution), which was a reactionary discourse seeking to replace some of the language ideologies presented to the island from US colonial discourse. Lastly, I will analyze discourse from institutions in Puerto Rico within the last decade or so, whose analysis will serve to manifest the "sustainment" and "reproduction" of the status quo which was established previously (Meyer & Wodak, 2009).

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From discussing whose discourse I will be analyzing, it is natural to follow this analysis with elaborating on how I will choose which discourse to analyze. As already mentioned, one of the prime purposes of CDA is to help "emancipate" individuals through the act of "self-reflection" (Meyer & Wodak, 2009). According to Van Dijk (1993) ideologies can be a "worldview" which in turn create "social cognition" leading to "schematically organized complexes of representations and attitude with regards to certain aspects of the social world" (as cited in Meyer & Wodak, p. 8). Taking such a view of ideologies, it becomes clear that language ideologies are created and perpetuated by a group of people and are not inherent within the structure of language itself, but rather, they are allocated by that particular group to indeed be an inherent aspect of a language or languages in general. Therefore, the discourse I will choose to analyze will reflect this idea that certain aspects of language are "natural", when in fact, it is merely the paradigm that is being used to view language that is convincing them that it is natural, which is reminiscent of the Gramscian concept of hegemony (Meyer & Wodak, 2009). Wodak and Meyer (2009, p. 8) state that using CDA to reveal ideologies must be done to reveal a particular kind of ideology, as "it is not the type of ideology on the surface of culture that interests CDA, it is rather the more hidden and latent type of everyday beliefs which often appear disguised as conceptual metaphors and analogies...attracting linguists' attention". Continuing along this line of thought, they claim that these ideologies become dominant as they "appear as 'neutral', holding on to assumptions that stay largely unchallenged" (Meyer & Wodak, 2009, p. 8). Through my analysis, I will attempt to sift through what the speaker deems as "neutral" or "natural" about the language/s they speak of (which will be predominantly English and Spanish), versus actual language use.

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In order to better operationalize the analysis that I will undertake, based on the data I have selected to analyze, I will be using a particular approach of CDA, called *Dispositive Analysis (DA)* (Meyer & Wodak, 2009). DA presents a way of seeing discourse and social reality as dualistic, where the "social actor" becomes the "link between discourse and reality" (Meyer & Wodak, 2009, p. 25). The discourse then transmutes, essentially becoming the social reality for those that are exposed to it, as this "epistemological position...denies any societal reality outside of the discursive" (Meyer & Wodak, 2009, p. 25). Within the discourse of DA, there are "linguistic indicators" that look to analyze certain aspects of discourse such as "figurativeness, vocabulary, and argumentation' (Meyer & Wodak, 2009, p. 28). More specifically though, DA analyzes certain aspects of language more than others, in order to determine how the discourse is responsible for framing the societal reality of people who live in a specific society, coming into contact with those specific discourses. The following is a list of both "qualitative" and "quantitative" aspects which I will use to analyze rhetoric and discourse in order to help decipher language ideologies that help create language realities: "intrinsic logic and composition of texts; the collective symbolism or 'figurativeness, symbolism, metaphors and so on; idioms, sayings, cliches, vocabulary, and style; actors (persons, pronominal structure); references, for example, to (the) science(s); the particular of the sources of knowledge"(Meyer & Wodak, 2009, p. 28). These aspects of language serve to make my analysis more concrete, as they will help direct my analysis by providing crevices within the discourse and rhetoric, through which I can explore at a deeper level the underlying language ideologies of the social actor/s that may not otherwise be visible at first glance.

Prospectus

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In the second chapter, I will begin with a comparison of Structuralist and Poststructuralist views of language (Canagarajah, 2013; García & Li, 2013; Blommaert & Rampton, 2011). After establishing the development of each view and what they entail, I will segue into how the structuralist view of language led to certain language ideologies in European society, which were firmly intertwined with the formation of the European nation-state. This structuralist view of language led to the idea that language, community, and place, all coalesced to play a key role in the rise of nationalism in Europe (Canagarajah, 2013).

After looking at this formation of the European nation state, I will look at how the rise of nationalism naturally led to a colonial race, becoming a prominent factor in the European colonial machine (Canagarajah, 2013). The interaction between the colonial powers and those they colonized served to further reify the language ideologies that had already developed with the rise of the nationalism, as it gave an opportunity to the colonizing European nations to go beyond simply imaging the "other". By having actual people fulfill the imposed role of the "other", the colonizers were now able to diffuse their own language ideologies so that these people, either by force or by choice, became exposed to the influence of language ideologies.

The final part of the second chapter unwinds with an introduction to what Canagarajah calls the "monolingual orientation" (Canagarajah, 2013). As a result of these European language ideologies, it has been common, yet slowly being challenged, to consider languages as homogenous entities, that are tied down to certain people, places, or groups (Makoni & Pennycook, 2007). This conclusion to the chapter, much like the chapter itself, is important to the thesis as it gives the reasoning to why such an orientation exists in Puerto Rican society. It is only by acknowledging the development of the language ideologies that gave rise to such an orientation that I can later question and challenge these ideologies and also look at the utility of

adhering to such language ideologies in present day Puerto Rican society, and more specifically, in educational settings.

Chapter three will look at monolingual language ideologies found in the educational setting. After analyzing how certain colonial language ideologies were presented as "real" or "natural" to the colonial subjects, this chapter will look at exactly how such a perspective could influence the "other". This chapter looks at several studies from current day researchers, who have looked at how minority students are affected on a daily basis because of the language ideologies inherent in the teaching of the English language. Using data recorded by other researchers, I will give my own analysis of how colonial language ideologies present themselves through both the actions and words of intuitions and individuals within those institutions. The chapter is relevant to the Puerto Rican context, as these studies reveal the debilitating potential to harm the identities, cultures, relationships, self-esteem, and well-being of those that either accept such language ideologies, or those that must endure the situations where others have the power to impose these language ideologies on them (the classroom, the media).

Chapter four will narrow its scope down to the US colonization of Puerto Rico, which started after the Spanish-American War in 1898. It will look at how US colonial rhetoric often paralleled that of the colonial rhetoric that preceded it, making connections to the previous chapter throughout. As described in the first chapter, colonial rhetoric often produced language ideologies because of the framework through which the colonizers saw themselves in relation to their colonial subjects. This creation of the "other", just as in previous colonial endeavors, became a prevalent and conspicuous aspect in the US colonization of the island (Duany, 2002). Through a critical analysis of the rhetoric stemming from US colonial governmental representatives, educators, and even the didactic material themselves, the language ideologies

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that US colonizers were trying to instill in their Puerto Rican colonial subjects is revealed. And as will be seen often, these language ideologies were presented in a manner that made them seem "real" or "normal", as opposed to merely the constructs of the colonial mind.

Chapter five turns to language ideologies conceived by Puerto Ricans themselves; namely the government, and cultural institutions. In this chapter, I will be analyzing the language ideologies found in Puerto Rican phenomenon of cultural nationalism, which started in the 1950's (Duany, 2002). In 1952 Puerto Rico's status officially changed from a colony to that of a Commonwealth of the United States. It is during the period following that date where Puerto Rican identity, at least the way it was portrayed to the public and to others outside of the island, was being constructed by Puerto Ricans themselves, as opposed to the US government (Duany, 2002). In this chapter, I will analyze rhetoric from predominantly two sources. The first is Luis Muñoz Marín, whose rhetoric often reflected his language ideologies, especially the idea that Spanish would be the crux of this "newly" imagined Puerto Rican identity. I will also analyze rhetoric coming from members of the Puerto Rican branch of the Real Academy of Spain, looking at the various language ideologies they are trying to convey to the public.

The purpose of chapter five is two-fold. First, it will show that language ideologies, just as languages themselves, are fluid entities which cannot necessarily be disentangled from one another, as one can often identify certain characteristics in competing language ideologies. This is the case with the language ideologies in this chapter, as they are reactionary in nature, because in the same way the US colonial powers saw the Puerto Ricans as "the other" which was essential in the construction of their colonial/subject dichotomous relationship, Puerto Ricans forged their own identities using the US culture, and particularly the English language, as a way to create a similarly structured, dichotomous relationship. Second, this chapter sets up the

following chapter where I analyze present day language ideologies in Puerto Rican society. By looking at both this chapter and chapter two, it gives us a clearer picture of both where these language ideologies come from, and also, why they exist. And again the ultimate goal in looking at these histories is to identify the language ideologies, no matter their source or who proposes them, as imagined and invented concepts which may seem "normal" or "real" when viewed only at the surface.

Chapter six will analyze the different language ideologies in current day Puerto Rican society, referring back to both the colonial language ideologies and also the reactionary language ideologies used to help forge Puerto Rican identity that came from the island itself. The data used in this chapter comes from original from research done by Mazak, which looks at language ideologies held by university professors at UPRM. In addition, it looks at an article by "El Nuevo Día" newspaper, which reveals and perpetuates certain language ideologies on the island; particularly, the idea of what it means to be "bilingual". And lastly, in the chapter I will analyze the content of the bilingual language policy entitled *Proyecto del ciudadano bilingüe,* to see which underlying language ideologies are present there.

Chapter seven withdraws from the Puerto Rican context, and looks again at the global setting. The chapter commences by using Blommaert and Rampton's article "Language and Superdiversity " (2011) to describe how previous conceptions and structures of language ideologies have become incompatible, or outdated even, given the new way globalization and technology has indelibly changed our world. After introducing this idea, which calls for a new paradigm through which we need to see language, the chapter will return back to the Puerto Rican setting looking at Jorge Duany's idea of "Puertoricanness" which calls for a transnationalistic view of identity (Duany, 2002). Duany argues that the idea of

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"Puertoricanness" must be more inclusive, given the evolution of the relationship between the US mainland and the Puerto Rican island, where neither territory nor language can be clear indicators of Puerto Rican identity.

In the final chapter, chapter 8, using Duany's view of transnationalism, complemented with Blommaert and Rampton's perspective on language and global diversity, I will argue that the language ideologies that permeate Puerto Rican society have become obsolete, and no longer reflect the way Spanish and English are used in society. Instead, I will suggest a different perspective on how to view language, translanguaging, which breaks out of the dichotomous view inherent within the language ideologies of the island, and instead molds to the individual language user, who uses language according to their own contextual, temporal, and local needs (García & Li, 2013). First, I will describe the origins of the perspectives. Then, I will discuss the various pedagogical and social benefits that such a paradigm shift could entail if incorporated in the classroom. Though translanguaging is a necessary paradigm shift to undergo everywhere in the world, it is of particular important in places where two or more "languages" have had such an intertwined history, and still constantly interact on a daily basis, as is the case of Spanish and English in Puerto Rico. The last part of the chapter will look at various studies about Puerto Ricans in the educational setting which display this post-structural view of language, highlighting the successful examples of translingual practices, and how they have been incorporated into the classroom by the educator, and also, how the students responded to them. Lastly, using previous research done outside of the island, I will offer suggestions and ways in which educators can help normalize translanguaging.

Chapter 2: Perspectives of Language and Language Ideologies

This chapter traces the creation of "language" as a discrete entity, looking at where, why, and how this concept arose in history (Makoni & Pennycook, 2007). It looks at various linguistic scholarship which stems from this idea of languages being inherently separate structures, but then turns to other current linguistic theories which have deconstructed this notion of language as naturally separate entities.

The purpose of these analyses of language is to see how they guide us to the creation of the European nation-state, and how that segues into the colonial project. Furthermore, because the invention of language reflected the inventor's own ideologies, there was a concomitant birth of language ideologies that came along with the "invention" of language itself (Makoni & Pennycook, 2007). This chapter is therefore pertinent because as we analyze the language ideologies that stem from the European colonial project, we are given a backdrop for both current and past language ideologies in Puerto Rico, a former US colony. It is also relevant for later chapters, as the *monolingual paradigm* is often at the base of language ideologies in today's world, where one language is often tied to a specific ethnicity, race, territory, or culture (Canagarjah, 2013).

What is language? – The Structuralist View

There is no definitive answer to this question, but rather, it is contingent on whom you ask. According to the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure, language is an arbitrary system of signs that produces meaning when the person who interacts with language associates a specific meaning to the arbitrary sign they encounter (García & Li 2013). Therefore the focus of what constitutes a language, according to Saussure, is based on the system itself. Meaning is constant, as neither the arbitrary signs, nor the meaning produced from encountering the sign, are prone to

change. His idea that language could be studied as a fixed formal system gave rise to the ideas of

langue and *parole* (García & Li 2013). *Langue* was the fixed abstract system of language itself,

impermeable to the user's influence, while *parole* was the actual use of the language.

Noah Chomsky, using this idea as the basis his Universal Grammar (UG), created a

parallel between Saussure's langue and parole conception of language, saying that language was

broken down into *competence* and *performance* (Troike, 2006). *Competence* was derived from

the UG that every human possessed; the infallible system of language that every human is born

with. This system is then brought into existence in *performance*, as the native speaker knows

what is "correct" or "incorrect" *performing* in her/his own native language, because s/he was

endowed with: the perfectly developed system of UG.

In such a conception of language, the native speaker has the power to also determine

what is "correct" or "incorrect" with regards to others' using their language, as each person has

access to their one specific system of UG, deriving from their native language (Canagarjah,

2013). The focus in this conception of language is on the language itself, seeing it as a fixed and

static entity, one that dictates how it must be used, disempowering the user of the language. This

conception of language is known as Structuralism, as it conceives of language as an impervious

"structure". This view on language has resulted in language becoming "an objectively analyzable

product" (Canagarajah 2013, p. 23). Structuralism has had repercussions that extended beyond

language, as it led to "mind, society, and culture", all aspects that rely on language for existence

and meaning, becoming conceived of autonomous, self-maintaining systems (Canagarajah,

2013).

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The Post-Structuralist View

  While the Structuralist conception of language focuses on the universal concreteness of language and its structure, the post-structural movement places emphasis externally, analyzing how humans use language independently of the structures of a language. In the Post-Structuralist view, communication is emphasized, and the speaker has the ability to adapt language to their individual needs and desire for that exact moment (García & Li, 2013). This idea, because it is based externally as opposed to the internal focus of structuralism, is infinitely dynamic, as individuals, situations, and contexts are wholly unique from moment to moment (Li, 2011). Russian scholar, Mikhail Bakhtin, was one of the first to challenge the "strictly mentalist" conception of language from the Structuralist school of thought, as he emphasized the context of language was more relevant than the actual structure of language. He proposed the idea that language could never be disentangled from the "perspective and ideological positioning" of the speaker (García & Li, 2013). The Post-structuralist view of language focuses on how, why, where, and with whom language is used, as opposed to the system of the language itself. It will be important to keep in mind these conceptions of what constitutes "language" as we analyze the interdependent inventions of language and the modern nation-state, and the concomitant language ideologies through such a process.

  The notion that languages are discrete and distinct entities is not a natural one (Makoni & Pennycook, 2007). By merely taking a look at the lexis of a language and the etymology from that lexis, it is evident that words, and therefore, languages, are not abiogenetic, coming into existence from wisps of nothingness. The study of the etymology of words displays the diverse and dynamic journeys that words have undertaken throughout history, transgressing time, space, meaning, pronunciation, and orthography. Even the most perfunctory glimpse into a word's

etymology suggests that words could never belong to a "language"; rather, they are created, exchanged, appropriated, and naturalized by people through their social interactions. Just as humans do not live in isolation completely separate from other humans, language could also never exist in such a way. After all, if language is used as a way to communicate between humans, conveying the vast array of human experiences, languages must inherently overlap. Languages overlap both physically, as groups of peoples with differing language practices live in proximity of one another; and metaphorically, as texts transcend time and space, while influencing the language practices of those who encounter it (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011).

Language is one of the methods we use to share our humanity, and it is impossible that it could be an isolated entity, cut off from other languages. If languages were indeed separate and discrete entities, it would suggest that two humans speaking different languages would never been able to empathize with one another, as their separate languages dictate that they have separate life experiences and different ways of seeing the world, making their human exchange irreconcilable.

Invention of "Language"

Canagarajah claims that the European movement of Romanticism was the defining point where language came to take on a meaning that went beyond its actual use, as "language embodied the innermost spirit, thought, and values of the community" (Canagarajah 2013, p. 20). Instead of language being merely a form of communication, a practical means to an end, it evolved to represent something else. Instead of having a fleeting existence based on the individual user and her/his intentions for that moment; it existed to give meaning beyond its actual usage. With the rise of this European movement, language became a metonym, representing the values and concepts of those who chose to use that language. With this

metonymization of language, its power became inflated. Once people began to associate their personal beliefs and thoughts to the very language they used, it would be unlikely that they would want to use another language, one that stood for someone else's personal beliefs and ideas. And conversely, they would be wary to consider another user of their language as authentic, since those people could not possibly possess nor share the same personal beliefs and values ascribed to their language.

In the fear of having other foreign beliefs and ideas infiltrate their own through the medium of another's language, languages had to be made concrete; they had to be a defined, so as to keep out other languages. In other words, languages had to be invented, thus producing languages such as "Spanish" and "English" (Makoni & Pennycook, 2007). For example, Canagarajah (2013), argues that the English language, far from being a single, discrete entity, "has always been a creolized language, meshing with diverse other languages in its development" (Canagarajah, 2013, p. 52).

Language standardization was the next logical step in this process of inventing languages. Because languages are naturally fluid and dynamic entities created by the person who uses it at a particular moment, any classification of what constitutes a language would have to be inherently arbitrary. What is included and excluded as components of a "language" must be decided by a dominant power. The decision to dictate what is a language and what is not a language is inherently biased. Whatever values the dominant powers possess will be reflected in the "language" they invent. Furthermore, by having the physical means to propagate the invention, they are able transmute their abstract concept of "language" into concrete power (Willinsky, 1998). Standardization of language during this period of European history took place particularly through schools, textbooks, and mass media (Canagarajah, 2013). Therefore, the institutions

through which this standardization was taking place were also responsible for transmitting the values that were instilled in these "new" languages. These institutions became tools and were the manner in which those in power could perpetuate their values and ideas.

These institutions were highly effective as they could simultaneously codify the language of those in power, while disseminating the results of such codification. Dictionaries and set grammars were also tools on which these institutions relied to codify the invention, because they further cemented the idea of language as a single, uninterrupted entity (Makoni & Pennycook, 2007). In fact, these were particularly important because they created the illusion that languages were indeed real objects instead of the dynamic and transient entities that they otherwise would be, in its spoken form. Dictionaries or grammar books are both palpable, physical objects, and they convey the idea that specific languages also possess such qualities. The natural consequence of the invention of language was an ideology that languages were naturally countable and separate, which became one of the foundations of the modern nation-state (Makoni & Pennycook, 2007).

The Role of Language in the Modern Nation-State

In their book *Empire*, Hardt and Negri argue that a nation is in reality a "multitude" and it is only through the process of converting that multitude into a "people" that a nation truly is born (Hardt &Negri, 2000, p. 103). The "multitude" is neither homogenous nor shares an identity with each other, and because of this, the individuals that make the multitude are naturally inclusive of those outside of her/himself. The "people" on the other hand is homogenous, shifting towards a common identity, which excludes all those who do not share this identity. This common identity is not real, but imagined (Anderson, 1991). And the "multitude" becomes a "people" when they

identify "a territory embedded with cultural meanings, a shared history, and a linguistic community" (Hardt &Negri, 2000, p. 105).

The birth of language and nation was interdependent, as they were "dialectically co-constructed" (Makoni & Pennycook, 2007, p.8). Language, community, and place meshed into a single entity forming the spirit, essence, and identity of a nation (Canagarajah, 2013, p.20). The creation of language and nation were both imagined inventions, immanent constructions, only revealed to the reality of the world by the actions of those who believed in their existence. Language was vital in the invention of the nation-state, but it also had a social role by creating a fixed identity, or more accurately, by imaging identity as fixed. Identity, similarly to language, is amorphous and dynamic. However, by "linking language and national identity", those in power were able to ascribe a certain identity to the "people" (Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2004, p.32).

Because the language that was invented was a reflection of the dominant class's values, the parallel between language and identity meant that by being ascribed a national-identity, citizens were inheriting the same values proscribed to the national-identity once they used the language of that national-identity. Because nation and language were intertwined in such a way, the "hegemony of nation" also meant the "hegemony of language" (Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2004). Language surpassed its role as merely a means to communicate and it became the means to create a political and national identity (Torres-González, 2002).

The creation of the "other". By imagining an identity based on language and nation, the "people" who were in reality a "multitude" were also compelled to imagine the "other". The "other", would include all those that did not fall under these imagined criteria (Anderson, 1991; Hardt &Negri, 2000). As Makoni and Pennycook explain, "the position from which others' languages and histories were invented was not a preformed set of extant ideologies, but rather

was produced in the process" (Makoni & Pennycook, 2007, p. 2). Therefore, the "other" as created in the birth of the modern nation, was not based on any inherent aspect of the "other", but rather, was based on what the creators (dominant powers) that the "other" did not see in themselves. It is general and intentionally vague, as indeed, the term "the other" can refer to literally any person but yourself. Essentially, anything that you did not see, or did not want to see in yourself, could be classified as "the other". One result of such production of identity was its effect on language. As previously explained, language and identity were so intertwined, that this conception of identity would naturally spill over to how people conceived language. With the creation of this binary opposition, this imagined "self" versus the imagined "other", the idea of a *linguistic market* also became present (Bourdieu & Thompson, 1991). Within a *linguistic market*, one language is bound to have a higher "currency" than the other. What deems a language more "valuable" is based on the language ideologies that the dominant power ascribes to the languages that are "available" in this market.

Language ideologies in the European nation-state. Though language ideologies have obviously existed as long as language itself has existed, here, I will be focusing the creation of language ideologies with regards to this specific period of history. Before delving into the creation of language ideologies within this specific period of history, it is necessary to define the term. A language ideology is how a language is perceived by all those who come into contact with it, and how this perception influences not only the usage of that language (or other languages), but also the way they think, behave, or live. It includes not only language practice, but also values and beliefs associated with that language (Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2004). Because of the dominant role language plays in human existence, it is only logical that the perception of a language would have such an extensive influence on identity, not only in terms of

language, but in also how one thinks or acts. Language also plays a key part in shaping our reality, perhaps not changing reality itself, but serving as a lens which guides us to notice certain parts of reality more so than others (Culler, 1997). Blackledge and Pavlenko highlight the power of language stating, "Language ideologies are positioned in, and subject to their social, political, and historical contexts" (Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2004, p.30). In that way, language ideologies are never only about language itself. Due to the historical process during the aforementioned "invention" of language, language became subsumed by identity, through personal values and beliefs, invested in that language. It also became subsumed by power, through ability for the dominant group to dictate what will be deemed a "language", and thereby dictating the *linguistic market.*

Bourdieu's idea of a *linguistic market* is relevant to mention because in order for the invented language of the nation to be accepted as the language of the country, there must be a *misrecognition* of its inherent superiority over any other potential "languages" that could be used. This can be seen in places where there is a presence of multiple languages, or even dialects. One language or dialect is held in esteem over the others, because of the power of privileged group. One example can be seen with the presence of Black English in United States' classrooms, where though it may nominally be regarded as "sharing equal prestige" with "Standard English", it is still labeled as "informal", thus "reinforcing a superior/inferior linguistic dichotomy" (Young, 2013, p. 142).

The acknowledgement that a language is superior by both the "hegemonic institution" and the "subordinated group" results in a domination of the subordinated group by the hegemonic institution (Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2004, p.11) This domination is evident in the

"discourse that constructs beliefs at state, institutional, national, and global levels" (Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2004, p.29)

   The role of language ideologies in the colonial project. Once certain language ideologies during this period were composed, *linguistic dominion* followed (Willinsky, 1998). The idea that one language is inherently more apt to serve a certain purpose or certain situation is arbitrary and in no way objective, seeing as no one could ever analyze all the languages ever to have appeared on the planet. This subjectivity leads the producers of such language ideologies to have a feeling of superiority of other languages or people who use other languages, as the language ideologies they compose are believed to be a result of the naturally occurring phenomenon in language, dictating how, when, where, which language/s should be used and why.

   The formation of such ideologies was a stepping stone to colonialism, as they served as an impetus to see the colonized as the "other" (Willinsky, 1998). This "other" would have to be imagined as inferior to the colonial "self". Otherwise, there would be no way to justify the imagined self and perpetuate its existence. Canagarajah makes this known by claiming that the invention of language and the resulting idea of languages being seen as separate from one another provided the avenue to promulgate one language more superior to all others, stating "their superiority…based on their access to truth and knowledge can understandably set off a contest over which language is most conducive to progress (Canagarajah, 2013, p.24).

   Colonial identity is inherently exclusive. To colonize someone and subject them to your rule implies that you believe you are superior to them. Franz Fanon, in Hardt and Negri's *Empire,* states that "The colonial world is a world cut in two" (as cited in Hardt &Negri, 2000, p. 124). This binary division of the colonial world is at once responsible for both the foundation

and justification of European colonization. Without this "negative construction" of the other, colonialism would be unsustainable, as European identity itself would cease to exist without "the other" (Hardt &Negri, 2000, p. 124). The fact that the colonizers had the physical means, due to technological and scientific developments, to colonize these subjects only reinforces the idea that the colonialist fervently believed in their superiority over the colonized subjects.

Because the colonialists were no longer near their territory, they had to have a manner in which they could impose their rule and forge the same "spirit" in the colony that was responsible for the rise of their nation. Willinsky calls this idea *linguistic dominion,* and it is one of the most effective ways that colonialism was often able to perpetuate itself as long as it did (Willinsky, 1998). It was necessary to transfer this spirit and the values of the parent nation to the colonized territory in order to maintain the colonial relationship between the colonial power and the colonial subject.

Willinsky believes that colonialists were well aware of the potential of *linguistic dominion*, executing it in a Machiavellian manner it in order to create a physical subservience from their subjects to the colonial governments. One such example is in 1492, when Antonio de Nebrija offered Queen Isabella the *Grammatica de la Lengua Castellana*, and this Queen Isabella knew the power she had with this gift (Willinsky, 1998). She used this standardized language given to her as a way to assert her control of her colonies, giving her an "educated tongue that would effectively communicate its authority to the farthest reaches of nation and empire while minimizing the likelihood for any back talk" (Willinsky, 1998, p. 191). The language of the colonizers therefore became a way to not only have power of the colonized, but also to silence them, as they would not be equipped with the ability to "respond" in a way that the colonizers could understand them.

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The transposition of values and concepts from the colonialist parent nation to the colonized territory could indeed be carried out through various means (intentional/unintentional destruction of colonized peoples, repopulation of colonial territory by colonialists, fear, or coercion). However, perhaps the most effective way to transpose these values and concepts would be through *linguistic dominion.* The colonial language, it was imagined, already possessed language ideologies which proclaimed it possessed the same values and concepts of the nation it came from, inherently embedded within the language. All that was needed was a way to propagate the language within the colonial setting.

Linguistic dominion **in colonial settings.** Canagarajah (2013) points out, there were colonial institutions responsible for carrying out this idea of *linguistic dominion,* namely schools, newspapers and other forms of media. These institutions attempted to instill their superiority in the colonial subjects by presenting them language ideologies within the didactic material they presented to their subjects (Nealon & Giroux, 2012). In fact, with the Charter Act of 1813, Britain took the initiative to renew their educative efforts in their Indian colonies, thus giving birth to the first studies of English Literature as an independent subject (Nealon & Giroux, 2012). Teaching literature to colonial subjects was not done to enlighten the colonial subjects and their own culture, but rather, to demonstrate the superiority of the colonial culture, allowing the subjects to convince themselves of their own inferiority vis-à-vis their colonial rulers. This idea was clearly expressed a by a high-ranking British official in Bombay, where he claims,

> The Natives must either be kept down by a sense of our power, or they must willingly submit from a conviction that we are more wise, more just, more humane, and more anxious to improve their condition than any other rulers they could possibly have (Viswanathan, 1988, p. 86).

Important within this quote is the idea that by accepting the rule of the colonial masters, the subjects must also agree to their own inferiority. The very necessity of even needing a "ruler", an ideal on which one can base their own personal convictions and demonstrate the behavior that manifests such, is an indication of how colonial powers desired to portray the dichotomous relationship between colonial master and colonial subject.

The quote also highlights a concept proposed by Italian theorist, Antonio Gramsci, who argues that it is the tacit acceptance of certain cultural influences, instead of manifestations of power, that create more stability, as the ones who are accepting the rule of the superior power are not always aware that it is happening, since they themselves are willingly participating in the subjugation (Nealon & Giroux, 2012). This notion of domination through ideologies deliberately and subtlety implanted in a society through various means is called *Gramscian Hegemony,* and as Willinsky has made clear, it was particularly visible in regards to how colonial language was presented to the colonial subjects. This notion relies on perpetuating the rule of those in a powerful group through the unknowing accepting of the structure by those in the inferior group. Language ideologies work along the same lines, in that, they offer people a structure or lens to see a particular language that may seem natural, which then encourages others who come in contact with the same language, to also think in that same way. *Linguistic dominion* and *Gramscian hegemony* go hand in hand in the role of language ideologies within the colonial context, in the way they try to convince the "other" to accept the dominance of the colonial powers.

To summarize, the colonialist language was seen as inherently more "efficient" as means of communication between people and also cognitively more advanced than the "backward" languages of the colonized (Canagarajah, 2013, p.25). Because language entailed so much more

than a means of communication in the process of European nation-state formation, it took to the same metonymic importance as it did when it was being imported into colonized territories. Colonial language was superior because it represented internal values and beliefs that were superior. And because language was created to represent personal values and beliefs, the very essence of one's being, it is only natural that when colonists perceived language as superior to the "other", that they would also perceive themselves superior in all aspects of their humanity, whether it be comparing physical, cognitive, or cultural traits. Therefore, the dichotomy created between the colonial language and the "other's" language was in essence the same dichotomy created between the colonial self and the colonial "other". This transmutation from the colonial imagined self to the colonial invented language resulted in language having the potential to be used as a means of conquering.

The Monolingual Paradigm

After looking at the European invention of "language" and how it played a vital part in not only creating European identity through the invention of the nation-state, we have come to the current idea that is prevalent in society of the "monolingual orientation" (Canagarajah, 2013). This idea stems from the belief that there exists a "mother tongue", which is spoken by a "native speaker". The existences of these terms, which give credibility and normalize the paradigm of the monolingual speaker, are a direct result of this entire process of the invention of language. As a French Army manual from the late 1800s clearly outlines, "we call our mother tongue the tongue that is spoken by our parents, and in part, by our mother (that which is) spoken also by our fellow citizens and by the persons who inhabit the same place as we do" (Weber, 1976, p. 311 as cited in Makoni & Pennycook 2007, p 9).

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The idea of a monolingual orientation then implies the complete homogeneity of not only the language used in one's household, but also the language used in society. The monolingual orientation, arising concurrently with the progress of "empirical science, industrialization, and bureaucracy" in late 1800s western European society, was convenient for the necessary (and logical) conversion of language for that particular society, as it caged an amorphous and infinitely-shifting idea of language, into one which became "an objective analyzable product" (Canagarajah, 2013, p.19). The monolingual orientation "promised efficiency, control, and transparency", characteristics that were not only embedded in the Enlightenment, but were also required for the linguistic dominion of the colonies that the Europeans were going to rule (Canagarajah, 2013, p.19). Indeed, a monolingual orientation was quite necessary in European colonial endeavors, as it gave them a manner to control the colonies, by forcibly creating certain language ideologies which allowed them to assert their superiority in a more inconspicuous way. By creating environments where the colonial languages and subjects' languages came together, the arena for the manifestation of colonial language ideologies was set, and these language ideologies reinforced the idea of the monolingual orientation. The monolingual orientation is further explained by Canagarajah, as he provides certain attributes of such an orientation:

One language = One identity

Languages are pure and separate

Language=Community=Place

Communication based on grammar rather than practice (Canagarajah, 2013, p.20).

These are all attributes which have been analyzed already, but it is necessary to reiterate them, as the *monolingual orientation,* or the *monolingual paradigm*, as I will refer to it, is the lens through which many people in the world perceive language. People often "naturally"

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classify languages, associating to a group of people or a specific place. However, it is important

to recognize that such an orientation, far from being natural, was invented to serve a certain

group of people for a specific purpose. This is especially important in places where there is more

than one language present, and a *linguistic market* is present, as is the case in Puerto Rico with

Spanish and English. In the final chapter, I will present more in depth the translanguaging

paradigm, which aims to challenge this monolingual paradigm of language, with the hopes of at

least recognizing its artificiality. However, the following chapters will look at the role of the

monolingual paradigm in the creation and perpetuation of language ideologies in Puerto Rico.

Chapter 3: How the *Monolingual Paradigm* affects "the Other"

The purpose of this chapter is to show how the monolingual paradigm and its language ideologies affect "the other" in terms of how "the other" imagines their own identities. In particular, I will be looking how these language ideologies affect students in the educational setting. Language ideologies that are present in educational settings influence both teachers and students, and are manifested in several ways. First, it is present in the relationships between teachers and students, and also in the relationship between students and their peers. In the studies I present in this chapter, I will look at how the dominant power (in terms of school policies/teachers/student peers) regards the "other". On the other side, I will analyze how the "other" perceives both self, in terms of their own identity, and the dominant power. The second way these language ideologies are visible is in the way students interact with the "dominant" language, which in all the examples present in this chapter, is English. Their interactions with English language manifest their attitude towards the language itself, in relation to their own language, and their own identities. Lastly, the language ideologies of the dominant powers are recognized by analyzing the various labels the dominant group imposes upon the subordinate group. At the educational settings presented in this chapter, the continual adherence to insidious labels such as Native Speaker/Non-Native Speaker (NS/NNS), Language Minority, and English as Second Language speaker (ESL) clearly delineate the two different types of language speakers. These labels highlight the dichotomy between "native" speaker who has authority over his or her language, and the language learner, who can be seen as deficient. These terms have a large influence on which roles the students and the teachers will have in the classroom, as they perpetuate the monolingual paradigm and all its inherent ideals. These labels affect the "other" as they are coerced into these concrete classifications which conceive them as inherently inferior, or

even deficient. Consequently, they are prone to construct their own identity within the framework of the dominant group's language ideology. Even if they themselves do not believe they fit within those labels, they have no alternatives, and are left in a state of confusion, with no definitive identity.

Though this chapter does not include any studies which reference Puerto Rico, it is pertinent to the thesis. The language ideologies founded in the *monolingual paradigm* have the potential to affect people in any locale where there are two or more languages present, especially if one of the languages was imposed in that locale. All the studies I present in this chapter are based on the influence of the language ideologies that are present when teaching the English language to the "other".

Silencing of the "Other"

In her article titled "Identity and Language Use: The Politics of Speaking ESL in Schools" Jennifer Miller traces the three-year long experiences of ten ESL students at an Australian high school trying to adjust from their exclusively ESL school into a "real" school (Miller, 2004). As the students try to adjust to such a big change in their lives, they encounter difficulties that stem from the language ideologies they encounter at their school. Through my own analysis of the data presented in Miller's chapter, I connect the experiences of the students in this case study to the idea Willinsky (1998) has of silencing the "other". This concept, presented in the first chapter, played a pivotal role in colonial language ideologies. The "other" often faced silencing through their inability to respond to the colonial power, as they were forced to use a language that was not their own. Willinsky indicates this, stating that a standardized colonial language would be an "educated tongue that would effectively communicate its

authority to the farthest reaches of nation and empire while minimizing the likelihood for any

back talk" (1998).

Miller explains that there are tendencies for the dominant speaker, upon hearing an

accented, non-native speaker, to reject any sense of responsibility in the "communicative act"

(2004). As the decision to refuse to communicate with the "other" stems from the NS/NNS

dichotomy that the dominant speaker has internalized, it seems only logical that they would also

internalize the superiority of values inherent within the structure of the dichotomy. This is

evident when Miller points out that there comes to be "a negative evaluation not just of the

accent, but of the social identity of the speaker" (Miller, 2004, p. 294). Miller notes that

mainstream students often yelled out negative comments, including "can't hear", when the ESL

students would try to speak up in the classroom. The mainstream students also complained that

their ESL peers were "inaudible" (Miller, 2004, p. 296). At the core of such treatment of the ESL

students by their mainstream peers, I see the colonial language ideologies which try to "silence"

the colonial "other". By belittling their ESL peers for their accents, the mainstream students

literally are not letting them speak and express themselves. In such an environment, it is unlikely

that the ESL students would have a desire to express themselves; as such treatment can surely

devalue their sense of self-worth.

This type of silencing of the "other" was not only done by mainstream students, but also,

by the teachers at the institution. A mainstream teacher directed this comment at a foreign

student in the case study, "You don't listen to what I say. You don't even understand English!"

(Miller, 2004, p. 304). Through this quote, we see another instance of "silencing" of the other, as

the teacher interrupts the student trying to make her voice heard in class to exclaim that in fact,

she needs to be listening to him, and not the other way around. Furthermore, the teacher looks to

silence the student in the future by criticizing her abilities to express herself in the first place. The teacher ignores the student's opinion, deeming that because she is an incompetent speaker, her opinion is not of value. This silencing occurred despite the fact that that particular student spoke "functional, though accented English" (Miller, 2004, p. 304). This demonstrates that it was not the ESL students' inability to express themselves, but rather, the rejection of the ESL mainstream students that led to the "silencing".

As the mainstream students (and teachers) ignored the ESL students throughout their high school experience, several of the students felt that they were neither "liked nor accepted" by the mainstream Australian students (Miller, 2004, p. 303). This led to feelings of social isolation, in which they based their identity on the ability to communicate with others. This type of oppression and "silencing" of the "other" by the dominant power can "lead to subordinated social groups to feel ambivalence and insecurity in regard to cultural identity" (Harklau, 2000, p. 106).

Though one could argue that the foreign students at this school were merely experiencing xenophobic tendencies from the Australians mainstream students, this seems not to be the case in Miller's study. The ESL students noticed other Asian students who were born in Australia, and looked at the Australians' interactions with the Asian students, stating "If your English is as fluent as Australian students, the Australian students do not really see you that much differently. I saw them talking to those Asian students whose English is good in the same way as they would to other Australian students" (Miller, 2004, p. 310). This quote highlights and reinforces the idea that the "native" speakers of English are perceived as superior, as communication is not nearly as vital as "sounding right".

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In this study done by Miller, traces of colonial language ideologies lead to exclusion and ridicule of the ESL students. These language ideologies are evident in not only how students and teachers treat the foreign students, but also in the way foreign students perceive the mainstream students. I also see a connection to the idea of "sounding right," which is similar to the idea of "silencing", as stemming from colonial language ideologies, and the authority of the native speaker inherent in the *monolingual paradigm* (Canagarajah, 2013). During these types of social exchanges, the silencing of the "other" was done by the dominant power, as they ignored the content (functional competence) of what the "other" was saying, and focused on the form (accent) of the speaker. The dominant power could determine what "sounded" right, and this power then in turn could "silence" the subordinate "other".

Acknowledging the "Dominant Power" as Superior: *Gramscian Hegemony*

As I mentioned in the introduction, one way the "other" is affected by language ideologies is through interaction with the language itself. As colonial language ideologies present the colonial language as inherently superior to all other languages, this superiority becomes even more prominent when there is a direct interaction between the colonial language and the language of the "other". When the "other" comes into contact with the colonial language, it is possible that they acquire these same thoughts about the colonial language, namely that it is inherently superior to their own language. This section has direct links to the Puerto Rican context, as both students (Clachar, 1997a; Clachar, 1997b) and teachers (Mazak & Herbas-Donoso, 2014) deem English as more effective than Spanish when it comes to learning or teaching about science or literature.

Canagarajah in "Multilingual Writers and the Struggle for Voice in Academic Discourse" (2004), introduces a Ukrainian student who signs up for an ESL class at her school. Canagarajah

uses *textography*, an interpretation of texts in the light of ethnographic information, as a way to gauge her sense of identity through an analysis of her writing. He analyzes how his students perceive self in relation to the hegemonic forces of the English language. I will be re-analyzing the student's sense of identity through my own interpretation of the data, in order to detect the influences of the colonial ideologies present for students learning English an in ESL setting.

The student starts off her essay saying she believes she speaks English well, but her writing needed some improvement. "That is not that I could not write or I did not know the letters, that is just I did not know much about the structure and developing of the American essay… So, I decided: 'I should take the ESL class'" (Canagarajah, 2004, p. 266). It is clear that the student did not feel confident in her writing abilities, despite the fact that she could easily communicate in English. She believes that it is only through taking the ESL class and ascribing to the role of an ESL student that she can find self-betterment. I mention this because she is explicit about the fact that she can write in English, but she states that she is unaware of how to write an "American essay". No matter how well she writes in English, she feels herself still in want of improvement because she has not learned about the structure "American essay". She equates proper or perfect English writing with the American nationality or American culture. Differing from the ability to communicate or express herself, the Ukrainian student assumes no matter how well one can speak or write in English, they cannot speak or write *well* if it is not American.

To further reinforce this idea of inferiority as a result of colonial language ideologies, she says "…in Ukraine we do not write in same way as we do here. After I started to write essays as I was taught in America, I found that writing was not simple" (Canagarajah, 2004, p. 267). This quote clearly demonstrates the language ideologies of the student by portraying the relationship

between English and her native Ukrainian. By saying "I found that writing was not simple", she implies that writing in Ukraine and thereby writing in Ukrainian language itself, as inferior. One might argue that writing in any language that is not your "first language" will be harder to express yourself in, but she does not say "easy", but rather "simple". Ukranian writing for her would then be considered elementary, straightforward, easy to understand, while American writing is more complex or convoluted, taking more effort to comprehend.

Lastly, the student writes, "I would say that everybody who feels like to get some knowledge in writing should attend ESL classes" (Canagarajah, 2004, p. 267). This quote emphasizes the power of the English language within the ESL classroom. The student does not say "knowledge in English writing" but rather, she refers to writing as a whole, an entity in itself. This is a crucial difference in word choice, because she is not saying that people can improve in their English abilities, which would obviously be the desire of students in an English language classroom, but rather, she claims English is *the language* that enables one to learn about writing as a skill. This writing sample by an ESL student shows that after an experience in an ESL classroom, one has the potential to acquire the feelings of inferiority ascribed to the "other" as a result of interaction (or comparison) of the of one's own language and the colonial language.

This type of attitude with regards to writing in an ESL classroom stems from the "assimilationist stance" of writing in English (Severino, 1993, p. 338). This stance presents colonial language ideologies which try to convey to ESL students that there is only one type of "correct" writing form. This corresponds to the idea in Miller's case study where the mainstream students (dominant power) deemed that the ESL students (colonial "other"), did not "sound right". Thus, the ESL students did not have a "correct" accent. Within these studies, we see manifestations of colonial language ideologies that present both a "correct" way to write and a

"correct" way to speak a language. Both concepts are key components in the *monolingual paradigm*, which gives the author to the native speaker in determining what is "correct" and "incorrect" (Canagarajah, 2013).

Carol Severino frames this stance, stating it "encourages the student to write linear, thesis-statement and topic-sentence-driven, error-free, and idiomatic academic English (Severino, 1993, p. 338). By implying there is a "correct" structure to use when writing, the ESL students are quick to internalize the idea, just as the Ukrainian student does, that when one writes in English, the style and structure is both superior to the style and structures of writing in their own language. Writing in the ESL classroom is seen as a place then to "blend or melt desired discourse communities", exterminating any cultural or linguistic influence from one's own language (Severino, 1993, p. 338). When there is evidence of some type of cultural or linguistic influence from a student's own language within the student's English writing, the ESL classroom is swift to deem these influences as "L1 interference". Canagarajah in his article "Understanding Critical Writing" states that students internalize this idea of inherent superiority of the English language and Anglo-American culture because their own language and cultures have been historically ostracized in ESL pedagogy (Canagarajah, 2002, p. 217). Students are presented this structure and style of writing in English as *normative,* and in turn, this forces them to see their own language's writing structure and style as an aberration, which is exactly what Ukrainian student does when she says that in Ukraine, they do not write essays in the same way they do in the United States. Through this analysis of an ESL student's writing, we see how colonial language ideologies are transferred from the colonial language, to the student of the language. By imagining the idea that there is a "correct" way to write, forces the "other" to recreate their

own identity within that same framework; an identity that treats suggests their inferiority because they have been writing "incorrectly".

The Colonial Language's Effect on Identity in the Classroom

In some cases, there can be classrooms where the instructor, cognizant of their role as the teacher in the ESL classroom, tries to distance themselves from the typical roles ascribed to teachers and ESL students, in order to empower the students. However, even with the teacher's awareness in avoiding the realization of language ideologies in the classroom, students can still be entrapped by the power of the language ideologies by coming in contact with the language itself.

In an article written by Elizabeth Miller entitled "Learning English, Positioning for Power: Adult Immigrants in the ESL Classroom" we encounter an adult immigrant's ESL class, with Miller herself as the instructor. The students she focuses on are from Tibet, China, and Vietnam and are all in their 30s or 40s. They are very capable adults with families and happy lives (Miller, 2007). The aim of her study is, as the title suggests, is to empower the students of her ESL class. Miller acknowledges that she is consciously trying to avoid the "teacher as authority" position in her class, and also tries to make sure to never look at the students as merely one-dimensional "language learners", but as the complex beings. She explains, "I wanted to recognize their multiple identities and position them as competent adults with linguistic, cultural and work-related experience" (Miller, 2007, p. 124).

Miller is clearly trying to help the students break out of the macro-social constructed lens through which the students would "naturally" use to identify themselves with. Here is on such dialogue with her students:

Liz: Um, do you want to finish reading the story and then take a break? Or do you want to take a break now?

Student 1: Teacher choose.

Liz: No, uh I'm going to let the students decide. Should we vote, like an election? ((raises right hand)) Would you like to take a break now or do you want to finish reading the story?

Student 2: Anything ((xxx)) because you're the teacher. ha ha.

Liz: Oh but but the students can decide, this is a democracy. haha

Student 2:I can't decide (Miller, 2007, p. 124).

It is clear that Miller (Liz) gives the students the chance to decide for themselves how to progress with the class. Miller has chosen this particular quote as a perfect example of how she tries to provide the chance for empowerment in her class, as the decision to read or go on break has absolutely no reflection on one's linguistic ability. It is merely asking the students about their volition. Despite Student 1 telling Miller to choose, Miller does not budge and takes a creative alternative route, making sure she is not responsible for this decision, in an attempt to empower her students. Student 2 then states it is the teacher that must choose, for she must know what is best. How can the teacher know what the students are feeling physically or emotionally better than the students themselves? The student does not even feel comfortable stating her/his own desires in the ESL classroom, because s/he is literally being controlled by the macro-social identity ascribed to her/him. Student 2, though probably said in jest, claims s/he has lost her/his volition, and cannot decide what s/he wants to do. This macro-social identity, stemming from both an institutional lens (teacher/student) and subjective lens (NS/NNS), is apparently so

powerfully ingrained in the ESL classroom, that it can even take away one's free will. This may seem far-fetched or strongly worded, but Student 2 demonstrates that it is true.

Native versus non-native Speakers, ESL and Other Representations of Identity:

Appellations that Erase the Colonial "Other"

As has been previously examined, the invention of "language" led to the rise of language ideologies that regarded one language superior to other languages *(linguistic market)*, which in turn meant that all other cultures were deemed inferior. In order to facilitate the classification of "dominant group" and the "subordinate group", labels such as "native speaker", "non-native speaker", "mainstream English speaker" and "language minority", just to name a few, are created. These labels are byproducts of the *monolingual paradigm* that was discussed in the previous chapter. As such a paradigm does not base itself on a concrete reality, but rather a collectively imagined concept, these labels are also imagined constructs. Because they are not based on actual language practices, they do not always correspond to the lived reality of the people who assume, or are given these labels.

In a study done by Chiang and Schmida (2006), we are presented a study of how a group of Asian-American high school students identifies self in regards to language. In the study, "school literate competent" speakers of English struggle with identity because they find themselves ensconced in language ideologies constructed from binary divisions which force them to "perceive speakers of English in relation to themselves (as 'they', 'them' and 'the other')" (Chiang & Schmida, 2006, p. 95). We see manifestations of the how language ideologies affect their identities as English language learners as they are compartmentalized into an identity that does not account for their lived realities. These particular learners face the choice of two *representations,* which are images, archetypes or stereotypes of identity that others use to

create labels, of native English speaker and non-native English speaker (Harklau, 2000, p. 105).

These representations, produced by the language ideologies of the society they live in, influence

their identities and serve as a way to "to hold a heterogeneous and ever-evolving social world

still long enough to make sense of it" (Harklau, 2000, p. 105). Yet as we see, though terms like

NS/NNS and ESL learner may seem convenient and "normal", they are static and could never

account for the real, unceasingly dynamic identities that they live.

Because the students choose to retain their culture and their affiliation with their heritage

language, they do not see themselves accepted by the mainstream society, or other "native

English speakers" (Chiang & Schmida, 2006, p. 95). The language ideologies of the

monolingual paradigm within that society create labels such as Native Speaker/Non-Native

Speaker, Language Minority, and English as Second Language speaker (ESL), and the students

must rely on these terms to encapsulate their complex identities. Faced with an over-

simplification of their lived reality, the students are lost in a "language borderlands" as they

realize they cannot be foisted into such dichotomous views of identity (Chiang & Schmida,

2006, p. 95). The fact that these students identify with another language means that they also

identify with another culture, which creates a state of being nowhere: they have a cultural

affiliation to a home language, but not the linguistic ability to truly connect to it; and the

linguistic ability for school, but not the cultural affiliation that deems them acceptable members

of the "mainstream culture" (Chiang & Schmida, 2006, p. 95).

The students feel that these identities ascribed to them are fragmenting their true identity,

as is evident by one student:

> I do not have a well-founded mastery of either language but a superficial knowledge of
> both languages, which each language being only capable in expressing my basic

thoughts. (It is only when I combine the two languages that I can express my complex

thoughts) (Chiang & Schmida, 2006, p. 95).

This student is not able to find their own identity given the constructs of identity that are

available in the society they live in. Faced with no alternatives, students, just like the one quoted

above, "internalize this ill-defined assumption even when their affiliation with English is primary

rather than secondary" (Chiang & Schmida, 2006, p. 95). In the binary construction of identity

within the *monolingual paradigm*, "the other" tacitly accepts the ascribed role as the "other" by

"perceiving speakers of English in relation to themselves" (Chiang & Schmida, 2006, p. 95). In

other words, they construct their own identity in relation to the dominant power, reciprocating

the way the dominant power perceives them. Obviously, the implications for such constructions

of identity are detrimental to the psyche of those imagined as subordinate.

The language ideologies that dictate the need to determine who "belongs" and who is

"out" produces labels that some do not fit into. Faced with these labels, students are prone to

undergo "erasure", as their complex and multi-faceted identity is reduced to a static identity

exclusively based on the dominant power's imagination. This flat perception of the "other",

though seemingly involving only the idea of linguistic superiority, goes beyond imagining the

"other's" language as inferior. It regards the "other" as inferior in or "deficient" even, and this is

manifested in the ways the dominant group treats "other" in institutional settings, whether it be

teachers or students. Consequently, the "other" because of the language ideologies that deems

them internally inferior, must face the consequences both in their educational and social

experiences.

The purpose of these four studies was to demonstrate how language ideologies stemming

from the *monolingual paradigm* have the potential to affect learners in the educational setting.

Understanding language ideologies in Puerto Rico

The *monolingual paradigm,* which necessitates a binary structure between one language and all others, is found in the Puerto Rican setting, especially in the educational setting. Because of the presence of Spanish and English in one setting, and the varying levels of each language Puerto Rican learners might have, the problems highlighted in these four studies are prone to reoccur in Puerto Rican classrooms. As long as the *monolingual paradigm* is present within an institutional setting, these problems will continue to arise.

Chapter 4: Language Ideologies Stemming from the US Colonization of Puerto Rico: 1898-

1953

Just as language ideologies were used to categorize all those that did not belong to the

colonial group as the "other", the language ideologies in Puerto Rico presented by the US

colonial government were meant to homogenize a rather diverse group of people on the island.

This was a vital component in US colonial discourse, as the US colonial powers sought to

compound the various Puerto Rican people into one entity, "the other", thereby nullifying the

actual diversity of the island. Typical colonial discourse is known to focus on "binary

oppositions" between colonizer and colonized, so as to facilitate that one group (the colonizer) is

superior to the other group (the colonized) (Duany, 2002, p. 20). This chapter then will focus on

colonial rhetoric produced by different entities representing the United States government during

the period of Puerto Rico being an official US colony, from 1898 following the Spanish-

American War, until 1952, when Puerto Rico was granted the status of "Estado Libre Asociado",

(Free Associated State), or as it is known in English, a Commonwealth of the United States. By

analyzing colonial rhetoric coming from the "dominant power", we can take note of the presence

of language ideologies with influences of the previously introduced nation-state language

ideologies. Furthermore, by analyzing the language ideologies during this period, we have a

clearer picture of traces and influences of the language ideologies in Puerto Rico that followed

this period.

The First Change: "Porto Rico"

After the 1898 invasion of Puerto Rico, the United States government decided they would

carry over their political, economic, cultural, and legal institutions to the island (Duany, 2002).

In fact, one of their first changes to the island was to its name: converting it from its current

name "Puerto Rico" to a more English-sounding "Porto Rico", a pronunciation that can still be heard by many people in the U.S. till this day. This change, though apparently small in its scope, can be seen as a microcosm for the ideologies resulted from the US colonization of the island. This perhaps seemingly insignificant change to the orthography of the island's appellation established the relationship between English and Spanish. It can be seen as an imprint of colonial discourse that has trickled down to dictate the relationship between the languages still the present day. The United States was sending a clear message with this orthographic change, namely, that the original Spanish spelling was incorrect, and the only way to "correct" it was to change the name of the island so that it became easier to pronounce in English, which would make it also appear more of an English term. Amílcar Antonio Barreto concisely explains that this was indeed a recurring theme within the American colonial psyche, offering "For American policy makers, the Spanish language was one of the things 'wrong' with Puerto Ricans" (Barreto, 2000, p. 4).

This colonial practice of inventing or restructuring appellations is referred to by Makoni and Pennycoock as "erasure", and it was a vital component in creating the binary relationship between the colonizer, and the "other" (Makoni & Pennycook, 2007, p.4). The purpose of erasure, as Willinsky mentions, is to "make the whole of the world coherent for the West by bringing…it within the imperial order of things" (Willinsky, 1998, p.11). This quote, though referring to the British Empire, is precisely adequate for this instance. By renaming the island, the United States was making it literally "coherent" for themselves by facilitating the pronunciation for their own sake, while also making the island "coherent" in a figurative sense, as it sent a message to the Puerto Rican people that they were incapable of knowing themselves, and consequently, this lack of knowledge would preclude them from naming themselves. In other words, the United States was inventing the "other" through the very act of bringing Puerto

Ricans into existence, creating a (re)birth, which can be perceived as both a manifestation of paternalistic tendencies of the colonizers, and also, a demonstration of how they indeed thought of themselves as a paternal influence over the island, in the same way a parent might give a name to a child, thus giving the child an identity.

Discovering the Puerto Rican "Other"

Soon after the United States had invaded Puerto Rico, besides the typical soldiers, officers, administrators, that one might deem necessary when trying to acquire a new colony, anthropologists also arrived to the island (Duany, 2002). The purpose of sending these anthropologists was to classify the people of the new US colony, in an effort to homogenize them. One of these anthropologists, Jesse Walter Fewkes, was one of the first anthropologists to study the island and its inhabitants for an extended period of time. Fewkes had almost no knowledge of the language, culture, or history of the people or the island; he came to the "hasty" conclusion that the people of the island could be identified as predominantly stemming from Taino or Carib Indians (Duany, 2002). Despite the wide array of people and cultures of the island, this racial homogenization served as a common colonial tool, where the colonizer depicts the colonized as inherently inferior, or "degenerate" even, based exclusively on their race (Bhabha, 1994).

Fewkes speaks about the potential to be had in Puerto Rico, exclaiming, "a vast amount of new material awaits the advent of the archaeologist and ethnologist in these island…The unknown anthropological material opened to us by territorial growth is vast" (as cited in Duany, 2002, p.72). By analyzing this quotation, one discovers not only influences of colonial ideologies present in the psyche of these anthropologists, but also, the US colonial machine as a whole. Perhaps the most conscious aspect of this quote is the fact that the anthropologist does not make

any reference to humanity of any sort, but rather, he uses the term "material" twice, in order to reference the island and all the people therein. By ignoring the humanity on the island, and seeing it exclusively in terms of its physical and "material" existence, it becomes evident that the interest that the US has with the island is purely in terms of profit. Furthermore, Fewkes addresses the island as if it is a passive entity, and that it must "await the advent" of the colonial anthropologist to come in order for them to come and give it an identity. This idea is again emphasized in the next line by saying "material opened to us", as if its existence is only confirmed by the terms of the colonial powers. By the United States having this opportunity for "territorial growth", the island can become born as it will be recognized into existence once it comes under the United States' domain.

This type of rhetoric is certainly common in previous colonial ideologies, as Edward Said reveals, in his work Orientalism, that colonizers had an incessant need to "schematize, tabulate, index, and record everything in sight (and out of sight) to make out of every observable detail a generalization and out of every generalization an immutable law…and above all to transmute living reality into the stuff of texts, to possess (or to think one possesses) actuality…" (Said, 1979, p. 86). Said implies the importance of anthropologists in the colonial project, and the US colonization of Puerto Rico was no different. This process of sending out anthropologists to know the Puerto Rican people was merely a way to invent them in US colonial terms, as is quite obvious by the fact that Fewkes, and other anthropologists did not even speak the vernacular of the island, meaning that anything they saw would be inherently biased as it was interpreted within the lens of their own culture. Even when Puerto Ricans did not racially fit into the category because of their diverse heritage, the US officials inexorably considered Puerto Ricans as the "other". They were considered inherently inferior even though some might have been

closer to Anglo-Saxon appearance than other colonized territories (Duany, 2002). This process of erasure was the first step in destroying the identities of the inhabitants of the island. This recognition of US physical superiority over the people of the island was necessary within the colonial framework, as once it was established; it served as the foundation for the colonial institutions that would perpetuate US rule over the island, namely the "systems of administration and instruction" (Duany, 2002, p. 70).

The US Addresses the Puerto Rican "Other"

After the US government, through its use of anthropological studies resulting in the "invention" of Puerto Rico and its people, created a binary relationship of the colonizer and the inferior "other", they proceeded to emphasize the US superiority in all things. This was juxtaposed with the Spanish colonial vestiges which left such negative marks on the island (Duany, 2002, p. 89). The US colonial powers, seeing the Puerto Rican "other" as in need of progress, felt obligated to help civilize them, in order that they become proper US citizens. Therefore, after defeating the Spanish and arriving on the island, general Nelson Miles spoke to the people saying,

> To the Inhabitants of Puerto Rico:
>
> In the prosecution of the war against the kingdom of Spain by the people of the United States, in the cause of liberty, justice, and humanity, its military forces have come to occupy the island of Puerto Rico. They come bearing the banner of freedom....They bring you the fostering arm of a free people, whose greatest power is in its justice and humanity to all those living within its fold...We have not come to make war upon the people of a country that for centuries has been oppressed, but, on the contrary, to bring you protection, not only to yourselves, but to your property; to promote your prosperity, and

bestow upon you the immunities and blessings of the liberal institutions of our government. It is not our purpose to interfere with any existing laws and customs that are wholesome and beneficial to your people so long as they conform to the rules of military administration of order and justice (Wagenheim & Wagenheim, 1994, p.95).

First of all, Nelson conspicuously portrays his country and his military as the hero, as they will guide the Puerto Ricans out of their "oppressed" state. He assumes that Puerto Ricans are too deficient to take care of "themselves" or their "property" and must rely on the US forces to do so. Through his rhetoric, he claims that the US can bring the Puerto Ricans justice after what they have experienced at the hands of the Spanish, but even more glaring, is his claim that the US will deliver "humanity" to all the people that fall under its auspicious protection. To bring humanity to Puerto Ricans implies their savagery and indeed, their very inhumanity. And lastly, as he claims that the United States brings ideals of freedom and justice, he informs the Puerto Ricans that they can only receive such benefits if they "conform to the rules of military administration of order and justice", leaving the Puerto Ricans with no alternative but US colonial rule, as either they comply by choice, or by coercion. This quote then, especially the last sentence, is poignant because it brings to light the physical power coupled with the ideological power of the US government, in their effort to mold Puerto Rican identity using their own clay. First, we witnessed the US colonial power invent the Puerto Rican "other" through anthropological studies of the physical island itself, and now we see the US invent itself in relation to the "other", as their direct interaction with Puerto Ricans enables them to re-create self, coming to life as a colonial power when they realize the binary relationship they had only previously imagined, through forcing the Puerto Ricans to acknowledge the superiority of the US and its ideals.

US language ideologies revealed. The only way to give the Puerto Ricans the aforementioned "liberty, justice, and humanity" which would "protect" them and "promote" their "prosperity" was through a certain medium. Progress for the island could only take place in one way, and that was through the language of the United States, as we see explained by the US House of Representatives in 1901:

> To [Porto Ricans], the gaining of the knowledge of English is the medium through which they will become acquainted with the principles of American liberty, with American Affairs, American trade and thereby share in their (sic) benefits...through the English language...they are to enter into industrial and commercial relations with the business of the States and take share in the civil administration (as cited in Torres-González, 2002, p.98).

Here we clearly see the language ideologies from the previous chapter unveiled, as language, representing a specific nation-state, epitomizes the inherent superiority of that particular nation-state vis-a-vis all others, i.e. anyone who does not use the language in the exact same way. Furthermore, we see how the English language serves as the liaison between the colonizer's own nation, and the territory it colonizes, as was indicated by Willinsky's idea of *linguistic dominion*. The English language, which in reality as a language, is used as a form of communication between people, was reassigned roles in the US colonial regime, becoming the only language that could properly represent US ideals. By analyzing this portrayal of the English language, it would seem that Puerto Ricans, through their use of the Spanish language, would be unable to experience "liberty", as Spanish would not provide them the tools necessary to understand such principles. Furthermore, economic prosperity is not necessarily dependent on the US as an entity in and of itself, but rather, by the English language.

Understanding language ideologies in Puerto Rico

Though the US government came to Puerto Rico with the intention of imposing their own political, economic, cultural, and legal institutions on the island, it was only through the imposition of the English language that they would believe they would be able to carry out their endeavors. As examined in the quotation from above, political, economic, cultural, and legal institutions from the US were to be inherently found within the English language; a tangible way to portray all the values that those aforementioned institutions possess. With this metonymization of the English language, certain language ideologies were presented to the Puerto Rican people, creating a dichotomous view of language, where English was seen as superior to Spanish vernacular of the island, as it was the only language appropriate for conveying both American ideals and American institutions. From the very onset of US colonization, the English language was seen as a means to impose the US governments' political, economic, cultural, and legal institutions, and this created a *linguistic market* which deemed English as more "valuable" than Spanish.

How the US colonial government regards the Spanish language. In order to better understand at how the US government perceived the Spanish language, one can look at a book published by Victor S. Clark, the first Commissioner of Education, entitled *Puerto Rico and its Problems*. He states "English is the chief source, practically the only source of democratic ideas in Puerto Rico...the English school reader itself provides a body of ideas and concepts which are not be had in any other way" (as cited Torres-González, 2002, p. 98). Though this quote does not explicitly state anything about the Spanish language, its absolute language saying English is not the "chief source", but rather "the only source" through which Puerto Ricans can know democratic values, clearly delineates the role the US colonizers believe Spanish should have on the island. Again, seen in previous rhetoric, the English language became the only language that

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would permit Puerto Ricans to develop and mature as complex beings, while Spanish inherently

lacks such a quality. To speak only Spanish, the "body of ideas and concepts" are not only

foreign, they cease to exist. This again demonstrates Barreto's idea to which I previously

referred, where language ideologies stemming from US colonial powers consider the use of the

Spanish language by Puerto Ricans as something that is inherently "wrong". Colonial rhetoric

often portrayed the ideological differences that the US ascribed to English and to Spanish, often

demeaning the Spanish language, by showing its impracticality. Obviously, it was only

impractical in the sense it did not serve US interests, as the US could only assert control of the

island if English overtook Spanish as the language to be used on the island.

Though the US colonial government would have ideally preferred to dilute the use of

Spanish until English was the language of the island, the ineffectiveness in which it carried out

its language policies (Rodriguez-Bou, 1966; Barreto, 2000; Torres-González, 2002; Schmidt,

2014) prevented this from happening.

Unlike how English was incorporated into Hawaii and Alaska, the United States was

unable to eliminate the Spanish language as the language of the Puerto Ricans (Duany, 2002).

Despite the failure to change the language of the island, colonial rhetoric, even in acknowledging

its desire to make a "bilingual" Puerto Rican citizen, always highlighted the difference between

English and Spanish.

In 1937, President Roosevelt appointed Dr. Jose M Gallardo Commissioner of

Education for Puerto Rico and his desire was clear in wanting to make Puerto Ricans bilingual,

his rhetoric was eerily similar to that which the US House of Representatives used almost 40

years prior: "[English] it is the language of our nation. Only through the acquisition of this

language will Puerto Rican Americans secure a better understanding of American ideals and

principles" (Rodriguez-Bou, 1966). Though Roosevelt acknowledges the need to regard Spanish as one of the two languages of the Puerto Ricans, the core of the rhetoric and the colonial language ideologies therein, remain the same.

By looking further within this letter, we can get a better understanding of the role of Spanish vis-à-vis English within the US colonial mindset. In the President's letter, he delineates the framework of the language ideologies that his country has created by highlighting the roles of Spanish and English:

> Many of its sons and daughters will desire to seek economic opportunity on the mainland or perhaps in other countries of this hemisphere. They will be greatly handicapped if they have not mastered English. For it is obvious that they always will and should retain facility in the tongue of their inherited culture, Spanish. Clearly there is no desire or purpose to diminish the enjoyment of the usefulness of the rich Spanish cultural legacy of the people of Puerto Rico. What is necessary, however, is that the American citizens of Puerto Rico should profit from their unique geographical situation and the unique historical circumstance which has brought to them the blessings of American citizenship by becoming bi-lingual (Franklin D. Roosevelt in letter to Jose Gallardo as cited in Rodriguez-Bou, 1966).

First of all, the president poses this idea of the superiority of the English language compared to all other languages when he claims that the Puerto Ricans who are not able to speak it will be "handicapped". This is a recurring idea in colonial rhetoric, where the colonial power sees its own language as an inherently superior entity. To bring this idea within the Puerto Rican context, where English and Spanish are side by side, being a Spanish monolingual in Puerto Rico, one would be seen as "handicapped" person, someone who is deficient and requires the

English language to make up for this "handicap". Through the constant exposure to this type of rhetoric throughout the colonial period, colonial language ideologies presented Spanish monolingualism as something that was "wrong" (Barreto, 2000) with the Puerto Rican people, and it was only by learning English, that Puerto Ricans could become fully human.

In such a view, the English language became a "blessing", as it gave the Puerto Ricans the opportunity to become more fully human, the opportunity which they did not have before. This word "blessing", also found within General Nelson Miles' earlier in the chapter (where he uses both "bestow" and "blessing"), reinforce this idea of US colonial superiority over the colonial subject. They both emphasize the paternal colonial perspective, where the colonial power is providing the colonial subjects with something they are either in need of, or something that can make them more fully human (Bhabha, 1994). However, the difference that should be noted is that Nelson claims that the US will bring "liberal institutions" to the Puerto Rican people which will help them come out of their darkness. Roosevelt however, specifies that it is the English language itself which will serve as the medium for such a change for the Puerto Rican people. Again, this reverts back to colonial language ideologies from the previous chapter, where the nation-state and its respective institutions underwent a transmutation, essentializing under the umbrella of their national language (Canagarajah, 2013).Lastly, it is pertinent to analyze how Roosevelt addresses the Spanish language itself, as colonial rhetoric usually referred to the language of the colonial powers, as opposed to the language of the colonial subjects. Roosevelt can seem more sympathetic to other US colonial figures in the way that he acknowledges the Spanish language as being important since it is the language that Puerto Ricans spoke before the US arrival on the island. He states, "For it is obvious that they always will and should retain facility in the tongue of their inherited culture, Spanish". Despite Roosevelt acknowledging the

importance of the Spanish language, his own colonial language ideologies are quite present within his statement. Again, we see the idea that English is something that must be acquired by the colonial subjects because Spanish is something which they "will always have", and which is not sufficient in and of itself. The second part of the statement, referring to the language as "inherited", also is a reflection of colonial rhetoric from the previous chapter. As Spanish is the language of US' geo-political rival, it is natural that US colonial rhetoric would like to distance the Puerto Rican people from their rivals' language and culture. By trying to highlight the artificiality of the connection between the Spanish language and the Puerto Rican people, they hope to have a better opportunity to convince the Puerto Ricans that "inheriting" the English language would be superior to continually using the "inherited" language of their inferior colonial rivals. By recognizing the lack of importance or lack of emphasis on the Spanish vernacular in US colonial language ideologies, we are provided an adumbration of the future views Puerto Ricans citizens will have of bilingualism itself, and what each language signifies when becoming a "bilingual" citizen.

US Education of its Puerto Rican Colony

Willinsky, (1998), Makoni & Pennycook (2007), and Canagarajah (2013), all emphasize the role that educational institutions had in diffusing the colonial language, and thereby, diffusing colonial language ideologies within such a system. Scholar Raymond Carr, in *Puerto Rico: A Colonial Experiment*, is convinced that the US went beyond other colonial powers in their quest, claiming that the US colonial "campaign of cultural assimilation, above all evident in the enforcement of English in the educational system" was "on a scale practiced by few other imperial powers" (Carr, 1984, p. 279). Schools then became the place where the US could best instill their language ideologies in Puerto Rican society, because as Rodriguez-Bou (1966)

mentions, schools in society are powerful entities, as they are society's main tool in creating, preserving, and handing down the culture of that society. By instilling their language ideologies in Puerto Rican schools, the US could reach Puerto Rican society as a whole, with the intent of maximizing their colonial profits. When looking at language ideologies presented in Puerto Rican schools, it is pertinent to look at both the implementation of the English language within the educational systems, along with the treatment of Puerto Ricans in such systems. By analyzing both these aspects, we can see how the transformation of certain language ideologies took place.

In Navarro-Rivera's article "Acculturation under duress: The Puerto Rican Experience at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School *1898-1918*", one sees how the U.S. wanted to dominate the inhabitants of Puerto Rico through the use of education. To carry out these endeavors, the US made English the exclusive language in secondary schools from 1900-1903, but then made it the exclusive language for all schooling from 1903-1916 (Torres-González, 2002). However, the US also tried to reach Puerto Ricans in other ways beyond the public school system, opening up the Normal School for teacher education in 1900, along with founding the University of Puerto Rico in 1903 (Torres-González, 2002). Furthermore, Puerto Rican students were sent to institutions like Carlisle, Hampton, and Tuskegee, which were schools established in the US in order to "civilize" the African-Americans and Native-Americans in the country (Navarro-Rivera, 2006). The plan then, by sending these Puerto Ricans to these school was to, "civilize", "Americanize" and "assimilate" them through education (Navarro-Rivera, 2006, p. 227). However, as becomes evident through quotes made by the Commissioner of Education, Martin Brumbaugh, along with Richard Pratt, the founder of the Carlisle Institute, those terms are merely euphemism for the "pulverizing" of Puerto Rican identity through a process called "re-education" of Puerto Ricans (Navarro-Rivera, 2006, p.227). Furthermore, an analysis of their quotes leads us to underlying

language ideologies present, where the terms "civilizing", "Americanization" and "assimilation" reveal the idea of pulverizing Puerto Rican identity through taking away their Spanish language, and replacing it with English.

Pratt explicitly states his concern for the "colored" minorities of the United States, saying "it is a great mistake to think that the Indian is born an inevitable savage. He is born a blank, like all the rest of us. Left in the surroundings of savagery, he grows to possess a savage language, superstition, and life. We, left in the surroundings of civilization, grow to possess a civilized language, life, and purpose" (Pratt, 1892). This quote makes it explicit that the school is for savages, and one of the main reasons that they are savages is because of the language they use. Though Pratt stated this while considering the Native Americans in particular, we see that this same idea was also expressed by Commissioner Brumbaugh.

Commissioner of Education, Martin Brumbaugh was intent on sending as many Puerto Ricans as possible to schools like Carlisle, as he writes to John Davis Long, the US Navy Secretary saying, "In the present depleted condition of the island, industrial education for the young men and women is a matter of the first importance...It has occurred to me that in order to break up their Spanish language, we might scatter some of them into similar institutions...Would you recommend any other schools besides your own and Hampton for these colored children?" (as cited in Navarro-Rivera, 2006). Though these schools were made originally for the Native Americans and African Americans of the island, Brumbaugh does not differentiate between Puerto Ricans or any other minorities in the US, as was common in US colonial discourse, as he refers to them as "colored children", which serves to "otherize" the colonial subjects. Brumbaugh wants to send students to these "civilizing" schools, as Pratt often mentions, so that they may learn in English and discontinue the use of Spanish on the island. According to

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Brumbaugh, the Spanish language is actually the source of savagery on the island, and only its discontinuance can help Puerto Ricans escape the "depleted condition of the island". With these quotes, it becomes evident that the "education" of the Puerto Ricans constitutes, namely, the elimination of their "savage" Spanish language, and the incorporation of "civilizing" effects of the English language.

US Colonial Language Ideologies in Puerto Rican Schools

When the United States first took over the island, it appointed Dr. Brumbaugh as the first Commissioner of Education in Puerto Rico in 1900. From that point, it was declared that English would be the language of instruction, while Spanish would be considered a "special subject" (Navarro-Rivera, 2006). By analyzing Braumbaugh's following quote, we can see how US colonial language ideologies were unconsciously presented to the students, and also see how these ideologies, as Blommaert explains, became a "hegemonic pattern in which...ideological claims are perceived as "normal" ways of thinking and acting" (Blommaert, 1999, p. 7)

> In almost every city of the island, and many at rural schools, the children meet and salute the flag as it flung to the breeze...The pupils then sing *America, Hail Columbia, The Star Spangled Banner*, and other patriotic songs. The marvel is that they sing these in English. The first English many of them know is the English of our national songs...these exercises have done much to Americanize the island, much more than any other single agency. The young minds are being molded to follow the example of Washington (as cited in Rodriguez-Bou, 1966).

Perhaps most striking in this quote is the Commissioner's conviction that this represents a clear and powerful instance of Americanization. Brumbaugh is so consumed by the language ideologies stemming from the colonial mindset, that he supposes the mere use of the English

language will effectively transmit the ideas that are ascribed to the language by the colonial power. He believes this so naturally and so instinctively, that he is sure that the pupils too are aware of it.

Along those same lines, by analyzing how English is presented to Puerto Rican children during the incipient stages of US colonization, we can further identify just how US language ideologies were instilled into the Puerto Rican school system. As we have already recognized, languages, as they are used in reality, are not inherently more apt in expressing particular concepts or ideas. Brumbaugh, as his quote reveals, is unaware that English is not actually superior to Spanish in transmitting the universal ideals of "liberty, justice, and humanity", despite their universality. Regarding him as a synecdoche for the US colonial mindset (which is appropriate considering his position within the colonial system), we see that the US colonial psyche cannot disentangle the ideologies they have created from the reality of language they use. However, they must convey that these language ideologies do exist in reality, and this quote is a perfect example of how they came into the Puerto Rican existence. Through repeated assertions by the more powerful group (in this case, the colonizers), these seemingly simple practices of singing patriotic American songs in English, first served to invent, and then normalize the aforementioned concepts found in US colonial language ideologies. It is through this transformation that enables the "other" to also recognize the existence of language ideologies not as ideologies, but rather, as natural aspects of language (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). As the pupils are singing songs in English, despite their probable unawareness of the actual lyrics of the song (as it was the first English they were exposed to), through this repeated practice of "meeting" and "saluting" the flag every morning, the pupils can slowly come to associate the English language with the US and its "ideals and concepts" that are unique to the country.

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To further emphasize the process converting ideologies to reality, we can analyze the way in which Brumbaugh describes the scene. He offers that the American flag is "flung to the breeze" demonstrating certain naturalness to the entire process, further reinforcing the normativity of the language ideologies being presented. The naturalness of "saluting" the US flag while using the English language presents this colonial idea of one nation and one language, as the flag distinctly represented the American nation. This was not an idea that necessarily found within such a rural setting, as the previous colonial rulers did not implement an educative system for the poorer, rural inhabitants of the island (Duany, 2002). Therefore, this very "natural" action of associating a language with a nation served to transmit the *monolingual paradigm* (Canagarajah, 2013), as the norm, and consequently, it would view any other paradigms as unnatural aberrations. Furthermore, the fact that the students are singing highly patriotic songs also serves to normalize the idea that English inherently possesses certain qualities that other languages lack. Though this was a prevalent idea among US colonial powers, it was merely an invention to facilitate the "conquest" of Puerto Rico through *linguistic dominion*. By analyzing some of the first verse of *Hail, Columbia*, it becomes evident why the US Educational Department chose these songs to be sung every morning by young Puerto Rican students, as they clearly portray the typical "American" values which as Clark said before "could not be had any other way".

First Verse:

Hail Columbia, happy land!

Hail, ye heroes, heav'n-born band,

Who fought and bled in freedom's cause,

Who fought and bled in freedom's cause,

60

And when the storm of war was gone

Enjoy'd the peace your valor won.

Let independence be our boast,

Ever mindful what it cost;

Ever grateful for the prize,

Let its altar reach the skies.

In the first verse, we witness the same ideas that were presented to the Puerto Ricans by General Nelson when he first came to island. The lyrics "Who fought and bled in freedom's cause...And when the storm of war was gone/Enjoy'd the peace your valor won" almost exactly parallels Nelson's quote when he says "They [US] come bearing the banner of freedom....They bring you the fostering arm of a free people...We have not come to make war upon the people of a country that for centuries has been oppressed, but, on the contrary, to bring you protection, not only to yourselves, but to your property". Both Nelson and the song present the US as a pure and noble entity that is "heaven born". The US then that fights only to bring freedom and peace to others that are not fortunate to already have it, thereby "blessing" or "bestowing" others with their work. By looking at the juxtaposition of the Nelson's words and the lyrics to *Hail, Columbia*, we bear witness to the idea that the US is a savior for the Puerto Ricans, because only they could bring certain desired "American" values to the Puerto Rican people.

Mary McGroaty highlights how language ideologies "influence our understanding of what is usual; they shape a constellation of 'common sense' beliefs about language and language use. As these beliefs continue to hold sway, they assume ever-greater force, regardless of their accuracy or correspondence to present realities" (McGroaty, 2010, p. 4). Therefore, planting the seed of such language ideologies, coupled with the repeated morning practices, enabled the US

to transmit their *monolingual paradigm* (one nation/one language) and the idea that a language possesses certain universal values, into Puerto Rican schools. By being able to seep into Puerto Rican society (from the classroom outwards), the US converted something imagined, into something real.

Language ideologies in educational materials. Through an analysis of the "Public Education and the future of Puerto Rico" undertaken by Institute of Field Studies of Teachers College from Columbia University, there is ample evidence that the US, in the way they ran the educational system in Puerto Rico, was presenting Puerto Ricans with language ideologies in the materials they used to teach the students. Between 1900-1949 the language which was to be used in elementary was exclusively Spanish except for the years 1903-1916, where it was to be exclusively English (Torres-González, 2002). During the years where Spanish was the language to be used for the younger children, it was often the case where textbooks were not adequately prepared by the US government to take into account the lived reality of the students of the island. Rather, textbooks were directly translated from English into Spanish, which led to rather bizarre learning situations for the Puerto Rican students. In their arithmetic classes, they were learning how to add and subtract using apples, peaches, pears and bushes, none of which were comparable to the bananas, nisperos, aguacates, and oranges they were actually exposed to in Puerto Rico (Rodriguez-Bou, 1966). In other classes, students were reading about little boys and girls in the United States playing and having fun with their "tricycles and luxurious dollhouses" (Rodriguez-Bou, 1966, p. 186). As the survey says "At the only time during which thousands of children will have an opportunity to learn how to live better lives in Puerto Rico, they are spending long hours of each school year reading about haystacks, steam shovels, skating on the ice, and sliding down hill in the snow" (Rodriguez-Bou, 1966, p. 186).

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In directly translating their textbooks from English into Spanish without taking into account the cultural differences between the two locales, the US was sending a clear message to the Puerto Ricans and their Spanish language. Since culture and language are intertwined, by incorporating American culture within the Spanish language, the US was preventing the Puerto Rican students from truly knowing themselves. Students were learning about things they had never seen before, nor would ever see, while the reality that surrounded them went unnoticed in their classrooms. Furthermore, the fact that it was through the use of Spanish that the US colonial powers taught their culture, they were effectively "silencing" (Willisnky, 1998) the students using their own vernacular, as the Puerto Rican students were being made foreigners in their own countries. Language evolves naturally to take into account the context it is used in, as a culture would be hard-pressed to create a word in its language for something that it cannot even be known within realm. Yet, Puerto Rican students were learning a type of Spanish that did not account for their reality or their culture, but for something they could never relate to. By portraying the Spanish vernacular as a language that was ineffective in truly knowing oneself, the US was setting the stage for the converting of the vernacular language of the island. Though this conversion may have never taken place fully, the repercussions of the language ideologies instilled by the US with these types of actions become quite visible during the period of "decolonization" of the island and the concomitant search for a Puerto Rican identity.

Though one may argue that the education system that the US incorporated in Puerto Rico during its colonial rule was a positive result of the island's colonization, the fact that the US used the majority of its educational budget to teach Puerto Ricans English reveals their true intentions in creating a literate society (Torres-González, 2002). Furthermore, all the materials that they had for teaching English were far superior to the quality of materials that they used for their other

classes, along with the disproportionate time spent learning English (Rodriguez-Bou, 1966).

Even though the US wanted to educate the island, unlike its Spanish predecessors, the emphasis

on English compared with all other classes in the Puerto Rican curriculum was indeed a

conscious choice to fortify English's position in the society. The very act of seeing and using

new books in English class, as opposed to the older, and lower quality books for their other

classes, was surely internalized by students during their many years of education.

        Language ideologies in educational content. Jonathan Cullers argues in his book about

literature theory, the desire for colonial powers in creating a literate society in its colony was

exclusively so that they could better "appreciate the greatness" of the colonial power (Cullers,

1997). It was a way to insidiously "invite" the colonized other into the colonizer's dominion,

convincing the colonized of the colonizer's superiority while implicitly accepting the relegated

inferior role. This was precisely what was occurring with the Ukrainian girl from the previous

chapter in Canagarajah's "Multilingual Writers and the Struggle for Voice in Academic

Discourse". She was convinced that English writing in the US was more sophisticated than the

writing done in the language of the country she was born and raised in; despite never explicitly

stating that English was superior to Ukrainian, as she may not even be aware of the colonial

language ideologies that were shaping her opinion. As the US sought to implement English on

the island, the determination and money it spent in order to create a literate society was not for

an intrinsically benevolent act, but rather another example of the linguistic dominion they wished

to practice over the colony. Therefore, it was only natural that the content of the classes, much

like the material they used, would serve to "pulverize" Puerto Rican identity, through the

medium of language.

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During the colonial period, the content of what Puerto Rican students were learning was often a reflection of colonial ideologies. More specifically, what was presented to the student was done so in order to reify the dichotomous colonial/subject relationship on which colonization often hinges (Said, 1979). Because this ideology, as all ideologies, does not exist in reality, it was necessary for the US to transmit the "reality" of such ideologies within the content they used in Puerto Rican classrooms.

Students were often learning about their own Puerto Rican history (in English) only from the point of the arrival of the colonists in America and the establishment of Puerto Rico (Algrén de Gutiérrez, 1987). Their history lessons were focused exclusively on highlighting the rise of the U.S. as a world power. Within the content itself, we explicitly see how the colonial powers used education as a way to first erase Puerto Rican identity, and then recreate it in their own terms. Puerto Ricans were learning that their history and culture, both major components of one's identity, were only relevant in regards to their colonial masters. In fact, they learned from their textbooks that they literally did not even exist before the arrival of the U.S. powers (Algrén de Gutiérrez ,1987). By learning about themselves exclusively in relation to their colonizers, the Puerto Ricans were forced into the dichotomous "colonizer and colonized" relationship, a crucial necessity in the colonizer's agenda. By teaching a subject which is thought to be based on reality (history), but doing so in a selective manner and through the medium of English, the US government sought to connect the English language with a concrete construction of a Puerto Rican identity. This then was a complementary tactic to that of the creation of Spanish textbooks which did not coincide with Puerto Rican reality, as they could neither express their past (being erased by the colonial powers) nor could they express their present (since what they learned did not correspond to their lived reality). This tactic of creating the colonial other is also seen

historically, as Hardt and Negri describe the same exact occurrence taking place in India, where the British colonial powers sought to foist their own reality into India as "British administrators had to write their own 'Indian history" to sustain and further the interests of colonial rule. The British had to historicize the Indian past in order to have access to it...The British creation of an Indian history, could be achieved only by imposing European colonial logics and models of Indian reality" (Hardt & Negri, 2000, p. 200). The US, like other colonial powers, aimed to recreate Puerto Rican reality by using their own historical lenses, to imagine a Puerto Rican past. Furthermore, language ideologies were being instilled in the Puerto Rican classroom, both in the physical materials themselves, and also, in the content that was being taught to Puerto Rican students, as Spanish was being portrayed as the foreign language of the island, while English was responsible for giving them a collective past and singular identity, in relation to the colonizer. Though these language ideologies were presented as real within the Puerto Rican classroom, they did not correspond to Puerto Rican reality. This experience, as we will see in future chapters, would influence how both Puerto Rican language and identity would be conceived by future generations.

Chapter 5: The Puerto Rican "Nation" and Puerto Rican "Nationalism"

Puerto Rico was removed from the United Nations list of colonies in 1953, which then gave rise to a rather confusing political state for the island, where both the U.S. Congress and Puerto Rico have sought to clarify the status of the island (Duany, 2002). Though it was declared "Estado Libre Asociado" (Free Associated State), or a Commonwealth of the United States, what these terms meant for Puerto Rican identity as a nation was nebulous. Indeed, because it was not considered a "nation" in the political sense, it would have to readjust the idea of nationalism in the European sense of the term that I established in chapter one. Duany, in his book *The Puerto Rican Nation On the Move: Identities on the Island and in the United States,* states that instead of Puerto Ricans forming their identity based on a political state (which was impossible due to the nebulous political reality it found itself in) it chose to focus on a cultural nationalism; a type of nationalism that disassociates itself from the political nature of the nation. Instead, it emphasizes a "unique history, culture, language, and geography" as being the foundation of the nation (Duany, 2002, p. 124).

Historically, cultural nationalism has usually been a rather small movement compared to political nationalism, which arises with imagined sense of collective identity stemming from the nation-state (Hutchinson, 1994). It is a movement often reserved for intellectuals, as opposed to the common citizen, as it attempts to "combine a 'romantic' search for meaning with a scientific zeal to establish this on authoritative foundations" (Duany, 2002, p. 123). However, in the case of Puerto Rico, cultural nationalism was propagated to all the people of the island, and it has come "to acquire a massive following" (Duany, 2002, p. 124).

The difference between successful diffusion of Puerto Rican cultural nationalism and other parallel movements can almost certainly be explained by the political association with the

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United States. For Puerto Ricans, cultural nationalism became the only way to preserve their

very identities against the dominating colonial influence of the United States. Because of this

sense of self-preservation, cultural nationalism permeated through all of Puerto Rican society,

flowing from the minds of the elite intellectuals to the hearts of the lower classes. This nearly

categorical acceptance of cultural nationalism formed from an inherent fear that because Puerto

Ricans were not politically independent, there would be a chance that they could be culturally

subjugated by their association with the United States, which could result in an erasure of their

own culture by their former colonists (Torres-González, 2002). As we saw in the previous

chapter, during the US colonial period erasure of Puerto Rican identity played a fundamental part

in US colonial education and US colonial language ideologies. Cultural nationalism was a way to

create a Puerto Rican identity in their own terms, because prior to the act of the becoming a "free

state", Puerto Rican identity had always been viewed as the "other", as it was the American

colonial perspective that was creating the Puerto Rican identity. Duany sees this cultural

nationalism as a "moral regeneration of a community imagined as a nation, against the intrusion

of foreign values and practices" (Duany, 2002, p. 123). After being seen as the "inferior" in the

binary colonial relationship for over 50 years, Puerto Rico turned the tables, and created its own

identity within the framework of the same dichotomous relationship. And within this framework,

the US was seen as the "other".

Puerto Rico creates "the Other"

On July 25, 1952, Luis Muñoz Marín used the Puerto Rican flag as a way to galvanize his

people, as the one star on the Puerto Rican flag stood in stark contrast to the 50 stars of the

American flag. This was the first of many moves by Muñoz Marín and other governmental

institutions which sought to culturally "remove the last vestiges of colonialism on the Island

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(Duany, 2002, p. 125). Puerto Rican "nationality" focused on its heritage, looking at "spiritual values, literature, and language" as ways to first conceive of identity, and then as a way to show its superiority to the identity of the "other" in order to combat "a colonial social psychology based on a sense of Puerto Rican insularity and inferiority vis-a-vis American civilization" (Duany, 2002, p. 133). Therefore, Puerto Ricans were concerned with recreating their own identity, one in which a "recurring theme...is the binary opposition between American and Puerto Rican cultures" (Duany, 2002, p. 132). Puerto Rican identity, similar to most nations imagining an identity, was formed then in this process of "otherizing". However, Puerto Rican identity was unique in that, it had a very focused "other"; while most nations would create the "other" as anyone not pertaining to that nation, the Puerto Rican "other" was considered exclusively the U.S. and its culture. This is a key difference in the conception of Puerto Rican identity versus the identity of other nations, because despite the fact that Puerto Ricans cherished and valued their own heritage and culture, their dichotomous construction of identity meant that to be "Puerto Rican" was essentially all that was "not American" (Duany, 2002). This construction and conception of Puerto Rican identity was indeed a reaction to colonial "independence" and perhaps even necessary given the political reality.

Muñoz Marín was responsible for the idea of the Commonwealth, and he was one of the main Puerto Rican figures who was behind the movement of cultural nationalism, as he was determined to give the Puerto Rican island its own 'personality', one that would be based on "social and spiritual values" (Muñoz Marín as cited in Duany, 2002, p.126) as a way to both distance themselves from their colonial relationship with the U.S. and to produce a uniquely Puerto Rican identity. He eschewed the Spanish term "nation" to describe the new Puerto Rico, and instead, chose the term "pueblo" (translated as village, people, town), which has more the

connotations of tight-knit community in the Spanish language. While "nation" is obviously

connected to a political sphere, "pueblo" connotes a more local feel, perhaps evoking the image

of the entire island as one neighborhood. This flawless rhetorical move could simultaneously

acknowledge the political reality of being a "free state" while enabling Puerto Rican citizens to

see themselves as having a unique identity. I see this appellation as a powerful move, one which

is parallel to the move the United States government made when they renamed the island "Porto

Rico" upon arrival. By choosing this concrete term with which the Puerto Ricans could identify,

Puerto Ricans were now constructing their own identity, in their own terms, literally.

Puerto Rican cultural nationalism. One of the main ways Puerto Rico was able to

instill this idea of cultural nationalism to its people was through the Institute of Puerto Rican

Culture, which was founded in 1955. Its main goal was to essentially construct a new Puerto

Rican culture, and by doing so, construct a Puerto Rican identity. It recruited "scholars, writers

and artists...to codify the values, symbols, rituals, and practices that would represent the Puerto

Rican nation to itself and to the world" (Duany, 2002, p. 123). As is evidenced by the quote,

Puerto Ricans (like any other nation prior to its founding) did not possess their own concrete

collective identity, and it was predominantly through various institutional settings like schools,

media, and museums, through which a Puerto Rican identity was first formed, and then

perpetuated. As there was no collective past identity, one had to be created, and this was done so

with their founding myth of the racial triumvirate (Indian, Spanish, African) which would be the

official seal of the institute (Duany, 2002, p. 130). Indeed, because of the work of these cultural

institutions, Puerto Rican "nationalism" was able to flourish, as many Puerto Ricans began

taking pride in their cultural heritage while associating Puertoricaness with national symbols.

They began imagining their past, with not only the official seal, but also with the legendary

"jíbaro", who represented the Puerto Rican "trying to salvage traditional values" that had been

neglected during the colonial period (Duany, 2002, p. 135). This imagination of past was a vital

factor in Puerto Rican society, given the fact that their past was erased both by American and

Spanish colonial forces (Wagenheim & Wagenheim, 1994).

As much as the Institute of Puerto Rican Culture focused on re-imaging Puerto Rican

identity as a unifying force on the island, there was one thing that it considered of preeminent

importance in determining Puerto Rican identity, one thing that categorically determined whether

one was deemed Puerto Rican or "the other": the Spanish language. Duany emphasizes this idea,

stating that this institution, along with other cultural institutions on the island, were responsible

for "reifying the Spanish language as the litmus test of Puerto Ricanness" (Duany, 2002, p. 124).

While Puerto Ricans identified themselves unique in terms of their cultural heritage and their

imagined and reconstructed past, it was the Spanish language which was indisputably the most

necessary aspect of Puerto Rican identity when it came differentiating between Puerto Ricans,

and the US "other".

Language becomes an identity. As was discussed in the initial chapter, in the

foundation of the nation-state, language became metonymized as it evolved to represent the core

beliefs of the people of the nation. Blackledge and Pavlenko propose that through "linking

language and national identity", nations came into existence, by creating beliefs and values that

differentiated that particular nation from all "other" nations (Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2004, p.

32). With such an intertwining of language and identity stemming from European influences, it

seems only logical that Puerto Ricans too would conceive their own identity in terms of their

Spanish vernacular. As Puertoricanness was based exclusively on anything that was not the US

"other", it came as no surprise that Puerto Ricans would perceive the English language itself as a

threat to their very identity. Chatterjee (1993) mentions in *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories,* though the colonizer may be superior in the material world, it is in the "spiritual" domain that the once colonized derives their superiority, because "the spiritual, on the other hand, is an 'inner' domain bearing the 'essential' marks of cultural identity" and this process starts with one particular area that exists in the "spiritual world", and it is language". He goes on to elaborate "First, nationalism declares the domain of the spiritual its sovereign territory and refuses to allow the colonial power to intervene in that domain ... The first such area is language (Chatterjee, 1993, p.7). Language becomes the first and seemingly most accessible aspect because of its ubiquity and inherently unifying tendencies (we use to communicate and connect to other people), which allows the colonized to see themselves as superior, and also feel superior, to their former colonizers.

Many cultural nationalists thought "Puerto Ricans had been culturally oppressed, especially as a result of the imposition of English as the official language of public instruction" (Duany, 2002, p.135). Oftentimes, the curriculum in Puerto Rican classrooms focused on Puerto Rican history and Puerto Rican culture, through use of the Spanish vernacular, as a way to offset the damage done by the colonial renderings of Puerto Rican history (Torres-González, 2002).Puerto Ricans felt obligated to embrace their Spanish vernacular as a way to re-negotiate their identity, creating new language ideologies, as the previous colonial abuses of the US became subsumed by the English language. The colonial rhetoric coming from the United States during their rule over island, coupled with their coercive measures to get Puerto Ricans to learn English resulted in giving "the Spanish language a social meaning it would not have acquired otherwise. Over time the nexus between Spanish and Puerto Rican cultural identity became an unquestioned conviction, a hegemonic belief" (Barreto, 2000, p.6).

Analysis of Language Ideologies within the Cultural Nationalist Puerto Rican Identity

In the same way that Muñoz Marín brought together Puerto Ricans through the symbols indicating an imagined collective identity, he sought to capitalize on the idea of cementing the Spanish language as an integral part of Puerto Rican identity (Duany, 2002). Through a brief analysis of the quotes of the governor, along with several other culturally renowned Puerto Ricans of the so called "Generación del Treinta", we can recognize the power invested in the Spanish vernacular when it comes to Puerto Rican identity, and conversely, the potential the English language has to not only threaten or contaminate that identity.

Muñoz Marín establishes in his rhetoric that language is the key to Puerto Rican identity, exclaiming:

El idioma es la respiración del espíritu. El idioma de un pueblo ha sido hecho por generaciones de ese pueblo y del pueblo donde arrancó. Es un proceso de la más íntima interacción y concordancia entre palabra y espíritu. Así, al hablar su idioma, la gente respira, no traduce- y así sobre todo, no tiene que traducirse a sí mismo en su manera de ser y sentir para poder hablar. (Language is the breath of the soul. The language of a community has been in the making for generation from the community from which it originates. It is a process of intimate interaction and harmony between speech and the soul. Thus, to speak your language, you are breathing, instead of translating-and more than anything, you do not have to translate your very self, in the way you exist or feel, in order to be able to speak.) (Muñoz Marín as cited in Duany, 2002, p. 192) (My translation).

Within this quotation, Muñoz Marín highlights several key aspects of Puerto Rican cultural identity in relation to language. As described earlier, Puerto Rican cultural identity

focused on uniting the people through an imagined cultural past, and now here, Muñoz Marín

attempts to capture that same sentiment by saying that language is the main thread which

intertwines all generations, from the first generation which gave rise to it, until the present

generation. This idea further reinforces the collectivity of the imagined Puerto Rican community,

where all members were to have an indisputable commonality because of the language they use.

 Furthermore, the way he describes language, using the metaphor of "respiración" indicates

power the Spanish language bestows to the Puerto Rican people. It gives them life and is the very

source responsible for the "spirit" of their being. This idea is taken further with his quote "al

hablar su idioma la gente respira" (by speaking their language, people breathe) emphasizing that

one is "lifeless" of s/he were to use any other language other than "su idioma". If one were to

speak another language, they would be incapable of truly knowing themselves, their very

essence, or "espíritu", and instead would have to "translate" themselves, not only their very core,

but in the way they perceive the world. In other words, in order to exist truly in the world, to

interact with it as an individual, Puerto Ricans needed to use exclusively the Spanish language.

By looking at such a quote, it becomes evident that Muñoz Marín has been influenced by

the language ideologies which have preceded him, and which were previously discussed in the

first chapter. The way Muñoz Marín describes the role of the Spanish language on the island of

Puerto Rico almost exactly parallels the idea that Canagarajah (2013) presents regarding the

European concept of the nation-state and language, saying "language embodied the innermost

spirit, thought, and values of the community (Canagarajah, 2013, p. 20). In an effort to unify the

people of the island, and trying to form a common, imagined community, Muñoz Marín uses a

concept of language espoused by the very same nations (Spain and then the United States) who

colonized the island, thus demonstrating the influence and power of the language ideologies emanating from the colonizers.

       Louis Muñoz Marín and bilingualism. Though Muñoz Marín does nominally support the idea of Puerto Ricans learning English and becoming bilingual, stating "debemos llegar a ser bilignues" (we must become bilingual), he emphasizes that only Spanish should be used in the island, otherwise, it will create a people "semelingues en dos idiomas" (semi-lingual in two languages) (Torres-González, 2002, p. 108). However, by looking at his rhetoric, we can see that the use of English in Puerto Rico becomes incompatible with Puerto Rican identity. When Muñoz Marín speaks of "el uso fantástico, irracional, de nombres en inglés" (The absurd, irrational use of names in English), he gives us an example with the following quote of how English is incompatible with Puerto Rican identity:

> En un pueblo de la isla vi un establecimiento rotulado 'Agapito's Bar': ¿Por que tu hiciste eso, Agapito? !Si por aquella calle de aquel pueblito no pasa un cliente cuyo vernáculo sea el inglés ni una vez al año! Y te desprecias tu lengua, ¿no te estás hasta cierto punto despreciando a ti mismo?...Lo que me preocupa de esto no es, desde luego, palabra más o palabra menos. Lo que debe preocuparnos a todos es la blandenguería psíquica que esto parece denotar en un flanco de nuestra cultura.
>
> In a community of the island I saw an establishment marked 'Agapito's Bar'. Why would you do such a thing Agapito? On that street in the little town, there will not pass one person whose native language is English, not even once a year. And you disregard your language, aren't you to a certain point depreciating yourself?...What worries me is not this, of course, one word added or subtracted. What worries me is that psychological

weakness that this can express from our culture (as cited in Torres- González, 2002, p.106) (My translation).

Muñoz Marín emphasizes that it is not merely the word "bar" that he feels so strongly about, it is the very fact that Agapito would even feel inclined to use the word when it serves no practical purpose. By using an English word to name his establishment, Muñoz Marín vehemently argues that Agapito is not only discounting the Spanish language, but even worse, spurning his very own being. Again, this coincides with his previous quote of language being the very breathe of one's existence, suggesting how the use of another language would stifle one's being. By rejecting Spanish for English, no matter how seemingly trivial the scenario might be, Puerto Ricans could never be their true selves, as it was only in Spanish that one was could express their "spirit". Furthermore, this rejection of one's true Puerto Rican identity would have grave results, as he states , "la parcial sustitución del vernáculo por un segundo idioma...priva de gran parte de libertad sutil de ser sí mismos hondamente...le merma en alguna manera su capacidad de ser feliz" (The partial substitution of the native vernacular for a second language deprives a great part of the subtle liberty of truly being oneself…it detracts from one the ability to be happy) (as cited in Torres-González, 2002, p.108) (My translation). Therefore, only the Spanish language in its purest form can bring both "freedom" and "happiness" to the Puerto Ricans. While it would be suggested that using English in lieu of Spanish, one would become imprisoned by their language use, trapped by the inability to express self, resulting in the diminishment of happiness. Using English in place of Spanish can only disempower the Puerto Rican people, damaging the very core of their collective psyche, resulting in a "psychological weakness". Though Muñoz Marín does claim to desire the creation of a bilingual Puerto Rican, one has to wonder how feasible that could be when the use of English instead of Spanish

inherently negates Puerto Rican identity. According to Muñoz Marín 's rhetoric, a Puerto Rican could not be "bilingual" and "Puerto Rican" as the terms become mutually exclusive because of the way he portrays a Puerto Rican. One cannot be bilingual unless one actually speaks English, yet one cannot be Puerto Rican if s/he were to ever use English instead of Spanish, no matter how trivial nor how minute the usage is. This idea of bilingualism then is similar to Roosevelt's bilingualism which he desired in his letter to Gallardo. Both nominally claim a bilingual Puerto Rican is important in cultivating, but the language ideologies within their rhetoric demonstrate that they are more concerned in creating a monolingual Puerto Rican; a Spanish monolingual and English monolingual respectively.

English's Influence on Spanish

After looking at how the *monolingual paradigm* stemming from the colonial language ideologies substituted Spanish for English, it is pertinent to analyze how these language ideologies required the purity of the "language", in order for the paradigm to remain intact. English could obviously not be eradicated given the political reality of the island. Therefore, it was vital to highlight English's debilitating and corrupting effects on the Spanish language. The quotes I will be using come from Academia Puertorriqueña de la Lengua Española (Puerto Rican Academy of the Spanish Language), which was created in 1955, as an "affiliated entity" with the Real Academia de España (Duany, 2002).

The Academy's goal according to former president Samuel Quiñones was to: "despertar, en nuestro pueblo la preocupación de hablar su idioma sin adulteraciones que lo desnaturalizan y sin mixtificaciones que lo corrompa" "awaken, in our communities, the fear of speaking a language with adulterations that denaturalize it and without modifications which corrupt it" (as cited in Torres-González, 2002, p. 196) (My Translation).

Furthermore, the Academy was intent on preventing the Spanish language on the island from becoming a "atroz hibridismo lingüístico" ("atrocious linguistic hybrid") and a "grotesco caló" ("a grotesque Calo") because otherwise it would become a "papiamento que nos amenaza" ("a Papiamento which threatens us") (as cited in Duany, 2002, p. 196) (My translations). Through the use of such language, the academy clearly delineates the importance of maintaining the purity of the Spanish language in Puerto Rico. Because Spanish was portrayed as the very essence of Spanish identity, it is logical that when the Spanish language becomes "denatured" or "corrupted", then the very essence of the Puerto Rican people should suffer the same fate. An "atrocious" mixture of Spanish and English, which is equated with two other "creole" languages, Calo and Papiamentu (belonging to the Spanish Gypsies and the citizens of the Dutch Antilles respectively) is seen as a literal threat to the Puerto Rican people. This has the same tone which Muñoz Marín used where language becomes the very life source of a Puerto Rican. By corrupting one's language, it is seen as the very corruption of one's own humanity. The threatening of one's own humanity is indeed what is at stake when the Academy goes on to say that mixing English and Spanish would have the potential to create a "tartamudo" ("stutterer") or even worse a, "medio hombre" ("half of a man") (as cited in Duany, 2002, p. 196)(My translation).

This type of rhetoric, coming straight from the highest power of the Spanish language on the island, is a firm indicator of just how insidious the English language was perceived by the Puerto Rican nation. English, if used instead of Spanish, would be seen as a sort of imprisonment for Puerto Ricans, a situation where they could not express their identity, or their very core. Along the same lines, the mixture of the pure Spanish vernacular with the barbarous English language would actually denigrate Puerto Ricans to the point of inhumanity, where they would

become "half of a human" if they were to use such a language. This conception of language on the island and the language ideologies they espouse were not discretely conceived, but rather, were influenced by language ideologies that had preceded them; namely language's role in identity formation (Canagarajah, 2013). Furthermore, perhaps because of the fact that these language ideologies played such a fundamental role in the formation of an authentic Puerto Rican identity (authentic in the sense that it was Puerto Ricans themselves who imagined it) these language ideologies have continued to permeate the Puerto Rican psyche until the present day, as we will see in the next chapter. What can be gleaned from this chapter and the language ideologies present therein is that in order to be a "true" Puerto Rican, one can neither speak English, nor mix English and Spanish. Spanish then became the "vehicle and symbol" of Puerto Rican identity, which is "associated with a communal ethos where people are respected for their intrinsic qualities" (Clachar, 1997a, p. 73). And Clachar takes this idea further, claiming that "the preservation of Spanish…is a strong social commitment which demonstrates resilience of the Puerto Rican culture in the face of a different set of values" (Clachar, 1997a, p. 73). It is the last part of her statement which stands out in particular, as it highlights Canagarajah's (2013) *monolingual paradigm*, where language inherently contains certain values that pertain to a specific people and the specific territory where they live.

Chapter 6: Present Day Language Ideologies in Puerto Rico

In chapter four, we looked at language ideologies imposed by US colonial powers and what they meant in regards to the English and Spanish languages. Chapter four analyzed how these language ideologies were adapted and modified by Puerto Rican institutions in order to invent a Puerto Rican identity, imagined by Puerto Ricans themselves, as opposed to the US colonial powers. This identity, though imagined from a Puerto Rican perspective, still relied on a binary colonial relationship of "us" simultaneously producing and being produced by "them" (Hardt & Negri, 2000). This chapter looks at how the influence of both these language ideologies have come to affect current day Puerto Rican society, both at the macro and micro levels. I will be looking at language ideologies present in a Puerto Rican university, a Puerto Rican newspaper, and an educational policy put forth by a governor. I chose these entities because they correspond to what Canagarajah (2013) highlights as the most common institutions in society that create and reproduce language ideologies, especially that of the *monolingual paradigm*.

As language ideologies, like languages themselves, are not rigidly structured, it would be difficult to claim that certain language ideologies are blatantly and consciously reproduced, or rejected, in Puerto Rican society. Rather, it would be more pertinent to look at instances in Puerto Rican society where there are manifestations of these influences that trickle down from previous language ideologies, concerning both English and Spanish. In the analysis of the language ideologies that I deem stem from either a recreation of colonial language ideologies, or a rejection thereof, I will refer back to specific instances in previous chapters to connect how these manifestations are linked to past ideologies. Within the overall framework of this thesis, this chapter is vital because it demonstrates that the existing language ideologies in Puerto Rican society are a direct result of the colonial conception of language, as discrete entities; that is, the

monolingual paradigm. This imagined portrayal of the interconnectedness of language, nation, and identity, has concrete effects on the Puerto Rican people, and their reality.

Language Ideologies in Puerto Rican Universities

It is well documented that colonial powers often relied on educational institutions to diffuse their values and national "spirit" within the colonial society (Canagarjah 2013; Culler, 2007; Willinsky, 1998; Luke & Freebody, 1997). In such institutions, colonial powers were able to instill their own values by presenting the colonial subjects to language ideologies within the language and content they taught.

Professors' language ideologies in Puerto Rican universities. Looking at a study done by Mazak and Herbas-Donoso at the University of Puerto Rico at Mayagüez, one can witness the various colonial language ideologies lingering and how they relate to English in the science classroom. This particular Puerto Rican university has an open language policy, which leaves language use in the classroom up to the discretion of the professor. Both English Spanish are commonly used on assessments, assignments, materials, or lectures (Herbas-Donoso & Mazak, 2014). There is certainly free will amongst the professors to choose the language they would like for their class, but Herbas-Donoso and Mazak, through their interviews with professors at the university, demonstrate the influence of language ideologies that these professors have regarding English. By using their data, I will make connections to previous language ideologies that are present in what the professors say about the English language.

Mazak and Herbas-Donoso interview several professors in various science classes at the university, and the responses they get are classified by them into three "discourse strategies" that reveal language ideology: (1) absolute language, (2) "the" determiner, and (3) emphatic language (Herbas-Donoso & Mazak, 2014, p. 18). I will however focus on one of these three, absolute

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language. This discourse strategy seems to be the most revealing in terms of the language ideologies these professors are adhering to because of how categorical their answers are:

(1) "All the scientific literature is in English, everything is in English. There's no choice, students don't have any choice. English is the language of science and technology." (Chemistry professor)

(2) "[English] is the language of science, articles, publications, everything is in English." (Agricultural Sciences professor)

(3) "All the technical books were in English and I had several professors who gave the class in that language too." (Agricultural Engineering professor, referring to his master's level studies at the UPRM)

(4) "All the literature was in English, I even had professors that didn't know any Spanish." (Engineering professor)

(5) "If [students] want to be informed, well informed, everything they might read will be in English. Journals, textbooks, everything is in English" (Animal science professor)

(6) "If [students] want to expand their knowledge, many references (almost all of them) are in English" (Math professor)

(7) "In my field, literature changes quite a bit. The only way to keep track of those changes and stay well informed is if you know English." (Entomology professor) (Herbas-Donoso & Mazak, 2014, p. 18).

First of all, we see the wide range of fields of which the professors belong, and yet they unanimously express the same idea; there is no choice but to use English if they want their

students to be successful. This manifestation of language ideologies that all the professors reveal cannot get more explicit than when the chemistry professor says, "There's no choice, students don't have any choice. English is the language of science and technology."

Another aspect that the professors express, and as identified in the article, is the fact that English and science seem to naturally go together, that is "English is the language of science and technology" and "[English] is the language of science, articles, publications, everything is in English." This idea of a language being naturally more apt to express certain aspects of science or technology is a clear result of colonial language ideologies. Canagarajah explains how colonial discourse portrayed certain languages as more "efficient" and "progressive" when it comes to learning about more developed concepts within the fields of industrialization, capitalism, bureaucracy, and of course, science (Canagarajah, 2013, p. 24). Relating this same aspect within the Puerto Rican context, we can look back to the letter from President Roosevelt to Dr. Gallardo, where we see him say "Moreover, it is *only* through thorough familiarity with our language that the Puerto Ricans will be able to take full advantages of the economic opportunities which became available to them" (Rodriguez-Bou, 1966, p. 162 emphasis mine). The reason I emphasized "only" is because it too would be classified by Herbas-Donoso and Mazak as "absolute language", and I would argue that the above quote from President Roosevelt written almost 90 years ago does not differ at all in its essence with what the seven professors above have said. Clachar confirms this idea offering that the US government in Puerto Rico, "promoted the belief that knowledge of English would give Puerto Ricans access to the world's best education and most sophisticated knowledge in science, business, medicine, and technology" (Clachar, 1997a, p. 72). The idea that economic or scientific success is contingent exclusively on the ability to communicate in English is vital aspect of the European nation-state

language ideologies which became the basis of colonial language ideologies. In Puerto Rican

society, US colonial powers equated English with a certain type of success, despite their being

any inherent aspect of the English language that promoted such "success". Rather, the way these

language ideologies were presented (language, content, materials) served to convince people that

such a concept is indeed true, and therefore, there would be no reason to challenge it since it is

inexorable and a natural phenomenon. This acceptance and complacency is quite indicative of a

Gramscian Hegemony, where the professors are unknowingly complicit in the perpetuation of

the language ideologies present at the institution.

Students' language ideologies in Puerto Rican universities. In Clachar's article, "Students'

Reflections on the Social, Political, and Ideological Role of English in Puerto Rico" (Clachar,

1997b), we are able to get another perspective the language ideologies that are found at Puerto

Rican universities. In her study, she analyzes students' journals regarding various topics

including English's threat to Puerto Rican identity, and English's role as a colonial language in

Puerto Rico. Using some of the journals from the undergraduate students, I sought to re-analyze

what they said, using the lens of previous language ideologies, looking for how they are present

the students' opinions regarding Spanish and English. The first excerpt deals with language and

identity, as the student says:

> I think that in order to be Puerto Rican, in other words, ethnically, Puerto Rican, you
>
> have to speak Spanish. We are Puerto Ricans and, therefore, we speak Spanish. However,
>
> it is always good to know English to have access to world literature and technological
>
> information (Clachar, 1997b, p. 472).

Within the first part of the quote, it is evident that the student believes that identity hinges

exclusively on the language on speaks. The way the student describes this conclusion, *"We are*

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Puerto Ricans and, therefore, we speak Spanish" conveys something that is natural and that is a given reality. The student believes that one language pertaining to one group of people in a given territory is the way things naturally exist in the world. This echoes European nation-state and colonial language ideologies of the previous centuries, while also reproducing the language ideologies within Puerto Rico regarding Spanish as the sole indicator of what it means to be an authentic Puerto Rican. The second part of the quote again highlights the idea that the professors from Herbas-Donoso and Mazak's article expressed, which delineates English the superior language for science, but here, the student also mentions literature.

Another student, who believes learning English is important, states that, ", if learning English is going to make you feel less Puerto Rican, interfere in your mind your sense of Puerto Rican culture, then is a big problem" (Clachar, 1997b, p. 472). This quote, similar to the previous quote, demonstrates the student's belief that identity is inherently tied to language. The student also identifies the fact that each language carries within it certain values, values which are specific to the culture that uses the language. The student is cognizant of the fact that by using English, the language of a foreign culture, it is possible that one can deteriorate the values that are found in her/his own language (Spanish). The deterioration of the values of one's own language (those inherent in the Spanish language) are at risk of being replaced by the values of the foreign language (English). These ideas are again indicative of the language ideologies of the European nation-state and the *monolingual paradigm*. They are also similar to the way Muñoz Marín, in his "Agapito's Bar" speech, portrays Spanish as the "spirit" of the Puerto Rican people. One must be cautious when using English because it has the potential to disrupt this spirit, and "interfere in your mind" what it means to be a Puerto Rican.

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Language Ideologies within Educational Policies

      In 1997, the Puerto Rican government, under the auspices of Governor Pedro Rossello, revealed a new project entitled, *Proyecto del ciudadano bilingüe* (Torres-González, 2002). This project claimed to be different from other policies that preceded it because it claimed it would use both English and Spanish to educate Puerto Ricans, which would result in fully bilingual citizens. The crux of the plan is to create a bilingual citizen, who dominates both Spanish and English to such a point that they can use either language at any moment (Torres-González, 2002). One of the primary methods to carry out the creation of such a citizen is based on the idea of teaching math and science classes in English, because as the secretary of education Victor Fajarado says "El usar el idioma inglés para estudiar contenido curricular ayuda a acelerar la adquisición de este idioma" (To use the English language to study curricular content helps to accelerate the acquisition of the language) (Torres-González, 2002) (My translation).

  Despite Fajardo's desire to create bilingual citizens, the way he suggests creating a bilingual citizen is indicative of the language ideologies he has regarding the role of English in Puerto Rican schools. Colin Baker, a renowned researcher of bilingual pedagogy mentions in his book about bilingual education, bilingual education cannot only be seen as a "disinterested application of a theory", it must also be acknowledged that it can "also be a socio-political exercise of an ideology" (Baker, 2001, p. 232). Therefore, policies about bilingual education could never just be about pedagogy, as there must be some basis for choosing such a theoretical framework. Torres-González (2002) points out that the bilingual pedagogy Fajardo is trying to implement in his policy has already been revealed to be an ineffective way to make a bilingual person. So then, why does Fajardo insist that math and science classes be taught only in English?

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The fact that Fajardo believes that English should be the medium through which Puerto Rican students learn those subjects is another demonstration of the colonial language ideologies that were discussed in the previous section, and in previous chapters, where one language seems more capable of transmitting certain information than other languages. By using only English in the math and science classroom, these educational institutions in Puerto Rico are both adhering to and perpetuating the idea that English is a language that is more adept at expressing the knowledge in certain subjects, such as math and science.

If we are to look at the way Spanish and English are presented in the plan, English seems to be portrayed as more important than Spanish, which does not seem appreciated in and of itself. Using Fajardo's words, the "meta primordial" or the "fundamental goal" of this bilingual project is to, "fortalecer la lengua materna, el español, para que los estudiantes de las escuelas públicas puedan aprender más y mejorar inglés" ("to strengthen the mother tongue, Spanish, so that the students in public schools can better learn and improve their English") (Torres-González, 2002, p. 230).

In this quote, I see Spanish being relegated to English in the sense that the betterment of students' Spanish skills is a prerequisite in leading to the acquisition of the English. This is reminiscent of the idea that Roosevelt was trying to convey with his letter to Gallardo. Both Fajardo and Roosevelt believe that making a bilingual Puerto Rican citizen is a necessity, and in creating a bilingual Puerto Rican, they suggest that the Spanish language is important, but only because it serves as the fundamental basis on which one can rely to learn English. The way Fajarado expresses the importance of Spanish conveys the idea that Spanish is merely a means to an end. Similarly to Roosevelt's letter when he said there was no intention "to diminish the enjoyment of the usefulness" of the Spanish language, the policy, along with Fajardo's own

words, suggest that Spanish is a language that is present on the island, but is not sufficient by itself. Though they both argue for bilingualism on the island, they do not present the Spanish vernacular in equitable terms with the English language. Rather, Spanish is perceived as the pillar for English, thereby suggesting the superiority of the colonial language.

Language Ideologies in the Media

On May 19, 2013, glaringly located on the front page of *El Nuevo Día* were the words "No somos bilingües", which translates as, "we are not bilingual". Under this heading was the claim that according to a census done in 2012, only 10% of Puerto Ricans "dominated" the English language. Furthermore, this information is located in one speech bubble, while there is another speech bubble coming out of the original one saying, in English, "What you say?". Before getting into the article itself, an analysis of the front page will help us get to the core of the article.

Figure 6.1 Front page of *El Nuevo Día*

The speech bubble must have some type of significance; otherwise, it would not have been used in the first place. We see the larger bubble with the aforementioned statistical

information, and we can interpret that this is the newspaper speaking, trying to deliver this

information to the Puerto Rican citizens. Presumably, the smaller bubble with the response "what

you say?" would be the collective citizens responding in surprise to such a claim. The use of

"what you say", is not "correct" according to Standard English, where one must say "What did

you say?". This seems like a microcosm of the entire article, as *El Nuevo Día,* through its use of

the speech bubbles, has literally put words into the mouths of its citizens, and these words were

intentionally chosen to portray them as using a "poorer" quality of English. By using a non-

standard variety of English to represent the speech of the Puerto Rican citizens, they are indeed

claiming that the use of such a variety of English precludes one from having a "dominant" grasp

of the English language. Therefore, within such a seemingly simple exchange, through the use of

speech bubbles, we see how the Puerto Rican media deems "English" to only include that which

comes from the standard variety.

The use of "what you say?" which could definitely be used by someone who "dominates"

English, is validating the structuralist concept of language, where language is a fixed entity,

codified by a rigid grammar (Canagarajah, 2013; Makoni & Pennycook, 2007). The users of a

language must then adhere to such a grammar if they want to "speak" the language. Though the

words "What you say?" are perfectly understandable for someone with a rather limited exposure

to English, it is not deemed as "correct" English, as it does not find itself within the realm of the

fixed, codified English language.

By delving into the article itself, we can identify even more instances of language

ideologies that derive from colonial language ideologies of the past. The first sentence states, "El

bilingüismo en Puerto Rico ha fracasado" or, "bilingualism has failed in Puerto Rico.",

continuing its argument:

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La exposición al inglés que se recibe a diario a través de los programas de televisión y al vertiginoso mundo de Internet parecen no ser suficientes para dominar el inglés. Actualmente, solo el 10% de la población lo domina. (The exposure to English that is received through television programs and the dizzying world of the internet does not seem to be sufficient enough to be fluent in English. Currently, only 10% of the population is fluent in the language) (*El Nuevo Día,* 2013, p. 4) (My translation) The word "domina" appears again, and though it can be translated as being "fluent" in a language, it would not be unreasonable to translate it as "dominating" a language. Here is an instantiation of the language ideologies discussed beforehand, where to actually "speak" a language, one must "dominate" it. However, this idea of dominating a language is not only ambiguous, it is also highly subjective. It seems that to indisputably dominate a language, one would have to have an impeccable knowledge of the complete grammar of the language. However, as we saw before, "what you say?", which was clearly used to demonstrate the non-domination of English, is certainly used in the monolingual American culture, as verified no less by a popular American song "Whachya say", by American Jason Deroule. Therefore, "whachya say" or "what you say" can be accepted as "correct" English if it is used by a native English speaker but "incorrect" when used by a non-native speaker. The only way one can interpret this idea of "dominating" English that *El Nuevo Día* presents, would be that they consider the domination of English to only be possible if one is indeed a native speaker of that language. Therefore, a native speaker who uses "what you say" has the permission to do so, being a native speaker, but a non-native speaker is not permitted to use such a phrase, if they want to be "dominate" the language. The way the article construes the idea of "dominating" a language, which I analyzed as being only possible if you are a native speaker of that language, reverts back to the *monolingual paradigm* responsible for the

foundation of the nation-state, where language, community, and place are separable components of identity. Using Canagarajah's analysis (2013) of native speakers and the authority they have in using their language, we can see how *El Nuevo Día's* presentation of "dominating" a language falls under this same idea of a native speaker having the authority to choose what is "correct" and "incorrect" when using their language.

Canagarajah states that coalescence of language, community, and place defines one's identity, and that by tethering a person to both a community and a place, it gives "legitimacy to the so-called native speaker, and gives him/her the authority to define how the language is to be used. We are thus authorities of the language we own...We have the ability to speak our 'native' language intuitively and enjoy authority in it. On the other hand, we are supposed to be incompetent or unauthentic in the languages of other communities" (Canagarjah, 2013, p. 22). This analysis is quite applicable to the entire article, as a "native" speaker can use the expression "what you say", without losing credibility in her/his skills as a competent speaker of English, while if a Puerto Rican says exactly the same sentence, because they are "incompetent" and lack native speaker authority, they cannot be "dominate" English.

I would also like to highlight the first part of the sentence I quoted from above, where Puerto Ricans are exposed to English both on television and on the internet, yet are still unable to "dominate" English. This is a rather remarkable statement because one would assume that by using media in English, one understands to some degree the content, otherwise, they would likely no longer use that media. Indeed, Mazak (2008) verifies Puerto Rican teenagers' abilities to navigate the internet, despite the content being exclusively in English. To use English, as the students in Mazak's article do, to interact with English language media, implies the transmission of ideas and information. However, *El Nuevo Día* ignores language as a communicative process,

one that transmits said ideas and information, and instead, it perceives the "domination" of English as a fixed concept, one tied that ties "domination" to community and place.

In the last part of the article, the article poses the question "¿Qué está fallando?", or "What is failing?" The article conveys that there exists a language problem in Puerto Rico because not enough people "dominate" English. But, the article then suggests that the problem actually goes deeper than English, and in fact, it suggests, using Amparo Morales as their source, that Puerto Ricans in fact speak neither Spanish nor English well. She states, "en Puerto Rico hay dos lenguas oficiales, no puede quedarse rezagada una lengua sobre la otra. Requiere que el español se hable bien y que el inglés también se hable bien. Y eso no está sucediendo. (In Puerto Rico, there are two official languages, and we cannot stay straggling behind with one language over another. It is required that Spanish is spoken well and that English is also spoken well. And this is not taking place) (*El Nuevo Día*, 2013, p. 4) (My translation).

Within this quote, made by Drs. Ampara Morales, a scholar and teacher at the Puerto Rican Academy of Spanish Language, we see again the recurring idea that Spanish *should* be learned, in order to get a grasp of the English language. The Spanish language is merely a stepping stone to English. In expressing, "it is required Spanish is spoken well and that English is spoken well", and analyzing the quote within the context of the article as a whole, we can conclude that the writer chose to include it to demonstrate that English is not dominated, because Spanish itself is not dominated. Though the quote itself may not imply such a conclusion, because it must be interpreted within the framework of the article, the colonial language ideologies (as already seen in Roosevelt's speech), which hint that a bilingual Puerto Rican should esteem their language only in the sense that it leads to English domination, become more conspicuous.

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In Puerto Rico, either Spanish or English is spoken by every citizen, yet, these languages are not "spoken well". As analyzed before, the article's claim is that English is not "spoken well" and not "dominated" because people do not have the authority to speak it, in other words, they are not native speakers. However, it would seem bizarre to claim that people also do not "dominate" Spanish, since this is the language that would be considered the native language of the 90% of Puerto Ricans who do not dominate English (according to the article).

The idea that a language is not "spoken well" is a strict structralist perspective through which one can look at languages. Language is used for communication, as a way to express oneself to others according to the context and the people with which they are speaking, amorphous and malleable (García & Li, 2013). *El Nuevo Día,* using a structuralist approach, suggests that structure (grammatical correctness) and not communication, is what enables a person to speak a language "well". Going back to Muñoz Marín's fear of making a "semilingual Puerto Rican" or looking at a former member of the Puerto Rican Academy of Spanish Language, Sam Quiñones, who says he would like to protect Spanish from becoming an "atrocious linguistic hybrid", we see manifestations of past language ideologies surface in this article. Both Muñoz Marín and Quiñones, looking at language as a fixed, uninterrupted entity, cannot conceive of Spanish and English melding together to produce communicative output. Rather, they perceive language as distinct entities that should not, and *cannot* overlap, if they are to retain their identity as Spanish and English. This concern with preserving the "purity" of the Spanish language, which goes back the European idea of place, community, and language, interlocking to form a concrete, yet imagined, identity, is also present within the quote by Drs. Ampara Morales.

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The Monolingual Paradigm in Puerto Rican Language Ideologies

The language ideologies of the professors, students, educational policies, and media that have been discussed in this chapter have all been heavily constructed using influences from language ideologies that have preceded them. From the analysis that I have done in this chapter, it would seem that the agents who have expressed these language ideologies are not necessarily aware of how their ideologies formed, or the influence that their ideologies will have on others. The professors, policies, and media all have the power to perpetuate their language ideologies by being able to diffuse their beliefs throughout society. As Canagarajah (2013) mentions, it is primarily through educational and public institutions that nations have been able, and still are able, to diffuse their language ideologies throughout society. The purpose of this chapter was to demonstrate the subtle power of language ideologies and how institutions in Puerto Rican society convey and then transfer these ideologies to Puerto Ricans. These language ideologies, which have their root in the ideologies in the formation of the European nation-state, regard certain aspects of language and its usage as "normal". These "normal" aspects of language in Puerto Rico that we have seen in this chapter are:

- English as the definitive language of science and technology

- Identity being based exclusively on language and territory

- The inferior role of Spanish in making a Puerto Rican bilingual

- The wide-spread inability of Puerto Ricans to speak English

These aspects are not based on the reality of language and are merely constructs. However, they become a Puerto Rican reality because of their transformation and diffusion in society. This conversion from imagination to reality affects Puerto Rican society since the language reality of

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Puerto Ricans does not parallel the "reality" imagined by these institutions. This discrepancy

between the imagined language reality and the actual language reality has repercussions which

will be identified and addressed in the upcoming chapter.

Chapter 7: Globalization, Language, and Identity

The End of One Nation/One Language

With the end of World War II, there was a surge of decolonization of the "third world" countries, which were eager to shed the shackles of colonialism. Though decolonization was not a definitive process marked by a certain point in history, the movement was heavily influenced by the Cold War and the hegemonic battle between the United States and the Soviet Union. As the Cold War unfolded, many colonies were getting assistance for their independence movements from both the US and the Soviet Union, as these two global powers sought to infuse their own ideologies within the new fledgling nations. However, though former colonies cut political ties with their colonial rulers, because of the relations between the two, there were massive waves of migration of people from the former colonies in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean to North American and European "metropolises" (Duany, 2002). As people shifted physically, exchanging territories, their identities, culture, and language followed them in the new lands. The result of such a movement "blurred the traditional geopolitical borders on which much of the anthropological imagination had rested" (Duany, 2002, p. 60).

Following the massive migration of people, the unfolding of globalization, with the rise of technology and media, has indelibly changed the world. Some argue that globalization is a product of the "Americanization" that has taken place, which focuses on the US economic and political power that has seeped into all parts of the world (Stiglitz 2002; Slavoj & Zizek 2004, as cited in Pennycook, 2007). However, globalization, more than being merely restricted to economic influences, also incorporates technological and cultural exchange as well (Castells, 2000 as cited in Pennycook, 2007). Some accounts of globalization, such as George Ritzer's paradigm, regard globalization as a homogenizing force, as evident in his coinage of the term

"*McDonaldization*", where societies of the world are being driven towards uniform structures in economic, technological, and cultural processes (Ritzer, 2004). Such a view of globalization, one that is based on homogenization, discounts the bi-directional flow of ideas and influences, focusing on the US hegemonic powers, while ignoring how people receive, reject, or re-appropriate the ideas that are presented to them. To use Ritzer's own metaphor, though there may be the McDonald's franchise in 118 countries which is certainly indicative of the hegemonic power of the US franchise, it is not a monolithic and inexorable force which cannot be altered by those who do fall under its influence. For example, the menu of the McDonald's franchise varies from country to country, offering a diverse array of menu items contingent on the countries' own culture/s. Certainly, there are many more items that go beyond the basic options of burgers and fries that Ray Croc had originally envisioned, which are also unavailable in the United States (McDonald's, 2015).

   Appadurai (1996) indicates "globalization does not necessarily imply homogenization...different societies appropriate the materials of modernity differently" because the idea is "recreated in the local" (p. 17). Therefore, rather than to view globalization as an exclusively homogenizing force, it is more realistic to view it as a continual nexus of exchange, which is the position Pennycook takes, stating that globalization can be seen "as a compression of time and space, an intensification of social, economic, cultural, and political relations, a series of global linkages that renders events in one location of potential and immediate importance in other, quite distant locations" (Pennycook, 2007, p. 25). Globalization viewed in such a light empowers those who are perceived like "subjects" in the previously mentioned paradigms of globalization, where homogenization is viewed as the inexorable and inevitable outcome of the movement. The passive subjects would be taken over by the exposure to the neo-imperial

economic and political processes. However, according to the view Pennycook espouses, which I believe is more realistic, both the continual and multi-directional exchanges in globalization render all those within its reach as simultaneous agents and subjects, both influencing, and being influenced. This idea then can be aptly taken and reconstituted in understanding the role of language, more specifically, English, in our globalized world, as language also is not a monolithic entity, exerting a one-dimensional flow of ideas or cultures.

One nation/one language: The *monolingual paradigm* in the globalized world. With the combination of massive emigration and technological advances, the concept of identity on which the European nation-state was founded, "one nation/one language" can no longer be viable within such a globalized reality. As Lin argues in the article "Language-in-education Policy and Practice", "To understand the new desires, new phenomena, new interests and new hybrid identities in diverse postcolonial contexts, we can no longer use the old binary logic that characterizes the old imperialism-resistance" (Lin, 2005, p. 4). As new hybrid identities are constantly being born, identities are so dynamic that there exists no way to classify them, as the world has never seen such a grand-scale confluence of people, cultures, and language, within such small spaces.

Taking into account such a view of globalization would also lead to a shift in how language is perceived in this new world. Pennycook argues that language can only be understood within the context of globalization, saying that linguistic imperialism is "mired in a linguistics and a politics of the last century, focusing inexorably on languages and nations as given entities, and ill-equipped to deal with current modes of globalization" (Pennycook, 2007 p. 23). In fact, language, and as Pennycook specifically argues, English, can no longer be perceived in such a globalized world, as a homogenous or even heterogeneous identity. Therefore, perceiving

language through such a lens only perpetuates the same system of thought that led to the rise of nation-state, which seeks to define language in terms of some inherent values it possess. As outlined earlier, such a view of language was responsible for the production and perpetuation of language ideologies, which inevitably will deem one language "more equal than others", even if they are labeled as "equals" within that society (Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2004, p. 3) Taken this paradigm of language in our globalized world, identity is also bound to take new shapes, as "one nation/one language" is no longer adequate in defining self in such a globalized world, because as Pennycook explains "locality, tradition and place are produced, not given; a result of particular ways of constructing identity" (Pennycook, 2007, p. 6).

Conceiving of identity in relation to language in such a dynamic way is what Blommaert and Rampton refer to as *Superdiversity,* which is explained in their article "Language and Superdiversity "; ("Superdiversity" being coined by Vertovec, 2007, as cited in article). Looking at the incredible influx of migrants in certain locales, superdiversity describes the diversity of "nationality, ethnicity, language, and religion" and "motives, patterns and itineraries of migration, processes of insertion into the labour and housing markets of the host societies, and so on" (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011, p. 1). They claim that certain parts of the world have become so diverse that the word "diversity" would not even be an applicable term to describe the state of some metropolises, as the intersections and confluence of identities is not measurable due the fluidity of their makeup (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011).

An obvious prerequisite for such a conception of society as the one superdiversity entails is various degrees of emigration and immigration. They play a key part in the formation of the new hybrid identities, as it is through physical displacement that transcultural flows are more likely to take place, at least, in its initial stages. With nearly ubiquitous access to the internet,

and rather prominent use of smart phones in society, diaspora communities are able to retain a

connection to their homeland, "While emigration used to mean real separation between the

emigré and his/her home society, involving the loss or dramatic reduction of social, cultural and

political roles and impact there, emigrants and dispersed communities now have the potential to

retain an active connection by means of an elaborate set of long-distance communication

technologies" (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011, p. 3).

Just as emigration/immigration produces a new type of identity (the coalescence of the

influences of two distinct territories into one emigrant/immigrant), the technology arising from

globalization has created the potential for myriads of new identities, as neither time nor space are

restrictions when it comes to emigrants/immigrants maintaining their connection to their

homeland (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011). As more of the world becomes connected, especially

in larger metropolises, the context of communication becomes of utmost importance, as

Blommaert and Rampton indicate. The context of a communicative act is "continuously

readjusted to the contingencies of action unfolding from one moment to the next...they are also

infused with information, resources, expectations and experiences that originated in,

circulate through, and/or are destined for networks and processes that can be very different in

their reach and duration (as well as in their capacity to bestow privilege, power or stigma)

(Blommaert & Rampton, 2011, p. 9). With this emphasis on context, resulting in dynamism and

unpredictability, we see a divergent separation from the previous conceptions of language as a

discrete entity in the rise of the nation state (Hardt and Negri, 2000, p. 95). Focusing on the

structure of language itself, as opposed to the context of its use, was once useful as it intertwined

language with national identity; where language, community, and locale fused together to form a

collectively imagined, fixed identity. However, the monolingual paradigm can no longer survive

given the evolution of the globalized world today. Globalization prevents language from being tethered to such rigidity, allowing language to roam through time and space freely. This has led to the hybridization of identities, where "transnational networks…offer potentially altered forms of identity, community formation and cooperation" (Hardt and Negri, 2000, p.3). This paradigm shift is quite necessary in today's world, as the former paradigm, which serves to pigeonhole complex realities into static, imagined identities, is not only inapplicable, it also has ramifications that extend beyond the imagination, by disrupting the lived reality of those who do not fit into the rigid structures of language and identity, as proposed by the monolingual paradigm (Canagarajah, 2013). As we will see, such a paradigm shift is quite pertinent within the Puerto Rican context.

Puerto Rican Identity in the Globalized World

As mentioned in Chapter 5, Puerto Rican identity, based on cultural nationalism was a direct result of their formal colonial independence from the United States in 1952. The deliberate construction of an imagined and fixed Puerto Rican identity was carried out through governmental support of various cultural institutes, with the Institute of Puerto Rican Culture serving as the bellwether of the consolidation of Puerto Rican identity and the diffusion thereof (Duany, 2002). Propagated by Governor Luis Muñoz Marín, Puerto Rican identity was "consistently elusive, inclusive, and idealistic" in that it was based on "attitudes, habits, values of a human community" (Duany, 2002 p. 127). As Puerto Ricans imagined this collective identity, what separated it from the majority of imagined identities within a nation-state, is that instead of a being a politically imagined identity, it was cultural. Obviously, this was a necessary construction of identity given the political reality of still being a territory of the United States. This difference then, from Puerto Rican cultural identity compared with other identities'

established within the rise of the nation-state was unique in the way it constructed the "other". While most nations would consider the "other" as any group not belonging to its own nation, Puerto Ricans more concretely defined the "other" as anything culturally related to the US, and hence "Puerto Rican nationalism throughout the twentieth century has been characterized as anti-Americanism" (Duany, 2002, p.24). This conception of Puerto Rican identity has led to a homogenization of identity "across various social positions, including class, gender, race and color, age and ideology" (Duany, 2002, p. 18). Though this conception of Puerto Rican identity was arguably practical and necessary given the harsh creation of Puerto Rican identity stemming from the US Colonial period, it must be known that it was created as reactionary measure essentially recreating the same binary lens of identity that was initially created by US colonization.

Some scholars, like Grosfoguel (2003), argue that this conception of an authentic Puerto Rican culture (created as a result of the Commonwealth status), vis-a-vis the American nation, is actually responsible for perpetuating US colonialism over the island (Grosfoguel, 2003). His claim is that that Puerto Ricans have been assimilated into American culture through the use of the Spanish language itself, as products exploit the Puerto Rican "cultural identity" subversively, as a way to sell their product to the people of the island (Grosfoguel, 2003, p. 62). Citing the "mass construction of suburban housing, the exaggerated proliferation of cars, together with the spread of malls all over the island" he believes cultural assimilation "to the practices of American consumerism" of the island have become even more conspicuous, and will continue to take place, because the assimilation is taking place in Spanish, "so as to affirm Puerto Rican identity" (Grosfoguel, 2003, p. 63). To summarize this argument, because Puerto Ricans have imagined this distinct cultural identity, the US is literally able to sell it back to them, under the

guise that it is "authentically" Puerto Rican. In reality, what is being "sold" is only serving US

interests, while simultaneously detracting from an authentic Puerto Rican culture, one that is

derived from the island itself, and not merely a reactionary colonial identity, recreating the same

binary structures of identity that were imposed during colonial times. In fact, Grosfoguel insists

that the Puerto Ricans in the US are more "Puerto Rican" than some of those on the island itself,

saying, "today Puerto Rican Spanish-speaking middle classes on the island are more assimilated

to American cultural practices than the thousands of marginalized English-speaking "boricuas"

living in the American urban ghettos" (Grosfoguel, 2003, p. 63). The reason for the inclusion of

Grosfoguel's view on Puerto Rican identity is to demonstrate the problematic scenario that arises

in the adherence to a conception of identity which is based on the colonial dichotomous structure

of "us" versus the "other". By conceiving of a Puerto Rican identity on such a structure, it has

enabled the former colonial power, according to Grosfoguel, to continue to reap the economic

benefits of their former colony.

As Grosfoguel focuses on Puerto Rican cultural identity being insidious in that it

perpetuates US neocolonialism, Duany looks at how it has become problematic given the social

circumstances and reality of Puerto Ricans. As globalization has unrolled to all parts of the

world, the conception of Puerto Rican identity as highlighted in chapter four, has become quite

problematic as it seeks to create a homogenization of the Puerto Rican people (Duany, 2002).

Though this homogenization may have been practical in its incipient stages of creating a

"unique" cultural identity as it served as a "moral regeneration" of a nation, because of its

stifling binary nature, and its inherent need to reject all things "American", it has become a

problematic construct in current Puerto Rican society.

Problems concerning race, gender, and sexual orientation in Puerto Rican identity.

Davila, in her book, *Sponsored Identities: Cultural Politics in Puerto Rico*, mentions that through the founding myth of the "mestizaje"*,* the Puerto Rican conception of "race" on the island in relation to its cultural identity, became homogenized, essentially establishing lighter skin Puerto Ricans, as true Puerto Ricans (Davila, 1997). Duany also sees the image of the "jíbaro", "the white male peasant from the highlands" which served to epitomize Puertoricanness as extremely exclusive, as it neglected many of the Puerto Rican population, namely "urban dwellers, wageworkers, blacks and mulattoes, women, gays, and lesbians" (Duany, 2002, p. 24). Though the image of "la gran familia puertorriqueña" (The great Puerto Rican) family attempts to reconcile the diversity of the island by recognizing its Amerindian, European, and African roots, both the historical and social contributions of the Amerindians and Africans are overlooked, as they became "amalgamated into Creole culture, primarily of Hispanic origin" (Duany, 2002, p. 25). Furthermore, Duany presents evidence of how the government and Cultural Institute of Puerto Rico conspicuously favor programs that are based on Hispanic Puerto Rican Hispanic heritage (Duany, 2002, p. 278). Despite their being a "secondary focus" on pre-Colombian culture, the third member of "la gran familia puertorriqueña" (The great Puerto Rican family) gets very little notice, hardly playing a role in the imagined Puerto Rican identity. Duany shows concern with such an omission mentioning that "compared with more than dozen museums showcasing Spanish and indigenous traditions, one focuses on the African heritage...However, the foreign and temporary nature of this display suggests that Africans are still represented as external to Puerto Rican culture" (Duany, 2002, p. 278). Taking it one step further, not only does Duany claim that the Taino revitalization movement is romanticized, he

believes the movement comes at the expense of Puerto Rican's African heritage, as it

"symbolically erases" both the African race and the African culture (Duany, 2002, p. 276).

By looking at the construction of Puerto Rican identity in such a way, it becomes

apparent that when using this lens to imagine one's identity, Puerto Ricans are more liable to

display the same discriminating anthroposcopic practices of the colonizers, imaging the ideal

"Puerto Rican" more so in European terms, than in what actually existed in the Puerto Rican

reality. It becomes clear then that Puerto Rican institutions, in their proliferation of an

"authentic" Puerto Rican culture, preponderantly based its identity on Hispanic origin.

Ironically enough, despite their effort to distance themselves as much as possible from the image

of the colonizer, this imagination of Puerto Rican identity, as proposed by Duany, has imagined

the quintessential Puerto Rican identity more as European than actually Puerto Rican, which

more accurately based on heterogeneous flux of diverse cultures, rather than a single, stable

entity (Glassner, 1997).

Lastly, even in their acknowledgement of Puerto Rican diversity through the national seal

and "la gran familia puertorriqueña", their treatment and rhetoric of the other members of "the

family" served only to highlight their European heritage, excluding the all others. I see a clear

parallel here with the actions of American anthropologists when they came to the island in the

early 1900s, as they struggled to classify the Puerto Ricans within their rather limited conception

of racial identity: black or white (Duany, 2002, p. 86). Despite this acknowledged reality of

Puerto Rican diversity, these anthropologists treated all the people as their cultural "other".

As Puerto Rican cultural identity was formed, in its homogenizing tendency and effort to

create a positive self-consciousness, it has come to exclude its very own people through its over-

emphasis of the European role in the imagination of Puerto Rican identity. However, this

exclusion went beyond race, as Myrna García-Calderon, (1998) reveals. She looks at how not

only racial discrimination, but also discrimination of gender and sexual orientation, has affected

the Puerto Rican population. Women, gays, and lesbians have been marginalized in Puerto Rico,

as they do not fit within this pre-existing construct of Puerto Rican identity. Furthermore,

Yolanda Martinez-San Miguel (2003; 2014) has argued that by conceiving of identity in such an

exclusive terms, Puerto Ricans have had tensions with their Caribbean neighbors, including

Cubans and Dominicans, as they have been unable to find "common ground despite similar

histories, culture, and geography" (Martinez-San Miguel, 2003, p. 180).

  Problems concerning locale in Puerto Rican identity. Beyond the initial discrimination

that took place because of this imagined Puerto Rican identity, because of migratory practices

that have become more common as a result of globalization, the concept of a typical Puerto

Rican has become even more distanced from Puerto Rican reality. Duany's studies of diaspora

Puerto Rican communities displays how this cultural identity is not a viable blueprint in today's

world, since it constricts Puerto Rican identity to "strictly territorial boundaries" excluding

people on and off the island (Duany, 2002, p. 20). As immigration has become a common

occurrence in all parts of the world, Puerto Rico has also experienced this. In the 1970's during

predominantly Dominican but also Haitian and Cuban migration to the island, instead of

embracing these Caribbean neighbors, Puerto Rican nationalists came to view these migrants as

completely foreign, despite their territorial proximity (Martinez-San Miguel, 1998). Furthermore,

this exclusion and discrimination was also portrayed with varying degrees) in Puerto Rican

literature (De Maeseneer, 2002). Lastly, this discrimination was even evident in la Academia de

Puertorriqueña de la Lengua, as its first two presidents, Samuel Quiñones and Salvador Tió claim

that Taino and African contributions to the Puerto Rican language and culture, rather than being

insignificant, was nonexistent (Torres-González, 2002)

Problems concerning language in Puerto Rican identity. In the same way that the European nation-state relied on language as an integral aspect of its identity, the Puerto Rican "attitudes, habits, and values" about which Muñoz Marín spoke of were all subsumed by the Spanish vernacular. While Spanish language became a metonym for these attitudes, habits, and values, Puerto Rican identity essentially hinged on the binary relationship with language of its former colonizer, English. This essentialized identity meant that there was nothing in between Spanish or English; it had to be one or the other. However, in the same manner through which the dichotomous conception of Puerto Rican cultural identity originally was and continually is incompatible with Puerto Rican reality, this binary relationship of English and Spanish is now more than ever incompatible with Puerto Rican reality.

As mentioned in previous chapters, the rhetoric associated with the importance of the Spanish vernacular in Puerto Rico clearly delineated the connection between language and the Puerto Rican nation. As Muñoz Marín referred to Spanish as the "breath of the *pueblo"*, the Spanish maintenance of the language became vital to Puerto Rican existence. Taking that same metaphor, one can conclude that any influence from English into Spanish would be seen as polluting the very air the Puerto Ricans breath. Therefore that desire to maintain the purity the Spanish vernacular from the contamination of the English language is understandable, but quite problematic, given Puerto Rican's relationship with the United States. Because Puerto Ricans freely go back and forth between the US and the islands, there has been continuous physical interaction between the mainland and the Island for over 100 years (Acosta-Belen & Santiago, 2006). As people move, their identity moves, and because identity is a constantly evolving concept, it becomes challenging to pinpoint an identity without taking into account changes.

Furthermore, language, like identity, is adaptive in nature, accommodating the speakers' in their specific context. Because a firm pillar of Puerto Rican identity was the Spanish language, it became obvious that the circular movements between to the Spanish speaking island and the English speaking mainland had the potential to destroy this imagined Puerto Rican identity.

Salvador Tió, the former president of the Real Academia de Español in Puerto Rico was well aware of this threat to Puerto Rican identity, which is why he coined the terms "Espanglish" (which eventually became Spanglish) and Inglañol (Torres-González, 2002, p. 198). These were the terms he used in order to classify the language of Puerto Rican migrants and their "ida y vuelta", or their coming and going (as cited in Torres-González, 2002, p. 198). In fact, Tió (as cited in Torres-González, 2002, p. 197) does not believe the corruption of the Spanish language will come so much from the American industrialization of the Island, but more so, it will come from the "intensity of migration of the coming and going of the Puerto Ricans to and from the United States". The significance of these statements is the ultimately crippling effect of Puerto Rican identity for those who partake in any type of migration from the island. It forces them to choose between loyalty to their island and loyalty to their personal situations, i.e. economic or familial reasons (Clachar, 1997a). Duany mentions, "many islanders continue to believe that the emigrants are no longer Puerto Ricans, as if they became Americanized almost automatically upon arriving in the mainland (Duany, 2002, p. 167). I believe that this idea, of becoming "Americanized" the moment they arrive to the island, stems from this type of rhetoric with regards to the purity of the Spanish language. Referring back to Muñoz Marín when he said he was in favor of a Puerto Rican "bilingual", he clearly expressed that the use of English in Puerto Rico (even so much as one word, as is the case with "Agapito's Bar"), was traitorous, both to self, and to the island. Therefore, if a Puerto Rican were to go to the Unites States, it would make

sense that they would be considered "upon arrival" as no longer Puerto Ricans, because they would have to be exposed to the use of English at some point during their stay. With this type of rhetoric about the "ida y vuelta" and its inherent incompatibility with Puerto Rican identity, it becomes clear why Puerto Rican identity cannot accommodate the Puerto Rican diaspora to the mainland. One cannot be both Puerto Rican and live in America, despite using Spanish at home, as it would signify the conscious choice in conceding to the use of English instead of Spanish.

This strict adherence to Puerto Rican identity was so powerful and so ingrained in Puerto Rican society, that even when Puerto Ricans in the United States tried to maintain their cultural practices, considering themselves "outposts of the Puerto Rican nation", they were still denied identification as Puerto Ricans (Duany, 2002, p. 205). Duany argues for the Puerto Ricans living in the US mainland, offering, "contrary to the public discourse, Puerto Ricans in the mainland reproduced many of the local distinctions outside of the island" (Duany, 2002, p. 207). Furthermore, according to Duany, there is no Puerto Rican writer who lives in the United States that also writes in English who is studied at the elementary and high school levels, as the Island's official curriculum does not acknowledge them as contributors to Puerto Rican literature. This too has its base in European nation-state language ideologies, since literature in Western civilization has widely been used ever since the invention of the European "novel" in the early 1800's, as a way to unite people under the auspices of a specific language, one that pertains only to a specific territory (Culler, 1997). The conception of Puerto Rican identity as only pertaining to a specific territory and a specific language would undoubtedly have difficulties incorporating literature into its cannon, when it is produced by someone not living in "Puerto Rican territory" and not using the "Puerto Rican language".

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The Puerto Rican Nation Reimagined

Puerto Rican identity as imagined and diffused after its "liberation" in 1952, was conceived in the terms of place, community, and language, which were once "essential" to European identity formation. By using these components to conceive of Puerto Rican identity, just as all "national" identity, it served to exclude all others who did not fall within these categories. To be a Puerto Rican then, one must live on the island and speak Spanish. But, there is a great discrepancy between this conceived Puerto Rican identity and the lived Puerto Rican experiences. These experiences stem from both the evolution of a globalized world, and also, from Puerto Rico's unique political relationship with the US, which permits circular migration (Duany, 2002) Duany emphasizes Puerto Rico's unique reality stating, "No country in recent history has undergone a more prolonged and massive displacement of its people than Puerto Rico. Recalling Ireland's experience during the second half of the 19th century, Puerto Rico exported almost half of its current population to the United States after World War II" (Duany, 2003, p. 440). Furthermore, he provides numerical evidence of these facts explaining that by 1997, 3.1 million Puerto Ricans resided in the mainland, compared to 3.7 million on the Island (Duany,1999, p. 6). Using such statistics, Duany argues that Puerto Rican identity cannot be limited to the island, but rather, must have a more inclusive perspective, one which would incorporate all those living in the US, "The Puerto Rican nation is no longer restricted to the island but instead is constituted by 2 distinct yet closely intertwined fragments, Puerto Rico itself and the diaspora communities in the US" (Duany,1999, p. 5). Furthermore, if we are to think of Puerto Rico as a nation, it would be pertinent to change our idea of what a nation is. Instead of a fixed locale, where community, place, and language are vital to its formation, nation, in the case of Puerto Rico, should be conceived not as a "territorially organized nation state, but as a

translocal phenomenon of a new kind" (Duany, 2003, p. 437). And this new conception of identity is vital to Puerto Ricans because of the "constant transgression of the boundaries of the territory, language, and ethnicity"(Duany, 1999, p. 18). Therefore, Duany looks at Puerto Rican identity as transnational, and uses the metaphor of "nation on the move" to encapsulate the "fluid and hybrid identities of Puerto Ricans on the Island and in the mainland" (Duany, 2003, p. 431). And to clarify this idea of transnationalism, Soto-Santiago (2014) claims that even though Puerto Ricans are not going across nations per se, the clear differences in culture and language between Puerto Rico and the US, calls for the use of such a term.

Puerto Rican Language Reimagined

Blommaert and Rampton have made clear that technology in general, but especially in diaspora communities, has given language a new realm, where time, space, and locale no longer restrict language use. This then places an emphasis on the evolution of language itself, or the hybridity of language, which transform according to its use, liberated by the previous restrictions of time and space. This post-structuralist conception of language, where the focus is on language as a form of communication rather than language as an immutable "structure" is obviously more apt for the globalized world we live in. The way Blommaert explains language within the concept of "Superdiversity" is similar to the way Duany reimagines Puerto Rican identity, as they both look to align an imagined concept (language and national identity respectively) with a lived reality. Therefore, I believe it is pertinent to also reimagine the concept of language as it pertains to Puerto Rican identity, as thinking of Puerto Ricans as monolingual or bilingual, or being able to "dominate" or "speaking languages well", could never account for the various levels and uses of language within the Puerto Rican context. This re-imagination is due to both the technology present in Puerto Rican society, but also the circular migratory patterns of Puerto

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Ricans, the very reasons Blommaert and Duany explain necessitate a shift of paradigm. In order

to most effectively re-imagine language within the Puerto Rican context, I believe the term

translanguaging best takes into account the language use of Puerto Ricans given the

transnationalist tendencies of its people. The next chapter then is devoted to defining the term,

and how this paradigm is most appropriate for the Puerto Rican setting, especially in Puerto

Rican classrooms.

Chapter 8: The Translanguaging Paradigm

Defining Translanguaging

Up until this point in the thesis, the focus has been on analyzing what Canagarjah (2013) labels as the *monolingual paradigm.* This paradigm was a parallel production to the birth of the European nation-state, and therefore, carries within it ideologies which perpetuate the idea of one language=one nation=one place (Canagarjah 2013). As argued in the previous chapter, this paradigm is no longer compatible in Puerto Rico. Though this incompatibility is not only exclusively related to language, I believe language is the most important incompatibility to align, as language has historically defined "Puertoricanness" (Duany, 2002). The focus in this chapter will be on presenting the translanguaging paradigm, followed by the benefits of replacing the obsolete *monolingual paradigm.* These benefits will then be located within the Puerto Rican context, looking at both students and professors incorporating translanguaging in the classroom. In order to better understand this proposed paradigm shift, it is first necessary to determine what a translanguaging paradigm entails precisely.

Though there exists many terms that seek to restructure the *monolingual paradigm* into a structure that better parallels our globalized world and our diverse language uses, I believe García and Li's definition (2013) of *translanguaging* is most apt. García and Li mention terms such as *code-meshing* (Canagarajah, 2011)*, Spanglish* (Zentella, 1997) and *transidiomatic practices* (Jacquemet, 2005 as cited in the article), to account for other scholars who seek to go beyond the *monolingual norm*, emphasizing that a *monolingual paradigm* is not a natural state of language (García & Li, 2013). However, García and Li believe that these terms still use the same structure of language that necessitates the use of a monolingual paradigm to give them their existence. They argue that a translanguaging lens must not regard languages as separate entities,

and instead, look at them as fluid and dynamic entities. García and Li claim that translanguaging

is "better able to capture the trans-systemic and transformative practices as new language reality

emerges" (García & Li, 2013, p. 36). They regard language use to parallel the way humans think

when using language as a means of communication. In order to better understand this idea, they
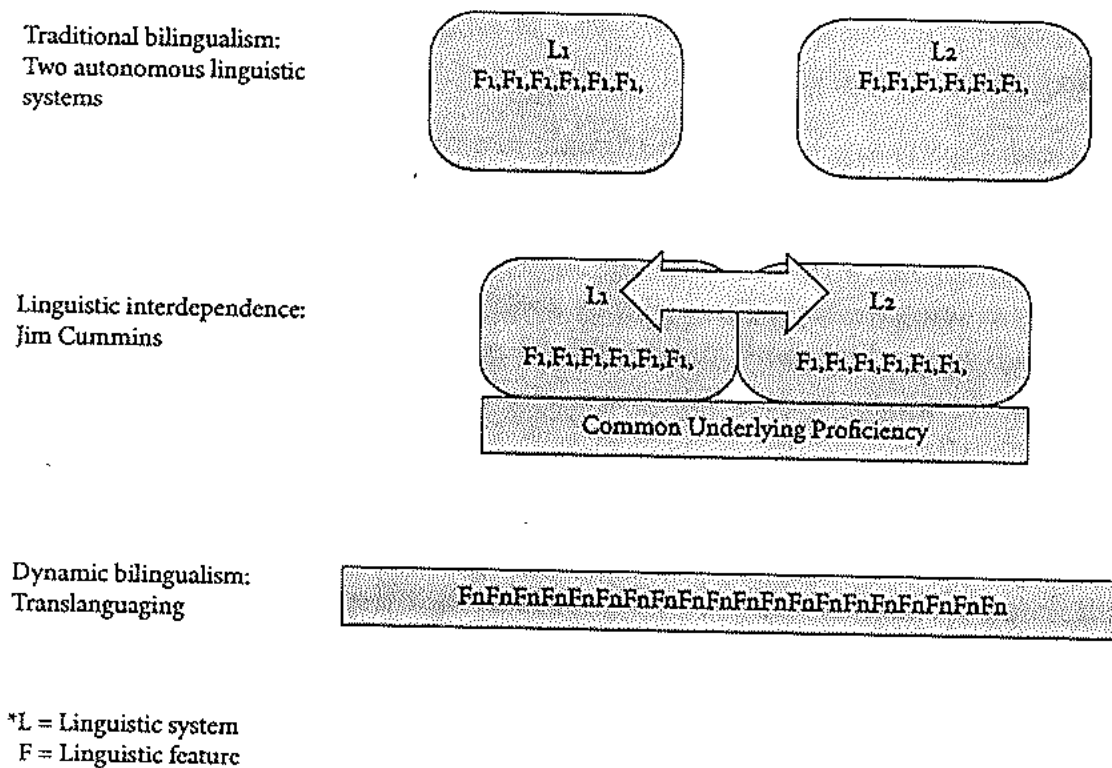
propose the following diagram:

Traditional bilingualism: Two autonomous linguistic systems — L_1 $F_1,F_1,F_1,F_1,F_1,F_1,$ — L_2 $F_1,F_1,F_1,F_1,F_1,F_1,$

Linguistic interdependence: Jim Cummins — L_1 L_2 $F_1,F_1,F_1,F_1,F_1,F_1,$ $F_1,F_1,F_1,F_1,F_1,F_1,$ Common Underlying Proficiency

Dynamic bilingualism: Translanguaging — $F_nF_nF_nF_nF_nF_nF_nF_nF_nF_nF_nF_nF_nF_nF_nF_nF_nF_nF_nF_n$

*L = Linguistic system
F = Linguistic feature

Figure 8.1-Differing views of what takes place in a bilingual mind

This diagram presents different conceptions of what takes place in the "bilingual" mind.

In this diagram, García and Li claim that the "Dynamic Bilingual Model" best parallels their own

definition of *translanguaging* because there is no differentiation between the linguistic system

(what we would typically call "English" or "Spanish") and the features of those systems

(manifestations of the system-something as simple as words belonging to "English" or words

belonging to "Spanish"). In one's mind, there is no differentiation between languages, words

used in those languages, and one's thoughts. To give an example, if one were to hear the word

"dog" and the word "perro" (dog in Spanish), there would not be an image of two different dogs

in one's mind, one distinct for each word. García further clarifies this idea of the translanguaging

"bilingual" mind, stating "bilinguals have one linguistic repertoire from which they select

features strategically to communicate effectively" (García, 2012, p. 1). Within this quote, we also

see the idea of communication, which plays a key role in their definition of translanguaging.

García and Li believe language constitutes only one part in communication because

meaning is created through the total integration of one's personal experiences and external

stimuli. Li (2011) claims that translanguaging takes place in a unique space in time, a

translanguaging space. In the act of translanguaging, the speaker "creates a social space for the

multilingual user by bringing together different dimensions of their personal history, experience,

and environment, their attitude, belief and ideology, their cognitive and physical capacity into

one coordinated and meaningful performance" (Li, 2011, p. 1223). Therefore translanguaging,

expanding on the "Dynamic Bilingual Model", seeks to understand language within this model

as only one component in Li's definition of a *translanguging space*. By combining

translanguaging space and the "Dynamic Bilingual Model", we can envision the *linguistic*

repertoire as the momentary integration of language, personal history, experience, environment,

attitude, belief and ideology, cognitive and physical capacity. As these components are in

constant flux, one's linguistic repertoire is also always changing from moment to moment. The

idea of translanguaging takes the focus away from the structures of the languages we encounter

and instead places the emphasis on the context we find ourselves in, providing "the simultaneous

process of continuous becoming of ourselves and of our language practices, as we interact and make meaning in the world" (García & Li, 2013, p. 8).

As mentioned in the methodology at the start of the thesis, language ideologies are born because of the way certain aspects of language are presented in reality. Language ideologies portray certain aspects of language, such as the *monolingual paradigm* as "nature" or "normal", converting an imagined construct into a reality. The reason I believe translanguaging is an appropriate paradigm to help break away from the *monolingual paradigm* is because of the manner in which it attempts to sift language ideologies from language use. Li (2011) expresses this eloquently by claiming that translanguaging gives one "the ability to choose between following and flouting the rules and norms of behavior, including the use of language, and to push and break boundaries between the old and the new, the conventional and the original, the acceptable and the challenging" (Li as cited in García & Li, 2013, p. 32). I believe such a statement about translanguaging fits within Wodak and Meyer's definition of a critical framework to help break away from ideologies. Wodak and Meyer explain that such a framework should "produce and convey critical knowledge that enables human beings to emancipate themselves from forms of domination through self-reflection" (Meyer & Wodak, 2009, p. 7).

Benefits of Translanguaging

Though the benefits of translanguaging can be numerous, I will divide the benefits into two categories which I believe are of relevance to the Puerto Rican context. The first category relates to the pedagogical benefits of translanguaging (Lewis et al., 2012), while the second category is based on the social benefits of translanguaging (García & Leiva, 2014).

Pedagogical benefits of translanguaging. Though I will be using the definition of translanguaging as proposed by García and Li, the term itself was not coined by these two scholars. It was originally coined by Cen Williams in 1994 in Wales within the context of the rather "bellicose" relationship between English and Welsh (Lewis et al., 2012). The term was translated by Baker, who also describes translanguaging as "the process of making meaning, shaping experiences, gaining understanding and knowledge through the use of two languages" (Baker, 2011, p. 288).

Lewis et al. (2012), using Williams' original purpose for using translanguaging as a pedagogical tactic in the classroom, highlights several reasons that translanguaging is useful in the classroom, no matter what class a student is in. First of all, translanguaging takes the focus of the class away from the teacher and places it on the individual student (Lewis et al., 2012). That is, though the teacher is guiding the class, the teacher seeks to utilize the students' full linguistic repertoire to foment progress. It is the knowledge of the individual student that is being used as the point of departure for learning, making it a very personal pedagogy, as opposed to the teacher presenting the entire class with a fixed goal, and having the students strive for that fixed point despite their various linguistic levels. This can be seen as a parallel to Vygotsky's *Zone of Proximal Development*, as the individual student, with the assistance of teacher, can strategically strive towards "maximizing a student's linguistic and cognitive capability" (Baker, 2011, p. 290).

Furthermore, translanguaging can help the students build on their knowledge by using things they know (stronger language) to learn things they do not know as well (weaker language). Translanguaging as a planned pedagogical practice is most successful when the students have a basic grasp of the weaker language (Lewis et al., 2012). This enables them to heighten their academic skills as they become more proficient in both languages, which is also

Vygotskyian in its scope, through its use of context and past knowledge to form or "construct" new knowledge (Vygotsky, 1962).

Lastly, as translanguaging detracts the focus from the teacher and places it on the individual student, it permits other students to also become "teachers" in the classroom. As the teachers are no longer the "authority" of all knowledge but the guide who helps students construct their own knowledge, the chance for other students to fill the Vygotskian role of the *More Knowledgeable Other* is more likely to present itself (Vygotsky, 1962). Through planned translanguaging practices, the teacher can give the occasion for students to assist each other in building knowledge, which also serves to reinforce the knowledge of the *MKO* that was already presented by the teacher.

Planned translanguaging in the educational setting has important pedagogical results, as "both languages are used in a dynamic and functionally integrated manner to organize and mediate mental processes in understanding, speaking, literacy, and, not least, learning" (Lewis et al., 2012, p.1). Furthermore, through translanguaging in the classroom, language is no longer presented as a fixed and concrete structure, but rather, it is seen as something malleable that can be adapted for each students' needs in the given moment, from lesson to lesson, as it "concerns effective communication, function rather than form, cognitive activity, as well as language production" (Lewis et al., 2012, p.1).

Social benefits of translanguaging. García and Leiva in the article "Theorizing and enacting translanguaging for social justice", argue that translanguaging in the classroom can help students disentangle themselves from the "buried histories" that are associated with their language use, and instead, they can enable students to find themselves in their particular context and setting. By being encouraged to practice "linguistic flexibility" and delving into their entire

linguistic repertoire, students can become freed from the "constraints" of certain language ideologies (García & Leiva, 2014, p.120). More specifically, her argument is based on US Latinos who must choose between an 'Anglophone' ideology which calls for English monolingualism, and on the other hand, a "Hispanophone" ideology which faults the US Latinos for speak "Spanglish", which can also be seen as "incomplete acquisition" of their "heritage language" (Otheguy & Zentella, 2012 as cited in García & Leiva, 2014). She argues that students are forced to choose between two "codes", and even when they are guided towards a bilingual orientation, they are coerced into reaching certain "standards" that are created, produced, legitimized by powerful social agencies, like schools and nations. Therefore, a translanguaging lens is important as it enables because otherwise, "bilingual speakers whose languaging does not conform to the enunciations of the powerful are stigmatized and excluded" (García & Leiva, 2014, p.130). Translanguaging's ultimate goal within the context of social setting would be then to "resist the historical and cultural positionings of monolingualism or of additive bilingualism", which would then help in liberating the speakers of language from having to adhere to a monolingual norm, giving the speaker power of her/his context because it "changes the locus of enunciation and resists the asymmetries of power that 'bilingual codes' often create" (García & Leiva, 2014, p.130).

Pedagogical Need for Translanguaging in the Puerto Rican Context

Given Puerto's Ricans' tendency to participate in a pattern of circular migration (Duany, 2002), children and youth who migrate with their families often find themselves in situations at school where they are linguistically excluded because of their unique linguistic repertoire (Soto-Santiago, 2014). Soto-Santiago (2014), in her case study of transmigrant Puerto Rican youth, has highlighted the pedagogical obstacles that Puerto Ricans who particiapte in circular migration

face in schools. These students, faced with having to complete their coursework exclusively in Spanish when they were academically stronger in English, suffered poorer academic results than they were used to. These results were not indicative of their academic abilities, but rather, their "linguistic shortcomings" in their Puerto Rican classrooms. Using this case study as an example, it becomes evident that circular migration has and will continue to result in such scenarios, where students are seen as deficient in a language because of their migratory history. However, these students are only deficient because of the monolingual paradigm that exists in the classrooms, and amongst their teachers. Their academic capabilities are merely a reflection of their academic history, and thus, the students should be seen as normal and not deficient. The only thing that makes these students "deficient" is the system in which they find themselves, and in no way is their "deficiency" related to their linguistic repertoire.

Another factor that emphasizes the need for transformation of trasnlanguaging in Puerto Rican classrooms is the presence of bilingual private schools in Puerto Rico. Puerto Ricans who go to private schools are more equipped with academic English than their public school peers (Pousada, 1996). It can even be the case where private school children are more comfortable using English academically than Spanish, since much of their academic career was developed through the medium of the English language (Clachar, 1997). At the university setting, when these students come together in the same classroom, it is only natural that there is a discrepancy between their language levels. This demonstrates that even without considering *circular migration,* there would still be a pedagogical necessity to use translanguaging in the Puerto Rican classroom, especially at the university level where public school and private school students converge in the same classroom.

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Social Need of Translanguaging in the Puerto Rican Context

Soto-Santiago (2014) mentions that transmigrant students returning to Puerto Rico did not feel as if their Spanish was the "right" type for the classroom setting. They were "labeled as linguistically limited students by a newly implanted program" and these transmigrarant students "immediately received the message that Spanish was more important than English" in their new academic setting (Soto-Santiago, 2014, p. 106-107). Crawford (2004) connects low self-esteem with the rejection of one's language in the academic setting. This low self-esteem obviously has a bearing on academic performance; but even more serious, it affects one's emotional well-being. This is evident in Chiang & Schmida (2006), where the students in their case study suffered from difficulties, including feelings of rejection from their peers and teachers, all due to language labels they were given by the school.

By incorporating a pedagogy in the classroom that does not alienate students for their linguistic repertoires, students are more likely to succeed academically (Lewis et al., 2012), and also, are more likely to have greater feeling of self-worth and pride in their unique identity (Crawford, 2004). In Puerto Rican classrooms, it is not uncommon for students to be ostracized because of the language they use, or do not use (Clachar, 1997). By normalizing translanguaging in the classroom, Puerto Rican students are less likely to feel the pressures of not "fitting in" because of their language abilities.

Pedagogical benefits of Translanguaging at a Puerto Rican University

The pedagoglical benefits of translanguaging will be gauged by using data from " 'Show what you know': Translanguaging in dynamic assessment in a bilingual university classroom" (Mazak et al., forthcoming). In this study, Mazak et al. collect data from an upper-level undergraduate psychology class, neuropsychology, in which the professor engages in

translanguaging in her pedagogical practices. The professor, proficient in English and Spanish, demonstrates her commitment to allowing students to utilize their *linguistic repertoires* by allowing the students to vote for the medium of instruction for the semester. What makes the class even more unique is that she allows students to liberally translanguage during their assessments, while also providing both languages in the instructions and questions of the assessments. By disassociating the language they use from the content they express, students are given an environment where they are more comfortable to fully utilize their *linguistic repertoire*. There are no external restrictions of language imposed on the students, as the professor in this class has made the effort to create a setting where the students have the chance to exercise their entire linguistic repertoire. The article's purpose is to determine what translanguaging practices are visible in the students' assessments, and then, determine if there is a correlation between their translanguaging practices and their level of success on the assessments.

Mazak et al. use several classifications of the types of translanguaging that take place on the assessments. Some of these are "translanguaging technical vocabulary", "translanguaging non-technical vocabulary", "translanguaging reported speech", and "translanguaging to explain further". I will focus on the category "translanguaging to explain further" and reanalyzed the data from this section, connecting it to the pedagogical benefits of translanguaging expressed in Lewis et al. (2012).

Within the category of *Translanguaging to explain further,* Mazak et al. identify the students translanguaging as "a strategic way to use all one's *linguistic resources* [emphasis added] to 'show what you know' on an exam" (Mazak et al., forthcoming, p. 14). Mazak et al. provide the following data in this section of their article where a student was explaining the concept of multitasking:

(S-8) La verdad es que los estudios revelan que el alegado "multitasking" no es más que el cerebro haciendo muchos "switch" o cambios en cuanto a lo que mas debe prestar atención.

(S-8) The truth is that studies show that alleged "multitasking" is no more than the brain doing many "switch" or changes in what it should pay attention to " (Mazak et al., forthcoming, p. 14) (translation in original).

According to Lewis et al. (2012), one of the main reasons translanguaging is so effective in the classroom is because the student inherently has more opportunities to learn the concepts they are being exposed to, as they seek to connect the concept with two or more different words (depending on the number of languages in the classroom). Within this particular example, by having the opportunity to translanagueg on the exam, the student reinforced their knowledge of the concept of multi-tasking, by willingly clarifying the term "switch" in Spanish. In other words, by merely having the chance to translanguage, the student voluntarily does so, which results in a reinforcement of what they already know, by using another medium to express the same concept.

Though the above is just one example of the positive pedagogical benefits of translanguaging in the classroom, Mazak et al. (2014), offer that having the permission to translanguage on assessments had a positive effect on the students' grades. Those students who were more engaged in translanguaging, referred to as "expert translanguagers" in the article, scored on average, 10 points higher than the average student for that particular assessment. Mazak et al. propose that such data "indicates that exams were truly read for their *content*, not for the *form in which they present the content*. That is, the professor's practice of both a translanguaging pedagogy and dynamic assessment truly let students draw on all their linguistic

resources when answering the questions" (Mazak et al., forthcoming, p. 23). In summary, the professor's willingness to engage in such pedagogy permitted students to more fully express their knowledge, which can be supported by the correlation between the test score of the "expert translanguagers" compared with rest of the class.

Social Benefits of Translanguaging at a Puerto Rican University

In Mazak and Herbas-Donoso's article "Translanguaging practices and language ideologies in Puerto Rican university science education", we look at the same Puerto Rican university, but this time, the focus is on how the translanguaging can be of a social benefit. García and Leiva (2014) succinctly presents the social goal of translanguaging by stating it can be used to "resist the historical and cultural positionings of monolingualism or of additive bilingualism" (García & Leiva, 2014). Using original data procured by Mazak and Herbas-Donoso in their article, I will look for instances of these aforementioned potential social benefits that can result from using translanganguing in the classroom.

As has been identified in the language ideologies throughout the thesis, it is often the case that many naturally assume that English is the language of science and technology. Because this idea is reinforced by professors who teach adhering to these ideologies this idea becomes reified as the students also accept it as natural and inexorable (Mazak & Donoso, 2014). It is up to the professor to provide the students with a translanguaging pedagogy which can help "chip away at this dominance by rejecting its assumed monolingualism" (Mazak & Donoso, 2014, p.8). It is true that professors have an obligation to follow the protocol that is established within the educational hierarchy, but they can still become "academic brokers" in the classroom (Fennema-Bloom, 2009). This means though they may not have the clout to determine what content they teach, they do have control over how they can teach the content.

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Using data from the article, I will be looking at an example of translanguaging in an agronomy class. In this particular class, the professor practices translanguaging often through the PowerPoint slides he makes for the class, by incorporating information found in English text books, and modifying the content so that knowledge of Spanish is also needed for comprehension of the information. Through his translanguaging acts, the professor provides a way to help his students resist, reappropriate and transform the academic discourse that is presented to him originally exclusively in English, but then modified by his translanguaging. The professor has made the following slide by taking a picture from an academic text book in English, but has written the pertinent question in Spanish:

Figure 8.2 "¿Por qué podar?"

This act of translanguaging is first of all, a transformation at its most basic level, as the professor took the time to extract it from a text book and transform it in a way that also incorporates Spanish. Spanish and English are both needed more fully grasp the information being presented. Second, he has reappropriated the image by writing the question in Spanish. If the professor had written just "why trim?" to accompany the rest of the image which is written in English, surely his agronomy students would not have much trouble comprehending the slide. However, by writing it in Spanish, the academic discourse written in English comes into contact with Spanish,

creating a uniquely new meaning for the students. Because of the professor's act of translanguaging, he enables the students to become the creators of meaning, allowing them to interpret the image in a completely new way, as they "bring all of their discursive resources to bear" (Mazak & Donoso, 2014, p.15). Because one can use the image, the information in English, and the information in Spanish to understand the picture, it permits the students to feel more comfortable in the classroom, as they know they will not have to rely more heavily on Spanish or English to succeed in the class. By presenting the slide in such a way, the professor takes into account the potentially varied linguistic backgrounds of the students, presenting an inclusive class environment, which as mentioned in Crawford (2004), is vital to learning.

Lastly and perhaps most importantly, the professor, through this particular slide and his demeanor within the class, resists the predominant academic discourse of English as a hegemonic power in the field of science. In the following quote, it is evident how this particular professor himself resists and helps his students resist the powers of English, "This class doesn't have a textbook. All my power point presentations are available for them. They study from the slides. That's all they have to know to pass this class…My PowerPoint presentations are translations from books that are in English" (Mazak & Donoso, 2014, p. 15). First of all, we notice the class has no text book. The professor has consciously decided to avoid using a text book in his class, because he knows it would be in English. He is resisting the power of the language ideologies around him by refusing to use exclusively English text books in his classroom. He puts in extra work by translating and translanguaging to make sure the students can see that English is not the only language of science.

Conclusion

Understanding language ideologies in Puerto Rico

The intention of this last chapter is demonstrate the potential that teaching with a translanguaging perspective can have in the Puerto Rican classroom. Using a *monolingual paradigm* in Puerto Rico is untenable and unrealistic; especially so when there are as many self-identified Puerto Ricans who live off the island as on the island (Duany, 2002). Therefore, the reality of language use for Puerto Ricans is also complex, and goes beyond "monolingual" Spanish speakers or "bilingual" Spanish and English speakers. Though translanguaging is a common practice in many facets of Puerto Rican life, it is not socially accepted because of historical monolingual language ideologies which deem the mixture of two languages as an "atrocious hybridity". Just as monolingual language ideologies were produced and perpetuated in Puerto Rican schools, it is in schools where there is a potential to break free from these ideologies, letting students determine their language use with respect to their own "linguistic repertoire".

Translanguaging in the classroom is more of an approach than a set of overarching rules or any single method. In the classroom, the individual educator has the opportunity to incorporate translanguaging methods into their lectures or activities, thus helping to demonstrate that the monolingual paradigm is not "normal", but rather, something that is consciously chosen by an educator. A single educator, by incorporating a translanguaging approach in the classroom, can help students see the artificiality of the monolingual paradigm, recognizing it as an ideology as opposed to a reality. The following concrete examples can allow educators to practice translanguaging in the language classroom, thus helping the transformation of ideologies to take place:

- In group discussions, allowing the use of both languages freely.

- During such discussions, asking other students to summarize what was said but in the other language (presumably the weaker language.

- Asking students to translate useful expressions or ideas from the weaker language to the stronger language. This allows other students to become the MKO as opposed to have the educator be the sole MKO in the classroom.

- Use content in the language of the culture where you are living, yet discussing the content and writing about the content in the weaker language.

- Allowing students to do research in their stronger language for oral or written works that will be presented in their weaker language. This will likely increase their motivation and interest, as the topic will more likely be more relevant to their own lives.

- Allowing students to use the words or expressions from the stronger language in written works, so long as they provide an explanation for its use in the weaker language.

Besides using a translanguaging pedagogy, instructors can also challenge students' own ideologies through reflection. This is similar to what is found in Clachar's (1997b) "Students' Reflections on the Social, Political, and Ideological Role of English in Puerto Rico" where students are asked to describe their own personal beliefs with regards to the role of English vis-à-vis Spanish in Puerto Rico. However, using exclusively self-reflection may not be sufficient, as it asks students to think about the ideologies they have, providing them with tools to necessarily deconstruct why they have such ideologies.

Meta-cognitive reflection of one's own language ideologies, as described by Reis (2011), seems like a more effective way to guide students to think for themselves, separating their realities from their ideologies. Reis does such a thing by challenging students' thoughts on language and its "normal" concepts such as *Native Speaker* or *Non-Native Speaker*. He does this

by providing them with "pivotal scientific concepts that will guide their thinking in ways that are empowering and not based on everyday conceptualizations of *Native Speakers*" (Reis, 2011, p. 122). By presenting students with scientific information that challenges their ideologies, they at least have the tools to determine the artificiality of the language ideologies they possess. With such tools, students can engage in active self-reflection, determining their own position with regards to their language ideologies, giving them the potential to "imagin[e] a new or alternative self" which can then lead to "an active process of negotiating their current identity so as to incorporate a new set of beliefs, emotions, and understandings" (Reis, 2011, p. 122).

In a language classroom, an educator can present students with historical or cultural articles that deal with the evolution of language, either in the past or in the present. Through guided group discussions and thought provoking questions, the educator can challenge students' conceptions of what exactly constitutes language. Educators can pose questions that guide students to think not only what language is, but how it is made and who benefits from such constructions.

Through a historical analysis of language ideologies that pertain to current-day Puerto Rican language ideologies, the purpose of the thesis is essentially what Reis did in his research. By providing students with tools to "produce and convey critical knowledge" they are able to "emancipate themselves from forms of domination through self-reflection" (Meyer & Wodak, 2009). With such emancipation, we have the potential for growth, the potential to become more human as we affix ourselves to our lived realities, as opposed to our inherited ideologies.

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