Crossing of English-speaking expatriates into Galician on Facebook and how their stance taking indexes their identity

Patricia Mrozek

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The American University in Cairo

School of Humanities and Social Sciences

Crossing of English-Speaking Expatriates into Galician on Facebook and
How their Stance Taking Indexes their Identity

A Thesis Submitted to

The Department of Applied Linguistics

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for

The Degree of Master of Arts in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages

by

Patricia Mrozek

Under the supervision of Dr. Reem Bassiouney

May 2018
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In memory of Terrence Y. McElligott. Rest in Peace. 6.14.17
ABSTRACT

This study examines the use of linguistic resources to take both affective and epistemic stances by English speaking expatriates currently or previously residing in the autonomous community of Galicia. In turn, I consider what those stances index about the identity of the speakers. The historical background outlines how the Galician code came to become stigmatized. As a stigmatized code, one linguistic resource of particular interest to this study is crossing as defined by Rampton (1999, 2009). Crossing and other linguistic resources used such as metalinguistic talk, become to carry indexes through repeated stance-taking moves. Dubois’ (2007) stance triangle is the main tool used for analysis. This study is primarily qualitative in nature, describing how expatriates use the Galician code in order to align and disalign oneself with native Galician speakers. The participants are organized into two groupings: the larger expatriate community which I refer to as individuals, and a community of practice within this larger community. 100 statuses of about 30 participants over a seven-year period were collected, coded and analyzed in order to find major themes and patterns in linguistic resource use. The themes found and linguistic resources used of the expatriates in the community of practice differ from those of individuals. In general, the community of practice was found to use affective stances to create solidarity within group members. Unlike members of the community of practice, individuals within the larger expatriate community were found to use epistemic stance taking moves to demonstrate knowledge about the Galician code through metalinguistic talk. The repeated use of Galician further indicates that in both groups, this code must hold covert prestige over the more prestigious Castilian Spanish.

Keywords: Galician, Castilian Spanish, expatriates, crossing, metalinguistic talk, identity, stance, Facebook, covert prestige
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CAS: Castilian Spanish

CMC: Computer-mediated communication

GA: Galician Code

ENG: English

VS: Variationist Sociolinguistics
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

As the world becomes a much smaller place through globalization, language contact and the resulting language variation can be observed. Technological advancements and social media make language variation and change more visible and easily documented. This study looks at language use of expatriates on social media, currently or previously living in Galicia, Spain as the result of language contact of English, Castilian Spanish and Galician codes. As will be explored further, the expatriates use a variety of linguistic resources both grammatical and lexical such as: crossing, metalinguistic talk, personal pronoun use and other morphological changes to perform their identities. An important component of this research is the notion that individuals have agency and are always performing language to an audience, even in daily interactions.

One of the most significant linguistic resources to this study is crossing, a performance closely tied to code switching as defined by Rampton (1999, 2009). Crossing is the use of an alternate stigmatized language, making it an unexpected code choice for a particular speaker. It is important to note that the use of this alternate code is questioned in terms of authenticity as it is seen as completely “other” in the social context of the speaker. Crossing in the present study is particularly interesting as past monolingual language policies in Spain resulted in negative language ideologies about Galician and indexes of lower-class and rurality. Covert prestige justifies the use of stigmatized codes over prestigious form, and can provide a rationale as to why expatriates use Galician. In this study, I have examined individual language use as well as a community of practice present within the larger group of expatriates in the region. After considering these two groups separately, I briefly discuss posts they have in common. The reasoning for the division of groups is the differences in language use and stance-taking moves
they employ. Members of the community of practice use repeated terms to identify with in-group members. Alternatively, individuals strive to align themselves with Galicians as a whole. Both individuals and members of the community of practice through language use employ stance-taking moves. In turn, repeated stance-taking moves signify language attitudes. Language attitudes over time result in language ideologies. Ideologies eventually come to carry indexes and are significant in identity formation. In short, stance directly mediates identity formation.

Now I would like to briefly overview the three waves of Variationist Sociolinguistics (VS). In order to understand the focus of current Sociolinguistic research, it is necessary to see the progression of studies and theories. Once outlining the main components of each wave and giving examples, I explain which aspects I focus on for the current study.

The first wave of VS focuses on correlating social factors with language use. An example of this is Labov’s 1966 study of three department stores in New York City. Depending on the location of each department store, the stores were classified into low, middle and high class establishments. Through interviews, Labov deduced that people from each class had their own way of speaking. In this model however, individual agency is not factored into language use. Another finding in the first wave of VS is the notion that in general, women tend to use more prestigious speech than men (Trudgill, 1972). I expand on covert prestige in further sections and its relevance to this study. Transitioning from the first wave to the second wave, less emphasis is placed on macro-scale generalizations about language and more about the role of individual agency.

In the second wave, Milroy & Margrain (1980) and Eckert (1989) examined language use on a smaller scale. Participants were organized into social networks which shared similar norms and ideologies about language. Even smaller than social networks, Eckert (1989) considered
communities of practice, which are groups formed through social engagement. In her study, she considers high school cliques, such as jocks and burnouts, and how these social groupings use language to create in-group and out-group memberships. Milroy & Margrain (1980) posit that social networks encompass many communities of practice, or clusters. Social networks consider interaction patterns and the resulting language variation based on these patterns. Communities of practice on the other hand, are groupings within the larger social network, including groupings according to “kinship, neighbourhood, work and friendship.” (Milroy & Margrain, 1980, p. 49) In the present study, a community of practice within the larger expatriate group can be found. This community of practice uses specific linguistic form to strengthen in-group ties. Language ideologies about Galician play an important part in the negotiation of the group identity of this particular community of practice through repeated stance-taking moves. An example of a social network in this study would be the larger expatriate community as a whole, and the interaction patterns of this network. Due to lack of accessibility of large numbers of expatriates, the social network and macro-scale interaction patterns will not be included in this study.

Lastly, the third and current wave of sociolinguistic research is concerned with style, stance and agency, and how each of these aspects work together to form individual identity. Individual identity is considered to be fluid and can be constructed and reconstructed. Rather than social factors at macro or micro levels dictating identity formation, individuals are seen to have agency in selection of codes, and have the power to create their own identities. Through repeated stances, indexes, or meanings, can be made and identities formed. Identity formation is a social process in which language is performed and evaluated by in-group members. These members work as gatekeepers, evaluating language production and making decisions concerning its authenticity. If the language is perceived to be authentic, “passing” occurs. To reiterate, stance-taking moves
mediate the identities of the participants. (Eckert, 2008, 2014)

How performance, stance-taking, indexicality and identity co-occur and the role social media and translanguaging on social media platforms play in this interaction will be clarified in the following chapter. Before overviewing the literature concerned with each of these theories, I summarize the history of Spain and its linguistic implications as it relates to this study. Then, I give an overview of the individuals chosen for analysis for this study and their basic qualifications needed to be part of teaching programs in Spain. Next I will present the research questions and delimitations, as well as define key terms and how they will be operationalized. In the following chapter, I will expand on the key terms and theoretical frameworks which will be utilized such as: identity, performance, indexicality, covert prestige, crossing, and Galician language attitudes. In Chapter 3 I explain the methods used to select and collect Facebook statuses, and describe the ways in which they were analyzed. In Chapter 4, I classify and organize the data in a more general sense. In the discussion in Chapter 5, I then provide additional descriptions and analysis of a number of groupings of statuses. I group the statuses by thematic content for the sake of space. After discussing the implications of the linguistic resource use of expatriates, I make suggestions for further research.

1.1. Historical Background

Dating as far back as the 15th century, the Galician language has been seen as inferior to Castilian Spanish (CAS). As Castilian became increasingly systematized, minority codes were no longer seen fit for educational purposes. In turn, nobility and educated groups abandoned minority languages in an effort to gain social prestige. Galician, along with other minority languages, became stigmatized and became to index rurality, lack of education and lower class. Stigmatization of Galician was exacerbated by one of the most linguistically salient historical events in Spain, the dictatorship of Francisco Franco. Franco ruled from 1936-1975 and although a
native of Galicia, was a firm supporter of the unification of Spain and a centralist language policy. This period of time had considerable linguistic implications as all minority codes were forbidden: Galician in Galicia, Catalan in Catalonia and Euskera in Basque Country to name only a few. In essence, minority languages were no longer recognized as official means of communication.

Although secretive oral communication in rural areas was able to keep Galician alive, the number of speakers dropped dramatically. To combat this decline, after the ruling of the Franco regime, the local government in Galicia put into place a revivalist language policy that included the standardization of Galician. Unfortunately, the standardization process has caused a rift between older speakers of Galician and younger learners who are taught the standard in schools, as there are significant phonological and morphological differences between the two. Since the standard is used for educational purposes, this can lead to confusion on the part of the students as the Galician that is spoken in homes does not have a place in academic settings. In turn, the revitalization-based language policy has changed a once diglossic environment between Castilian Spanish and Galician, into a triglossic one with Castilian Spanish, Colloquial Galician spoken at home, and Standard Galician being taught in schools. Despite attempts by the Galician government to revitalize the language, deep-seated language ideologies continue, up until present day, to index the minority code with rurality and lower class. (Loueiro-Rodríguez, 2007) Next I provide a background on the individuals I focus on in this study and their relationship to Galicia through their subsequent teaching placements.

1.2. Galicia and the Spanish Ministry of Education

The northwestern area of Spain, Galicia, is one of the country’s 17 autonomous regions. In this specific autonomous region, both CAS and Galician, a minority romance code, are recognized as official languages and are widely spoken. According to the 2017 Galician census, out of the 2.8
million registered Galicians, 2.2 million speak the language. (Basic data on Galician language, 2017). Native English-speaking expatriates, mostly from the United States and the United Kingdom, find themselves in Galicia teaching in order to complete undergraduate Spanish language requirements from their home universities, or following the completion of undergraduate studies to enhance linguistic competence in Spanish. The Spanish Ministry of Education in coordination with the British Council and a program known as North American Language Assistants in Spain, hire native speakers of English as teachers for short term employment. These expatriates are placed in almost all of the autonomous communities throughout the country. As a former teaching assistant in Spain, spending two of the three years in Galicia, I have witnessed contact between English-speaking teachers with their Galician co-teacher counterparts along with Galician students. In some cases, this language contact has resulted in the expatriate teachers acquiring this minority language. The strong sense of local Galician identity, which is witnessed especially in cases of expatriates working in schools in rural areas, could be one possible explanation for this acquisition. As we will highlight later on, in Spain, Galician is indexed with lower class and rurality. For this reason, expatriates using Galician proves an interesting topic to consider. Why expatriate teachers would use this code will be a main topic for exploration in this study. A brief historical background of the sociopolitical context of Spain provides additional insight into both: how Galician became a stigmatized language, as well as past and present language attitudes and ideologies of native Galician speakers about their language. Next I provide the two research questions considered for this study and operational definitions of key terms considered for this study.
1.3. Research Questions

1.) What types of linguistic resources do English-speaking expatriates, currently living or previously living in Galicia, use to take-stances?

2.) What do these stances index about the identities of the expatriates?

1.4. Operational Definitions

**Community of practice:** The community of practice in this study is a group of English speaking expatriates who share a commonality in that they are English teachers. Besides profession bringing them together, they spend a considerable amount of time together as they belong to the same friendship circles. The group uses specific lexicon and other linguistic resources to create solidarity amongst group members.

**Computer-mediated Communication (CMC):** In this study, CMC will be limited to the use of Facebook statuses and closed teacher community groups of English-speaking expatriates to analyze stances taking through social media.

**Crossing:** A form of code-switching between a high variety and low variety language. In this case, the low variety language is Galician and the high variety languages are both English and Castilian Spanish. In Facebook statuses, English-speaking expatriates cross from English and Castilian Spanish into Galician.

**Identity:** The result of indexes as well as repeated stance-taking moves to negotiate and renegotiate oneself.

**Indexicality:** A tool in which code choice is tied to social meaning. In this study it is important to understand the indexes associated with the Galician language as expatriates take on these indexes through their code choice.
**Stance:** By using a variety of linguistic resources, crossing being one example, expatriates take a stance. Most notably, members of the community of practice align themselves with other members, while individuals tend to align themselves with the greater Galician community.
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

In this section I look to review relevant literature in the field of Sociolinguistics to guide me in answering the research questions presented in this study. To do this, first I will briefly address identity at large. I proceed by looking at identity and language through a smaller lens in the sections about: communities of practice, indexicality, linguistic crossing and passing, stance, performance, CMC and larger Galician language ideologies which play a role in its position and perception in relation to CAS. Each of these components play a crucial role in understanding expatriate language use by individuals and members of a community of practice who are exposed to Galician on a daily basis. Throughout this study I have incorporated each of the aforementioned theories to frame language use of expatriates in social interaction of both individuals by themselves as well as part of a community of practice. As communication is a continuously social process, in the short term this presents itself as a performance. With long term use, the linguistic resources used are assessed by expert members of the target community, and can eventually have long term implications about the identity of a speaker.

2.1. Identity

Identity itself is complicated in nature with extensive past and present research, differing greatly in definitions. By moving from early research to more current findings, I show the inseparable nature of social interaction with language use. Early research concerning social identity theory begins by outlining the social roles of individuals and groups. Whether intentionally or unintentionally, all interactions are negotiated by interlocutors engaged in the social interaction. Goffman (1959) posits that individuals would ideally like to be seen in a positive light. He gives the example of an individual visiting the home of an acquaintance on the Shetland Isle. In this scenario, the visitor
works to present a positive image of himself when entering the home of another, preparing himself even as he approaches the door, entering with a smile on his face. Further, each individual engaged in the aforementioned social interaction looks to conceal his actual state of emotional being to appeal to the new group of acquaintances he is introduced to. In doing this, the individual assesses the appropriate behavior within the target group he wishes to pertain to, in hopes for acceptance. With more time a “working consensus” is made. (Goffman, 1959)

Edwards (2009) posits that personal identity and group identity are one in the same. In brief, personal identity, also referred to as personality, is a kind of overview of what makes each person an individual. Every individual is constructed from a series of “blocks”, all of which are innately human. We as humans are a product of a socialization process within groups. At large, how individuals perceive themselves and others is part of this social process. It can be inferred from these definitions that identity as a sociolinguistic category of study is wide and difficult to define. To relate these concepts to language is also a huge undertaking.

Building on the formation of identity through social processes, Bauman (2001) defines identity as

“an emergent construction, the situated outcome of a rhetorical and interpretive process in which interactants make situationally motivated selections from socially constituted repertoires of identificational and affiliational resources and craft these semiotic resources into identity claims for presentation to others.” (p.1)

This definition reiterates the point that identity is complicated, vast and interdisciplinary in nature. In order to understand identity fully in the context of the study at hand, the theories of group identities in a community of practice, indexicality, stance and performance must be defined.
2.2. Communities of Practice: Multiplexity and Density

Within the second wave of VS communities of practice can be defined. Tajfel’s Social Identity Theory (1978) provides a basis for communities of practice in that it recognizes the importance of group dynamics in the construction of identity. Groupings of people with shared belief systems and/or interests or passions, develop their own linguistic repertoire specific to that grouping. Volunteer work, officemates, classmates or any grouping of people that spend a considerable amount of time together can make up a community of practice. In the case of social media use, it is logical that spending physical time together is no longer a requirement. As defined by Bruns, Moon, Paul, & Münch (2016). online users that are not close in terms of geography can create ad-hoc groupings simply through online interactions discussing or sharing content of matters important to them, by default grouping them by their ideological viewpoints.

Milroy (1987) further examines clusters, or communities, and their importance in language variation. Communities of practice are groups formed in various contexts: workplace, classrooms, club memberships and family, similar to communities of practice. These communities can initiate language change and have their own linguistic characteristics, which is the concept of multiplexity. Multiplexity refers to the ties or connections a person has with a variety of communities. Density is also an important component as it refers to the frequency of interactions of said communities. Milroy explains that working class communities tend to be denser as social groups overlap in many aspects: in friend circles, the neighborhood, the workplace and schooling. Eckert’s (1989) study of students in Detroit suburbs and their subsequent groups “jocks” “nerds”
and “burn-outs” are an example of linguistic variation in relation to social networks which merges into the third wave of language variation in sociolinguistics. (Milroy, 1987) (Eckert, 2012) In this study, individuals are brought together by profession, being that all members are English teachers. Beyond profession, the communities forms are multiplex in that many of the members live in close proximity to one another, are part of a friend group and travel together frequently. Unlike Milroy (1987), individuals in this study are not working class, despite being quite dense and multiplex. The individuals differ from those of Eckert’s (2012) study as well as members are not classified further into subgroups like those previously mentioned in the context of a suburban high school. Next I consider the concept of covert prestige in relation to these communities of practice.

2.2.1. Covert Prestige

As was previously stated, sociolinguistic studies, and specifically those of the first wave of Sociolinguistics, focus on directly relating social variables such as gender, social class, education level to linguistic form. Trudgill (1972) examines covert prestige in Norwich, England. Covert prestige refers to linguistic values that one holds that are not overtly expressed. In his study, Trudgill analyzes self-assessments given to middle and working class participants. His findings show that in general, women over reported by claiming to use more prestigious language than they use in reality. Men of all social classes on the other hand were found to have underreported in their self assessments claiming to use less prestigious forms than they use in reality. The majority of women assessed themselves as using prestigious linguistic forms due to their social position in relation to men. It is a well-known fact in current linguistic analyses that women overwhelming report and use more prestigious language in comparison to men. Although these findings are not
surprising, additional data collected found a shift in language ideologies of younger generations. For both men and women under 30, Trudgill found that participants under reported, or claimed to use less prestigious language than they actually used. He attributes this to a change in language ideologies about working class speech. Covert prestige is defined within communities of practice as group dynamics dictate code choice. The notion that non-standard speech can be more highly valued than standard speech proves relevant in this study as Galician is a minority code, with historically negative indexes, yet is used by middle-class, native English speakers on social media in order to pertain or belong to a community of practice as well as a larger expatriate community which looks to align with native Galician speakers.

In a more recent study of covert prestige in the context of rural Spain, Hernández-Campoy & Cutillas-Espinosa. (2010) contemplate stigmatized language use of a former president, María Antonia Martínez, of the autonomous community of Murcia in southern Spain. The study looks at the performance aspect of a politician in public speeches broadcast over a popular radio station in the region, Radio Murcia. Despite the negative connotations of the Murcian code in comparison to the standard Castilian code, the former president uses it to take a stance, aligning herself with the public, through repeated use she is able to index local identity and create solidarity with the audience members. The study shows the covert prestige of the Murcian code as Martínez is an educated woman, but uses her linguistic creativity and agency to appeal to an audience. The findings are applicable to the present study in that both the Murcian and Galician codes are stigmatized in Spain. Hernández-Campoy & Cutillas-Espinosa (2010) look at phonological variables, specifically features of consonants in their study. Both Murcian and Galician differ from Castilian phonologically, however Galician also has a distinct lexicon and grammatical structure when compared to CAS, while Murcian does not. Further, the participants in the current study,
while it can be argued are “performing” Galician through Facebook posts, are not performing in front of a live audience, like that of the former study. The concept of using a less prestigious linguistic code however is relevant, and could provide an explanation as to why English speaking expatriates employ these linguistic resources and what those resources index about their identities. Although not explicitly mentioned in the former study, the former President Martinez is crossing by using a stigmatized dialect. I will explain further indexicality and crossing as it relates to indexicality next.

2.3. Indexicality

As mentioned previously, through repeated stance-taking moves, individuals choice of linguistic resources carry indexes. Silverstein (2003, 2009) draws upon Pierce (1935) to define indexicality as association and co-occurrence of linguistic forms that result in meaning-making. Similarly, Ochs (1992) defines direct indexical links as using certain language in certain contexts. Once language becomes associated with an identification category, an indexical link is formed. She gives an example of indexical links of women’s speech which were created over a period of time through repeated hedging and politeness strategies. As these linguistic features became increasingly associated with the identification category of women, indexes were made. Kiesling (2009) adds that repeated stance-taking moves that result in indexes can occur at both micro and macro levels. In a similar vein, Auer (2007, p.321) defines indexicality but clarifies it by stating “grammatical, phonological and discursive features combine into styles, while in turn are socially meaning, i.e. their use can index a certain social category.” It is interesting however that the participants in this study utilize linguistic resources that would index lower-class and rurality. Covert prestige, which was previously defined, could provide a rationale for this occurrence.

To relate the previous concepts of communities of practice, performance, stance, and indexicality,
Hinrichs (2006) looks at code switching in a corpus of e-mail correspondence and how linguistic resources are used as indexes of Jamaican identity. In this study, Jamaicans code switch between Patois or Jamaican Creole, African American Vernacular (AAVE) and in some instances, Spanish. Hinrichs suggests that code choice indexes a facet of the participants’ identity which the individual wishes to portray or perform. Each code indexes a different aspect of identity. For example, Patois (Jamaican Creole) is used as a general framing device as it is not a full-fledged language, while Jamaican Creole is a symbolic code used for greetings and to increase solidarity between interlocutors. Finally, as Spanish is one of the most common second languages learned in Jamaica, the use of Spanish in this corpus is indexed as someone who is cultured and worldly.

2.4. Linguistic Crossing and Passing

By using a stigmatized, minority code, expatriates in this study cross from Spanish and English into Galician. Rampton (1999) states “[l]anguage crossing, or just crossing, refers to the use of a language or variety that, in one way or another, feels anomalously “other.” ...[S]ometimes you can “pass” using language selection to project an identity that nobody suspects or challenges.” (Rampton, 1999, p.54) He compares crossing to code switching yet posits that unlike code switching, crossing does not necessarily follow syntactical patterns. Further, when crossing, the language code which is chosen is not fitting to that of the identity of the speaker, meaning, the code choice is unconventional or stigmatized, causing the authenticity of the speaker to be questioned. In Rampton’s 2005 publication he gives two examples of crossing which are discussed in more detail next.

The first study looks at crossing between Caribbean Creole, Punjabi, and Indian English in the 1980s in Ashmead, England. He uses Goffman’s (1974) concept of “interactional ritual” which focuses on acts of face and questions “Why this now?” and “By what right?” which he attempts to
answer in regards to this linguistic phenomenon. One finding of this study is the unapologetic use of crossing by children in more relaxed social settings such as playing sports, verbal contests and other recreational activities and games. Code choice was also found to be correlated with communicative function. For example, crossing into Asian English was used most frequently in greetings and apologies. Crossing into Creole on the other hand, was most commonly used to give encouragement or to express annoyance. Communicative function will be a factor considered in this study as in some of the Facebook statuses it is apparent that less-proficient users of Galician use shorter fixed phrases in greeting and congratulating one another.

The second study examines London youths in the 1990s and their performance of posh and Cockney codes. Rampton finds that students cross into a higher variety as result of embarrassment or to incite conflict, which differ in motivation from that of his previous study.

To my knowledge, there are no studies of immigrant or expatriate populations crossing into minority codes in Spain. Outside of Spain, the studies previously mentioned are the most prominent in terms of crossing in general. It is worth noting however, that while there are not a wide variety of studies mentioning the linguistic term crossing, there is extensive research in the use of AAVE by other ethnic groups, most notably seen in rap cultures worldwide (Pennycook, 2003). Other interesting studies encompassing the concepts of performance, style switching, stance-taking, indexicality and identity include the likes of style-switching of African American Drag Queens (AADQs) between AAVE, White Woman Style and Gay Man Style in live performances of female impersonators, crossing boundaries of language, gender and ethnicity. (Barrett, 1998)

discrimination, using codes indicative of these ethnic groups afford these groups less opportunities when in regards to housing options. This study and others by Baugh, demonstrate the negative indexes that certain codes carry. This is applicable to this study as we have seen that Galician carries negative indexes in Spain, and AAVE carries negative indexes in the United States yet expatriates continue to use Galician despite its negative indexes, an example of covert prestige.

2.5. Stance

Before being able to understand indexicality fully, we must first understand stance-taking. Stance-taking is significant in this study as expatriates, through their subsequent language use, are always engaging in stance-taking. The reasoning for this is explored further in the analysis. To clearly define stance, I refer to Dubois (2007, p.139) in which he states that

“[s]tance has the power to assign value to objects of interest, to position social actors with respect to those objects, to calibrate alignment between stancetakers, and to invoke presupposed systems of sociocultural value.”

Dubois defines stance by first defining dialogicality and intersubjectivity. Dialogicality in syntax refers to patterns in language use and how speakers reformulate previous utterances from others when forming their own. Intersubjectivity, which Dubois defines as “the relation between one actor’s subjectivity and another’s.” “Stance both derives from and has consequences for social actors, whose lives are impacted by the stances they and others take.” (Dubois, 2007, p.140) With regards to Dubois’ stance triangle, alignment refers to an expression of agreement whether explicitly “I agree”. Expression of agreement is found more commonly implicitly. Implicit stance-taking moves however, require inference on the part of the interlocutor. Other examples of stance functions include: evaluation and positioning. Recognizing who a stance-taker is, the object the individual is evaluating, what stance they are countering and in what context they are responding,
are all important components to consider. As stances do not carry meaning in isolation, the broader dialogic context must be understood.

Jaffe (2009) posits that taking stances can be through both form and content that reflect the position a speaker takes. All utterances are stance-taking moves, in other words, no utterance can be completely neutral, since neutrality would also be taking a stance. Further “epistemic and affective stances are both socially situated and socially consequential…” and “speakers make sociolinguistically inflected choices and display orientations to the sociolinguistic meanings associated with forms of speech.” (Jaffe, 2009, p.1) After defining stance, Jaffe contrasts affective stances from epistemic. Affective stances carry social and moral indexes while epistemic stances are used to show “authoritative knowledge”.

In an effort to expand on three stance types, Kiesling (2011) distinguishes them by assigning the following terms: (1) epistemic, (2) affective, or interpersonal, and (3) alignment. Epistemic stance is used to express certainty or to share how something became known through linguistic resources such as modals. Affective stance on the other hand is primarily concerned with emotion. Some examples of affective stance are the expression of likes or dislikes, and creating solidarity. Finally, the notion of alignment is defined as interlocutors mutually engaging or working together to keep conversation going. Despite the name, alignment does not necessarily indicate agreement in regard to content, as much as it indicates negotiation on the part of both interlocutors. In relation to this study, stance will be a key tool used in analyzing Facebook posts as repeated stance-taking moves can result in indexes.

To provide a clearer example of epistemic stance-taking, Johnstone (2007) considers lifelong residents of Pittsburgh. She looks at performances of the local dialect, Pittsburghese, and how these performances are negotiated by “expert” members of the community. She defines stance as
linguistic choices within social identity formation, and in this study more specifically, local identity. As many “outsiders” moved to Pittsburgh, metalinguistic talk began between natives of the area and newcomers, this resulted in an increase in dialect awareness. Johnstone looks at a woman in her 40s and her 13-year-old daughter as they narrate what local Pittsburghese should sound like by comparing their own language use to the local variety. The study finds that the mother engages in metalinguistic discourse by performing the local dialect, demonstrating her competency in Pittsburghese, which indexes her authority over the language. Johnstone posits that linguistic choice carry indexes through stance-taking moves.

2.6. Performance

Performance is mostly referred to most commonly in theatrical performance. This indeed is one type of performance, but for the purpose of the study, we will look at performance of language. In this section, I will define performance, Goffman (1959, p.49) introduces performance in sociological terms as any “activity of an individual which occurs during a period marked by his continuous presence before a particular set of observers and which has some influence on the observers.” Goffman (1981) expands on his earlier concept of performance through the lens of drama and theatre. Whether in a theatrical context or in everyday interaction, individuals are always performing language. Both Schilling-Estes (1998) and Coupland (2007) talk about hyperawareness (Schilling-Estes, 1998) or “high performance” (Coupland, 2007) which focuses on marked language, or language that “stands out” from the norm. Further, “[p]erformance assumes the operation of agentive action, of intentional representation of language and other modalities in the service of social meaning.” Staged performances “are not just to audiences, they are for them.” (Coupland, 2007, p. 559)
Besides contributions from Goffman (1959), Schilling-Estes (1998), Coupland (2007) and Bell and Gibson (2011), I will focus on Bauman’s (2011) definition as he takes a more holistic approach on the topic. A key component in the aspect of performance is the role of the audience. The reaction of the audience, he states, may be explicit or implicit. In relation to the present study, the reactions of native speakers of Galician, which make up part of the social media audience in this scenario, either express implicit agreement or disagreement through liking or not liking statuses, or explicit agreement or disagreement through commenting. Explicit agreement or disagreement through commenting can also be seen as metalinguistic talk, which will be reviewed further in this section. Bauman bridges the gap between theatrical performance (Goffman, 1959) to stance-taking acts in everyday interactions (Jaffe, 2009). As performance includes stance-taking moves, one cannot occur without the other. Explicit agreement and disagreement through the use of metalinguistic talk can be observed in the statuses of English-speaking expatriates when talking about Galician. In order to understand this phenomenon more fully, in the next section I expand on the concept of metalinguistic talk.

2.6.1. Metalinguistic Talk

Under the umbrella of performance, in social exchanges metalinguistic talk can be found, which in essence is language on display, or talk about talk. Metalinguistic talk occurs when an expert member of a community asserts their knowledge over the language, determining the authenticity of interlocutors.

When defining stance I briefly mention Johnstone (2007) and her study of Pittshurghese, a study which is extremely relevant to performance of a local variety. With an influx of “outsiders” moving to Pittsburgh from surrounding areas, there was an increase in dialect awareness. Dialect awareness brought about an increase in metalinguistic talk about Pittshurghese. Rather than
accommodation or levelling, native Pittsburghers resisted linguistic homogeneity and embraced their “local-sounding” code. Pittsburgh became so well-known for their way of speaking, metalinguistic talk continues to be a theme on souvenir t-shirts, mugs and the like, touting their way of speech. Johnstone, Baumgardt, Eberhardt, & Kiesling (2015, p. 97-98) defines metalinguistic discourse as reflective talk about language varieties and their subsequent associations. Metalinguistic talk may also result in language variation and change. In the present study, there are some examples of metalinguistic discourse in which participants speak about Galician, whether in English, Spanish or Galician and what indexes this code carries. I will consider these posts in a separate section of the coming analysis.

2.7. Translanguaging/ CMC

Although the most prominent theory that this study focusing on is crossing, I find it necessary to recognize the context in which expatriates engage in linguistic resource use. While I have witnessed instances of individuals’ spontaneous speech which crosses into Galician, for practicality reasons I focus here on computer-mediated communication (CMC). In an early study of CMC, Gatson (2011) from spring 1998 to summer 2001, looked at online vs. offline performances of identity through the choice of screen names in an online posting board. This study brings into question the authenticity of oneself in online expression. Androutsopoulos (2015) highlights another important aspect related to linguistic crossing in the context of CMC, translanguaging. Translanguaging is a more general term referring to linguistic performance used by multilingual speakers that crosses discourse boundaries. Androutsopoulos looks at CMC amongst a group of Greek adolescent students that study together at a Greek school in Germany. Facebook statuses and comments were analyzed over a four-week-long period. The findings conclude that most students used German in their interactions. Greek was the second most
common and English was occasionally used. Greek was used primarily with two of the students
that did not have a strong command of German. However, German was the dominant code choice
regardless of proficiency level. He posits that the use of German rather than Greek is a result of its
hegemonic influence. In this study, although it would seem that Spanish would be the language of
choice of native English-speakers living in Spain, as similar to German in Androutsopoulos’
study. This study differs from the study of Androutsopoulos in that, despite Spanish having the
hegemonic influence in Spain as it holds the position of a high variety language, Galician being
the low variety, the English-speaking expatriates in some cases are using the low variety. The
current state of revivalist movements in Galicia at present may provide some explanation for this
phenomenon. We can see however that participants with a lower proficiency level in Galician tend
to cross in to Galician from English or Spanish using fixed phrases, or chunks, and in some cases
hashtags. It is also worth mentioning that a recent study by Macwan (2017) defines
translanguaging as a language ideology that celebrates bilingualism over monolingualism as it is a
community resource.

An additional study of formation of online identities in CMC is Themistocleous’ (2015).
Themistocleous links code switching and online identity of a Greek-Cypriot online speech
community and the anonymity involved in online chat groups due to nickname changes. I mention
this study here as I feel it is important to note that online vs. offline identity may or may not be a
factor in this study. The English-speaking participants interacting with each other through social
media have met and spent much time together offline apart from their online interactions. Some
examples of crossing in spoken discourse have been observed as well.

In a study (Hardaker & McGlashan, 2016) concerning rape threats through social media platform,
Twitter, a clear example of group identity can be surmised. The study follows a feminist journalist
after petitioning for representation of women on currency notes in the UK. Hardaker and McGlashan, similar to the previous studies mentioned, stress the notion of “online” vs. “offline” identities as in this case, the participants have much more agency on how they choose to represent themselves online. CMC also provides another layer of complication as it ensures the anonymity of the interlocutor. Using a corpus, this study identifies online communities which form despite the fluidity of social media. Hardaker and McGlashan state that twitter users with similar ideologies, for example, feminists against hateful, misogynistic, discriminatory speech, form a loose, fluid group rather quickly. The data show examples of derogatory tweets that are countered by many of these imagined groups. In these scenarios, the “community” creates an ideology of what a “real man” is. These women form a discourse group by sharing a belief that real men do not rape or hate women, and are not sexually aggressive. In the present study it may be the case that although many of the participants no longer live in the region of Galicia, they continue to use the language in two scenarios: with English-speaking expatriates that they were friends with while teaching but maintain contact with over social media, or they interact with acquaintances on the Facebook groups for expatriates currently living in Galicia using Galician as to create solidarity with them based on shared experiences. As participants in the present study also employ the use of hashtags in their posts, I will briefly overview the importance of hashtags in particular as a subcategory of online interaction.

2.8. Galician Language Ideologies

Language attitudes which are perceptions of a language on an individual level, are many times reflected on a larger scale into language ideologies, which are more stable language perceptions held by an entire community. Language attitudes and ideologies are important to consider in the present study as they can influence the perceptions held by nonnative speakers of Galician during
the acquisition process.

Loureiro-Rodriguez (2007), in this article and others, has done considerable research on language attitudes and identities of Galician adolescents. In this study, she shows the effects of the Franco dictatorship on present-day language ideologies of Galician. Loureiro-Rodriguez analyzes the Spanish constitution’s law of linguistic normalization and uses recordings of spontaneous speech to piece together what implications speaking Galician have.

As was previously mentioned in the historical background section of this study, in the 19th century, post-Franco, standardization of Galician took place. Literature and dictionaries were published and Galician was given space in the public forum. In brief, attempts to legitimize the Galician language proved unsuccessful due to longstanding language ideologies. High and middle classes continued to speak Spanish in order to maintain or improve social status as Galician was seen to index uneducated, lower-classes.
CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

In this section I present the individuals selected for observation, why I have selected them and the data collection process. I also briefly describe how I collected Facebook statuses, the criteria used in the selection of specific statuses, and how I came to find major themes to categorize them.

3.1. Research design

This study is primarily qualitative in nature using a sociolinguistic approach to consider stance-taking moves employed by English-speaking expatriates crossing into Galician on Facebook, and what those stances index about their identity. Statuses from both personal and group Facebook walls over a seven-year period will be collected, beginning in October 2011 to present day. October 2011 was chosen as starting point for data collection as this was the first month I began teaching in Galicia, and the beginning of the formation of relationships with fellow expatriates living in the region. It also marks the period of time in which my fellow expatriates and myself came in to contact with native speakers of Galician, most notably seen in expatriates teaching in rural areas. Within the Facebook posts, hashtags used to supplement posts were considered. In this study, hashtags are used primarily to strengthen group ties within a community of practice in the larger sphere of English teachers. Besides Facebook posts and hashtags, there are a number of examples of metalinguistic talk. I will also consider the length of posts as well as other grammatical features used by individuals and members of the community of practice.

3.2. Individuals

The individuals I consider for this study are made up of native English-speakers who currently are or previously were teaching on assistantships in Spain. Most of these teachers are from the UK and have taught through the British Council teaching program, or Americans and Canadians
who participated in the North American Language Assistants in Spain program. Other individuals taught independently in English academies and/or public schools not part of either teaching program.

As is required by the Spanish Ministry of Education, in order to participate in these teaching programs requirements dictate that individuals must be holders of bachelor’s degrees from the US or the UK and between the ages of 22 and 35. They all have at least an elementary level of Spanish proficiency as well. Proficiency in Galician is not a requirement for teachers placed in the autonomous community of Galicia or any other autonomous regions with widely spoken minority languages.

In addition to Facebook statuses of friends and acquaintances, I will observe three private Facebook groups in which I am a member: Auxiliares de conversación en Galicia; which is a general group for language assistants in Galicia with 1,864 members, 2013-2014 Auxiliares de Conversación en Galicia; a language assistants group from the second year I taught in Galicia with 254 members, and Auxiliares Americanos de Conversacion en Galicia 2017-2018; the most current teaching assistants Facebook group that specifies “American” teaching assistants in Galicia, with 131 members. These groups were created as a way for all teachers in the region to ask and answer questions regarding the teaching programs, to post prospective job offers and to become acquainted with fellow teachers.

Besides considering only individual language use, as we have seen in social identity theory, language does not occur in a vacuum. In lieu of this, I consider a community of practice made up of individuals. This community of practice is comprised of about 10-15 members. I do not give an exact number of the members of this grouping as there are quite obviously “core” members, and “outside” members. “Outside” members inevitably do not contribute as frequently as other
members. The statuses I will analyze will be from what I assume to be “core” members as they post the most frequently, interacting with other members on a consistent basis. In-group and out-group members will not be considered as this would require interviewing participants.

The group is both multiplex in that they have their own linguistic repertoire and dense in that the circles in which they belong overlap. They travel together, work near each other, celebrate important events together, and are very active on social media through posting pictures of the group, tagging each other in posts and commenting and liking one another’s statuses and photos. Many of them no longer reside in Spain, but make a conscious effort to have “reunions” in their current places of residence, whether it be Spain, the United States or the United Kingdom. As is indicative of a community of practice, this grouping is primarily tied to one another by profession. By default, sharing the same profession, as well as being foreigners teaching English, draws the individuals to each other.

3.3. Data Collection Procedures

Being part of a closed Facebook group, or a Facebook “friend” if not on any limited profile setting allows me to track posts since the group was created or the individual signed up for the site. Scrolling back through the “timelines” of participants, starting in October 2011, I gathered screenshots of a variety of posts. The criteria for choosing specific posts is outlined in the next section. Besides scrolling through Facebook timelines and expatriate teacher groups, I also used the search function available at the top of the site. The search bar is especially helpful when searching specific terms used, most namely in group identification terms. Collecting data through the search function allowed me to collect data by theme as opposed to default settings that show the most recent postings first. After finding appropriate statuses based on the criteria I will overview next, I took screenshots of the statuses. In total I will be considering approximately 80
posts that employ either crossing or metalinguistic talk about Galician.

3.3.1. Selection Criteria and Analysis

The first selection criteria is that individuals or group members explicitly cross into Galician, use CAS words that are typical of Galicia, or engage in metalinguistic talk about Galicia. Both personal and group wall posts were selected on the basis of having crossing into Galician from either Spanish or English. Within these posts, hashtags are present and both the posts and hashtag events will be organized following Bruns et al. (2016) hashtag categorization model. In regards to metalinguistic discourse, posts discussing personal opinions about the Galician code, or the indexes the code carries when spoken, will be analyzed apart from posts with crossing present. The rationale for analyzing metalinguistic discourse in isolation is that when participants engage in talk about language, they are not always crossing. In some instances, interlocutors use CAS or English during metalinguistic talk. Once posts are selected, I will code the data by linguistic resource use. The coding key is provided in the analysis so that linguistic resource selection is made clear.

These discursive resources will help in determining the types of stance-taking moves participants employ in relation to Galician. Using Dubois (2007) stance triangle as a frame of reference, I will assign stance-taking moves as either epistemic, asserting power or creating solidarity, or affective, an emotional response, or alignment moves. These repeated moves will then be analyzed further to assign indexes. Native speakers of Galician and their implicit or explicit reactions to crossing and metalinguistic talk provide information as to how authentic the language use is perceived to be by in-group members.
3.4. Data Analysis Techniques

As there is a clear distinction between posts from members of the community of practice and individuals, I have separated the statuses based on the intended audience of the post. Posts will be analyzed further through linguistic resource use such as metalinguistic talk, personal pronoun use, hashtag events as shown in Bruns et al., (2016) and morphological variation such as verb inflection and affixes. Further, I have also organized them by length of crossing, content, and lexical items used.

3.4.1. Metalinguistic talk

Johnstone (2007) defines metalinguistic discourse as reflective talk about codes and what indexes certain codes carry. In this study, I will isolate the limited examples of metalinguistic talk and analyze them apart from other statuses that use crossing into Galician through either posts or hashtags. Since I am primarily focusing on instances of crossing, I isolate metalinguistic discourse as the occurrences are not always in the Galician code. For example, there are instances in which participants talk about Galician in English and Spanish.

3.4.2. Hashtag Events

Hardaker and McGlashan (2016) use hashtags to show how online communities form surrounding common campaigns for social change. Bruns et al. (2016) study the notion of hashtag use of Australian Twitter users over a six-year period. The study categorizes tweets into types of events: acute, media, political, sports and types of hashtags; keyword hashtags and meme hashtags. By following the ebb and flow of large numbers of tweets over a substantial time period, and original and retweeting patterns, each post can be categorized into the aforementioned events. For the purpose of this small-scale study, I will use these events to loosely organize the Facebook posts
that utilize hashtags, in the case that a hashtag is present. It is important to note that the concept of tweeting and retweeting as well as the frequency of certain hashtags will not be considered as this would require extensive longitudinal data sets. The focus here will be much more content-based in nature, analyzing the indexes of statuses and tweets as opposed to establishing long-term patterns of key words. For this study I will use the overarching categories: acute, media, political, sports as well as the more specific hashtag types: keyword hashtags and meme hashtags to categorize the posts.

3.5. Delimitations

Although this study will analyze Facebook posts starting from October 2011 up until present day, there are an innumerable amount of statuses that have not been included. Teaching programs accept new teachers every school year, which means that both before 2012 and the years following, there are new cohorts that form that I may not have complete access to as I no longer reside in the region.

Further, with additional time and resources, field notes and recorded spontaneous speech would also prove to be an extremely rich dataset for analysis in and of itself. It is apparent that expatriates use, and will continue to use as long as there are expatriate and immigrant populations in Spain, minority codes in their oral and written communications with native-speakers of these codes. It is also possible that the community of practice and the individual participants of this study, are part of a much larger community that I do not have access to currently. It can also be assumed that in other autonomous communities in Spain, namely Catalunya and Basque Country, both with a significant number of native speakers of minority codes, have expatriate teachers that learn these codes. As I have access to participants from the region in which I lived, Galicia, this population will be the focus of this study.
Regarding participants of this study, there are inevitable gaps in demographic information since I will be collecting data exclusively from Facebook profiles and groups. Without a questionnaire or interview component, educational background beyond undergraduate degrees required for participation in the teaching programs, remains unknown. If not explicitly stated in their online profiles, additional education received, exact age, and current location, may also remain unknown. Lastly, to my knowledge, there are Galician language courses available at local universities. Whether participants study Galician in an instructed language setting could also be of interest in the context of this study. Since these courses are not considered part of undergraduate or graduate coursework, it is expected that participants omit these courses from the “Education” tab on their Facebook profiles, making it difficult to surmise if they have received instructed language courses in Galician. The rationale for not including an interview or questionnaire component in order to fill in demographic gaps is based on the concept of observer's paradox, which makes participants aware of data collection, and may alter their language use as a result.

Despite the delimitations presented here, the participants used provide insight into an expatriate community and their use of a minority code, Galician over that of a more prestigious code CAS. Using a sample size of 100 participants, not including commenters which make it an even larger sample, show that covert prestige is assigned to Galician on some level. Whether this is a widespread phenomenon has yet to be seen.
CHAPTER 4: ANALYSIS

When considering about 100 Facebook statuses from about 30 participants, some general patterns can be observed. First, I would like to consider the length of the posts, then the linguistic resources used, and finally the content discussed. It can be observed that very few participants use Galician as the primary code for an entire post. More commonly, expatriates will cross into Galician from English or Spanish, either using memorized expressions, phrases and collocations, or by using lexical items in isolation. On a micro scale, it can also be observed that participants use morphological characteristics of Galician when posting in Spanish. Here I will explain each of these scenarios in more detail.

4.1. The Length of Posts

When beginning to organize the hundreds of posts I collected, it became apparent that at the surface level, posts could be organized by their length. By examining a bit further, I have found that there are a number of scenarios when considering the length of statuses, most namely those which use Galician. Next I discuss the longest posts first, which are entirely in the Galician code. I then consider posts at the phrasal and word level, and finally at the morphological level.

4.1.1. Posts Entirely in Galician

Out of 30 participants, there is only one male participant, EV, whose Facebook posts cross into Galician for the entire post, meaning that he uses English, CAS and Galician in a variety of posts, but very rarely uses more than one code per post. Another male participant, BJ, also uses full sentences in Galician in some of his posts, but uses upwards of three codes per post. BJ uses a variety of codes to interact with native speakers of different languages, crossing into Galician and code switching between Spanish, French and English frequently throughout. Both
participants EV and BJ represent the minority in terms of the length of their online utterances when crossing into Galician. I consider their posts to be “long” in that they are made up on entire sentences with both a noun phrase and verb phrase present.

4.1.2. Phrases and Collocations

More common than crossing for the entirety of the status is crossing into Galician at the phrasal level. The utterances consist of set phrases in Galician and other memorized expressions such as collocates as opposed to full fledged sentences like those of EV and BJ. Some examples of these phrases include: *forza depor, bo nadal, querote*. The phrases usually contain one noun and verb phrase, but not more than one like those of the previous post type. This type of crossing is used by both individuals and members of the community of practice.

4.1.3. Key Terms or Lexical Items

Another common finding was the use of Galician at the word level. Examples of this include hashtag events and other lexical items in Galician used by both members of the community of practice as well as individuals. In the case of lexical item use, Facebook statuses are in either English or CAS, and participants cross into Galician infrequently, using a handful of words in Galician, then change back to their original code. As will be examined further in the analysis, common lexical items are content words such as: *morriña* (homesickness), *bicos* (kisses), *bikiños* (little kisses), *festas* (holidays), *galego* (Galician) and *Albariño*. *Albariño* is one example of a proper noun used which is a type of grape made into wine from the autonomous community of Galicia. Other proper nouns include names of people and places such as: *San Xoan* (St. James) and *Costa da Morte* which have their equivalents in CAS but are used in Galician. Members of the community of practice most notably use proper nouns of places, whereas both the community
of practice as well as individuals make lists of specific food and drink items quintessential to the Galician diet. Additional examples include adjectives: *ben* and adverbs: *moito* and *sempre*. For a more comprehensive but not exhaustive list of common content words with translations, refer to appendix B.

4.1.4. Morphological Level

Looking at the smallest unit of measurement in regards to language, we can see that there is variation at the morpheme level in the Facebook statuses. There are a number of notable morphological changes used, the first being the addition of suffixes *-iño* and *-eiro*, and the second being the addition or deletion of vowels and consonants of CAS terms to form a Galician word.

4.1.4a. Galician suffixes: *-iño, -eiro*

To signify something small, or to make a term endearing, in Galicia it is typical to add the diminutive ending *-iño*. Following I have provided a number of examples of members of the community of practice wishing each other happy birthday. We can see in these examples that the participants add *-iño* to both the Spanish and Galician lexical terms for *kisses, besos* and *bicos*, respectively. *Besos* with the diminutive ending becomes *besiños* and *bicos* becomes *biquiños*, or *bikiños* in slang script that replaces the *qu* with a *k*. It is worth mentioning that English keyboards, either laptop or mobile phone, do not have the *ñ*, a letter of the alphabet in Spanish and Galician. Therefore, there are some examples in which the *ñ* is replaced with an English *n* resulting in either *besinos* or *bikinos*. In regards to the frequently used term *morriña*, which can either be used as an adjective or noun meaning homesickness, or to be homesick for Galicia, the term is a word in its own right in both Galician and CAS. It is not only used as an suffix to
modify an existing noun or adjective. -Iño is also found in Galician personal pronouns. A common personal pronoun found in utterances is the CAS mi, GA miña or ENG my/mine.

The Galician suffix -eiro is also found, albeit less frequently, in the statuses of expatriates. -Eiro is the equivalent to -ero in CAS and -er in ENG. In all three languages, the function of this suffix is to change a noun or verb into the doer, or person, of an action. An example of this is the CAS noun compañía meaning company, with the suffix -er resulting in compañero, meaning friend or colleague. In Galician, the word company is also compañía, but with the addition of the suffix becomes compañeiro. Next I will explain some other basic morphological changes that can be observed by adding or deleting vowels.

4.1.4b The addition and deletion of vowels and consonants

As we can see in the word list provided in appendix B, words can be changed from CAS to Galician by the addition or deletion of various vowels and consonants. For example, the noun fiesta in CAS, or party in English, removes the i to form festa in Galician. Similarly, the adjective bien in CAS, or good in English, deletes the i in Galician forming ben.

Further, in Galician, the consonant x replaces the CAS j and the CAS vowel u is replaced by an o. This can be seen in the CAS name San Juan, or San Xoan in Galician and Saint James in English. The letter j in CAS in other scenarios presents itself as ll in Galician, pronounced ñ. Two examples of this are mejor in CAS and mellor in GA, as well as trabajo in CAS and traballo in GA. The vowel replacement previously stated occurs in CAS buena, resulting in boa, or good in English. Needless to say, -iño and -eiro and the addition and deletion of various consonants and vowels provide a very basic overview into the morphological changes that occur when translating CAS into GA. By no means are these hard and fast rules, rather, a guide for us to
understand when crossing happens in the aforementioned statuses. Other morphological changes will not be considered for this study, as they were not as frequently found in the data set.
CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

When considering patterns of interactions, the posts can be broken down further into a community of practice and individuals. In some cases, however, the individuals may be part of the larger community of practice but I have included them in the individual grouping as the status does not include a stance-taking move aligning them with the community of practice, rather, its intended audience are Galicians. The reasoning for splitting the participants is that members of the community of practice vs. individual participants cross in to the Galician code by using different linguistic resources. I will also consider the overlap that occurs in linguistic resource use. Members of the community of practice traditionally use affective stance to create solidarity. Individuals, while also using epistemic stance-taking, use affective stances when engaging in metalinguistic discourse, or when talking about the perceptions of Galician and its use. In order to place emphasis on certain aspects of the statuses, I use the following coding scheme to highlight specific linguistic resources used by the expatriates of both groups.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coding Scheme for Statuses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GALCP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GALI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GAC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
I would like to point out that I have differentiated between lexical items in Galician used by the community of practice, **GALCP** and **GALI**, or Galician lexical item used by individuals. I make this differentiation to show the differences in Galician lexical items used in both groupings.

### 5.1. Community of Practice

In the community of practice, we will see that there is more evidence of creating solidarity, an affective stance-taking moves within the group through lexical selection in comparison with posts by individuals. Members of the community of practice use either lexical items in isolation or specific phrases in Galician as opposed to full posts. In the following three examples, we can see the use of keyword hashtags. Keyword hashtags are characterized by a hashtag of a more general term.

The following 13 examples are a sampling of statuses used within members of the community of practice. Regarding the length of the posts, all statuses either contain phrases in Galician or words in isolation rather than full sentences. When organizing the posts thematically, statuses 1-6 are examples using the lexical item *morriña* (homesickness) in varying contexts. Statuses 7-9 are examples of participants wishing each other happy birthday, statuses 10-11 concern holiday wishes and finally statuses 12-13 use lexical items in Galician in isolation. Besides the thematic content and word choice, I also consider other linguistic resources.

#### 5.1.1. Statuses 1-6: Morriña

To begin, it is clear that this grouping of people makes a community of practice by their interaction patterns on Facebook. Various participants refer to themselves as the “wolfpack” and describe themselves as their “Galician family.” By looking at the coding scheme, both status 1 and 11 use proper nouns in Galicia. In status 1 line 1, the name of the place *Fistierre*, is in CAS while
the following places are listed in Galician. Whether the name of the city Coruña is in Galician or CAS is left ambiguous as the article is dropped, which would be necessary to determine the code used. Statues 1-6 talking about morriña (homesickness), a word in both CAS and Galician but used most notably by Galicians, use the term to create solidarity in the present and past with members of the community of practice. In example 1, the participants have taken a road trip for the day, yet the interlocutor uses tengo morriña (I am homesick), yet the group was just together that day. As members of the community of practice spend extensive time together, it seems that this phrase must carry additional meaning. As is patterned throughout the statuses, it becomes clear that tengo morriña serves more as a set phrase that is an affective stance-taking move to create solidarity within the group. The actual meaning of the set phrase in some cases, like status 1, is lost and the utterance serves merely as a marker to symbolize “the wolfpack”. In status 2 and 5, morriña is also found as a hashtag. This brings the community of practice even closer, as now all posts on Facebook with #morriña (#homesickness) are grouped together and can be retrieved easily by typing the word into the search bar.

Besides status 1 and 6, all other statuses follow a common pattern. Statues 2-5 talk about reunited with members of the wolfpack or stating how much time has passed since they left Galicia, and reflecting on this. The posts are emotional, and are clear affective stance-taking moves. Status 6 however provides an interesting twist to the expression tengo morriña. The participant is American and it is summertime but she is in Galicia. In this status, she is using tengo morrina to refer to eating hot dogs on her balcony in the United States, rather than the more common homesickness associated with Galicia. Despite using the phrase to refer to the United States, the intended audience is still the community of practice because, being native English speakers and predominantly American, they are the only ones to be able to fully understand the cultural
references of missing the US in the summer time, as well as having the linguistic competence to understand and make the connection between the Galician phrase. It is obvious that the intended audience is not Americans, because they would not be familiar with this expression, nor is it Galicians because they do not share the same culture of hotdogs and hamburgers in summertime. Next I will talk about the theme birthday wishes found in the statuses

**Status 1: MW:**

1. (CAS) Fisterra - (1) Finisterre -
2. (GA): Rias Baixas/Costa da Morte (2) Lower Rias/ Death Coast
3. (ENG): road trip (3) Road trip
4. (GA): (Tengo morriña!) (4) I am homesick!
Status 2:

MW: (1) (ENG) Great weekend in Madrid with this beautiful bunch, if only we’d had longer! Love you all and see you soon

(2) (CAS): guapas #coru

(3) (ENG): #wolfpack

(4) (GA): #morrina

(1) Great weekend in Madrid with this beautiful bunch, if only we’d had longer! Love you all and see you soon

(2) beautiful girls #coru

(3) #wolfpack

(4) #homesickness

Status 3:

MW (1) (CAS): Reunida con mi familia gallega-que

(2) (GA): morriña

(3) (CAS): tengo

(1) Reunited with my Galician family- what

(2) homesickness

(3) I have

Status 4:

LJ (1) (CAS): Ay por dios, ha pasado un año desde que volví y todavía me muero de la

(2) (GA): morriña

(3) (CAS): que tengo.

(1) For the love of god, a year has passed since I returned and I am still dying from the

(2) homesickness

(3) I have
Status 5:

PG (1) (ENG): Why I called this home for two years Coruña. A place of many happy memories

(2) (GA): #morriña

(1) Why I called this home for two years Coruña. A place of many happy memories

(2) #homesickness

Status 6:

JF (1) (ENG): I should be eating hot dogs on my momma's balcony right now.

(2) (CAS): Tengo

(3) (GA): #morriña

(1) I should be eating hot dogs on my momma's balcony right now.

(2) I have

(3) homesickness

5.1.2. Statuses 7-9: Birthday Wishes

As is indicative of the community of practice, in birthday wishes we also find repetition of specific lexical items and phrases in Galician. As is found in the theme birthday wishes, but not in morriña (homesickness), we can see that moitos (many), bicos (kisses), bikos (kisses), biquiños (little kisses), bikiños (little kisses) and besiños (little kisses) are salient lexical choices. Keep in mind that the ñ may or may not be used as this letter is not commonly found on English keyboards. What is an interesting find in these types of statuses, and consistent throughout the other types, in addition of the GA suffix -iño to a word in CAS. One example of this is the CAS word beso (kiss), adding the diminutive ending -iño, to make besiño or little kiss. Kisses may
also be modified by the GA adverb *moito*, which means many, to form *moitos bikiños*, or many kisses see in status 7. Status 7 also uses the expression *I love you*, or *querote* in GA.

It becomes increasingly clear that most members of the community of practice are not proficient users of Galician, or simply do not prefer to use the code as they use it quite infrequently, simply switching out set expressions and other common lexical items for GA, to relate to the other members of the group, to take affective stances, and to create solidarity.

**Status 7:**

MS to PS:

(1) (EN): Happy birthday to this hot

(2) (CAS): mamacita!!! 3 meses mas para darte

(3) (GA): *moitos bikinos*! Woo! Ahh P *querote*!

(1) Happy birthday to this hot

(2) girl!!! 3 months more to give you

(3) a lot of kisses! Woo! Ahh I love you!
**Status 8:**

MW to EV:

(1) (CAS): Felicidades! Espero que lo pases bien y que disfrutes el verano :) Hasta luego,

(2) (GA): besinos.

(1) Happy birthday! I hope that you have a good time and you enjoy your summer :) See you later,

(2) Little kisses

**Status 9:**

LJ to BJ:

(1) (CAS): FELIZ CUMPLE

(2) (ENG): to my French / Galician stallion, BJ!! Why did you decide to learn Spanish and love Galicia after I left? :) <3

(3) (GA): besiños.

(4) (CAS): que lo pases pipa hoy! te echo mucho de menos!

(1) HAPPY BIRTHDAY

(2) To my French/ Galician stallion, BJ!! Why did you decide to learn Spanish and love Galicia after I left? :) <3

(3) little kisses

(4) have a great time today! I miss you so much!
5.1.3. Statuses 10-13 Lexical Items

Statuses 10-13 form other miscellaneous types of posts within the community of practice. Status 10 for example is a type of holiday wish, usually seen within individual postings, but “liked” by all members of the community of practice, alluding to the fact that they might have been together. We can see the proper noun *San Xoan* (Saint James), rather than the CAS or ENG versions, although the remainder of the status is in Galician. Status 1 from the previous section, as well as 10 and 11 all use proper nouns of people or places in Galician. This will also be a feature salient in that of individuals, but in these statuses it is apparent that the participants continue to take affective stances. For example, in status 11, we see the proper noun *San Xoan* in GA, which is a day of celebration of Saint James in Spain. Following *San Xoan*, in line (2) the participant explicitly uses the name of the community of practice in a hashtag *#wolfpack*. In line (3) the hashtag in CAS, *#lanocheesnuestra* (*#thenightisours*), using the personal pronoun *nuestra* (our). As members of the community of practice are meant to have at least intermediate proficiency in Spanish, it is logical that when switching to CAS, the hashtag is longer and uses the personal pronoun ‘ours’, to once again strengthen group ties, rather than just using the proper noun of a place, *San Xoan*. Beyond proper nouns and the addition of suffixes, status 12 gives us one example of dialogicality, or the reformulation of previous utterances from others when forming their own. Status 12 line (3) *miña terra* (my land/ my home) is a common expression said when referring to Galicia. In this example, we can also see some morphological change that occur when translating this expression from CAS to GA. *Miña terra* in GA is *mi tierra* in CAS, dropping both the *-iña* in *miña* and adding the *i* in *terra*. Additionally, status 12 explicit refers to the wolfpack by its name again, an affective stance-taking move. Besides the explicit stating of the name, the same participant defines the group by adding *mi familia gallega* (my Galician
family). Reiterating the closeness of the group and defining what this groups means to this specific participant. *Familia gallega* is also a lexical phrase, but in CAS, used commonly by members. Status 13 provides an additional example of the suffix -iño added to the CAS word *beso* (kiss), but in the context of the participant traveling. The status says, a little kiss, *Eiffel Tower*. While this post is quite short, and half in GA, half in CAS, we can see that the participant uses lexical items commonly used in the community of practice, although in France. It is not apparent by the status alone, but it also may be worth mentioning that the trip was taken with another member of the community of practice. Even though the two members of the community of practice are outside of Spain, it shows that they look to continue to create solidarity with their friends back in Galicia.

**Status 10:**

BP

(1) (ENG): Sunday  (1) Sunday

(2) (GA): *San Xoan*  (2) Saint James

(3) (ENG): Sesh  (3) Sesh
Status 11:

MW:

(1) (GA): San Xoan  (1) Saint James
(2) (ENG): for what #wolfpack  (2) For what #wolfpack
(3) (CAS): #deseos #lanocheesnuestra  (3) #wishes #thenightisours

Status 12:

MW:

(1) (GA): Morriña  (1) Homesickness
(2) (CAS): para  (2) for
(3) (GA): miña terra.  (3) my land,
(4) (CAS): mi querido  (4) my dear
(5) (ENG): Wolfpack  (5) Wolfpack
(6) (CAS): y mi familia gallega  (6) and my Galician family

Status 13:

LJ:

(1) :(CAS) Un besiño, Torre Eiffel <3  (1) A little kiss, Eiffel tower <3
5.2. Individuals

Besides looking at members of the community of practice, in this section I will consider other expatriates that taught in Galicia, many belonging to various Facebook groups which support teachers in the region. In terms of length of posts by individuals, we can see that there is a wide range of post types. In posts with content related to team support, natural disaster support and holiday wishes, participants use both memorized lexical collocations or phrases in Galician, as well as lexical words on their own. In posts using metalinguistic discourse, the posts are substantially longer. In two examples, metalinguistic discourse occurs in Galician, about the Galician language, for the entire status. In one example, the post is entirely in CAS, but the content refers to the Galician phonology. To begin, I will analyze shorter posts, and then delve into longer, more complex posts of metalinguistic talk.

5.2.1. Statuses 14-16: Team Support

One of the most salient event types present within statuses is acute sporting event posts. The following is an example of a typical acute sporting event post. After sharing a post and photo of the football club Real Club Deportivo de La Coruña, the participant adds a motivational post hoping the team wins the current game. As we can see, in status 14, the participant uses CAS. Using Dubois’ stance triangle we can see that the author of this status is the subject and the object is the football club Deportivo, or for short, Depor. The participant takes an affective stance by explicitly expressing his support of La Coruña’s football club. He also takes an affective stance implicitly through grammatical structure, namely tense. As is common in Spanish, personal pronouns are routinely dropped since verbs carry tense through inflection. In this example, we can see that both Vamos (Let’s go) and Necesitamos (We need) are conjugated in the present tense, and are inflected for the “we” form without the use of a personal pronoun.
By aligning himself with Deportivo supporters, the participant takes an affective stance to create solidarity. In status 15, the participant has crossed into Galician. In this example of crossing we can surmise that like Patois in Hinrich (2006), Galician is used in a symbolic manner rather than used in a more complex setting. As the expression *Forza Depor* (Let’s go Depor) is common among fans of the football club, it is more an example of a reproduced collocate rather than creative speech. Either way, both status 14 and 15 are instances of affective stance taking to create solidarity with Galicians. Participants who engage in talk regarding sporting events are found to use the set phrase *Forza Depor* as opposed to writing full length posts in Galician or merely using lexical items in isolation. I have categorized these types of posts under the individual category as they are not interacting with other members of the community of practice by either tagging other members, or using lexical items commonly used by said members.

Attending Deportivo football matches is not an activity indicative of the community of practice as members do not attend together, and many do not attend at all. While there are some posts of members of the community of practice attending these sporting events, we can see by personal pronoun use that participants align themselves with Galicians overall, rather than expatriate members of the community of practice specifically. Lastly, I have included the comments from status 16, in which the participant interacts with another Facebook user who doesn’t understand Galician, to explain what *forza depor* means. This shows that the participant is performing, but the audience is limited by her code selection. Since she chose to support the football team in GA, this results in other Facebook users who are not expatriates in Galicia or Galicians, to be excluded by default from the status. It is also important to note that I have highlighted basic morphological changes such as the GA *o* in *forza*, which becomes *ue* in CAS, or *fuerza*. 
Status 14:

BP:

(1) (CAS): Vamos! Necesitamos 3 puntos hoy!  (1) Let’s go! We need 3 points today!
(2) (GA): FÖRZÄ DEPOR  (2) Let’s go Depor!

Status 15:

(1) (ENG): Must win….  (1) Must win…
(2) (GA): FORZA DEPOR!!!  (2) Let’s go Depor!

Status 16:

JL:

(1) (GA): Forza  (1) Let’s go
(2) (CAS): Depor!  (2) Depor!

Comments of Status 16:

DL (ENG): What does that mean? Help JL

JL (ENG): It means go Deportivo (our soccer team here in Coruna that played against Real Madrid last night)
5.2.3. Statuses 17-21: Holiday Wishes

Status 17-19 show three distinct members of the community of practice, engaging in talk about the holidays. The most common expressions found in this grouping is GA *Boas Festas*, CAS *Felices Fiestas*, ENG *Happy Holidays* and GA *Bo Nadal*, CAS *Feliz Navidad* and ENG *Merry Christmas*. As we can see in status 17, the user provides utterances that are longer in CAS, due to higher level of proficiency, but uses the set expression *Boas Festas* (Happy Holidays) and the adverb *moito* (very) to perform her knowledge about the Galician code.

Statuses 18 and 19 differ from 17 in that they are translations of the same phrase, in ENG, CAS and GA, all with the function of wishing happy holidays. These two statuses stand out in that the audience is a bit broader than just Galicians. Since both participants have spent years in the region, they must be acquainted with native Galician and Spanish speakers, along with being a native English speaker. Unlike the *Forza Depor* posts, both interlocutors in this case are performing for all Facebook friends, rather than limiting the group they are targeting by using only one code choice.
**Status 17:**

**MV:**

(1) (ENG): Happy new year to all My friends in Europe!!! Woo 3 mins to turn up!!! Hope you have a prosperous new year, full of love and happiness! Cheers!

(2) (GA): *Boas festas*

(3) (CAS) a mis amigos/as europeos!!! 3 minutos! Que disfruten

(4) (GA): *moito*

(5) (CAS): y que tengan un año prospero, feliz y lleno de Amor!

(6) (GA): *bikos!*

**Status 18:**

**SO:**

(1) (ENG): The three wise men came early!

(2) (CAS): // Los reyes magos vinieron temprano!

(3) (ENG): Happy Christmas.

(4) (CAS): Feliz Navidad y

(5) (GA): *Bo Nadal!*
Status 19:

JL

(1) (ENG): Merry Christmas  (1) (ENG): Merry Christmas
(2) (CAS): Feliz Navidad  (2) Merry Christmas
(3) (GA): Bo Nadal  (3) Merry Christmas

Both statuses 20 and 21 are examples of holiday wishes as well. Status 20 is the longest status found in all posts of community of practice members crossing. Status 21 is a holiday wish of another kind, that I will analyze next. As previously stated, status 20 in the longest status that is entirely in Galician. This participant is linguistically competent in Galician, while most other members know choice words and expressions. In this status it is important to highlight that through coding, this participant uses set expressions, addition and deletion of consonants and vowels, Galician suffix endings, and personal pronouns. This status is to wish his Galician Facebook friends Merry Christmas, but to also provide an update on his life since his return to the United States. He uses the Galician personal pronoun vos, or you all, to address the audience. He also gives thanks to all of his friends that helped him through the holidays when in Galicia, as this was a difficult time for him. By exclusively writing in Galician, this participant is aligning himself with Galicians. Through his content and lexical choice, we can see he is taking an affective stance to create solidarity with Galicians that he knew when he was living abroad.
Ev

(1) (CAS): Bueno amigos e amigas
(2) (GA): xa hai 4 meses dende que volvin a estas terras. Conseguen un bo traballo, puidem ver a miña familia mais veces das que podia esperarme e teño parella. Ainda xa sabedes que vos boto moito de menos visto que vou facendome a casa aquí. Sempre foi durante esta época do ano que me sentia máis sólo alá (acolá) na miña casa galega pero vós (os meus amigos e compañeiros) me axudaron sentime ben acompañado. É polo que quero darvos as gracias por estar alí cando vos necesitaba. Que pasen moi bo natal e boas vacacións coas vosas familias e amigos. E xa sabedes que cando queirades aquí tedes casa... ☺️☺️☺️

(1) Well friends
(2) it has already been 4 months since I returned to these lands [The United States]. I got a good job, I’ve been able to see my family more times than I expected and I have a partner. You know that I miss you all very much and you made me feel at home here. It has always been during this time of the year that I felt alone there in my Galician home but you (my friends and colleagues) helped me to feel in good company. It’s because of this that I want to thank you all for being there when I needed it. Have a merry christmas and happy holidays with your family and friends. You know that when you want, here you have a home.
I have included status 21 as the last example of holiday wishes, as the holiday mentioned is the 25th of July, or Galicia Day, rather than referring to Christmas or New Years. The participant begins the post in CAS, and switches to GA just to state the month, *xullo* or July. He states the name of the holiday in CAS, and switches back to GA to say he wants to share this with *vos*, or you all.

**Status 21:**

1. (CAS): Para este 25 de
2. (GA): *xullo*
3. (CAS) Dia de Galicia, comparto
4. (GA) isto con *vos* de novo

5.2.3. Status 22: Natural Disaster Support

**Status 22:**

Status 22 are comments in response to a photo posted of the Galician flag after a train crash in Santiago de Compostela, Galicia, Spain. Various participants interact to a post from the Auxiliares in Galicia Facebook group. It is apparent that the participants use all linguistic resources available to them, from a variety of codes, to support Galicians in this difficult time.

The first participant CA uses mostly ENG and then switches to CAS for *camino*, which is the
**camino de Santiago** (the Way of Saint James), a pilgrimage from various regions of Spain and France to the cathedral in Santiago de Compostela. The participant says she will be finishing the pilgrimage soon and it will be interesting to see tributes in the Santiago cathedral. The second participant AB, uses primarily CAS but ends with *estamos con vos* (we are with you), *vos* being the Galician pronoun meaning *we are with you*.

**Status 22:**

**CA**

(1) (ENG): Hitting close to home  
(geographically and psychologically!)  
Will be interesting to see the tributes when I finish the Pilgrim  
In a few weeks.

**AB**

(1) (CAS): Rezo para que los gallegos se recuperen de esta tragedia y que haya una pesquisa rápida e informativa.  
Fuerza, Galicia. estamos con vos.

**CA**

(1) Hitting close to home (geographically and psychologically!) Will be interesting to see the tributes when I finish the Pilgrimage  
In a few weeks.

**AB**

(1) I pray that the Galicians recuperate from this tragedy and that there is an quick and informative investigation. Strength, Galicia. We are with you

(2) (GA) *vos.*

(2) you
5.2.4. Statuses 23-24: Galego

Statuses 23 and 24 are fitting to many of the themes I have suggested previously, but I place them in a separate category as a segway into metalinguistic talk as they refer to the term *galego* (Galician). Status 23 is particularly interesting because the status is written entirely in Galician, although short in length. And the response to the post *I miss Galicians*, is by a Galician male saying *you are wonderful* using the suffix -iño to modify the adjective *rico* (wonderful), make the term more endearing. The term is also inflected for gender as it ends in an *a*, resulting in *riquiña* (wonderful). Using Dubois’ stance triangle, by saying *I miss Galicians*, the participant evaluates Galician people as a whole, and positions herself in alignment with them. In response, the Galician interlocutor aligns himself with the expatriate making the statement by saying she is wonderful. Since the statuses are part of CMC, this post is not necessarily an example of passing, but a native speaker does still indeed validate her use of Galician.

Status 24 on the other hand concerns the participant’s mother visiting Galicia, and that she will learn CAS or GA in order to communicate with, presumably, the Galicians she knows. This status is a clear alignment with Galicians as the participant conjugates the Spanish and Galician verb *querer* (to want) using the Galician inflection as opposed to Spanish. In Spanish the verb would be conjugated in the subjunctive as *quieras* but in Galician the *i* and *e* are inverted resulting in *queiras*. As the participant says *como queiras* in Galician, or *whatever what you want* in English, she positions herself with the Galician people she knows by using the personal pronoun *you*. Both statuses 23 and 24 are examples of using the word *galego*, but are not yet speaking directly about Galician. The following section however, analyzes statuses 25-27 and their use of metalinguistic discourse about *galego*, or *Galician* using English, CAS and GA codes.
Status 23:

HW

(1) (GA): eu falto o galegos! (1) I miss Galicians!

Comments of Status 23:

DV

(1) (CAS): Eres muy (1) You are very
(2) (GA): riquiña (2) wonderful

Status 24:

SL:

(1) (CAS): ...otra vez que la voy a ver (1) Again I am going to see her here in
aquí en Galicia dentro de un poco y Galicia in a little while and she is
va a aprender el castellano going to learn Castilian Spanish
(2) (GA): (ou galego: o que queiras!) (2) (or Galician: whatever you want!)
(3) (CAS): Un besazo! (3) A big kiss!
5.3. Statuses 25-27: Metalinguistic Talk

As metalinguistic talk is not a feature found exclusively by the community of practice or individuals, it is fitting to dedicate an entire section to this unusual phenomenon. Statuses 25-27 use metalinguistic talk to take affective as well as epistemic stances. As a recap, affective stances require an emotional component while epistemic stance-taking shows authority over the language at hand. Performances are negotiated by “expert” members of the community. I will also consider the reaction of the “audience” as Bauman (2011) posits, in which audience members either agree or disagree in terms of content or language use of the participant.

To begin, the participant in status 25 engages in metalinguistic talk in CAS. Although she is not talking explicitly about the Galician code, she refers to the phonology of Galician. In the status we can see that the attendant who worked at the check-in counter for the airline iberia, dudaba que fuera americana por el acentazo gallego que tengo, meaning, she doubted that the participant was American because of her Galician accent. In this scenario, the participant is taking an epistemic stance by showing that she knows enough about the pronunciation of CAS in Galicia, and has the ability to perform this accent so well she can be mistaken as a Galician when she speaks in CAS. In her recount of this story, she “passed” as a Galician when speaking CAS to a native CAS speaker. It is unknown whether the CAS speaker was a native of Galicia or not. It is apparent that the participant aligns with Galicians so much so that she wishes to emulate the phonology of CAS that is indicative of a native Galician speaker. Despite the negative indexes associated with Galician, the language holds covert prestige in the minds of expatriates living in the region.

By looking at the responses to this status, we can see that some participants are in agreement with her, while others think that “passing” as a Galician is not a simple task. Either way, both
parties are negotiating by speaking about a specific topic, meaning they are in alignment with one another. JO in CAS says *me alegro de saber eso*, or *I’m happy to know that* when he hears that a native English speaker spending two years in Galicia, could pass as a Galician. FL on the other hand says *Tranquila, MS va diciendo por Toledo palabras como: “riquiño”... “morriña” “biquiños”*. Here FL comments that just because a friend of LJ, MS, goes around Toledo, Spain saying common Galician words or CAS words with the suffix-iño attached, doesn’t necessarily mean it makes her an expert of the Galician language. As a native speaker of Galician, FL does certainly have expertise about her own language, and serves as a gatekeeper in this scenario, engaging with the other two participants, but also setting a sort of guideline for what “knowing” Galician really entails. By using the stance triangle, it can be observed that LJ evaluates Galician phonology, aligns herself with it through the performance of CAS with Galician phonological variants and is in turn evaluated by two native Galician speakers. One Galician speaker positions himself in alignment with LJ, while the other disaligns herself.
Status 25:

LJ

(1) (CAS): La mujer de iberia que me atendió en el check-in en Madrid dudaba que fuera americana por el acentazo gallego que tengo. Aaaaaaaaiiiiiiiii!

(1) The woman from iberia who checked me in at the Madrid airport doubted that I was American because of the Galician accent that I have. Aaaaaaahhhhh

Comments of Status 25:

(1) CE (CAS): Ja,ja,ja,ja.
(2) JO (CAS): Me alegro de saber eso.
(3) LJ (CAS): JO cuando escribí eso sabía que te iba a encantar. (: 
(4) JA (ENG): welcome to philly!!!!
(5) MS (GA): Aaaayyy que riquiña
(6) FL (CAS): Tranquila, MS va diciendo por Toledo palabras como:
(7) (GA)"riquiño" ... "morriña" "biquiños"
   etc etc...
(8) (CAS) MS: Siiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii jajaja

(1) (CAS) CE: Ha, ha, ha, ha
(2) (CAS) JO: I happy to know this.
(3) (CAS) LJ: JO when I wrote this I knew you would love it. (: 
(4) (ENG) JA: welcome to philly!!!!
(5) (GA) MS: Wooowww how delightful
(6) (CAS) FL: Calm down, MS goes around Toledo saying words like:
(7) (GA) "delightful" ..."homesickness"
   etc...
(8) (CAS) MS: Yessssssssssssssssssssssss hahahaah
Status 26 examines the use of metalinguistic discourse in a different context. The post is part of the Facebook group Auxiliares de conversación en Galicia. The status expresses concern on the part of the interlocutor, a newcomer to Galicia, about moving to the region and having to learn an additional language, in addition to improving her Spanish, which she deems not proficient. In this status, I argue that the participant, SR, is looking for support and solidarity with other fellow teachers new to the region. As she is expressing her concern about learning Galician, and her lack of confidence in her current competence in Spanish, she is taking an affective stance. This status engages in metalinguistic talk about the fear of an unknown language than dominates the region, while other expert community members reassure her that CAS is a code that can be used for daily tasks. The expert members take an epistemic stance by quelling the fears of SR, as they are knowledgeable about the region, and feel that mastering Galician is not necessary in order to communicate with Galicians, as almost everyone is proficient in CAS as well.

Status 26:

SR to Auxiliares de conversación en Galicia

(1) (ENG) Is anyone else worried about not speaking/ understanding Galego/ Galician? I barely know Spanish (ha) and every website I look at is a mix of Spanish/Portuguese. Even my school’s website. I know eventually I’ll start to get it but right now I’m worried!

The following status is another clear example of metalinguistic discourse and stance taking. The participant is a young male that has lived in the region for less than one year. Despite the short length of time he has resided in Galicia, he demonstrates knowledge about the language by using Galician to refute a statement made by a Catalan, or native of Catalunya, another autonomous
Community in Spain. In the status he argues that Galician is a real language, even though Catalans argue that it is not because it is too similar to a Castinalized Portuguese. JD concludes the status in a hostile tone stating in Galician that *Eles pensans q son moi especiales* or, *they think they are special*, which could be interpreted that Catalans position themselves as superior to Galicians as they have their own language. It seems as though JD believes Catalans discredit the fact that in Galicia, Galician is also a language in its own right, despite not being as widely spoken as Catalan, another minority dialect spoken in region of Catalunya. In this scenario, he uses the personal pronoun *they*, referencing Catalans, to disalign himself with this group while simultaneously aligning himself with Galicians.

**Status 27:**

JD

(1) (GA) *Hoñe un catalan dixoume que o galego non e unha lingua real poque foi separado do Portugues e xa e moi castelanizado. Eles pensans q son moi especiales :P*

(1) Today a Catalan told me that Galician is not a real language because it was separated from Portuguese and is very castilianized. They think they are very special. :P
5.4. Both Community of Practice and Individuals

Lastly, I would like to briefly mention that there are posts that pertain to both members of the community of practice as well as individuals. One type of post that all participants use is a type of list of either food or drink items that can only be found in the autonomous community of Galicia. Statuses 28 and 30 are written by members of the community of practice although not directly geared towards other members. Status 29 is written by an individual outside of the community.

5.4.1. Statuses 28-30: Food and Drink

Status 28 incorporates the use of a the proper noun *Albariño* that is a common proper noun used by expatriates in Facebook statuses. The interlocutor of this status also uses the hashtag #$pulpoafeira$ which is a traditional way of cooking octopus in Galicia, boiled in a copper pot and then sprinkled with paprika. The hashtag itself is half CAS half GA. *Pulpo* is the CAS word for *octopus* while *feira* is the Galician word for *fair*, or *feria* in CAS. It is interesting that the participant only uses half of the collocate in Galician, while the other half is in CAS.

Status 29 also lists a number of food items specific to Galicia. The participant ends the status with a full sentence in Galician, *Máis galego non pode ser, más gallego no puede ser* in CAS or *it couldn’t be more Galician*. As was present in previous examples, to form the Galician equivalents from CAS, the interlocutor adds and deletes vowels and consonants.

In a similar vein, status 29 discusses a dinner that an expatriate made for her family upon her return to the US that includes dishes typical of Galicia. This expatriate belongs to the community of practice and other members have liked the status, but are not tagged. *Raxo* for example is a dish that consists of pork shoulder and is only found in Galicia. The interlocutor says she was
unable to make pimientos de Padrón, or peppers from Padrón, a small Galician town famous for their peppers. It is logical that she is unable to cook this dish for her family as these peppers are typical of the region and at the time of the post she is in the United States. Pimientos de Padrón are also famous in that they have a Galician expression used to explain their spiciness: *uns pican e outros non* in GA, *unos pican e otros no* in CAS and *some are spicy others are not* in ENG showing that they are a food seen as an integral part of their gastronomy.

The previous three statuses demonstrate that all types of expatriates utilize Galician proper nouns and other names of food and drink to perform their linguistic and cultural competence. The fact that the participants show preference to the Galician terms show that they possess a willingness to integrate into the culture specific of the region, and could arguably be examples of epistemic stance taking in comparison to newcomers in the region. When they go out to eat they know exactly what to order so that the dishes *could not be more Galician*. The fact that the culture of Galicia is so distinctive from the rest of Spain could also provide a rationale as to why these individuals and members of the community of practice wish to disalign themselves from other expatriates in other regions, aligning themselves with the small town, local-feel of Galicia.

**Status 28:**

CS

(1) (ENG): Drinking  
(2) (GA): *Albariño*  
(3) (ENG): with my Galician style octopus!  
(GA): #pulpoafeira

(1) Drinking  
(2) Albariño  
(3) With my Galician-style octopus!  
(4) #galicianstyleoctopus
KS

(1) (CAS): Pulpo, croquetas, ensalada, tosta de laco, grelos y queso y tosta de chicarrones con queso arzula.

(2) (GA) Más galego non pode ser.

(1) Octopus, croquettes, salad, pork shoulder toast, greens and cheese and chicharrones toast with Arzúa-Ulloa cheese.

(2) It couldn’t be more Galician
(1) (ENG): #day98 making spanish food for the family at the beach house.

(2) (GA): Raxo

(3) (CAS): patatas bravas, tortilla

(4) (ENG): and

(5) (CAS): pimientos!

(6) (ENG): Couldn’t find

(7) (CAS): pimientos de padron

(8) (ENG): we got the next best thing

#100daysofhappy

(1): #day98 making spanish food for the family at the beach house.

(2): Galician-style pork

(3) Spicy potatoes, omelette

(4) and

(5) peppers!

(6) Couldn’t find

(7) peppers from Padrón

(8) we got the next best thing #100 days of happy
5.5. Addressing the Research Questions

In this section, I answer the research questions originally presented in this study. By using prominent works from the literature review, as well as the data collected for this study, I look to find links between linguistic resource use of expatriate English-speaking teachers. I first would like to consider research question one.

5.5.1. Research Question One

In this section I look to answer the research questions presented in this study and to tie them in to theories of identity formation. The first research question I will answer is:

What types of linguistic resources do English-speaking expatriates currently living or previously living in Galicia, use to take-stances?

Introduced by Jaffe (2009), we can see that stances are taken through both form and content. In a similar vein, it is clear now that members of the community of practice use lexical items such as: morriña (homesickness), moito (very), San Xoan (Saint James), bicos (kisses) and its variations, the suffixes -iño and -eiro to modify nouns and adjectives. Besides the use of these suffixes, lexical items undergo other morphological changes when a participant makes a lexical choice in Galician over CAS. As Jaffe posits, the expatriates utilize both content words and themes, as well as form, or grammatical inflections, to position themselves. Lexical items specifically can be tied back to Bruns et al., (2016) and the use of many types of hashtags to create ad-hoc groupings. We will see these concepts very clearly in posts by individuals as well.

In addition to these Galician suffixes, other morphological changes and lexical selection,
members of the community of practice call themselves by a name they have adopted for themselves, the *wolfpack* to strengthen ingroup ties. The origins of this name come from an American movie that was released shortly before the community of practice formed, *The Hangover* (2009) directed by Todd Phillips and produced by Todd Phillips and Daniel Goldberg. In the film, the four main characters form a group called the wolfpack. The comedic film was so successful that there were two sequels that were released following the original. In the second film, one of the characters rejects an “outsider”, saying only members of the wolfpack are allowed to be seated with other members when waiting in the airport. Since the release of the original movie, the term has gained popularity in the United States to signify a tight-knit group of friends.

Regarding the individuals outside of the community of practice, the instances of crossing into Galician and presence of alignment with Galician people are much less predictable. Members of the community of practice use a series of Galician lexical items to create solidarity. Individuals on the other hand discuss a variety of additional themes such as: team support for the local football team Deportivo, holiday wishes which are similar to birthday wishes present in the community of practice, natural disaster support and metalinguistic talk. Metalinguistic talk is one of the most important features specific to individuals as it provides insight into covert prestige associated with Galician. Interlocutors also use verb inflection and personal pronouns to take stances. As Jaffe (2009) posits, affective stance-taking moves, as we have seen in the case of individuals engaging in metalinguistic talk, are used to show “authoritative knowledge” of a specific code. Hinrichs (2006) on the other hand shows examples of the use of three codes for differing functions: Jamaican Patois as a framing device, Jamaican Creole in greetings and to create solidarity and Spanish as a worldly, or cultured individual. In the statuses presented here,
we can see that English, CAS and GA also differ in functionality. Both English and CAS can be used as framing devices, or the codes in which interlocutors rely on to carry the meaning of their message. In both members of the community of practice as well as individuals, GA is used to create solidarity and is a symbolic code, like that of Jamaican Creole. GA can also be used by all participants like Spanish is used in Hinrichs (2007) to index worldliness, since participants perform their knowledge of the language, places within Galicia, food and drink, popular expression and morphological changes to nouns and adjectives. Other studies follow an almost identical pattern in terms of code choice related to functionality. In Rampton (1999) children use Asian English for greetings and apologies and Creole to give encouragement and express annoyance. Additionally, Rampton (2005) shows that students use a high variety code like Cockney to incite conflict. Pennycook (2003) uncovers the use of AAVE in rappers outside of the United States in an effort to create solidarity. Barrett’s (1998) study of AADQs also documents differing contexts where performers switch between a number of codes, both of high and low varieties, to create solidarity with audience members. According to Kiesling (2011) we can see that all the previous moves used to create solidarity, fall under the term affective stance as they relate primarily with emotion.

To expand on stance taking moves, affective stances are more commonly found in the community of practice in an effort to create solidarity with other members. Community of practice members in general tend to have lower levels of proficiency than individuals. This finding demonstrates that individuals engage in metalinguistic discourse which requires a higher level of proficiency and higher-order thinking skills on the part of participants as it questions and analyzes the use of Galician. Because a higher level of proficiency is required to discuss critically, epistemic stance is more common in individuals than members of the community of
practice. Like two of the participants in Androutsopolous (2015) who rely primarily on Greek due to a lack of proficiency in German, expatriates who have a lower level of Galician rely on English and CAS to carry their intended messages. Unlikely the rest of the members in Androutsopolous’ study, expatriates do not rely on their native language English or second language CAS due to hegemonic influence as it has been found that Galician has covert prestige. The development the concept of covert prestige further, Trudgill (1972) showed that participants claimed to use less prestigious speech than they used in actuality. Relating the concept of covert prestige to this study, participants crossed into the less prestigious Galician code, because knowledge of this code carries indexes of covert prestige. These indexes were made through repeated use of linguistic resources over the span of seven years. This point brings me to my next research question.

5.5.2. Research Question Two

The second research question relates linguistic resource use to the overall category of identity: What do these stances index about the identities of the expatriates?

As we have seen in the previous 30 examples, expatriates within the community of practice use affective stances to align themselves with other members of the community of practice. In this scenario, expatriates use Galician and the aforementioned linguistic resources to foster group identity. Others outside of the community of practice use the Galician code and additional linguistic resources to align with Galicians as a whole. In regards to identity formation, these expatriates look to show competence in both linguistic and cultural arenas. Some expatriates engage in metalinguistic talk to take epistemic stances, a demonstration of knowledge about the Galician code in terms of grammatical changes such as verb inflection, personal pronoun use,
common suffixes and collocates as well as other cultural specific items to Galicia including such as travel destinations within the region and the best cuisine found exclusively in tiny towns or aldeas, such as Padrón, for example. The motivations for each of these groupings in using the Galician code differ but can be related to performance of a minority code to negotiate identity. As could be explored further, the role of gatekeepers, or native speakers of Galician, play a part in identity negotiation as well. Whether this speech is authentic or not was previously overviewed, but is another important aspect that could be given more weight. Similar to Hernández-Campoy & Cutillas-Espinosa (2010), both the former Murcian president, María Antonia Martínez, and the expatriates of this study look to create solidarity with a community which speaks a minority code, in turn indexing a local identity. As previously illustrated in answering the first research question, expatriates use certain codes for specific functions as was seen in Hinrichs (2006), Rampton (1999, 2005), Barrett (1998), Kiesling (2011) and Androutsopoulos (2015), it is also important to consider that the codes were not used merely for functionality purposes. The previously mentioned studies along with this study show that while functionality is salient, the overarching category of identity, and belonging are salient as well. Using specific codes for certain functions repeatedly carries indexes, and meanings and made concerning the grouping which that individual belongs. To conclude this study, I would like to point out the importance of the study of minority codes and the impact of language contact in relation to expatriate communities. As globalization becomes more widespread and a variety of codes come in to contact worldwide, we can observe and document language change specifically through social media interactions of native and nonnative speakers of any given code. Linguistic and cultural competence in Galician seems to carry positive indexes if large numbers of expatriates engage in crossing and use other Galician linguistic resources. Expatriates use any
and all linguistic resources available to them to clarify meanings, and in intercultural communication to foster relationships and understanding of the large number of social media connections, or “friends” from all over the globe. Although English is used as a lingua franca in cross-cultural communication, this does not necessarily undermine the importance of less commonly used codes. It is also apparent that covert prestige plays a part in the formation of expatriate identities. As language and culture are intertwined to the utmost degree, in order to integrate into the society of the host culture, expatriates find that competence in the codes of that region are necessary and even welcomed.

It can also be noted that in regions such as the autonomous community of Galicia, which has gone through a traumatic past linguistically, linguistic revitalization movements are not in vain. Galicians as well as outsiders new to the region become aware of the importance of keeping languages alive. Despite the short term nature of their contracts, an effort on the part of these populations shows cultural sensitivity. Expressions, idioms and collocations are not easily translated into other languages, and integrating these components allows expatriates to become more active members of the host culture.

5.6. Recommendations for Further Research

With more time and resources, it could be interesting to conduct this study on a much larger scale, employing both quantitative and qualitative methods to look at language usage on a macro scale across the expatriate community in Galicia and other autonomous communities of Spain that speak minority codes. With an interview component and access to native Galician speakers, as well as speakers of other minority codes, to assist in conducting interviews, it could be possible to correlate a number of variables such as proficiency to frequency of use and/or complexity of structures and to tie this to identity with a much firmer grounding. As Galician is
more commonly spoken in rural areas, comparing and contrasting this code with for example, Catalan, and its frequency of usage in urban centers versus that of Galician could also prove to be an interesting topic of study. In order to carry out this type of study, however, a native speaker of the minority codes would be necessary. As I am neither a native speaker of Galician, Catalan or any minority codes spoken, to have an “insider” perspective would be invaluable as access to native speakers of rural areas especially

A most obvious variable for consideration would also be gender. Relating gender to linguistic form could be particularly interesting to expand upon as Galician carries indexes of covert prestige, therefore, in an effort towards upward mobility, it is unknown whether covert prestige or long-standing negative indexes would prevail.

Regarding the statuses that were used here, it could be helpful to conduct a deeper analysis on a status by status basis. Besides the statuses that were presented here, there are many more which were not considered for this study, and many of those examples show additional communities of practice are present with their own linguistic repertoires, differing greatly from those of the wolfpack. It has come to my attention that there are also a handful of expatriates that are extremely proficient in Galician. The interaction of these individuals with native Galician speakers could also be an interesting topic of study. This would require access to a much larger pool of individuals, their background in Galician whether it be instructed or instructed education and their motivations for learning this minority code would show underlying language attitudes and ideologies, another important factor in identity formation. Besides considering only online language usage, if currently living in the region it could also be interesting to record spontaneous speech where crossing occurs to consider the dichotomy of online vs. offline identities.
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APPENDIX A: List of Individuals

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<th>Gender</th>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Time in Galicia (yrs)</th>
<th>Time in Spain (not Galicia)</th>
<th>Teaching program</th>
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Community of practice: “wolfpack”
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**Other participants**

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## APPENDIX B: Common Content Words

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<td>San Juan</td>
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<td>Costa de Muerte</td>
<td>Death Coast</td>
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<td>Finisterre</td>
<td>Finisterre (End of the world)</td>
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<td><strong>Nouns</strong></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bicos</td>
<td>Besos</td>
<td>Kisses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biquiños</td>
<td>Besitos</td>
<td>Little kisses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riquiño</td>
<td>Riquito</td>
<td>Delicious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morriña</td>
<td>Morriña</td>
<td>Homesickness (For Galicia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Festa</td>
<td>Fiesta</td>
<td>Party, Holiday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galego</td>
<td>Gallego</td>
<td>Galician</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noite</td>
<td>Noche</td>
<td>Night</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compañheiro</td>
<td>Compañero</td>
<td>Friend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extranxeiro</td>
<td>Extranjero</td>
<td>Foreigner</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miña</td>
<td>Mi/ Mía</td>
<td>My/Mine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Adjectives</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ben</td>
<td>Bien</td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boa</td>
<td>Buena</td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Adverbs</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moito</td>
<td>Mucho</td>
<td>Very, Many</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sempre</td>
<td>Siempre</td>
<td>Always</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX C: Screenshots of Facebook Statuses

COMMUNITY OF PRACTICE

Status 1:

Status 2:
Status 3:

Posts from Friends

Reunida con mi familia gallega - que morfina tengo

Status 4:

Ay por dios, ha pasado un año desde que volvi y todavia me muero de la morfina que tengo.

41 Reasons Studying Abroad In Spain Ruins You For Life

Status 5:
Status 6:

I should be eating hot dogs on my momma's balcony right now. Tengo morrña 😖):(爱国主义:

and 10 others

Status 7:
Status 8:

Felicidades!! Espero que lo pases bien y que disfrutes el verano :) Hasta luego, besinos

Status 9:

FELIZ CUMPLE to my French / Galician stallion!!! Why did you decide to learn Spanish and love Galicia after I left? 😊❤️ besíños, que lo pases pipa hoy! te echo mucho de menos!

#whitworthstudyabroadposterchildren
Status 10:

![Google Map of San Juan Coruña](image1)

Status 11:

San Xoán for what #wolfpack #deseos #lanocheesnuestra #

and 18 others

Status 12:
Morriña para miña terra, mi querido Wolfpack y mi familia gallega 📡

Erasmus Student Network Coruña's Post

Status 13:

Un besiño, Torre Eiffel <3

Status 14:
Status 15:

Vamos! Necesitamos 3 puntos hoy! FORZA DEPOR

#AsNosasCores agardan no B3nito Villamarín #DaleDE
Must win...FORZA DEPOR!!!
Status 17:

Happy new year to all My friends in Europe!!! Woo 3 mins to turn up!!! Hope you have a prosperous new year, full of love and happiness! Cheers! Boas festas a mis amigos/as europeos!!! 3 minutos! Que disfruten moito y que tengan un año prospero, feliz y lleno de Amor!bikos!

Status 18:
The three wise men came early! //:// Los reyes magos vinieron temprano!
Happy Christmas, Feliz Navidad y Bo Nadall 😊

Status 19:

Status 20:

Bueno amigos e amigas xa hai 4 meses desde que volvín a estas terras. Conseguiun bo traballo, puidem ver a miña familia mais veces das que podía esperarme e teño parella. Aínda xa sabedes que vos boto moito de menos vexo que vou facendome a casa aquí. Sempre foi durante esta época do ano que me sentía máis sólo aí (acola) na miña casa galega pero vós (os meus amigos e compañeiros) me ayudaron sentime ben acompañado. E por iso que quero dervos coa grazas por estar ali cando vos necesitaba que pasen moi bo natal e boas vacaciones coas vosas familias e amigos. E xa sabedes que cando queirades aquí teves casa... 🌲🎄🎄😊

View 11 more comments

its like Portuguese! 😋 Are you still in Spain? Staying for good?
Sorry, I didn't understand what "terrass" you were referring to.
Like · Reply · 1 · December 21, 2015 at 14:02am

Moi bonito! Evan!!! Espero que estas ben!!! Un bico
grandi!!!
Like · Reply · 1 · December 21, 2015 at 13:55am

Felizes fiestas meu!! Caldele moito e a ver se vémonos pronto 😆
Like · Reply · 1 · December 21, 2015 at 10:51am
Status 21:
Para este 25 de xullo, Día de Galicia, comparto isto con vós de novo.

Rosalía de Palma
#recitarosalía24f
Hitting close to home (geographically and psychologically!). Will be interesting to see the tributes when I finish the Camino in a few weeks.

4y Like

Rezo para que los gallegos se recuperen de esta tragedia y que haya una pesquisa rápida e informativa. Fuerza, Galicia, estamos con vos.

4y Like
Status 24:

...otra vez ya que la voy a ver aquí en Galicia dentro de un poco y va a aprender el castellano (ou galego: o que queiras!) Un besazo!
La mujer de Iberia que me atendió en el check-in en Madrid dudaba que fuera americana por el acento gallego que tengo. Aaaaaaaaaa!

Me alegra saber eso.

Tranquila, va diciendo por Toledo palabras como: "riqueñas" "xamigueira" "morriñas" "biquifás" etc etc...

Welcome to philly!!!
Status 27:

Auxiliares de conversación en Galicia

September 10, 2010 • 11

Is anyone else worried about not speaking/understanding Galego/Galician? I barely know Spanish (ha) and every website I look at is a mix of Spanish/Portuguese. Even my school's website. I know eventually I'll start to get it but right now I'm worried.

3 Comments

3 Comments

I found that Spanish was fine for day to day living (okay, for the weekend I was there) in Vigo, but I'm worried too. I'm focusing on brushing up on Spanish first, and have my fingers crossed that galego will fall in eventually.

7y • Like

I am, but my friend in Madrid said that everyone should speak Spanish to us... bc they'll know that we don't speak Gallego

7y • Like
Status 28:

Drinking Albariño with my Galician style octopus! #pulpoafeira

Status 29:

Pulpo, croquetas, ensalada, tosta de lacon, grelos, y queso y tosta de chicarrones con queso arzua. Más galego non pode ser.

Status 30:
#day98 making spanish food for the family at the beach house. Raxo, patatas bravas, tortilla, and pimientos!!! Couldn't find pimientos de padron we got the next best thing #100daysofhappy