Fitting into a more appealing diaspora than my own: Positioning Ecuadorian and Honduran migrants within the Newark-area, Portuguese-centric diaspora community of New Jersey, U.S.A

1   1 Introduction:

2   While a migrant group's continued orientation to the homeland represents a defining feature of

3   diaspora in the majority of studies that seek to conceptualize this topic (Grossman 2019), case-

4   study research challenges this orientation by pointing to instances in which members of

5   diaspora communities show deeper attachments to the state in which they reside (Gabriel

6   2011). Individual diasporic experiences are similarly emphasized through the notion of

7   *segmented assimilation* (Portes and Rumbaut 2001), which draws attention to diverse

8   orientations to the dominant/autochthonous group as a product of both individuals'

9   characteristics and the specific nature of their reception by the host community. As various

10   diaspora groups often live alongside each other within this context (Deumert and Mabandla

11   2013), relationships between these groups also help to shape individual experiences. *Horizontal*

12   *assimilation*, the act of orienting to a different marginalized group (usually within the same

13   community) instead of the dominant group or the heritage group (Prashad 2001), represents a

14   potential outcome of this contact. Applied to the sociolinguistic analysis of a setting that

15   features diverse migrant groups, this notion informs a novel reconceptualization of diasporic

16   belonging.

17   While the juxtaposition between the pull of the dominant language in the receiving community

18   vs. the mother tongue/heritage language from the region of origin – echoing the contrast

19   between Grossman (2019) and Gabriel (2011) discussed above – is well represented in the

20   literature that foregrounds language (Cf. Kershen 2000), a small number of studies move

21   beyond this binary to highlight linguistic outcomes that more closely resemble horizontal

22   assimilation. The appropriation of features and lexicon of less prestigious codes that are

23   present in the community has received attention as a means of enhancing the authenticity of

24   identification with the marginalized groups who speak these languages (Dirim and Auer 2012;

25   Magro 2016; Nortier and Dorleijn 2008); however, much of this research falls short of

26   horizontal assimilation through their participants' very limited target-language repertoires (in

27   the cases of Dirim and Auer 2012; Magro 2016) or focus on only one type of target-language

28   feature (phonology in the case of Nortier and Dorleijn 2008). An exhaustive search of the

29   literature, in fact, points to only two studies that highlight one migrant group's more holistic

30   linguistic orientation to another locally prominent migrant group. Both cases tie this orientation

31   to the lingua franca of an employment context, highlighting the use of this language to facilitate

32   access to a specific sector of the market (Vigouroux 2013) and express solidarity with co-

33   workers at the workplace (Goldstein 1997). The current paper adds to this work by focusing on

34   Honduran and Ecuadorian employees' accommodation (convergence) to the language practices

35   of the Portuguese-centric cleaning company that employs them. At the same time, this paper

36   also builds on this strand by expanding the scope of analysis beyond the workplace. Inquiry into

37   the larger socio-ethnolinguistic setting in which the company is embedded underlines the pull

38   of the Newark-area, Portuguese-centric diaspora community in terms of ideology, identity, and

39   capital. This three-pronged focus accounts for participants' constructions of this other local

40   diaspora as a more appealing alternative to their own diaspora communities; moreover, it

41   guides their cultural and linguistic integration into this more desirable diaspora. These points of

42   inquiry guide the study's renewed look at diasporic belonging that is grounded neither in the

43   homeland nor the dominant culture of the receiving state but, rather, another prominent local

44   diaspora community.

45   1.1 The Setting: Portuguese-centricity embedded within an English-dominant region that also

46   contains significant Hispanophone populations

47   An understanding of diasporic belonging among the three Hispanophone employees profiled in

48   this paper draws on their positionality within different regional and local scales. Analysis begins

49   inside the Portuguese-centric cleaning company (henceforth referred to as Shine) that employs

50   one Honduran and three Ecuadorian workers as part of its Lusophone-dominant 18-member

51   staff. It serves communities of Northeastern New Jersey, where English functions as the

52   dominant language of the region and the households in which Shine employees work; this

53   dominance is reflected most importantly through its associations with the bureaucratic

54   mechanisms of the state – including visas, work permits, and citizenship – that bring stability to

55   the migrant experience (Pujolar 2015). In districts within this region, Spanish and Portuguese

56   also function as important local community languages.

57   The center of the local Portuguese diaspora and home to many of Shine's employees, including

58   three of Shine's four Hispanophone employees, is the Ironbound District of Newark, New

59   Jersey. With close to 33% of the district's population claiming Portuguese ancestry[1], the

60   Ironbound has strong ties to Portugal that can be traced back up to three generations (Dos

61   Santos 2014). Moreover, the large number of ethnically Portuguese local business owners have

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[1] Based on demographic data about residents of the 07105 zip code, which covers the Ironbound District by
http://zipatlas.com/us/nj/newark/zip-07105.htm#demographics (Accessed April 17th, 2019).

62   built up the Portuguese-centric semiotic and linguistic landscape that lends a distinctly

63   Portuguese flavor to the Ironbound District (Gonçalves 2012). The long-time presence of

64   Portuguese in this community has also recently attracted Brazilian migrants (Ramos-Zayas

65   2012), whose culinary contributions have begun to influence the culture of the Ironbound. In

66   addition to its Lusophone inhabitants, the Ironbound District also has a growing Hispanophone

67   population from Mexico, Puerto Rico, Cuba, and a number of countries of South and Central

68   America, including participants' native Ecuador and Honduras[2]. The high percentage of

69   Ironbound residents with limited English-language proficiency[3], coupled with the proximity of

70   Spanish and Portuguese-language varieties to one another, result in a minor role for English as

71   a means of communication and the emergence of linguistic hybridity to communicate with

72   speakers across the Portuguese-Spanish divide. In these ways, the district's orientation is firmly

73   grounded in Portuguese language and culture; however, its resident Brazilian and

74   Hispanophone Latino populations help to create a local culture that partially reflects its

75   diversity. In acknowledgement of these diverse influences, this paper will henceforth refer to

76   this population as the Newark-area, Portuguese-centric diaspora community.

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[2] Due to the unspecific nature of census data, it is not possible to identify some of the Hispanophone Ironbound residents' countries of origin with any degree of certainty. As they are grouped together in the same category of "Other Hispanic/Latino," this is the case for all non-Mexican, non-Cuban, and non-Puerto Rican residents who were born south of the U.S. border. This label is also problematic because it categorizes Lusophones from Brazil together with Hispanophones and speakers of other local languages from the rest of Latin America (excluding Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Cuban residents, for whom there are separate categories). According to the most recent census data, 35.24% of the population of the 07105 zip code in which the Ironbound is located identifies as "Hispanic", which is broken down as 1.5% Mexican, 6.84% Puerto Rican, 2.19% Cuban, and 24.71% "Other Hispanic of Latino". Presumably some Lusophone Brazilians and non-Spanish speaking residents from other Central and South American countries are also included in this category. (These statistics come from http://zipatlas.com/us/nj/newark/zip-07105.htm#demographics, accessed April 17th, 2019).

[3] According to census data, 43.3% of the district's population reports speaking English "not well" or "not at all." (http://www.city-data.com/neighborhood/North-Ironbound-Newark-NJ.html. Accessed on June 27th, 2016)

77   This diversity also reflects the demographics of areas within the larger city (Newark) and county

78   (Essex County) in which the Ironbound is located; a look at Lusophone and Hispanophone

79   populations according to these two scales shows a reversal of the Portuguese-dominant picture

80   described above. Within Newark, census figures indicate that over four times more native

81   Spanish-speaking residents (29.3% of the population) than native Portuguese-speaking

82   residents (7% of the population) live in the city.[4] Moving to the larger scale of Essex County, the

83   percentage of native Spanish-speaking residents (17.2%) and Portuguese-speaking residents

84   (2.73%)[5] represents a smaller portion of the overall population while the proportion of native

85   Spanish speakers accounts for over six times that of native Portuguese speakers. The resulting

86   Hispanophone market accounts for the emergence of the Spanish-language linguistic

87   landscape, which is far more visible than that of Portuguese outside of the Ironbound. In line

88   with research on language contact and power relations (Cf. Matras 2009; Matras and Sakel

89   2007,), the relative power of Portuguese, Spanish, and English in the larger community

90   manifests itself linguistically through the Ironbound's mixed variety of Portuguese, which

91   features some lexical borrowing from English and Spanish in addition to morphological

92   borrowing and semantic influence from Spanish.

93   The power structures from which this hybridity emerges also help to contextualize the choice of

94   Shine's four Hispanophone employees to work at a Portuguese-centric company rather than

95   one of the numerous options in the community that are English or Spanish-dominant. With its

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[4] According to data from http://zipatlas.com/us/nj/newark.htm#demographics (Accessed on April 18th, 2019).
[5] According to data about non-English speakers in Essex County https://datausa.io/profile/geo/essex-county-nj/#demographics (Accessed on April 19th, 2019).

96   review of diaspora as it relates to language and identity, the following section adds a

97   theoretical perspective to this context.

98

99   1.2 Diaspora, Language, and Belonging:

100   Many studies that address language and migration have often used the term diaspora to refer

101   to a range of different meanings, including as merely a synonym for migrant group

102   (Canagarajah and Silberstein 2012). This observation does not represent the entire picture,

103   however, and some notable exceptions – outlined in the coming paragraphs – engage directly

104   with the concept of diaspora as it relates to sociolinguistic positionality.

105   There is consensus in this body of work on the heterogeneous composition of diaspora groups

106   as well as the resulting challenges to identifying their unifying characteristics. In line with this

107   emphasis on heterogeneity, diverse language practices among diaspora group members reflect

108   a variety of identities. At the same time, use of the shared migrant community language has

109   indexical links to diasporic group belonging (Mills 2005). Marginalization represents an intrinsic

110   part of the diaspora experience (Gabriel 2011); nevertheless, migrants' capacity to participate

111   in the market on their own terms has increased in recent years (Sabaté i Dalmau 2013), and this

112   development has blurred the boundaries between the social categories of *migrant* vs. *local* in

113   terms of socio-economic integration (Vigouroux 2013: 243). The results have altered the "social

114   and economic affordances" that frame individuals' ethnolinguistic orientations (Miller 2016:

115   351) and help to account for diaspora members' increased agentive potential in recent

116   sociolinguistic analyses (Canagarajah and Silberstein 2012; Gabriel 2011; Li Wei and Zhu 2013).

117   Moreover, the diasporic positionality itself holds "creative potential" to allow individuals to

118   adapt and transform their identities to suit their new environments (Li Wei 2018:10, Li Wei and

119   Zhu 2013: 44). As concepts of diaspora tend to neglect this adaptability, there is a need to

120   conduct investigations into language and the diaspora that highlight this characteristic (Li Wei

121   and Zhu 2013). Given the heightened contact between diaspora groups within the same

122   community that is a feature of the current era (Deumert and Mabandla 2013), this flexibility is

123   increasingly negotiated between members of different diaspora groups; therefore, this

124   research should also consider relationships between the prominent diaspora groups of specific,

125   localized contexts. These aims guide the current paper, which uses data from interviews and

126   observations to explore, through a sociolinguistic perspective, the diasporic belonging of

127   Hispanophone Honduran and Ecuadorian employees of a Portuguese-centric multilingual

128   cleaning company (henceforth referred to as Shine[6]) who are also embedded within the

129   Newark-area, Portuguese-centric diaspora community outside of the workplace.

130   This paper begins by investigating language practice as a means through which to explore

131   participants' orientations toward Portuguese-centricity within the context of Shine.

132   Communication Accommodation Theory (Giles 1973; Giles 2016), which focuses on the

133   linguistic adjustments that accompany speakers' alignment with (convergence) or distancing

134   from (divergence) their interlocutors, represents the underlying theoretical framing of this

135   analysis. Following this analysis, the paper widens its focus to examine the larger-scale

136   structures and processes that contribute to the Hispanophone Latina participants' positionality

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[6] A pseudonym

137   within the Newark-area, Portuguese-centric diaspora community. As this type of positionality

138   overlaps with that of a language learner who seeks integration into a target cultural group, the

139   theoretical components of investment (Darvin and Norton 2015; Norton 2000) – ideology,

140   identity, and capital – inform this analysis. Finally, a comparative look at the heterogeneous

141   composition of the local Portuguese-centric diaspora community with respect to the findings

142   from the diaspora work cited above contributes to a novel re-examination of the notion of

143   diaspora as it relates to the community under investigation.

144

145   1.4 Research Questions:

146   The analysis that appears below weaves the above themes together with observation notes and

147   the voices of Ecuadorian and Honduran employees, a Portuguese co-worker, and their Brazilian

148   employer to address the following questions:

149   How does the Hispanophone participants' orientation to Portuguese centricity manifest itself

150   sociolinguistically?

151   How does the example of Hispanophone employees' orientation to the Newark area,

152   Portuguese-centric diaspora inform a reconceptualization of the notion of diaspora in terms of

153   increased heterogeneity?

154

155   2 Methods, the Cleaning Company, and a brief cross-language comparison

156

157   2.1. Methods

158   The current paper draws on interviews from a larger study, conducted together with

159   collaborator X[7], which was guided by an ethnographic approach (Heller 2008) and included

160   three sources of data: document analysis, observations, and interviews. The language of the

161   interviews varied according to the interviewees' preferences and, thus, contributed to a

162   multilingual (Spanish, English, and Portuguese) corpus of approximately 300,000 words. A total

163   of forty-one participants took part in the study, including Shine's owner (Magda[8]), her

164   employees [N=17], the staff's English-speaking acquaintances who serve as language brokers

165   [N=4], and some of its customers [N=19]. Interviews with the employees and language brokers

166   took place at the company's headquarters; interviews with the customers took place at their

167   houses. Spending considerable time at company headquarters and the customers' houses

168   during these interviews provided opportunities for rich, first-hand observations of these

169   environments. More detailed information about these methods, including the researchers'

170   positionality with respect to the company and its employees, can be found in authors (2017).

171   The data presented here provide detailed analysis of four employee interviews (each of which

172   lasted between fifteen and thirty-one minutes). These data are supplemented by observation

173   data from the Ironbound as well as content from interviews with Magda (Shine's owner) and

174   Shine's customers. Moreover, interpretations of these data are also informed by knowledge of

175   the content in the rest of the interviews, which have been triangulated against observations

176   and document analysis carried out in collaboration with collaborator X.

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[7] The name of the collaborator will be provided during final revisions to help maintain the double-blind nature of this review process.
[8] This name, in addition to the names of Shine employees mentioned in this paper, is a pseudonym.

177   The interviews highlighted in this paper address the following underlying topics that appear in

178   the data analysis:

179   1.) The means through which Hispanophone and Lusophone employees of Shine

180   communicate with one another (from both Lusophone and Hispanophone perspectives),

181   2.) Hispanophone employees' strategies for accommodation to Lusophone co-workers with

182   limited Spanish language proficiency,

183   3.) Hispanophone employees' investment in Portuguese as an intertwined aspect of capital,

184   identity, and ideology (Darvin and Norton 2015)

185   4.) The ideologies that guide Hispanophone employees' orientation to the Newark-area,

186   Portuguese-centric diaspora community and, simultaneously, turn them away from their

187   own diaspora.

188   The data collected through these interviews underwent both content analysis to identify

189   emergent themes and discourse analysis to highlight Hispanophones' linguistic strategies for

190   communicating with Portuguese speakers. Through this focus and approach, the analyzed data

191   highlight connections between language choice, accommodation, capital, investment (Darvin

192   and Norton 2015), and diasporic belonging.

193   2.2 Shine and its employees

194   Shine was established in 1988 by a female Brazilian migrant named Magda who had a

195   background in bank branch management as well as strong network ties to the local Portuguese

196   community. Magda has served as the sole owner and chief operator of the business since its

197   founding although two of her employees – both of whom are Portuguese – assist her with the

198   administrative load by serving as assistant managers in addition to their house-cleaning duties.

199   Shine serves 250 households and employs 18 full-time cleaners and one American driver.

200   Shine's clientele is predominantly white, middle-upper class, Anglophone, and monolingual. In

201   contrast, Shine's employees who work as housecleaners are Portuguese and Spanish-language

202   dominant, which is reflected by their countries of origin: Portugal (N=10), Brazil (N=4), Ecuador

203   (N=3), and Honduras (N=1). Although many of the employees have lived in the U.S. for

204   considerable periods of time (ranging from 1-35 years), a large percentage of them consider

205   their English language proficiency to be quite limited. Company-internal communication

206   strongly orients toward a Lusophone center, which is a product of Magda's conscious

207   management decisions when setting up the company (outlined in authors 2017). Magda

208   specifically sought out married Portuguese woman in the local community whom – through her

209   stereotypes of Portuguese women as hard-working, intolerant of disarray in their own homes,

210   and compliant to their husbands' traditional expectations for their wives – she perceived as

211   embodiments of ideal cleaning company employees. Such decisions have led to the hiring of a

212   majority Portuguese staff and have fostered a company culture that, similar to the make-up of

213   the Ironbound District of Newark in which most of the employees reside, has a deeply

214   Portuguese core that is influenced by aspects of Brazilian language and culture in addition to

215   offering a space for Hispanophone Latinos. Magda, who is highly proficient in English, Spanish,

216   and Portuguese, facilitates communication between customers and employees as Shine's chief

217   language broker. (See Authors 2017 for a thorough account of Magda's language brokering

218   activities at Shine and its influence on power dynamics.) As a result, English is not a

219   requirement at the workplace, and Shine's staff demonstrate a wide spectrum of English-

220   language abilities.

221   The Portuguese employees represent the majority at Shine; moreover, they are more likely

222   than their Brazilian, Honduran, and Ecuadorian co-workers to have legal working status and,

223   thus, greater stability. Because of this stability and their personification of Shine's Portuguese

224   values that inspired Magda to create Shine (mentioned above), a core of the Portuguese staff

225   consists of both the original and longest serving employees[9]. It is no surprise, therefore, that

226   the average age of the Portuguese employees (47.5 years) is higher than that of the rest of

227   Shine's staff (35.75 years). This difference becomes more pronounced when comparing

228   Portuguese employees to Shine's four Hispanophone employees, whose average age is 27.75

229   years. Such differences in age and experience influence the nature of relationships between co-

230   workers as will be discussed below with respect to the specific participants whose interview

231   data feature in this paper.

232   Excerpts from interviews with four participants – one Portuguese (Dona Aura), one Honduran

233   (Anita), and two Ecuadorian (Lila and Nina) employees – represent the focus of analysis. Dona

234   Aura, an approximately fifty-five year-old Portuguese employee of Shine for nine years who has

235   resided in the United States for thirteen years, is an established figure at Shine. Although she

236   started working at Shine after its founding, she blends in with the founding core group through

237   her age, Portuguese origins, and years of experience. Her co-workers' use of the address term

238   'dona' (misses) in front of her first name demonstrates her relatively senior status within the

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[9] A fuller picture of Magda, her employees, and Shine's Portuguese-centric language policy appear in authors 2017.

239   company. The three Hispanophone employees profiled have a relatively junior status within the

240   company. Anita is a twenty-five year-old employee from Honduras who has been in the United

241   States for six years and has been working at Shine for approximately four of these years. Lila, a

242   twenty-six year-old employee from Ecuador who has been living in the U.S. for five years and

243   working at Shine for approximately three, sends part of her salary as monthly remittances to

244   support her young daughter, who resides in Ecuador. Like Lila, Nina is an Ecuadorian Shine

245   employee of three years who has spent five years in the U.S. She is twenty-eight years old.

246   Table 1 (below) provides a summary of this information for each participant featured in the

247   analysis.

248   Table 1: Descriptive data about the four participants in this paper:

Name:	Age:	Country of Origin:	Time in the U.S.:	Time at Shine:
Dona Aura	Approx. 55	Portugal	13 years	9 years
Anita	25	Honduras	6 years	4 years
Lila	26	Ecuador	5 years	3 years
Nina	28	Ecuador	5 years	3 years

249   [Place table 1 here.]

250

251   2.3 A brief comparison of Portuguese and Spanish phonology

252   Language contact takes different forms according to the different languages concerned. In the

253   case of Spanish and Portuguese, which share a number of syntactic and lexical features, some

254   degree of mutual intelligibility between many varieties allows Spanish and Portuguese speakers

255   to communicate with one another – in limited contexts – through dual-linguality, the

256 simultaneous use of two different languages (Piller 2002; Vitale 2011). In an effort to promote

257 an understanding of these limits and the resulting mechanisms of accommodation that allow

258 for communication between Shine's Hispanophone and Lusophone employees, a brief

259 comparison between standard Spanish and Portuguese phonological systems is in order. As the

260 participants profiled here did not tend to speak standard varieties of their mother tongue, this

261 information serves as a rough guide to understanding the differences that potentially impede

262 mutual intelligibility in spoken contexts.

263 As Spanish is a syllable-timed language, vowel lengthening and reduction processes are far less

264 prominent than in Portuguese, a stress-timed language. For this reason, the vowels of Spanish

265 words are apparent to Portuguese speakers, but the (reduced) vowels that occur in unstressed

266 syllables of Portuguese words may be far less apparent to Spanish speakers who have no

267 experience with Portuguese. European – in contrast to Brazilian – Portuguese varieties pose a

268 greater challenge for Spanish speakers' comprehension because of their tendency for more

269 extreme vowel reduction; the resulting syllables, which lack some clearly identifiable vowels,

270 can mislead Spanish speakers to perceive consonant clusters that are not actually present. As

271 the two languages contain numerous cognates, the written versions of the languages are

272 largely comprehensible to readers of both languages with the exception of some differing

273 lexical items. The spoken versions of these languages, however, bring out these phonological

274 differences and contribute to unidirectional intelligibility to the untrained ear: Portuguese

275 speakers with limited prior exposure to Spanish can often understand a large percentage of

276 spoken Spanish, which features the vowels that their two written languages share. Spanish

277 speakers with limited prior exposure to Portuguese, however, often struggle to understand

278   much spoken Portuguese. These considerations help to inform the following discussion about

279   the Hispanophone employees' strategies to adapt to Shine's Portuguese-centric language

280   policy.

281

282   3 Results and Discussion

283   3.1 Fitting into Shine Linguistically

284   The following section draws on data from interviews with Dona Aura, Lila, and Anita to detail

285   the mechanisms through which Lusophone and Hispanophone employees develop effective

286   communication. These findings highlight the two Hispanophones' strategies for increasing their

287   intelligibility as a means of accommodating their Portuguese co-workers. By focusing on the

288   direction of accommodation in this context, this line of inquiry exposes the existing power

289   asymmetries that ground the Hispanophone participants' orientation to Portuguese within

290   Shine-related domains.

291   Interviews with Magda and her staff show a range of strategies for communication between

292   Hispanophone and Lusophone employees, depending on the overlap of linguistic resources

293   available to the specific pairing of interlocutors. Nevertheless, as reported in authors (2017),

294   many of Shine's Lusophone employees share the opinion that Spanish and Portuguese

295   speakers, despite some of their multilingual repertoires, communicate primarily through *dual-*

296   *linguality*, defined in section 2.3 as the simultaneous use of individuals' different L1s as a result

297   of mutual intelligibility (Piller 2002; Vitale 2011). Given the potential for one-sided

298   communication challenges (highlighted in the phonological differences discussed in the

299   previous section), this topic represented one of the foci of the interview questions and

300   sensitized us to potentially divergent Hispanophone and Lusophone perspectives about Shine's

301   internal language(s) of communication.

302   Dona Aura provides an established Lusophone employee's perspective on achieving mutual

303   intelligibility with her Hispanophone co-workers (excerpt 1 below). Each employee differs

304   according to her individual linguistic repertoire; Dona Aura is a noteworthy case because,

305   despite her thirteen-year residence in the U.S., she remains largely reliant on Magda to manage

306   her English-language communication with customers and, further, has acquired a very limited

307   Spanish-language lexicon. The excerpt begins with her describing the details of communication

308   between Shine's Lusophone and Hispanophone employees.

309   Excerpt 1*

310   Dona Aura: 1. O espanhol entendo bem (Spanish, I understand well)
311   Author 1:   2. Entende bem? (You understand well?)
312   Dona Aura: 3. É, perfeito (Yes, perfectly)
313   Author 1:   4. Você muda- muda alguma coisa [para melhorar a comunicação?]
314   (Do you change- change anything [to improve communication])?
315   Dona Aura: 5. Um **poquito****, é (A little, yeah)
316   Author 1:   6. Como que você muda? (How do you change?)
317   Dona Aura: 7. As vezes a gente fala, erm, elas também entendem o nosso português (.)
318   (Sometimes we say, erm, they also understand our Portuguese.)
319   8. Elas entendem bem o nosso português e nós entendemos muito bem o
320   9. espanhol delas. (They understand our Portuguese well, and we understand
321   their Spanish very well.)
322   10. é um espanhol muito fácil de aprender (It's a Spanish that's very easy to
323   learn)
324   Collaborator: 11. Mas por exemplo, você pode dar um exemplo, que você talvez muda...uma
325   12. palavra? (But for example, can you give an example of something that you
326   maybe change...a word?)
327   Collaborator: 13. Ou você usa mais o espanhol ou cê sempre fala o português?
328   (Or do you use more Spanish or do you always speak in Portuguese?)
329   Dona Aura: 14. Não, eu sempre falo o português (No, I always speak in Portuguese)
330   Collaborator: 15. Então nem uma palavra que fala. (So not even a word that you say...)

331   Dona Aura: 16. Não porque elas entendam o que eu digo pra elas e eu entendo o que elas
332   17. dizem pra mim (No because they understand what I say to them, and I
333   understand what they say to me)
334   Collaborator: 18. elas mudam uma coisa (Do they change anything?)
335   Dona Aura: 19. Sim…Eu não necessito de mudar, porque elas entendem e eu entendo.
336   (Yes…I don't need to change because they understand and I understand.)
337   *Original in Portuguese
338   **The Spanish-language diminutive (–ito) appears here instead of its Portuguese equivalent
339   (-inho)

340   Dona Aura does not regard understanding Spanish as problematic. In fact, she claims to

341   understand Spanish perfectly (line 3). Regarding conversations with her Hispanophone co-

342   workers, she initially claims to modify the way she speaks (line 5), but she later confesses to

343   speaking in Portuguese because her Hispanophone co-workers understand Portuguese and the

344   Lusophone employees understand Spanish (lines 8-9). In line with employees' characterizations

345   of Lusophone-Hispanophone communication practices highlighted in authors (2017), therefore,

346   Dona Aura points to the practice of easy dual-linguality to satisfy all employees' communicative

347   needs. As Dona Aura continues, an analysis of her transcript brings the tools of accommodation

348   into focus. In terms of her accommodation to Spanish-language norms, it is tempting to point to

349   her use of the Spanish-language diminutive –ito (instead of its Portuguese equivalent -inho) on

350   the word pouco (little) (line 5) as evidence; however, a familiarity with the local variety of

351   Portuguese informs us that use of this form is merely in line with common practice among

352   Newark area Lusophone residents.

353   In terms of Hispanophone employees' accommodation in the direction of Portuguese-language

354   norms, Dona Aura makes some statements that, when looked at more closely, begin to suggest

355   this type of accommodation work. With her reference to 'a Spanish that is easy to learn' (line

356   10), for example, she points to a special variety of Spanish that has been modified to facilitate

357   Portuguese-speakers' understanding. Dona Aura communicates with her co-workers in

358   Portuguese only (line 14) without making any such modifications to enhance its

359   comprehensibility. Eventually, she confirms that if a co-worker has to undertake any

360   accommodation work, it is the Spanish speaker who does so (line 19).

361   Such a nod to Hispanophone employees' accommodation efforts, together with the knowledge

362   of Spanish speakers' potential comprehension challenges in this context, motivated a more

363   comprehensive look into the communication between Hispanophone and Lusophone

364   employees. For this information, Hispanophone employees' perspectives gain prominence. In

365   our interviews with them, in fact, all four of them indicated some degree of convergence to

366   Shine's Portuguese-dominant center. While their comments should be interpreted with the

367   caveat that they do not incorporate a situationally-constructed view of communication, they,

368   nevertheless, are worthy of our attention as they provide a picture of Lusophone-

369   Hispanophone communication at Shine that is more complex than easy dual-linguality.

370   Anita provides insight into a Hispanophone Honduran perspective on communication between

371   co-workers at Shine. By describing returning home to her Hispanophone husband and

372   mistakenly speaking Portuguese to him after a day at work, she captures the influence of

373   Portuguese on the language practices of Shine's Hispanophone employees. Her example of

374   Portuguese language use (in excerpt 2 below) suggests that she does not simply speak Spanish

375   to her Lusophone co-workers (as the notion of dual-linguality suggests).

376   Excerpt 2*

377   Anita: 1. As veces estoy hablando en mi casa… y en vez de decir lunes digo segunda.
378   (Sometimes when I am speaking at home and instead of saying 'lunes' [Monday in
379   Spanish], I say 'segunda' [Monday in Portuguese]).
380   2.Me confundo porque ya es como paso todo el día con ellas

381   (I get confused because it's like I spend the whole day with them)
382   3. trato con ellas entonces, ya el hablado ya se me va quedando a mi también.
383   (I work together with them so the way of speaking ends rubbing off on me too.)
384   *Original in Spanish
385
386   Anita reports using the Portuguese word 'segunda' to refer to Monday instead of its Spanish

387   equivalent 'lunes' when addressing her Hispanophone husband in the Spanish-language domain

388   of their home (line 1). This "confusion" (line 2) occurs as a result of the extensive time she

389   spends working together with her Lusophone co-workers; furthermore, it suggests, at the very

390   least, a Spanish speaker's active incorporation of Portuguese lexical items to facilitate

391   communication with her Lusophone co-workers. In contrast to Dona Aura's description of the

392   communicative practices between Hispanophone and Lusophone employees, Anita's comments

393   provide an example of a speaker of Shine's minority language whose linguistic efforts to

394   overcome language differences exceed those required for dual-linguality.

395   Dual-linguality – as described by Piller (2002) and put into practice by Dona Aura – envisions the

396   two languages as equal; however, Anita's comments suggest a higher positioning of Portuguese

397   over Spanish during these interactions. This positioning becomes more pronounced with a look

398   at another Hispanophone employee's descriptions of her communication with Lusophone co-

399   workers who, like Dona Aura, have developed minimal skills to communicate with non-

400   Portuguese speakers. The following excerpt (3) comes from an interview with Lila, who borrows

401   lexical items from Portuguese to facilitate effective communication with her Lusophone co-

402   workers.

403   Excerpt 3*
404   Author: 1. Hablas en una manera diferente para dejarlas [las portugesas e brasileñas de
405   2. Shine] entenderte?

406		(Do you speak differently in order to allow them [the Portuguese and Brazilian
407		employees at Shine] to understand you?)
408	Lila:	3. Sí (yes)
409	Author:	4. Como? ¿Puedes explicar un poquito? (How? Can you explain a bit?)
410	Lila:	5. Es como por ejemplo a veces ellas no entienden en español hablo en
411		6. portugués…
412		(It's like for example sometimes they don't understand in Spanish so I speak
413		Portuguese.)
414	Collaborator:	7. **Então você fala português**?* (So you speak Portuguese?)
415	Lila:	8. Algunas palabras. Sí (Some words, yes)
416	Collaborator:	9. Algunas palabras **mas não tudo**? (some words but not everything?)
417	Lila:	10. **Não tudo** (not everything)
418	Collaborator:	11. **tá bem** (OK)
419	Lila:	12. **Mas** trato, cuando estoy con mi **namorado** trato de hablar portugués,
420		(But I try, when I'm with my boyfriend, I try to speak Portuguese)
421		13. El es-él es portugués entonces hablamos en casa.
422		(He is-he is Portuguese so we speak Portuguese at home.)
423		* Original in Spanish and Portuguese (Words that appear in bold are in Portuguese)

424 In excerpt 3 (above), Lila states that she changes the way she speaks when communicating with

425 her Portuguese-speaking co-workers (lines 1-3). If they do not understand her Spanish, she

426 inserts Portuguese words (lines 5-6), albeit with a limited Portuguese-language lexicon (lines 8-

427 10) that she has consciously developed through conversations with her Portuguese boyfriend

428 (lines 12-13). Together, the content of Anita's and Lila's comments show the important role

429 that accommodation (convergence) can play in many of the Hispanophone-Lusophone

430 interactions at Shine.

431 A closer analysis of excerpt 3 (above) provides further insight into the means through which Lila

432 achieves this accommodation. As one of the interviewers is a Portuguese speaker with limited

433 Spanish-language proficiency, Lila's interview transcript provides direct linguistic evidence of

434 her approach to communicating with Portuguese speakers. It features both accurate responses

435   to Portuguese-language interview questions (lines 7 and 9) and production of some Portuguese

436   by repeating a Portuguese phrase and producing some novel Portuguese words (lines 12).

437   In an effort to achieve intelligibility with a Portuguese speaker, Lila chooses Spanish forms that

438   are similar to their Portuguese equivalents, and she borrows words from Portuguese to

439   substitute for words that are dissimilar. For example, "algunas palabras [some words]" (line 10)

440   in Spanish closely resembles "algumas palavras" in Portuguese. In the same way, the Spanish-

441   language phrase, "quando estoy con mi namorado [when I am with my boyfriend (Portuguese-

442   language word for boyfriend)]" is very close to its Portuguese translation, "quando estou com

443   meu namorado", with the exception of the word for boyfriend, *namorado*. The borrowed

444   Portuguese word in this utterance, *namorado*, is the second part of her communication

445   strategy in which she substitutes it for the Spanish lexical item, *novio*, because it is quite

446   different from its Portuguese equivalent and can potentially lead to misunderstanding. Such a

447   finding is in step with Anita's comments about using the Portuguese word, *segunda* (Monday),

448   with her Hispanophone husband. As the Spanish word *lunes* (Monday) differs considerably from

449   its Portuguese equivalent, *segunda*, its incorporation into conversations with Lusophone co-

450   workers is most likely to contribute to communication breakdown. For this reason, the word,

451   *segunda*, has become particularly salient to Anita, and she continues to use it even when she

452   switches to Spanish-dominant domains.

453   These interpretations from the transcript are supported by comments made by a second

454   Hispanophone employee from Ecuador, Nina, who specifically mentions in her interview that

455   "cosas que ellas [las hablantes de portugues] no entienden en español nosotros le decimos en

456   portugués" (Things that they [the Portuguese speakers] do not understand in Spanish, we say it

457   in Portuguese.) She continues by clarifying that "en el trato son mitad portugués e mitad

458   español palabras" (In practice, they are half Spanish and half Portuguese words.) Based on the

459   transcript analysis in the preceding paragraph and Nina's description of her communication

460   with her Portuguese-speaking co-workers here, a clearer picture of a communicative strategy

461   emerges: when needed, Shine's Hispanophone employees can use a hybrid variety that

462   incorporates key Portuguese lexical items while drawing on the Spanish-language phrasings

463   that resemble Portuguese.

464   This strategic mixing suggests an ability to contrastively analyze the two languages, identify

465   potential cross-linguistic challenges, and modify utterances to avoid some of these challenges.

466   This strategy reflects Hispanophone employees' cross-language metalinguistic knowledge,

467   which does not emerge in analysis of interviews with Lusophone co-workers like Dona Aura.

468   This orientation to Portuguese suggests the inherent inequality of the two languages at Shine:

469   while Portuguese speakers like Dona Aura may do little to accommodate to their Hispanophone

470   co-workers, Hispanophone employees do not have this luxury.

471   Lila's, Nina's and Anita's efforts to accommodate the linguistic other on the one hand and Dona

472   Aura's lack of accommodation on the other hand shed some light on language and power

473   relations at Shine. As Dona Aura is a core member of the Shine community of practice (Lave and

474   Wenger 1991; Wenger 1998) whose language background is in step with Shine's majority

475   language, she possesses the linguistic capital that allows her to function exclusively in it. Her

476   inability to identify Spanish speakers' efforts to accommodate to her suggests the normativity

477   of European Portuguese (for Dona Aura) by accentuating Hispanophone employees'

478   shortcomings relative to these norms rather than recognizing their distance from Spanish-

479   language norms. This erasure of accommodation strategies from the dominant language

480   perspective (like that of Dona Aura) demonstrates her relatively core position.

481   Moreover, these interlocutors' unequal attempts at convergence parallel findings about

482   accommodation and inequality, which show that speakers of languages with less symbolic

483   power are more likely to undertake the work of accommodation in the direction of speakers of

484   the language with greater symbolic power (Bourhis 1991, Stell and Dragojevic 2017).

485   Asymmetric attempts at convergence, thus, suggest underlying asymmetric power relations,

486   and, through them, Lila's, Nina's, and Anita's orientation to Shine's Portuguese-language

487   centricity. Power structures within communities of practice tend to reproduce those that exist

488   within their larger scale settings (Contu and Willmott 2003). This is also the case for the

489   convergence practices at Shine, which are largely in line with those of the Newark-area,

490   Portuguese-centric diaspora community. As common ideologies connect these two scales, the

491   following section begins by addressing the ideologies that inform the positionality of the

492   Hispanophone employees discussed here.

493

494   3.2 Orientations to Portuguese centricity beyond the Shine community of practice: A focus on

495   ideology and identity

496   Section 3.1 highlights the language practices and power dynamics that reflect Lila's and Anita's

497   positionalities with respect to Shine's Lusophone speakers. As positionality is grounded in

498   larger-scale ideologies that inform identity (Darvin and Norton 2015), the discussion now turns

499   to the ideologies that come out of Shine's embeddedness within the Newark-area Portuguese-

500   centric community. The extent to which membership in a new diaspora group suits these

501   ideologies represents the second topic addressed here: identity.

502   Excerpt 4 (below) highlights the ideologies of Nina, one of Shine's Ecuadorian employees, about

503   other Ecuadorian immigrants. She distinguishes this group from her Lusophone co-workers and

504   friends, whom she views quite differently. Analysis of this excerpt helps to contextualize Nina's

505   decision to work at Shine instead of one of the many Hispanophone Latino-managed cleaning

506   companies in the area. In this way, it is possible to trace Nina's comments to ideologies beyond

507   the Shine community of practice.

508   Excerpt 4*

509   Nina: 1. Tengo muchos amigos ecuatorianos, pero es es como qué si tú tienes más ellos
510   2. quieren tener y es como que te miran de lado…
511   (I have a lot of Ecuadoran friends but it's it's like if you have more they want to
512   have it and it's like they are sizing you up…)
513   3. me gusta el trato de los portugueses e de los brasileiros. Tengo amistades brasileiras
514   4. que frecuento mucho.
515   (I like the way the Portuguese and the Brazilians treat people. I have Brazilian
516   friends who I see a lot.)
517   5. es… soy así prefiero mi vida mi mundo aparte de la gente que me conoce.
518   (It's…I am like that I prefer my life my world separate from the people who know
519   me.)
520
521   *Original in Spanish
522
523   In excerpt 4 (above), Nina describes her fellow Ecuadorians as jealous (lines 1-2) and insincere.

524   She contrasts her negative evaluation of Ecuadorians with her Portuguese and Brazilian

525   acquaintances, whose approach to relationships she characterizes in positive terms (line 3).

526   While Nina has a lot of Ecuadorian friends (line 1), she chooses to spend her time primarily with

527 her Lusophone friends (lines 3-4). In fact, she consciously distances herself from her own

528 migrant community and expresses a desire to build a separate life from them (line 5).

529 Nina's comments provide insight into her negative ideologies toward Ecuadorians and positive

530 ideologies toward Lusophones, which, together, inform her separation from the local

531 Ecuadorian diaspora community and integration into the Newark-area, Portuguese-centric

532 diaspora community. Moreover, these ideologies directly reflect those of Lila, who, in her

533 interview, juxtaposes the "self-centered" and unhelpful character of Hispanophone Latinos with

534 her "more sociable" and helpful Portuguese acquaintances (see Authors 2017 for the more

535 complete excerpt). In fact, similar connections also emerged during analysis of the data from

536 the other two Hispanophone employees. Due to space limitations, this analysis can only be

537 mentioned here briefly; however, it is clear that all four share an orientation to the Ironbound's

538 Portuguese-centric community beyond the domains of Shine. Demographic data collected

539 during the interviews, for example, point to all four of these employees' residence in

540 Portuguese-dominant districts in either Newark or Elizabeth, New Jersey; moreover, each of

541 them describes their neighborhoods as preferable alternatives to residence in Spanish or

542 English-dominant districts. The development of strategies that contribute to successful daily

543 communication within these Portuguese-dominant districts represents an outcome of these

544 residential choices.

545 Analysis of these ideologies acknowledges their rootedness in the power structures that inform

546 hegemonic forces (DeCosta 2010). While the negative ideologies toward Ecuadorians and other

547 Hispanophone Latinos highlighted above quite possibly reflect discrimination of these groups

548   within larger power structures, investigation into this topic is beyond the scope of the current

549   discussion. Of primary focus here are the positive ideologies toward the Newark-area,

550   Portuguese-centric diaspora community and the social structures from which they stem.

551   Embedded within these structures, these participants' positive ideologies guide them to

552   construct professional and social lives that strengthen their Lusophone network ties while

553   weakening those with members of their own diaspora communities. In this way, the data

554   presented here provide evidence of an alternative diaspora group that generates positive

555   ideologies that have typically been reserved for the dominant culture.

556   Ideologies such as these are considered a defining feature of ethnolinguistic identity

557   construction (Darvin and Norton 2015: 43), the topic to which the current discussion now turns.

558   For the purposes of providing a more detailed example of this process, the case of Nina

559   receives primary focus here.

560   Further data from Nina's interview transcript, together with comments from Magda's

561   interview, suggest that Portuguese and the local Portuguese-centric culture feature

562   prominently in Nina's social life. In addition to developing her Portuguese-language

563   competence through her interactions with her Brazilian friends, her relationship with Magda –

564   which stretches into non-work-related domains and includes social visits to Magda's sister's

565   house – also provides ample opportunities. Under the tutelage of Magda and her sister, too,

566   she has recently mastered a Brazilian culinary staple that has become a favorite of the Newark-

567   area, Portuguese-centric diaspora community, cheese bread, which she now prepares regularly

568   for her own family. Participation in such activities highlights Nina's affective attachment

569   (Authors 2020) to her Lusophone network, and she "thanks God for bringing Magda into her

570   life." In these ways, Nina's language and cultural acquisition efforts allow for "the construction

571   of the identities [she] desire[s] and the communities [she] wants to join in order to engage in

572   communication and social life" (Canagarajah 2004: 117).

573   In step with her positive ideologies toward the local Portuguese-centric diaspora community,

574   her active Brazilian social network, and her attempts at acquiring cultural knowledge, Nina's

575   employment at Shine reflects a larger effort to become a member of a community that she

576   views more favorably than her own. Nina adopts qualities that allow her to move closer to her

577   *imagined identity* (Norton 2013) as a member of a community of people who, in contrast to her

578   descriptions of fellow Ecuadorians, she believes approach each other with sincerity. In Darvin

579   and Norton's (2015) words, "Whether it is because learners want to be part of a country or a

580   peer group, to seek romance, or to achieve financial security, learners invest because there is

581   something they want for themselves" (p. 46). In this case, the greater *financial stability* that

582   comes out of Nina's close relationship with her employer and the enhanced access to desirable

583   *peer groups* like that of her Brazilian friends and Magda's family represent the benefits that

584   come with her investment in Portuguese language and culture. Nina, thus, invests (Norton

585   2000; Darvin and Norton 2015) in these aspects because she perceives members of this group

586   to be better aligned with her own identity. Although this investment does not extend to Nina's

587   choice of romantic partner, Lila's comments from excerpt 3 provide an example in which

588   investment in Portuguese language and culture also fulfills the romantic aspirations described

589   above. Employment at Shine, with its Portuguese-centric orientation, thus, represents only one

590   part of a more general positionality that ties together participants' identity and ideologies. The

591   perceived benefits of this positionality, as the following section outlines, are rooted in the

592   growing prominence of the Portuguese-centric diaspora within the local community that comes

593   out of increased ownership of capital (Darvin and Norton 2015). As a result, this diaspora can

594   function as a viable alternative to the dominant Anglophone culture for those who, like the

595   participants highlighted here, have the linguistic and cultural knowledge to access it.

596

597   3.3 Capital, Neoliberalism and the local Portuguese-centric diaspora community

598   Long considered a strong motivator for potential language learners (Magro 2016), the capital

599   associated with the language of powerful groups and entities helps to shape diasporic

600   trajectories (Deumert and Mablanda 2013). Through individual migrants' increased tendency to

601   "follow the money" in place of establishing "close-knit, distinct" ethnically homogenous

602   diaspora communities (Deumert and Mablanda 2013: 47), a direct link emerges between the

603   shifting nature of diasporic positionality and capital. Moreover, the changes to labor and capital

604   distribution under neoliberalism (Boas and Gans-Morse 2009) – including the growing

605   prominence of trans-national entities and commodification within political, social, and

606   economic realms (Heller 2011; Springer, Birch, and MacLeavy 2016) – indicate a simultaneous

607   shift in capital flows that can directly influence the status of diaspora groups. Such dynamics

608   have created settings that diminish traditional attachments to the language(s) of the dominant

609   community (Sabaté i Dalmau 2013) and counteract the devaluation of migrant languages

610   (conceptualized by Martín Rojo 2013 and Moyer 2018 as *decapitalization*). Indeed, given the

611   underlying influence of capital on the systemic patterns of control that generate ideologies,

612 which, in turn, inform positionality (Darvin and Norton 2015), a direct link emerges between

613 capital and the diasporic positionalities of the Hispanophone participants in the current study.

614 Bourdieu's (1986) three primary forms of capital – economic, social, and cultural – provide the

615 theoretical foundation for the following analysis of capital as it relates to the Newark-area,

616 Portuguese-centric diaspora community. Through discussion, it becomes possible to capture

617 the pull of this diasporic community for this study's Hispanophone Latina participants with

618 respect to capital.

619 3.3.1 Cultural capital

620 As mentioned in section 1.1, much of the Ironbound District's semiotic landscape indexes

621 Portuguese culture (Gonçalves 2012). In addition, Portuguese business owners' common

622 practice of using Portuguese cultural symbols to sell their products creates a marketplace in

623 which the cultural capital of Portuguese often co-exists with its economic capital. Some of

624 these, such as prominent displays of the Portuguese national colors, are apparent to both

625 members of the in-group and out-group; moreover, they bring profits from both of these types

626 of members. In their interviews for this project, clients of Shine who lack ties to the Ironbound

627 or its diaspora community characterize the Ironbound as a place that celebrates its Portuguese

628 identity and is, thus, distinct from the rest of Newark, which they associate with a higher crime

629 rate. The cultural capital that is tied to this Portuguese character comes into focus with these

630 participants' primary reasons for visiting the Ironbound, which include eating at its Portuguese

631 restaurants and buying Portuguese tiles. For in-group members, more subtle symbols help to

632 tap into nostalgic attachments to the home country. These symbols, together with the use of

633 Portuguese (linguistic capital) to serve customers, heighten the appeal of the given business

634 and contribute to a loyal customer base. Magda, too, has created a business that builds on her

635 own positive stereotypes about Portuguese women (Authors 2017). These stereotypes shape

636 her brand's image which she successfully markets to her clients. In this way, she has

637 commodified (Cameron 2000; Cavanaugh and Shankar 2014; Heller 2011) Shine's Portuguese

638 identity to create her own niche market.

639 3.3.2 Social capital

640 Capital is embedded in networks (Sommer and Gamper 2018; Uzzi 1997; Wilson 1998), and the

641 use of these networks to recruit new employees demonstrates one salient means through

642 which this capital can be identified. With respect to her recruitment method, Magda explains:

643 "Always they [her cleaning staff] are [her] source." Here, she refers to her practice of

644 announcing job vacancies to her employees and tapping into their networks to identify eligible

645 candidates. Although she placed ads in newspapers in previous years, she has since made a

646 conscious decision to disseminate news of vacancies at Shine exclusively through word-of-

647 mouth to avoid the challenges of sorting through over one hundred responses to these

648 newspaper ads. This recruitment practice, thus, highlights the social capital of network

649 membership. The reliance on acquaintances for news of employment opportunities underlines

650 a direct connection between membership in the Newark-area Portuguese-centric network and

651 the heightened prospects of earning a steady income. Employee recruitment through a local

652 migrant network reflects common practice among migrant entrepreneurs (Kloosterman and

653 Rath 2001) and underlines the importance of such a positionality for migrants – relative to their

654 non-migrant counterparts – who seek employment (Gamper 2015). Within the setting of the

655 current study, the social capital generated and converted through the ability to fit into a

656 predominantly Portuguese-language network helps to demonstrate a way in which capital is

657 intertwined with local and transnational networks (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992) that are

658 detached from the dominant culture and the language(s) associated with it.

659 3.3.3 Economic capital:

660 As the majority of businesses in the Ironbound District of Newark are owned by members of the

661 local Portuguese diaspora and Portuguese is widely spoken within these spaces (Gonçalves

662 2012), the economic capital of this community and its ties to Portuguese are on constant

663 display in this section of the city. A business like Magda's, which operates an employee service

664 van that runs between the Ironbound, company headquarters, and the houses it cleans, is

665 deeply rooted in this Portuguese-centric community. Moreover, Magda's role as a language

666 broker between customers and employees, coupled with her disdain for Anglophone workers

667 who she believes "don't want to work" (authors 2017), creates a space in which Lusophone

668 residents' cultural ties and language abilities afford them preferential treatment and can lead to

669 a stable income. This income should not be underestimated given Shine's above industry-

670 average wages and the relatively low turnover rate among Shine employees. With time, many

671 employees manage to afford the purchase of a house and annual holidays in their countries of

672 origin. The example of Shine, thus, represents one of many contexts in the Newark, New Jersey

673 area in which Portuguese-language proficiency has the potential to enhance workers' economic

674 capital.

675 ### 3.3.4 Transcultural capital and the local Portuguese-centric diaspora community in the current

676 era of neoliberalism

677 The three types of capital outlined above constitute some key origins of power in society

678 (Bourdieu 1986, 1991). With the shifting nature of capital flows under neoliberalism, new

679 opportunities for more diverse participation in the market have emerged (Duchêne, Moyer, and

680 Roberts 2013), increasing the potential for migrant businesses to improve their standing within

681 the community (Sabaté i Dalmau 2013). As trans-national networks generate and possess a

682 larger portion of the capital within this context, they also hold more power (Cf. Portes, Haller,

683 and Guarnizo 2002) and have given rise to the growing influence of *transcultural capital*

684 (Meinhof and Triandafyllidou 2006) associated with prominent diaspora groups. Familiarity

685 with the languages associated with these diaspora groups has, thus, increasingly become a

686 source of linguistic capital (DeCosta 2010).

687 Lusophone members of the Newark-area, Portuguese-centric diaspora community are in a

688 position to exploit this transcultural capital most seamlessly: Portuguese-medium

689 communication allows them to make use of their linguistic (cultural) capital, network ties that

690 provide access to jobs represent an important means through which social capital is used, and

691 employment at a Portuguese-centric business helps to build members' economic capital. Those

692 with different ethnolinguistic backgrounds who seek participation in this capital-rich network

693 are able to do so by adapting to its linguistic and cultural orientation.

694 ### 3.3.5 Putting it all together: capital, identity, ideology, agency, and diasporic belonging

695   This ability to shift orientations further parallels the dynamic nature of ideologies and identities

696   (Darvin 2016), which can adjust to suit the changing shape of power asymmetries that are

697   largely driven by capital. The distinction between this vision of dynamism and that which is

698   informed by the relatively static concept of reproduction (Bourdieu 1977) highlights individuals'

699   heightened agentive capacity. By carrying out the choice to orient to an alternative diaspora

700   group, the participants profiled here provide an example of the interplay between individual

701   action and socio-cultural structures (via ideologies) that characterize agency (Ahearn 2001;

702   Block 2012). Specifically, they provide evidence to support conceptions of agency that

703   recognize structure's influential – albeit not hegemonic – relationship to individuals' capacity to

704   act (Ortner 2006; Archer 2000, 2007), especially in terms of orientations to foreign languages

705   (Miller 2016). This positionality gives rise to new conceptualizations of belonging (Warriner

706   2007), including that of membership in a prominent diaspora group to which one lacks

707   ethnolinguistic ties. Analysis of the shifting nature of structure largely accounts for the opening

708   of this space, which represents a largely undocumented third alternative to the traditionally

709   binary choice to identify either with the dominant culture of the receiving land or the heritage

710   culture of the homeland.

711

712   4 Conclusion

713   The first research question addresses the sociolinguistic ways in which the Hispanophone

714   participants' orientation to Portuguese centricity manifests itself. Despite the two languages'

715   phonological characteristics that contribute to higher levels of Spanish-language intelligibility

716   among Lusophones (relative to Portuguese-language intelligibility among Hispanophones),

717   convergence efforts take place primarily in the direction of Portuguese and are largely invisible

718   to the dominant group. Following Bourhis (1991) and Stell and Dragojevic (2017), these findings

719   point to underlying inequalities. As communities of practice tend to reproduce the power

720   asymmetries of their settings (Contu and Willmott 2003), the positionality that informs this

721   practice within Shine extends – through residential and social network choices – into non-

722   employment domains within the Newark-based, Portuguese-centric diaspora community in

723   which Shine is embedded. In line with Darvin and Norton (2015), this positionality lies at the

724   intersection between positive ideologies toward the local Portuguese-centric diaspora

725   community and participants' resulting construction of identities as members of this community;

726   moreover, the benefits associated with these identities are rooted in this group's ownership of

727   capital. The language practices of the Hispanophone employees profiled here point to

728   participants' agentive re-conceptualization of their identities as members of the Newark-area,

729   Portuguese-centric diaspora community. These findings reflect discussions in the literature

730   about diaspora members' increased agentive potential in the current era (including

731   Canagarajah and Silberstein 2012; Gabriel 2011; Li Wei 2018; Li Wei and Zhu 2013).

732   The second research question investigates the example of Hispanophone employees'

733   orientation to the Newark-area, Portuguese-centric diaspora community as a means of

734   informing a reconceptualized understanding of diaspora in terms of increased heterogeneity.

735   Given Ecuadorian and Honduran participants' identification with the Newark-area, Portuguese-

736   centric diaspora community, the findings presented here provide an example of horizontal

737   assimilation (Prashad 2001) that stretches the implications of diasporic heterogeneity discussed

738   in work such as Deumert and Mabandla (2013) and Li Wei and Zhu (2013). Instead of pointing

739   only to the linguistic diversity of diaspora members who trace their roots to a common

740   homeland, the current study also finds heterogeneity with respect to diaspora group members'

741   national heritage beyond the case of younger generations born in the receiving country, which

742   has been mentioned in the literature. The resulting picture of a prominent diaspora community

743   that incorporates individuals who were previously members of other diaspora groups informs

744   the current study's re-envisioned concept of diaspora group membership. This access to a

745   different diaspora group has the potential to influence diasporic belonging on the individual

746   level: the findings presented here suggest that positionality is not limited to the two options of

747   the local, dominant culture vs. that of the homeland, but, rather, the additional option of

748   orienting to an ethnolinguistically different diaspora group also exists.

749   Data from this study help to ground some of the dynamics highlighted in the limited

750   sociolinguistic work in this area. Situated interactions build a sense of community within

751   diaspora groups (Canagarajah and Silberstein 2012), and, thus, allow participation by those with

752   the skills to interact effectively. Owing to their simultaneous presence in more than one cultural

753   context, the Hispanophone participants profiled here possess the enhanced "creative potential"

754   (Li Wei and Zhu 2013: 44; Li Wei 2018: 10) to hone such skills, as demonstrated by their in-situ

755   adjustments to their linguistic resources as needed to suit specific Lusophone interlocutors.

756   These findings provide evidence of the *linguistically constructed* nature of membership in a

757   diaspora (Canagarajah and Silberstein 2012: 84) that contrasts with definitions that focus on

758   fixed criteria, such as heritage or ethnicity. As a shared orientation to a migrant community

759   language indexes diasporic group belonging (Mills 2005), investment in this language and

760   culture – through structural forces linked to ideology, identity, and capital – allows members of

761   the Newark-area, Portuguese-centric diaspora to perceive the Hispanophone participants as

762   part of their diasporic in-group. This positioning comes out of the increased contact between

763   disparate groups that has accompanied the re-ordering of socio-political structures in the

764   current era (Deumert and Mabandla 2013) and is reflected by the diverse demographic make-

765   up of the Ironbound. Similar to the ethnic composition of this district, there is space in this

766   diaspora group for Hispanophone Latinos with Portuguese-centric orientations.

767   In line with the call to embed investigations into the notion of diaspora within specific contexts

768   (Gabriel 2011), it is important to point out that the current study's interpretations are limited to

769   specific participants situated within a given diaspora community. Future research carried out in

770   this setting has the potential to bring insight into the range of perspectives on diasporic

771   belonging among others with similar positionalities. Such studies could also help to

772   contextualize the magnitude and influence of the structures that bring value to the Portuguese-

773   centric diaspora community highlighted here by comparing these dynamics with those of other

774   area diaspora groups, including the Ecuadorian and Honduran diaspora groups that Nina, Anita,

775   and Lila have rejected. These investigations will provide a fuller picture of the interaction

776   between more diverse ownership of capital, the resulting growth of diaspora communities'

777   influence, the ideologies that guide identity construction within these communities, and the

778   potential for diaspora groups to include ethnolinguistically different members.

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