LANGUAGE USE AND GLOBAL MEDIA CIRCULATION AMONG ARGENTINE FANS
OF ENGLISH-LANGUAGE MASS MEDIA

By

Mary-Caitlyn Valentinsson

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As members of the Dissertation Committee, we certify that we have read the dissertation prepared by Mary-Caitlyn Valentinsson, titled "Language Use and Global Media Circulation Among Argentine Fans of English Mass Media" and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirement for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

_____   Date: 5 August 2019
Qing Zhang

_____   Date: 5 August 2019
Heidi Harley

_____   Date: 5 August 2019
Jennifer Roth-Gordon

_____   Date: 5 August 2019
Ana Maria Carvalho

Final approval and acceptance of this dissertation is contingent upon the candidate's submission of the final copies of the dissertation to the Graduate College.

I hereby certify that I have read this dissertation prepared under my direction and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirement.

_____   Date: 5 August 2019
Dissertation Director: Qing Zhang

_____   Date: 5 August 2019
Dissertation Director: Heidi Harley

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SIGNED: Mary-Caitlyn Valentinsson

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DEDICATION

For Mary Grace.

CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF EXCERPTS

ABSTRACT

Sociolinguists and linguistic anthropologists have long been interested in how different ways of speaking take on different social meanings, and how these different ways of using language circulate throughout a community. Mass media and popular culture are important driving forces behind such circulation, but research investigating such circulation has typically focused on how media and pop culture from within a particular social group circulates in that same group or closely related groups (Spitulnik 1997, Goebel 2012, Swinehart 2012). This research considers what happens to social meaning when language and other semiotic material circulates to new sociolinguistic contexts, especially through processes of globalization (Appadurai 1996, Penncook 2003), and the rising use of social media technologies for transnational communication (Christiansen 2015, 2016; Dovchin 2017a and b). Specifically, this work presents an analysis of language use and ideologies among Argentine members of fan communities of English-language media.

As a result of the historically imperialist relationships between Argentina and Great Britain, the English language has long been considered an index of upper-class elitism. Now, as discourses of "English as a/the global language" become more entrenched in Argentina (as in other parts of the world), it has also come to index notions of middle-class upward social mobility, education, and a cosmopolitan lifestyle that contrasts with the exclusive, elite upper classes. Fans of Anglophone media products—such as television shows, films, books, and more—must contend with both of these sets of meanings when they talk about or make reference to the media they consume. Through both online and offline ethnographic research, this dissertation shows how Argentine fans of Anglophone media and pop culture make sense of these contrasting social meanings, and the role that the linguistic and semiotic material from Anglophone media and pop culture play in their everyday lives. Broadly, this analysis helps us better understand how global, transnational flows of linguistic and semiotic material are re-imagined and given new meaning in local contexts.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This dissertation seeks to understand how everyday language use and ideologies of language shape and are shaped by processes of global media circulation. To do this, the chapters contained herein analyze the semiotic resources, language ideologies, and linguistic practices that Argentine fans of English-language mass media and popular culture draw on in order to make sense of their own positions and roles in processes of global media cirulation. In addition to the interactional work of self- and community-construction, these resources, ideologies, and practices also help these individuals make sense of shifting notions of class, economic mobility, and global cosmopolitanism within Argentina. The main contribution of this dissertation, then, is an in-depth understanding of how global, transnational flows of linguistic and semiotic material are re-imagined and given new meaning in local contexts. In other words, it offers an illustration of "the production of locality" (Appadurai 1996) driven by mediatized language and other semiotic resources. More specifically, it illustrates some of the stragies and mechanisms that Argentineans use to both enjoy and find pleasure in globally circulating media texts and the fan communities that emerge around them; while also critiquing and contesting the perceived outsized effect that Anglophone media has in their country. As I will argue throughout this dissertation, the uptake and transformation of linguistic and semiotic material—both from media texts themselves, and from fan communities driven by these media texts—is one of the key strategies that Argentine fans of Anglophone media and pop culture use to produce a sense of "locality" in globally-circulating media texts and global, digital, Anglophone fan communities.

1.1 Anthropology, Globalization, and Media

English-language media and pop cultural products—primarily from the United States, but also from England and Europe—are widely accessible across the world. This is particularly true for major studio franchise blockbusters, such as the films of the *Marvel Cinematic Universe*, or the *Lord of the Rings* series, or the *Harry Potter* films and books (see, e.g., Figures 1 and 2, showing advertisements for major English-language media products in Buenos Aires). In anthropological writing on globalization in the 1960s and 1970s, such products and texts were frequently framed as fallouts of cultural imperialism, slowly depleting "authentic" cultures and their symbolic, semiotic resources (Mazzarella 2004, 349). This led to an assumption—still present in much

popular discourse about globalization—that "the entire world [was being] molded in the image of Western, mainly American, culture" (Kraidy 2002, 1). Somewhat facetiously, Kraidy 2002 reformulates the position of such popular discouse through the question "[w]ithout global media […] how would teenagers in India, Turkey, and Argentina embrace a Western lifestyle of Nike shoes, Coca-Cola, and rock music?" (1). Of couse, by the early 1980s, anthropological scholarship on globalization and media had pushed back against such naïve and ethnocentric assumptions. Globalization studies in anthropology shifted to focus on themes of reception, audiences, and the local—but this focus, too, was critiqued for its over-emphasis on individual agency and lack of attention to structures of power, institutions, and politics (Mazzarella 2004, 350).

Figure 1. Poster for Marvel's *Black Panther* in movie theatre. Abasto Shopping Mall, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Figure 2. Advertisement for syndication screening of *The Man From Uncle*. Almagro, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

It is of course not entirely true that the global spread of Anglophone media franchises and pop cultural products has led to an all-out decimation of local media industries; nor that media consumers in various parts of the world accept Anglophone media wholesale and uncritically, simply because America (or whoever else) is "cool" (see, e.g., Ginsburgh 1995, Abu-Lughod 2005, Nakassis 2016). It is still true, however, that the financial and technological resources that major Anglophone media corporations have access to means that their products will be delivered to global audiences on a massive scale. What happens when a particular media text or form of media is taken up and circulated in a new sociolinguistic context is an open ethnographic question—but chances are it will not be the wholesale, uncritical reception of stereotypes that Kraidy 2002 discusses. Indeed, the interesting question is not simply one of reception and consumption, but rather how global media serves as a font of semiotic resources for the formation of locally salient communities and selves, and how such positionalities are forged through active affiliation with media texts themselves.

1.2 Fans and Fandoms in Global Context

The sort of engaged, active consumption of media texts such that it becomes a central part of one's identity, or a defining feature of the communities one participates in, has been the focus of "fan studies" and "fandom studies" scholars since the early 1990s, when the discipline solidified as an offshoot or subfield of cultural studies, and cinema/film/media studies (Jenkins 2016). In everyday conversation, individuals might refer to themselves as "fans of" a media product, celebrity, or sports team simply by virtue of enjoying or appreciating said media product. But the "fans" at the center of fan/dom studies are individuals who are far more emotionally and materially invested in such products. A *fan* in this sense sees their affiliation with and consumption of a particular media product a central part of their identity. Many scholars (e.g. Roig-Marin 2016) note how the term is perceived to be rooted in the word *fanatic*, implying an unhealthy and obsessional level of interest in the target or object of fandom. These stereotypes certainly play into popular notions (across the Americas) about what and who counts as a "fan" (Jenkins 2012; Borda 2008, 2015). But as Nakassis (2016) points out, "the 'fan' is less a demographic category than a discursive function, an enregistered figure that is variably animated, that is, cited in different contexts to variable effect" (274, fn 21). In the Western world, the figures of the shrieking fan girl in the front row of a concert, or the obsessive collector of science figures might come to mind—figures in which qualities of excess, emotionality, and obsession. are highlighted. Naturally, the behavior of folks who identify as "fans" in the deeper sense suggested by fan/dom studies scholars cannot be reduced to such displays of emotionality or excess as suggested by these stereotypes. Yet "fans" do frequently refer to or trope on such characters or characteristics in explaining their fannish interests and behaviors, especially in constructing a shared sense of fannish sensibilities and aesthetics within fan communities.

Fandom emerged from within fan communities as the term to describe such social groupings. While often one might speak of the "Simpsons fandom" or the "Harry Potter fandom" to refer specifically to the fan community(/ies) surrounding those particular media products, it is just as common within spaces to use the term "fandom" to describe a wider community of people who experience intense engagement with media products more generally, even though they may not share interests in the same media products/texts/figures (Hellekson and Busse 2006; see also Appadurai 1990 on communities of sentiment and Anderson 1983 on imagined communities). Camille Bacon-Smith's pioneering ethnography of female Star Trek (1992) fans offered one of

the first in-depth studies of these interlocking sense of "fandom" and the role of individual fans within such groupings. She wrote,

"Fans use the term 'fandom' to designate several distinct levels of social organizations. The entire science fiction community is called a fandom, as is the much smaller group involved in, for example, Star Wars fan fiction. Likewise, the term "Star Trek fandom" refers to fans of that source product, regardless of the activity in which the fan participates" (Bacon-Smith 1992, 22).

This ethnography also illustrated how, even before the widespread use of the internet and social media, fans maintained these interlocking levels of social organization, as well as a broader sense of a fan "community" across transnational boundaries. She describes, for instance, transnational post mail networks in which fans in one country send video cassette recordings of episodes and fanzines (fan-produced magazines full of fan fiction, art, analysis, and discussion) to folks in other countries where such media was inaccessible. (Bacon-Smith 1992, 124).

Bacon-Smith's work highlights how a global, transnational sensibility has long been a characteristic of fandom(s), even before the rise of the internet and social media communities that characterize large swaths of fandom and fan participations in contemporary consumption contexts. These transnational connections—whether through post mail networks or Facebook groups—facilitate the flow not just of media texts themselves, but of ways of reading them, interpreting them, and refashioning them. Indeed, developing an "always on" (Baron 2010, boyd 2012) sensibility—that is, a positionality of being contstantly plugged in to digital spaces and continually participating in online discourse—is one of the key characteristics of contemporary global fan practice. Through these "always on" digital networks of fans, cultural texts are circulated that allow consumers outside of the primary target audience of these major Anglophone media franchises to interpret themselves as "fans", their behaviors as "fannish", and their communities as "fandoms". One aspect of learning to see oneself as a "fan" is learning to adopt a critique of hegemonic media structures (Jenkins et al, 2016).

Fiske (1992) (among others) has reflected that the consumption habits linked to "fandom" and "fans" has typically been "associated with the cultural tastes of subordinated formations of people" (30), therefore making it a meaningful site to study issues important to social science broadly, such as power and cultural capital (Bourdieu 1984). Henry Jenkins, one of the foremost scholars of "fan studies", has argued that one of the major draws of fandom as a site for scholarly

inquiry is that it has the potential to serve as "vehicle[s] for marginalized cultural groups (women, the young, gays, and so on) to pry open a space for their cultural concerns within dominant representations" (Jenkins 2006, 40). Jenkins has also observed that, worldwide, a great deal of fan culture centralizes Anglophone media (Jenkins 2012, xxxviii)—even in the absence of especially strong positive feelings about the United States, American, or other Anglophone cultures as such (Pew Research Center 2013). Seen in this light, it becomes clear why Argentine consumers of Anglophone media and pop culture might see fandom and fan participations as a way to both consume and enjoy such media, while also maintaining a critique of the power structures that make Anglophone (primarily North American) media the global "default". The question that remains, and that this dissertation offers some answers to, is how, or through what strategies, do fans of (arguably) hegemonic media products participate in the fandoms surrounding these products in ways that balance both their enjoyment of such products while also acknowledging their role as audiences on the "periphery" of these global media flows (Sultana et al 2013). Lila Abu-Lughod raised a similar question in her ethnography of the consumption of Egyptian soap operas focusing on stories of the elite and wealthy by peasants and workers: "What significance could a group of wealthy or formerly wealthy women, sitting around a comfortable retirement home and suddenly putting aside their individual troubles and overcoming their sense of helplessness and uselessness, have for Umm Ahmad [a peasant woman in Abu-Lughod's study]?" (2005, 41). Abu-Lughod's analysis suggests that the insertion of these mediatized narratives into the homes of people with incredibly diverse lifestyles, positionalities, and experiences—creating the conditions for them to identify themselves as aligned with the figures presented in these narratives—is one method in which "mega-concepts" such as nation and culture can be "produced, censored, paid for, and broadcast across a nation, even across national boundaries" (43). Appadurai echoes this finding in more global terms, by explaining how global media flows offer new possibilities for "imagination":

[m]ore persons in more parts of the world consider a wider set of possible lives than they ever did before. One important source for this imagination is the mass media, which present a rich, ever-changing store of possible lives…not so much as direct sources of new images and scenarios for life possibilities but as semiotic diacritics of great power, which also inflect social contact with the metropolitan world facilitated by other channels" (Appadurai 1996, 53).

The analyses presented in the chapters of this dissertation add to these lines of thinking through an investigation of the "possible lives" and "semiotic diacritics" afforded to Argentine fans through the global circulation of Anglophone media (and their attendant fan communities) offers

new ways of imagining possible lives—particularly, in this case, possibilities related to upward social mobility and cosmopolitan positionalities. In addition to the larger anthropological themes addressed above, this focus speaks also to burgeoning research in the fan and fandom studies literature on the topics of "transcultural fandom", which investigates fan communities and participations that arise when media products/texts are taken up in sociocultural contexts beyond those audiences for which they were (arguably) intended (Chin and Morimoto 2013; Benecchi 2015).

1.3 The Role of Language: Anglophone Media Fandom in Argentina

Why Argentina? The typical approach to Latin American history begins with Spanish (and Portuguese) imperialism— and, indeed, it was this colonization that set the foundation for much of the mainstream cultural and linguistic landscape we observe there today. However, the influence of Great Britain and the United States— culturally, politically, and linguistically— should not be understated (Brown 2008). Both of these English-speaking world powers have played significant roles in most Latin American countries, perhaps more so than the average person realizes. In particular, Argentina's cultural and political history has been affected by tremendous influence from English-speaking countries. In Argentina's post-independence years and leading up to the mid-twentieth century, Great Britain was the major cultural, political, and economic influence (Hedges 2011). This history is still palpable in many ways, perhaps chief among them being that British English is the variety taught in schools and private language institutes. Despite the acrimonious Islas Malvinas/Falkland Islands dispute of the early 1980s, it is not uncommon to see Union Jack flags marking the entrance to English-language institutes and colleges, as shown in Figures 3 and 4.

Figure 3. British English Institute. Villa Crespo, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Figure 4. Advertisement for Liceo Británico English Classes. Diagonal Norte Subway Station, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

More recently, United States foreign policy has marked an increasing involvement of this country in Latin American politics in particular. The massive power and reach of the Hollywood film industry, as well as related industries such as the American fashion and popular music industries, have also made American culture increasingly prominent in Latin America. In Argentina, this is visible in several way: for instance, the advertisement of fashion brands such as Nike and Adidas in shopping malls, the syndication of American comedy sitcoms such as *Friends* (dubbed into Spanish), and, more recently, the explosion of the practice of *viendo series* ('watching series') as a leisure activity. Since the launch of Netflix's popular film and television streaming service in Latin America in 2011, the consumption of a wider variety of English-language media programming has increased, but note that this is not due to some kind of lack of locally-produced media. Buenos Aires, the capital of Argentina, is well-known for its artistic, independent film industry (Falicov 2007), and the internet fan communities I observed were rich with intertextual references to local media as well as Anglophone media. Still—Anglophone media, and particularly Hollywood Anglophone media is widely preferred; Argentine media is (generally) perceived to be less entertaining, exciting, or engaging (Oliveros 2017).

It is easy to suppose, then, that such consumption and engagement with English-language media would be reflected in positive Argentine perceptions of the United States and North American culture. Quite the opposite seems to be true. Various studies by the Pew Research Center have found that, within the last two decades, Argentina has had some of most negative attitudes towards the United States and Americans across all of Latin America (Pew Research Center 2002, 2013). Looking more locally, many of my research participants (if not most) expressed fairly strong anti-American imperialism sentiments. I also had participants relate stories of relatives refusing to learn English, or avoiding English language media entirely, as a political statement about the Malvinas/Falkland conflict; stories of mean looks in the street for wearing a *Doctor Who* (a British science fiction television show) t-shirt that featured a Union Jack flag; and descriptions of fans that were *too* "obsessed" with the English language, or British cultural products as "*re snobs*" ("real/serious snobs"). These attitudes and beliefs exist alongside and in spite of the notion that national Argentine media is less entertaining than Hollywood media; and these attitudes and beliefs have not hampered the development of a wide variety of options for in-person fandom spaces for Argentine fans of English-language media.

During my four months of in-person fieldwork, nearly every single weekend I was able to attend some form of fan-organized convention, club meet-up, or event, focused on foreign-language media, typically English-language media, but often incorporating or focusing on Japanese- and Korean-language media products, which are also globally popular. On some weekends I even had to choose between competing events. Of course, this reflects offerings in the Greater Buenos Aires Metropolitan Area (*Gran Buenos Aires,* commonly abbreviated GBA)— most participants in this research from outside GBA commented on the virtual lack of fandom related events, although I did see evidence of an increasing frequency of conventions and fan meet-ups in some of the major interior cities, such as Rosario, Santa Fe, and Córdoba. Either way, there is enough engagement with English-language and other foreign media products for Argentine fans to organize and host whole-day and even multi-day events dedicated to such media nearly every single weekend of the calendar year. At such events, Argentine fans framed their own positionality within global Anglophone media fandoms in terms of marginalization: the coolest actors never came to Argentina Comic-Con (the biggest fan event in the country, held twice yearly), the official merchandise from a media franchise was either never available in Argentina or cost exorbitant amounts of money due to import taxes and rising inflation, and so on. These concerns echo a more broadly common turn of phrase that one hears from Argentineans: "Argentina is a third-world country". The problematics of this designation aside, this turn of phrase reveals that Argentineans in a broad sense view themselves as holding a margnizalied, disadvantaged position within global cultural flows generally—Argentine fans, specifically, view themselves as occupying a marginalized position within Anglophone media fandom and the global mediascapes that encompass these fan communities. Despite the frustration this engenders in Argentine fans, they still make great efforts to participate in a deep, intense way in both the offline and online configurations of Anglophone media fandom

The question that emerges from the tensions described above is: how can such a widespread cultural distaste for Anglophone people and culture coexist with an equally profound, fervent engagement with Anglophone media products? The work of this dissertation unpacks the tensions in this question, providing an answer that argues, in brief, that globally-circulating, massively popular English-language media offers access to a form of English that is not linked

27

with the cultural and political imperialism of English-speaking nations, but of a form of youthful, global cosmopolitan based in discourses about "English as a/the global language" that allow the language to be divorced from its imperialist history (worldwide and in Argentina specifically). Conversely, this work also shows how Argentine fans of English-language media and pop culture "localize" English-language media texts in parodic/humorous ways, creating a space for their own voices and room to "imagine" themselves in more prominent roles within global mediascapes (Appadurai 1996).

The analyses that support this argument draw on the fan and fandom media studies literature, but are more specifically grounded within sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology—both fields which have their own complex understandings of media, popular culture, and how it may intersect with language use and everyday life. Within the (sub-)field of variationist sociolinguistics, some scholars have suggested that mass media has no important effect on language change (Trudgill 2014), others have noted that since "the nature of media and its influence has changed exponentially", it may be worthwhile to re-evaluate this position (Tagliamonte 2014, 227). Others now argue that, rather than assuming that the media allows for linguistic features to be "taken straight off the media shelf" wholesale, some argue that we should see them as adapted to local contexts, and then *reinforced* by media influence (Stuart-Smith 2014, 256; Carvalho 2004). Work by Coupland (2014) and Zhang (2018) has further argued that mediatization's role in spreading awareness and recognition of different styles and practices—including *linguistic* styles and practices—further advances certain forms of sociolinguistic change.

 In order to account for this, it is necessary to empirically analyze speaker engagement with media sources (Sayers 2014)—which this dissertation aims to do, in part by blending sociolinguistic insights on the relationship between media and language change with linguistic anthropological approaches to media and pop culture. The work of this dissertation also speaks to work that has emerged within the last two decades addressing the "sociolingusitics of globalization" (Blommaert 2010; Dovchin 2017 a and b; Zhang 2005, 2018). Studies in this area draw heavily on Appadurai's (1996) framework of global "-scapes"; for instance, Pennycook (2003) has proposed the notion "linguascape" as a way to understand "the relationship between

the ways in which some languages are no longer tied to locality or community, but rather operate globally in conjunction with these other 'scapes'" (523). More specifically, this dissertation show show the concepts of "mediascapes" and "linguascapes" are closely intertwined—as access to the semiotic resources embedded in particular "linguascapes" are in fact critical to interpreting (and then taking up, refashioning, reinterpreting, etc.) the semiotic material afforded by "mediacapes".

Work on the social circulation of "dramatic scriptings" (Ytreberg 2002) or "media scripts" (Schulties 2009) shows how linguistic forms that originate in the media shape and define communities in their circulation through social space (Spitulnik 1997), as well as how the circulation of media language from the fan community to a wider audience leads to changes in indexical associations (Squires 2014). This line of work has highlighted linguistic anthropological theories of how the "transportability" of texts function in specific social contexts. In other words, asking questions such as 'who takes up these texts?', 'how do speakers recontextualize texts?', and 'how do these now-recontextualized versions of media texts become embedded in local cultural frames of community and identity construction?' (Briggs and Bauman 1992, Agha 2007). This work has also illustrated ways in which different ways of speaking become linked to particular characters or stereotypes, and how these linkages become available for social use or commentary (Agha 2010). Anthropologically-informed approaches frame media engagement as a form of interaction and social practice, in which consumers are not passive receptacles of media information, but agentive interpreters and users of such material (Gunter 2014, Scollon 1998). While the variationist research is clear that the mere presence of some linguistic feature in media speech or media language does not lead to the immediate adoption and dispersion of that feature by the speech community consuming the media, other sociolinguists and linguistic anthropologists argue that it is worth investigating other kinds of relationships between language and media, such as social actors and their "playful performances" with language (Akkaya 2014).

Overall, this work illustrates some of the primary mechanisms through which language mediates the global flow of "mediascapes". Appadurai (1996) uses this term to refer to "the distribution of the electronic capabilities to produce and disseminate information ... and to the images of the

world created by these media." He argues that the most important aspect of mediascapes is how they provide

large and complex repertoires of images, narratives, and ethnoscapes to viewers throughout the world… [offering] to those who experience and transform them […] a series of elements (such as characters, plots, and textual forms) out of which scripts can be formed for imagined lives, their own as well as those of others living in other places. […] These scripts can and do get disaggregated into complex sets of metaphors by which people live... as they help to constitute narratives of the Other and protonarratives of possible lives, fantasies that could become prolegomena to the desire for acquisition and movement (Appadurai 1996, 35-36).

The central claim of this dissertation is that fandom as a method of engaging with global mediascapes is shaped in large part through linguistic and semiotic means, and that these linguistic and semiotic uptake strategies allow Argentine fans of globally-circulating Anglophone media to reformulate these media texts as locally relevant. To argue this claim, the chapters herein address three overarching research questions.

1. How do discourses about English circulated through media and pop culture (as well as other semiotic material afforded by such circulation) get appropriated and transformed in Spanish-dominant, Argentine fan spaces? What is the social significane of English, and English-language media, in this context?

2. What are the salient linguistic and semiotic elements in the discursive material that are utilized by Argentine fans in the construction of self and community? Do different linguistic or discursive elements get taken up and circulated in different ways? If so, what factors condition these differences?

3. How does identification as a fan and/or participation in fan communities, allow Argentine fans of English-language media and pop culture to imbue globally-circulating media texts with new or alternate social meanings that reflect their own local positionality within globally-circulating mediascapes?

Although each analytical chapter focuses particularly on one question at a time, in a more practical sense they are much more tightly linked together. The data I engage with for these analyses comes from a multi-modal, multi-sited study, drawing largely on the approach suggested by Androutsopoulos' framework of Discourse-Centered Online Ethnography (2008), while also employing innovative online (i.e. digital) and offline (i.e. in-person/analog) methods within this framework, discussed in detail in Chapter 2. Through these methods, I have been able to observe the linguistic features, semiotic resources, and broader ideologies that circulate from

media to fan communities, from fan communities to broader cultural discourse, and gain an understanding of how these aspects of media consumption and online/offline community and self-construction relate to issues such as class, economic mobility, and global cosmopolitanism. In short, Anglophone media fandom offers Argentine fans a "source" for English linguistic and semiotic material that is not linked to imperialist/colonialist histories with Grea Britain but instead with perceptions of upward social mobility and cosmopolitan aesthetics. Global fan communities on social media also offer Argentine fans a space to reformulate the figure of a stereotypical "fan" in Argentine terms, such that linguistic strategies and features of both Spanish and English can be used to construct a "fannish" style or positionality in Argentina. These media texts and their attendant fan communities also offer both the semiotic resources and the venue/platforms for Argentine fans to rewrite and reformulate Anglophone texts in ways that sound, look, and "feel" more Argentine—even if just for humorous purposes. I argue the very literal "production of locality" (Appadurai 1996) resulting from these transformations allows Argentine fans to "imagine" themselves (Appadurai 1996) not as audiences on the "periphery" of global media flows (Sultana et al 2013), but as agentive, educated, cosmopolitan audiences at the center of it all.

I now turn to Chapter 2, in which I detail the methodological approaches used in this dissertation, and offer contemporary and historical background on the ethnographic setting.

CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH AND ETHNOGRAPHIC SETTING

2.0 Methods and Types of Data

Here, I include an overview of the methodologies used to triangulate answers to the research questions posed at the beginning of this chapter, while in the section that follows I discuss my field sites and key research participants. Because these research questions attempt to connect micro-level linguistic practices to large-scale ideologies and patterns, the methods used in this dissertation are necessarily multi-modal. In addition to utilizing various modes of data collection, this project analyzes and connects data from different "sites"—namely both online/digital spaces and offline, "analog" spaces.

This combination of online and offline approaches draws heavily from Androutosopoulos's framework of Discourse-Centered Online Ethnography (2008), which advocates for the application of ethnographic methods to the study of online language use. Androutsopoulos (2008) lays out two main pillars for this approach to data collection: systematic observation of online language use, and face-to-face, in-person contact with internet actors. These two overarching strategies allow researchers to produce a detailed accounting of patterns of language use within the social sphere being investigated (here, online fan communities), and then tie these findings to the everyday lives of research participants' by interviewing them, evaluating and discussing online language use in their communities together, and engaging in participant observation research to understand how the practices and identities that are made relevant in online spaces become relevant offline. While this methodological approach does not necessarily constitute a fully-fledged, "deep" ethnography of online language use (Androutsopolous 2008, 17), the author argues that it is a useful and crucially important way of moving beyond the trend in sociolinguistics of computer-mediated communication of studying decontextualized "log data" of online talk. Through offline contact and interviews with online actors, researchers can more clearly and accurately situate the social meaning of online talk in a broader social context.

Androutsopoulos (2008)'s demonstration of how aspects of internet engagement and media consumption are threaded through the everyday, "offline" lives of individuals, it offers an especially useful methodological framework for this study. Below, I summarize each of the primary methodologies used in this dissertation and the type(s) of data they produced

2.0.0 Online Participant Observation and Online Surveys
From January 2017 through August 2018, I created a corpus of approximately 1,000 instances of online interaction, drawn from participant observation in a number of Facebook-based groups of Argentine fans of different Anglophone media products, as well as Twitter accounts, Tumblr accounts, and WhatsApp messages of Argentine fans of Anglophone media products. Some of the initial Facebook groups I began observing based on information from preliminary interviews and fieldwork in July of 2016—my participation in these groups led me organically to others, as many folks are members of several different Facebook fan groups. My participation in some of these groups/networks was more robust than others during this period, depending on the relative

activity of the group and interest group members had in interacting with me. Because most users of these sites list their ages in their user profiles, it was possible to avoid collecting data from fans under age 18, per IRB requirements. When I was not able to determine a user's age, I contacted them for confirmation before continuing with recruitment.

In this process, I connected with several Argentine fans of Anglophone media products living outside of the Greater Buenos Aires (GBA) area, who wished to participate in the project but did not have means, reason, or interest to travel to the capital city. In response to this, I designed two online, text-based surveys through Google Forms to distribute to such individuals, allowing them to respond to similar sorts of questions that formed the basis of my in-person ethnographic interviews. These surveys used the interview protocol questions I had developed for my in-person data collection, and included space for open-ended responses from participants. No minimum or maximum length of response was set, and no question was obligatory.

This online data collection was also crucial for establishing networks and recruiting participants for the in-person portion of my data collection. By establishing myself as a member of this Facebook group and Tumblr networks over the course of a year before entering the "in-person" field, many users of these groups were aware of my presence as a credible, legitimate person. I did not begin observing Twitter networks until after I had entered the "in-person" field, when some of my participants pointed me to the social network as an important site for their fan activism and activities. Typically, I would spend a few hours each day observing the conversations and interactions occurring on each site/group. I would screenshot conversations or interactions that seemed particularly interesting, and then summarize each day's/session's ideas and findings in field notes.

2.0.1 Ethnographic Interviews
Once recruited through online fan groups or social networks, I conducted audio-recorded, in-person ethnographic interviews with participants based on two topics, with subjects participating in these interviews as dyads or individually. Depending on the time constraints of each person or pair, the different topics were discussed separately or together in the same recording session. Conversations about each topic typically lasted about one hour, but occasionally discussions

lasted as long as 2.5 hours. The thematic foci of these interviews were: first, the individual's (or dyad's) history with Anglophone media fandom— including how they discovered and gained entree into the communities, friendships they developed through the communities, and community norms—their consumption of Anglophone media products and fan products (e.g. fan art, fan fiction, other forms of fan production), and their thoughts about broader cultural perception of "fandom" and "fans". Second, the dyad's (or individual's) history with English— when, where, and how they learned it, their opinions about English language pedagogy in Argentina, the use of English words or phrases in casual Argentine speech, and social stereotypes about English use. These interview themes were selected to elicit narratives related to the main questions of this research, namely narratives related to participation in fan communities, how language use shapes this participation, and how this participation connects to broader issues in their lives. I refer to these narratives as, respectively "media consumption and fandom history narratives" and "English language learning" narratives. In total, this resulted in approximately nineteen hours of recorded conversation with seventeen total individuals.

2.0.2 Social media observation/Think-aloud protocol

In addition to observing language use and interaction on fan sites and social networking groups, I conducted seven recorded conversations with research participants in which I observed them using, in real time, the online networks in which they discuss or find information related to fandom. These conversations took several forms, often with two or more of these approaches appearing in the same meeting. When internet connections were good in the agreed upon meeting place, I invited participants to log on to their social media accounts on my computer, and talk me through what they were doing, who/what they were seeing, and what they were thinking about what they were seeing. Occasionally we repeated this procedure with the social media account(s) I created to participate in different fan communities/groups, to discuss their observations of fan groups to which they were outsiders. When bad internet connections made these approaches impossible, I provided a PowerPoint slide show of screenshots of various social media posts from a range of sites/groups, and invited the same type of reflection and conversation about these posts as with the online, fully interactive procedures.

This method is loosely adapted from a methodological procedure common in the Second Language Acquisition (SLA) literature, generally referred to as a "think-aloud" procedure. In

SLA studies, researchers will assign a task related to the participant's second language (e.g., an essay composition task, a group vocabulary game, or similar), and ask the participants to talk through every step of their decision-making process as they complete the activity (Bowles 2010, Yanguas and Lado 2012). SLA scholars argue that this method "provides insights into learners' minds" as they navigate the second language learning process; in this study, I adapted this method in order to see what assumptions and beliefs Argentineans were operationalizing as they participated in online fan communities and social networking sites. This method is also related to, though quite different from, Deborah Tannen's use of "playback sessions", in which research participants listen to a recorded conversation they participated in, and comment on what they find salient/interesting/important in the conversation, hearing it for a second time from an "outside" perspective (Tannen 1984; see also Tovares 2012 on "watching out loud"). I refer to this data as "social media think-aloud interviews" and, as with the media consumption/English language learning narratives, incorporate them holistically throughout the analytical chapters rather than analyzing the recordings collected from this protocol individually.

2.0.3 Media viewing events

I also recorded conversation and interaction among dyads or small groups of participants while consuming media they were fans of. These events took many forms, depending on the setting and participants. For instance, one Doctor Who/Supernatural fan club I worked closely with often brought laptops to fan conventions and other events. On this laptop, they would display old episodes of Doctor Who, downloaded to the computer, or episodes of Supernatural. Although frequently this was simply "background noise", and an additional display to attract convention participants to their stand, on other occasions (e.g., smaller conventions with less movement around the group's stand), I was able to record the conversation that took place as club members watched the episode, commented on it, and also oriented to other aspects of the fan event. In other cases, I simply invited participants to my apartment (or was invited to theirs) to watch a few episodes of a favorite show, or a movie, and the ensuing conversation was recorded. In still other cases, I went with groups of fans to the premier of a movie (typically of the major North American superhero franchises), and recorded the conversations that took place before entering the film, as well as after, over ice cream or coffee. The data gathered from recordings in these contexts are referred to as "media viewing events data".

Similar to the way recorded viewing events were used in Schulties (2009)'s dissertation on Moroccan media consumption and family life, this method helped identify what salient linguistic and discursive practices were being drawn from media consumption itself, and how these elements were evaluated and understood in a more general context.

2.0.4 In-person participant observation

Finally, I conducted participant observation at a range of fan club meet ups, fan conventions, comic cons, and casual hang outs with friends from fan clubs and organizations. Typically, this involved attending events and "hanging out" with a particular group at their fan club's stand, participating in conversations, debates, and games at fan club meet ups, or visiting business locales such as comic book shops with participants. When possible, conversation at these events was recorded, but more commonly I focused on settling into the normal rhythm of the club/group at whatever event we were attending. Through this method, I gained a sense of the "every day life" in the offline sphere for Argentinean fans. A greater range of topics were discussed in these contexts (than in, say, the forums of the fan sites), and therefore this method also allowed me to better understand how participation in fandom related to their everyday lives. In particular, the role of material objects—particular merchandise from media franchises—was often highlighted at these in-person observation sessions. Fan club members who had traveled abroad and purchased licensed/official merchandise would bring these items to club meet ups to pass around; fan-made merchandise was sold for small amounts at conventions to support club activities. The data from this methodology is primarily reflected in my daily field notes, and occasionally in recordings (i.e. media viewing events of Doctor Who episodes at the fan club table, as described above).

In the section that follows, I move to a description of the various field sites from which I collected data—both online and offline. I also describe some of my key informants/research participants whose voices form the bulk of the data for this dissertation. But first, I discuss the theoretical framing through which I approach this kind of online-offline research.

2.1 Fieldsites, Participants, and Orientations to Fieldwork

2.1.0 The (false) distinction between online and offline fieldwork

In this section, I describe the key sites— both online and off—from which I collected the data that the analyses in this dissertation draw on. I also briefly describe the background of some my key research participants. Namely, I discuss those research participants who participated most extensively in my interview protocol, and who in general I spent the most time with. I have referred to this dissertation as "multi-sited"—by which I mean that the study spans both online and offline spaces, and also that multiple sites, groups, and communities were studied. In the introduction I discuss the word "fandom" in a broad sense, referring to communities of fans *of* a particular media product—i.e., the *Star Wars* fandom. It can also be used more generally, as an overarching term to refer to the wider community of people who engage in a "fannish" sort of media consumption and social organization around media products and fan communities. Thus, the study discussed in this dissertation can also be viewed as "multi-sited" in this way, in that it also spans various (media-product-specific) fandoms. Before I dig in to the descriptions of these "sites", however, I wish to offer some thoughts on the relationship between my "online" and "offline" field sites, from my own experience as a researcher and from the point of view of my participants, to the extent that I was able to determine it.

While early anthropological ventures into digital "spaces" and "places" (see, e.g., Boellstorff 2008's seminal ethnography of the virtual world "Second Life") found corners of digital space that are more easily bounded and circumscribed as "field sites", for many people in contemporary societies, their digital lives are not bounded or separated from their "offline" lives in such clearly demarcated ways. In my research, participants move across various types of online "places". The major social networking sites are of course important: Facebook, which is now wildly mainstream to the point of being passé or "just for old people" for several of my participants, although still widely used for its group page functionality; Twitter and Instagram, well-known platforms if not as widely used as Facebook; and Tumblr, a bit more niche than any of the other sites, but still with a vast array of communities and people logging in. But beyond the online spaces they occupy, my research participants made their digital/online lives relevant almost constantly during our offline interactions. At every single convention, fan club meeting, and other media- fandom related event I attended during my four months of in-person fieldwork,

digital technologies and lives were integrated into offline activities. We streamed episodes of shows at fan club meetings; spirited debates about production rumors would be interrupted by someone rushing to fact-check via Google; Twitter hashtag campaigns were coordinated offline; and, perhaps most commonly, offline expressions of media fandom were rigorously documented for posting and sharing in the online community spaces. Furthermore, the sensorial immediacy of the posts that many of my online-only participants made to their social media accounts became more salient. Posts about the beginning of the school year cutting in to fanfiction writing time were made materially present for me when I could no longer find a seat in the public libraries with all the students crowding back in after summer vacation. Visual memes about issues of sexism and gender representation in pop culture dotted my vision on posters and signs during the massive march on the Argentine National Congress for International Women's Day. Political debates that I was following on national television were being re-hashed out in digital fan communities via media references. All of these things are ultimately observable through a computer screen, but sharing something of the immediate physical experience made communicating with, and parsing the communications of, my online-only participants much more fluid.

Circumscribing all of this movement across what could be termed distinct online and offline places raises several questions. Two linked such questions are: who is *in* the place, and *when* are they in the place? One might consider participants in my study only "in" an online field site when they are logged on, actively posting to and interacting with others on social networking sites—but this view severely restricts how I can interpret and what I can say about their references to these communities in every day "offline" speech and in talk on other online platforms. Other such project-design questions also emerge in digital field sites: who counts as a participant in this kind of research, *when* are they a participant, and how do you *know* they are a participant? How am I to describe the participation of someone who has consented to allow me to record their blog and online interactions, but who is not interested in participating in any kind of in-person interviews or data collection? Or the person who for medical reasons or geographic location is prevented from fully participating in the research, but happily sends me reams of WhatsApp voice notes lecturing at length about the communities and "places" I wish to study, their role in them, the history of their particular community, and so on? (Both real situations in

my fieldwork). This is not to say that questions about who or what counts do not emerge in "offline" field sites, but something about the relationship between online/digital/virtual worlds and offline worlds forces us to reconsider these marginalia.

This, in turn, brings up another important question for defining these places: when was *I* in the field site? Before leaving for Buenos Aires, I had spent well over a year making contacts in several online fan communities based in Argentina and/or run by Argentineans and collecting data from them. I knew a lot already about interactional patterns, communication styles, and the broad outlines of which users were connected to each other and how. Folks in many communities, and across many platforms knew me and had a rough idea of what I was doing-- and yet, when I arrived in Buenos Aires to investigate how these online communities and relationships interfaced with people's offline lives, I struggled to transition the relationships I had already made into offline ones. My contacts were spread across the country and while several of them were thrilled to talk about fandom and online life, many fewer of them were comfortable discussing issues such as class and gender that seemed to link their digital lives with broader, offline concerns—not to mention the obvious constraint of travel time and cost which made their in-person participation impossible. This reticence to open up one's "fannish" lifestyle is historically quite normal (Reagin and Rubenstein 2011). The mainstreaming of media fandom and other aspects of "geek" culture has alleviated some concerns associated with this, but people do still face social repercussions (typically on the level of teasing and bullying) for participating in media fandom. These sentiments dovetail with the general, widespread precautions to use caution in what you share on the internet and to take care when meeting people "from" the internet. The reluctance several of my participants showed to engage in my offline fieldwork modules was, with these concerns in mind, perfectly sensible.

What it means for a researcher to be "in" a digital field site certainly still requires some detangling, and I believe the work of this dissertation has tugged on some of these threads. The many ways in which humans interface with their Internet-connected devices and social media accounts means that I can log on and collect data at quite literally any time of the day or night— someone is *always* logged on, so something is *always* happening. How does one decide, then, when the interaction or event ends? Given the role that social media technologies and world-

39

wide Internet connections are playing in processes of globalization, this will likely become of greater concern to anthropologists and sociolinguistics working on many different topics. Specifically, the "global and shared" nature of digital life makes it an especially important perspective for research about the locally-meaningful effects of globalization. For this study, in which the online/digital lives of the community is a crucial aspect of how they understand themselves, it already is obligatory. Despite this, it is, in general, logistically more straightforward to discuss my online field sites/participants and offline field sites/participants separately, so I now turn to this task.

2.1.1 Description of fieldsites and participants

I collected over 1,000 social media posts, counting original posts and comments on posts separately, across four primary platforms—Facebook, Tumblr, Instagram, and Twitter. The bulk of the posts that are analyzed in this study come from Facebook and Tumblr, as these websites represented the locus of fandom-related activity for my participants. Some individuals were tracked across more than one platform, although most focused their fandom participation primarily on one site or another. Although this breakdown of the online data sources may suggest that Facebook is the most used platform for Argentine fans of Anglophone mass media, it must be stated clearly that this is probably more reflective of sampling bias than a comprehensive understanding of how widely used each form of social media is. In the U.S., there is a growing perception of Facebook as a social media platform for older, less technologically savvy folks—younger folks are more apt to use platforms such as Instagram and Twitter. While some of my participants reported similar feelings—indeed, I started my investigation of digital communities of Argentine fans through Tumblr due to my own intuitions about this— Facebook turned out to be a generally much more active platform for Argentine Anglophone media fan activity (with different Facebook groups having varying levels of activity). During preliminary fieldwork in July 2016, several contacts pointed me to a particular Facebook group for Argentine fans of Doctor Who, which I joined and began observing/participating in. Through this entree, I soon became aware of several other Facebook groups for Argentine fans of different English-language media products, which I now turn to describing.

2.1.1.0 Facebook groups and key participants

I collected data from 14 different Facebook groups centered around specific media products or fandom engagement generally. As all of these groups are open to the public, gaining entree to them is, superficially, a process that takes no more than a minute, as all one needs to do to join a Facebook group is to click a "join group" button (see Figure 5) and, in the case of private groups (groups that are publicly searchable but limit access to group content to members), waiting for approval from the group moderators.

Figure 5. Facebook "Join" Buttons.

While some methodological approaches to fandom in digital spaces allows the researcher to observe and collect data without engaging directly with the community (e.g., Borda 2015), ethnographic approaches (Androutsopolous 2008, Hine 2000) require interaction between participant and researcher. Moreover, as I was hoping to transition at least some of these online contacts to offline relationships, I chose to create an introductory/disclosure post in each group. An example of such an introductory post is shown below in Figure 6.

Figure 6. Example of an Introductory Post.[1]

In terms of consent, these posts are not tremendously effective in that the main content areas of most Facebook groups are organized chronologically, with the most recent posts at the top. Thus, after some time, any introductory post I make will drop down in the feed and won't be the first thing that new members see. With smaller, more intimate social media networks (e.g. Christiansen 2015, 2016) it is more readily possible to gain consent from every single member of the group. However, when collecting data from this many groups, and groups of this size (ranging range from under 300 to over 72,000 members) it is wildly impractical if not impossible. For this reason, I attempted to gain specific consent from any member whose post or comment I saved for data. I block out the names of commenters and posters and use pseudonyms to describe each Facebook group, despite the minimal safety and privacy risk to participants.

Two final points to describe before I discuss each group individually are 1) the distinction between Facebook "groups" and "pages", and 2) the mechanics of Facebook "reactions". Per

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[1] Translation: Hello!! Thanks for accepting me to the group ☺ I'm an anthropologist studying Argentine fans of television series from the US like Supernatural. To be honest I don't know a lot about Supernatural, I've only seen a few episodes, but I'm really interested in all the work you are doing to bring the actors to Argentina Comic Con… if anyone is up for meeting up with me (in Buenos Aires) so I can interview you about this, it would help a lot! Or if anyone wants to invite me to watch some Supernatural episodes so I can learn how good the show is, haha!

official Facebook documentation[2], Facebook "pages" serve as authenticated profiles for public figures, businesses, and organizations. "Pages" are publicly visible to everyone on the internet by default, and electing to "follow" a page causes their updates and posts to appear in your newsfeed. On the other hand, "groups" are designed for communication among a self-selecting set of members who share common interests. Groups, unlike pages, can be made private, requiring administrator approval to join.

As this dissertation is primarily concerned with fan communities that arise around a media product, "groups" are the primary focus here, rather than "pages" which tend to be oriented to official representations of media products. Still, some fan clubs will create official "pages" for themselves, leaving the "group" separate for discussion and debate. I will discuss these differences as they become relevant in the analysis.

Facebook "reactions" refer to the various pragmatic actions one can select in response to a Facebook post or comment, *aside* from a comment/reply (see Figure 7). While much has been made of the pragmatics of Facebook "likes" (e.g. Sumner, Ruge-Jones and Alcorn 2018), in 2016 Facebook released several other options in addition to the like, as visible below. I mention this feature not because they are central to any analysis proposed here—rather because they contextualize the uptake and interpretation of certain social media posts.
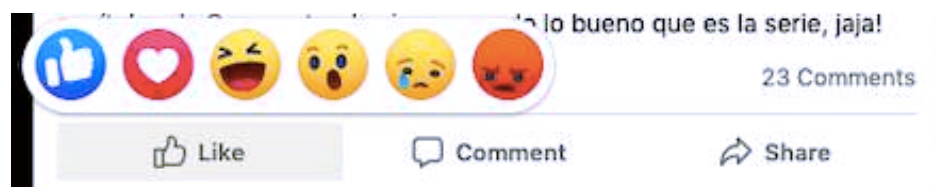
Figure 7. Examples of Facebook "reactions", from left to right: like, love/heart, haha/laughter, wow/surprised, sad, angry.

I now present a brief description of each Facebook group from which I collected data for this project. During the course of my participation in these groups, as well as my offline interaction with many of these groups' members, I became Facebook "friends" myself with members of

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[2] https://www.facebook.com/notes/facebook/facebook-tips-whats-the-difference-between-a-facebook-page-and-group/324706977130/

several of these groups. With their consent, I therefore also include posts made to the personal Facebook profiles of individual fans as data when relevant.

ACC Fans 2018: An unofficial group for discussing topics related to the 2018 edition of the biggest fan/media convention in the country, Argentina Comic-Con. "Unofficial" in that it is not run by the actual organizers of the convention. In addition to topics related to the convention itself, members also frequently post news items, memes, and general comments about media fandom and fandom culture. In 2019 the group name updated to reflect the new calendar year; discussions shifted to reflect the organization and planning of the 2019 editions of the event, as well as general fandom content.

Tierra Media Fans Argentina *(Middle Earth Fans Argentina):* A group for Argentine fans of J.R.R. Tolkein's body of work and related media products; the films, books, and other spin-off products related to this franchise are discussed. This group organizes a twice-yearly convention focusing on Tolkien-related media, but in which members of several other groups put up stands and presentations.

Fans de Te Lo Resumo (*Fans of* **Te lo Resumo):** A group for fans of the YouTube series "Te Lo Resumo Asi Nomas". In this series, Argentine actor Jorge Pinarello posts fast and humorous parody reviews of major media franchises in a distinctly Argentine style. I will discuss these YouTube videos and the community surrounding it in Chapter 5. Topics of discussion relate both to the channel itself, the media products parodied on the channel, and general fandom related humor and meme posts.

TARDIS Doblaje Argento: A group primarily geared towards sharing memes which overlay stylized Argentine "translations" of lines from the British science fiction television series *Doctor Who*, on top of screenshots the series' episodes. The memes produced by this group will also be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4.

Who You Gonna Call? Argentina: A club for fans of the Ghostbusters film and media franchise, in which memes and news surrounding all aspects of the franchise are shared and

discussed. This group also had an especially strong offline presence, in that leaders of the group often tabled at conventions and fan events around the city.

Hunters FTW / Whovians FTW: Although in technicality two different groups, both are run by the same core members and share tables at conventions and events. Simply, the "FTW" groups are fans of the American fantasy television show "Supernatural" ("Hunters"), and the British science-fiction television show "Doctor Who" ("Whovians). The groups are both large, and do count among them members who do not identify on their Facebook page as Argentinean (indeed, one of the core members of this group is a Colombian living and working in Buenos Aires). Group discussion includes meme humor, debates about episodes, sharing and discussion of fanfiction/fan art, and the lives of the principal actors in each show. In particular the Hunters FTW group is one of the most active groups I observed/participated in (although usually the same key members sharing and posting), and the combined groups were present at every single convention I attended (including Argentina Comic-Con, although not as a unified group— more on that later). After I left the field, they began holding monthly club meet-ups that appear to be well attended.

Fanáticos Argentinos de Marvel y DC: Group for fans of Marvel and DC media franchise products— including film, comics, and television shows. Typically focused on sharing memes and news.

Viajeros Argentinos en las Estrellas: Group for Star Trek fans in Argentina. Frequently present at conventions and fan events, in particular overlapping with Hunters/Whovians FTW.

Lightsaber Argentina: Group for Star Wars fans in Argentina. The group seemed to be limited to sharing memes, news, and the like— I did not witness this group at any fan convention or event, or see any new about club-specific fan group meet-ups.

Demon Hunters Argentina: Another fan group for the American show "Supernatural". The group activity is, as usual, focused primarily on sharing memes and news, but also fan fiction

and fan art. This group was present at one fan convention I attended, but I did not participate with them as frequently as I did with the Hunters/Whovians FTW group.

TARDIS Argentina: One of the most active, and long-standing Facebook groups I observed. The activity of the group varied depending on whether a new season of Doctor Who was airing; in times of active participation, posts with hundreds of nested comment threads were not uncommon. Although they were not a major presence on the convention circuit in recent years, they have a long history of putting on big and elaborate fan events, and were the only fan group who, during my in-person field work, held semi-regularly fan club style meetups focused only on their group. These events were open-invitation to anyone who was a member of the Facebook group; most frequently, it was only the leaders and their close friends who attended.

From my participation in these Facebook groups, 7 key informants emerged who also transitioned to participation in my offline data collection modules

Jodie: The de-facto "president" of TARDIS Argentina, Jodie is a woman in her late 20s from Buenos Aires, Argentina who works in retail. While Doctor Who is her current most active fandom, she has also participated more and less extensively in pop music fandom during her life

Marta: Another member of TARDIS, also in her late 20s from Buenos Aires. Marta currently works in an IT company while also completing a master's degree in communications at a local university. In addition to Doctor Who fandom, she has been involved in Harry Potter fandom (including attending local Harry Potter conventions), Game of Thrones fandom, and Anime fandom.

Peter: Another member of TARDIS, Peter is in his late 20s and used to work in manufacturing the Buenos Aires area but is currently preparing to move to Italy with his brother. Peter participates in video game and anime fandoms, and also closely follows several other English-langauge/foreign media franchises, in addition to his participation in *Doctor Who* fandom.

Mary: Mary is the de-facto leader of the Hunters FTW/Whovians FTW groups. She is in her mid-50s, with two children and two grandchildren. Her fandom participation began in the late 70s/early 80s with ABBA music fandom and Star Trek fandom (and she participates in a less enthusiastic way in the Star Trek group mentioned above).

Dean: Dean, another prominent member of the Hunters FTW/Whovians FTW groups, is in his late twenties. Originally from Colombia, he moved to Argentina to pursue greater work and study opportunities. He helps Mary moderate the Facebook groups for both 'clubs' and, while I was in the field, also attended every single convention with Mary.

Claire: Claire is in her mid-twenties, an additional prominent member of the Hunters/Whovian group(s). She is dating Mary's son and, along with him, also attended every single convention I attended with the Hunters/Whovians group during my in-person fieldwork. She is somewhat less active in the corresponding Facebook groups, but does frequently post general fandom and Doctor Who/Supernatural fandom specific memes to her personal Facebook profile.

Through my attendance at the various fan conventions in the Buenos Aires area, I also met three other key participants. These meetings led to Facebook friendships— some of the fandom-related memes and posts they shared to their personal Facebook pages were included in the data for this dissertation.

Bruno: In his early 30s, Bruno is one of the primary organizers for MagnifiCon (pseudonym for a general media fandom event held in early February in a Buenos Aires suburb) and a regular participant in Argentina Comic Con and other convention events both within GBA and around the country. His primary interests are Marvel and DC fandom (comics and film franchises), and he is an active cosplayer.

Van: A journalist and cosplayer in his mid 30s, I met Van at MagnifiCon. Van's journalistic beat primarily covers cosplay and media fandom events in the Buenos Aires area, and his fandom focus is anime, horror films, and comics.

Clark: Clark is a cosplayer whose primary fandom is DC film/comics. I was introduced to him through Bruno, who along with Clark, participates in a charity/volunteer cosplay group in which members don their cosplay of popular media characters (typically superheroes of the Marvel/DC brand) and conduct visits to children in hospital care. Clark is in his late twenties.

2.1.1.1 Tumblr and key participants

In the United States, Tumblr is seen as the dominant social media site for fandom participation (Sandvoss 2005, Petersen 2014). Tumblr is generally seen as a "blogging" platform, although its unique organizational style creates certain constraints and affordances that contrast it with other blogging-style platforms. Petersen (2014) describes the structure of Tumblr in the following way:

"Tumblr makes it possible for users to post pictures, texts, gifs or gif-sets, videos or audio, but also to reblog and comment on other users' blog posts. In this way, blog posts develop as the users cumulatively build more content and talk becomes conversations. The blog posts posted or reblogged appear in chronological order on the customized dashboard of a user's personal blog. A blogger can reblog the posts they would like to appear on their own blog. The media logic on tumblr is that a user has a personal blog and a dashboard on a separate tab that shows all the posts from the blogs a user follows" (Petersen 2014, 90)

Thus, the individual "blog" is the primary site for fan interaction on Tumblr, rather than collectivities of groups. Although I did not find it particularly difficult to find Argentineans participating in English-language media sharing networks on Tumblr, my recruitment of Tumblr participants proceeded through a slow process of snowball sampling. I primarily encountered Argentine fan blogs by exploring the hashtags related to Argentina Comic Con on Tumblr. The majority of these posts are made by users who attended an instantiation of Argentina Comic Con as a guest or as a cosplayer. By requesting to follow these blogs, and then exploring the other blogs they reposted from, commented on, and interacted with, I was able to determine other Argentine users of Tumblr. Unlike Facebook, Tumblr blogs do not obligatorily contain biographical information about the users on anything like a "profile" page. However, it is considered standard practice for most blogs to list the blogger's age, gender, and region, as well as various other sociodemographic markers (i.e. age, sexuality, list of "fandoms" they consider themself a part of, and more).

Through this process, I was able to recruit a group of seven Argentine Tumblr users who were all members of a loosely-connected network in that most of them either mutually "followed" each others' blogs, or were at least aware of one anothers' posts and presence on the site. In

displaying data from Tumblr, I block out the blog user names and refer to all participants by pseudonyms.

From Tumblr, my primary participants were:

Janet: A psychology student in her early 20s whose primary fandoms were the American sitcoms The Good Place and Brooklyn 99, and the Marvel film franchise. During her participation in offline data collection, she later introduced me to her cousin Michael who often watched these shows/films with her, but did not actively describe himself as a "fan" of either.

Pablo: A music student in his early 20s, Pablo's primary fandoms are anime and video games, although he will often engage in conversations and share posts related to Marvel, Harry Potter, Lord of the Rings, and other such super-massive media franchises.

Emilio: Emilio is Pablo's boyfriend. Also in his early twenties, he studies art and graphic design. Emilio's primary fandoms are anime and video games although, like Pablo, he will often share memes and posts related to other media franchises/fandom on his Tumblr.

Steve: Steve is in their early 20s and one of the most prominent Argentinean fandom bloggers—every contact I made through/on Tumblr referred to their blog either in passing, or was a mutual follower with them. Although we were not able to meet offline (due to scheduling constraints), Steve participated in several long chats with me (on Tumblr's in-platform chat application) about fandom in Argentina and in general. They primarily posted material related to the Marvel Cinematic Universe, but occasionally other major media franchise too, such as *Harry Potter* and American sitcoms. They also frequently blogged about political issues—both those affecting Argentina and Latin America, as well as the US elections and other global issues.

Erika: Another Argentine blogger, Erika is in her mid 20s and posts primarily about the Marvel Cinematic Universe and Marvel comics. Erika's blog is also well known among Argentine/Latin American fandom bloggers on Tumblr. She does not engage in political positing to the extent that Steve does. I was also not able to meet Erika in person, due to her scheduling constraints, but she, like Steve, answered several open-ended questions for me via Tumblr chat.

Jyn: Jyn's blog is probably as popular as Steve's, but her primary blogging focus is *Star Wars* fandom. She also frequently posts about political issues (with the same range as Steve). Jyn is in her late 20s and is a literature student at a university in the south of Argentina— since she was not able to travel to Buenos Aires to participate in my research, she and I had several conversations over Tumblr chat. She also completed the online survey which I discuss in the previous section.

Lexa: Lexa is studying to be an English instructor and participates in the fandoms for *Harry Potter* and the American sci-fi show *The 100.* She is a regular attendee at local fan conventions—especially Argentina Comic Con. Her friend Clarke participated in offline data collection with her, and although she does not identify as a "fan" in the way Lexa does, she regularly attends fan conventions with Lexa and enjoys consuming similar media.

2.1.1.2 Instagram and Twitter

Through the relationships I built with the participants and groups described above, I became clued into important sources of data on the social media platforms Twitter and Instagram. In particular, the Hunters FTW often mounted Twitter hashtag campaigns. Two of the most prominent of these campaigns were 1) attempting to persuade the Argentina Comic Con officials to invite a star from the Supernatural show to the convention; and 2) attempting to convince the channel that broadcasts Supernatural in Latin America to shift the show's time slot to a more accessible hour (at the time of writing, new episodes air at or just before midnight, making it difficult for fans to keep up with the show). There was one prominent tweeter in these campaigns who I call Magnus and whose posts appear in the analyses in this dissertation. Magnus was 19, and lived far outside the Greater Buenos Aires area. She was thus unable to participate in the in-person activities of the Hunter FTW group, but her online engagement on Twitter made her instantly noticeable in these activities. She did not participate in the Facebook group.

On Instagram, I followed Jodie and "Rose", another prominent member of TARDIS Argentina whose schedule did not allow her to participate in interviews with me, but who was present at every group gathering. Their Instagram posts included a great deal of both *Doctor Who* and other

fandom-related content. I also followed a cosplayer who I met at MagnifiCon (a convention mentioned above), whose cosplay focuses primarily on Disney characters.

While there is some data from Instagram and Twitter that informs the analyses herein, I do not focus them as platforms— thus, in the interest of space, I refrain from describing their structure or communicative affordances in depth.

2.2 Historical Background

2.2.0 Languages in Argentina

In this section, I provide the historical context that underpins the current social meanings of English use in Argentina. The colonial history of Latin America is linked most closely to Spain and Portugal, and this is plainly reflected in the languages and cultures of the region. Great Britain also played an important colonial role in the region, particularly in the River Plate viceroyalty— later Argentina. This is reflected in aspects of the linguistic history and current linguistic landscape of the country, as well as in the semiotics of the country's elite classes.

When we think of language in Latin America, many think first of Spanish, and then of Portuguese. Linguists and anthropologists may also think of the hundreds of indigenous languages in use in the area, and of the thousands more which were in use before European colonization (Eberhard, Simons and Fennig 2019). Nonetheless, Portuguese and Spanish are the most widely-spoken languages in the region. Spanish, which represents the first language of 430 million throughout the Americas (Instituto Cervantes 2017) and Portuguese, the first language of over 200 million (Eberhard, Simons and Fennig 2019), have of course majorly shaped internal and external understandings of language use and ideology from México to Cape Horn.

However, to focus solely on Spanish and Portuguese in the linguistic anthropology of colonial languages of Latin America is an oversimplification of the history of cultural and linguistic imperialism in the region. We cannot discount the role of other European powers in the region, particularly if we include Central America and the Caribbean in our conceptions of "Latin" American (as I do here, and as the participants in this research do). The histories of countries such as Belize, Suriname, Guyana, and French Guiana make this apparent. But the history of Argentina in particular offers another layer of nuance to the linguistic history of the continent.

The narrative of this section is focused specifically on the nuance added by an understanding of historical Anglo-Argentine relations, but it is worth pointing out that British involvement in the affairs of the continent is widespread. Galeano cites an 1824 letter by George Canning, a British diplomat, in which he writes "…Spanish America is free; and if we do not mismanage our affairs sadly, she is *English*" (Galeano 1997, 173). Indeed, Galeano goes on to claim that "Spain's monopoly [on the continent]" had never in fact existed— by the 19th century, the British controlled the majority of the commerce that passed through Latin America customs houses (143)— and British officials seemed to view most Latin American independence movements as simply a "'political recognition of this state of affairs'" (143). Latin America in general, and Argentina specifically, has always been a part of Britain's colonial project.

2.2.1 A brief history of the British in Argentina

British involvement begins earlier than most popular histories suggest, so the English language has (likely) had a role as a prestige language in most of the continent for most, if not all, of "modern" Latin American history. In a technical sense, a British monarch reigned over all Spanish colonies in the 1500s, when Mary I of England married Philip II of Spain. In honor of this marriage, a Spanish explorer was ordered to travel from Perú to what is now the Catamarca province in northwestern Argentina to found the town of Londrés—still in existence today and, apparently, "a place of formal pilgrimage for British diplomats (Graham-Yool 1981, 23). Historical documents reveal the presence of British sailors, naturalists, and religious figures in Argentina starting as early as the first incursions into the Río de la Plata region throughout the mid to late 1500s. The famous English naval officer Sir Francis Drake made landfall at a small port in Patagonia in 1578 (23). Continuing through the 16th, 17th, and much of the 18th centuries, British ships attempted minor incursions on various Spanish-held ports in South America; their merchants also began the facilitation of the transatlantic slave trade into the region. Most scholars would argue, though, that the true beginning of Britain's "long-term, formal influence" (31) in Argentina began during the years 1806-807. In this period, British naval officers put forth a major invasion attempt, forcing the Spanish viceroy to retreat to Córdoba and briefly gaining control of the city of Buenos Aires (Hughs 2013). Some documents from the time suggest that the British officers saw this incursion as something of a liberation attempt, and that they fancied themselves the harbingers of a more civilized, Protestant moral order to the backwards *criollo* population of Buenos Aires (Gallo 2001, 39). According to Eduardo Galeano, Argentina's May

Revolution of 1810 was celebrated by the British navy near the harbor (Galeano 1971, 174). Although officially Britain stayed neutral in the conflict with Spain, some reports suggest that British forces supplied revolutionaries with ammunition, actively involving themselves in the revolutionary project (Graham-Yool 1981, 63). This likely had less to do with sympathies to a cause of throwing off the mantle of Spanish domination, and rather to the potential of opening up more liberal trade policies for the British Empire (Galeano 1971, 174).

Britain's short period of control over Buenos Aires, and the subsequent reporting on it in British newspapers, caused a general surge in interest in South America as a destination for immigration and opportunity (Graham-Yool 1981, 47) and marked the beginning of an upward trend in English migration to the Río de la Plata. This was not just as a result of "push" factors drawing Britons out of Europe, but also due to specific efforts by the Argentine government. Bernadino Rivadavia, President of the (then called) United Providences of the Río de la Plata from 1826-1827, actively recruited Britons and other Northern Europeans to settle in the country, particularly to staff the newly founded University of Buenos Aires and other new educational institutions. In the late 1860s and through the 1870s, President Domingo Faustino Sarmiento's education and immigration policies echoed this. The goal of the 1870s genocide of the indigenous population in Argentina territory was precisely to "clear the *pampas*" to make room for European immigrants who would help "civilize" and "whiten" the nation (Joseph 1999, 273). As Juan Bautista Alberdi, another Argentine politician of Sarmiento's generation put it, *gobernar es poblar*—"to govern is to populate" (Joseph 1999, 6). Although ultimately most of Argentina's immigrant population came from the "less civilized", "less white" southern European countries, policies designed to entice Northern European immigration were central to liberal politics of the mid-1800s. This overt attempt to shape the country's racial and ethnic profile through immigration plays out in contemporary Argentine society in perceptions of upward class mobility and cosmopolitanism. To be educated and to be middle-class, is to be (white, typically Anglo-Saxon) European. Similarly, to be cosmopolitan, worldly, and global is to be (white, Anglo-Saxon, mainstream) North American. The way that Argentine fans of Anglophone media orient to the language of such model figures—that is, of course, English—draws on these connections that were established by the dominant political ideology in mid-1800s Argentina.

In the earlier part of the century, the British resisted these "recruitment" efforts, as it would have depleted their population of able-bodied young men to fight in the Napoleonic wars (Gallo 2001). But they were certainly open to policies that improved their trade standing in the region. The Treaty of Friendship, Navigation and Commerce, signed February 1825 between Great Britain and the United Nations of Río de la Plata, solidified both religious freedom for Anglican Britons in Argentina (as without religious freedom, the "most desired" Anglo-Saxon immigrants might be discouraged, Joseph 1999, 58; see also Graham-Yool 1981, 108-109) and prioritized liberal trade policies for Great Britain in the region (Galeano 1971, 177-178). So, although the population of Northern European and English-speaking British immigrants remained relatively low throughout Argentine history, those who did immigrate were engaged in relatively prestigious positions of diplomacy, trade, and business.

While the wealthiest Britons avoided staying in Argentina for longer than a generation, their investments led to the development of a managerial class of Anglos who stayed behind to run the businesses. Despite being among the smallest of immigrant communities in Argentina (Graham-Yool 1981, 16), there were periods of history when British capital made up the vast majority of the foreign market in Argentina (240; see also Dorfman 1982). "British influence was reflected everywhere in Argentina", including de facto control of many major industries including railways, shipping, meatpacking, agriculture, and insurance (among others) (Graham-Yool 1981, 18). While the lack of formal British colonial authority did not translate this into official institutional influence (17), the insular, wealthy, and powerful managerial class of Britons who controlled these industries imported many of the markers of class status from their home land: they took high tea, their sons played polo, they shopped at Harrod's, and, importantly, they spoke English. Graham-Yool argues these markers of class status solidified particularly during the expansion of the (British-controlled) railway industry: "The middle-class family became stronger because of the stability of employment; the people who spoke English were a step ahead, because the language associated them with management. A whole myth became solidly built around the British nature" (225), including ideologies of the British as scrupulously honest, punctual and respectful (226). However, Graham-Yool also notes that Britons living in Argentina during the mid 1800s to early 1900s generally "shied away from anything more than dabbling in the Spanish language" (226), and from social interaction with the *criollo* population in general.

"To keep their shocking accent in the native Spanish tongue became a symbol of status, of power" (226). Cortés-Conde's research with the modern Anglo-Argentine population reveals a major shift, both linguistically and in self-perception: particularly for the younger participants in her survey studies, English use was no longer seen as a factor unifying an "Anglo-Argentine" community. Moreover, for those whose families had maintained English use—usually through school—there was an increased interest in moving away from the British pronunciation that had been valued in the past, to acquiring a more American pronunciation style (Cortés-Conde 2003, 118).

2.2.2 The Argentine Elites
During the 1930s and 1940s, populist movements, in particular the one headed by President Juan Domingo Perón, focused strongly on retaking control of the industries that the British had dominated for the previous century (Galeano 1981, 210). This aspect of the movement was, by and large, successful, and so the English were "kicked out". Yet elite Argentines continued to draw upon links to the British in fashioning their distinction (Bourdieu 1984) from lower socioeconomic classes. Victoria Gessaghi's 2016 ethnography of elite education in Buenos Aires during the twentieth century illustrates many of these links. These elites were (or rather, are) families with extensive property and land holdings both inside and outside of the country, and extensive economic ties to the exterior as well (Gessaghi 2016, 130). Travel to Europe— for schooling, for cultural experience, or simply to purchase horses for polo playing or leisure riding— was a required rite of passage for elite Argentine families. Horses for leisure riding or polo playing were common (130). With respect to education specifically, nannies and governesses were contracted for children of elite families not from Spain, but from England and France, in part to help develop their children's multilingual capacities (132). In fact, several of Gessaghi's participants—alumni of the most prestigious private schools of Buenos Aires—cite language competence in English and French as a marker of elite class status (131).

This semiotic overlap between elite British lifestyles and elite Argentine lifestyles is prevalent enough that it is cited in popular depictions of the elite classes of Argentina— even depictions which circulate beyond the country itself. The 1997 film based on the Andrew Lloyd Weber/Tim Rice musical *Evita* (dir. Alan Parker) is a classic and illustrative example. The story of the film/musical highlights Eva Perón's rise from a destitute family to become the iconic First Lady

of Argentina. Eva's declared nemeses in the plot are the bourgeois, who the audience sees rejecting her as a child at her father's funeral, and again decades later as she attempts to take her place in Argentina's elite social circles as befitting the nation's First Lady. In the film, and in several recordings of the stage production, the ensemble actors playing the bourgeois classes sing with a markedly distinct pronunciation to other cast members: for example, by approximating non-rhoticity and vowel pronunciations that approximate popular stereotypes of the TRAP-BATH distinction in Received Pronunciation (Britain 2017; Trudgill 2001, 2008). Furthermore, the scenes in the film featuring the bourgeois classes all draw on the stereotypical activities of elite classes of Britons as mentioned earlier. They are shown at high tea, and polo matches; theyare shown at a stately building with a British flag flying (see Figure 8); and finally, they sing about shopping at Harrod's.

Figure 8. Scene from 1997 film *Evita* depicting a British flag on a stately building in Argentina.

Dialects of British English generally—but Received Pronunciation especially—are widely used as glosses for "upper class status" in Western Anglophone media (Agha 2007). So it is likely that the ensemble actors portraying the bourgeois in this production of *Evita* are given the direction to approximate an RP accent in their singing in order to create a legible portrayal of class distinction for the wide variety of audiences that a major Hollywood film would be marketed to. The same is also likely true for the other semiotic markers, like the practice of taking high tea (polo may be a more Argentine marker of the conflation between Britishness and upper-classness). Still, it is interesting that a major media representation of class distinction in Argentina draws on markers of class and status that are, in fact, aligned with the actual history of class distinction in Argentina. More current accounts of the sociolinguistic status of English in

Argentina also support this claim. Nielsen's (2003) summary article of the status of English in Argentina claims that English learners in the country are actively "trying to ascend the social ladder" (208). Friedrich's work with students enrolled in MBA programs in Argentina showed that these individuals strongly associated mastery of English with upward social mobility and prestigious global work opportunities (2003). Of course, as Rajagopalan (2006) points out, this association between English and high status or socioeconomic mobility is not one that is taken wholesale and uncritically. In his summary of English in South America more broadly, Rajagopalan notes a generalized "ambivalence" towards the increasing use of English as a lingua franca/global language/foreign language across South America (148). Simultaneously, he claims that South Americans see English as "beneficial in the medium- or long-run" while also seeing it as "detrimental to the survival of local languages and cultures" (148). Generally speaking, though, English in Argentina, can be characterized as an aspirational social marker for middle and upper class Argentines (147).

2.2.3 Conclusion and overview of the rest of the dissertation

The historical overview of Anglo-Argentine relations and way it has influenced the semiotics of class in Argentina that I have presented here is a largely Argentine-centric one. Gallo (2001) notes that, during the mid 1800s-1900s period when Britain was most closely involved in Argentina's affairs, Argentina was still only considered a minor item in their foreign policy agenda, particularly in comparison to the rest of Europe. While Argentine history classes stress the history of British involvement in the country, and mark the 1806-1908 invasions of Buenos Aires as a "legendary episode", this activity is hardly mentioned to British schoolchildren (4). The salience of this history was likely heightened for Argentine citizens given the history of the Islas Malvinas/Falkland Islands conflicts.

The history of the United States' involvement in Argentina is more recent, and perhaps less obvious from a cursory glance through Argentine history. By the early 1970s, American business interests had grown more competitive than British ones across Latin America (Graham-Yool 1981, 242). President Obama's 2016 declassification of CIA documents related to the United States' involvement in Argentina's Dirty War (1976-1983) showed that this involvement ran deep. As anti-British sentiment increased post-Falkland Island conflict, it is possible that interest in the U.S. as a cultural model grew. American mass media and popular culture is indisputably

the most prominent foreign media in Argentina (although there is also a substantial interest in British media among my participant groups). But the links between English and elite, prestige status rest strongly on this history of British, not American, involvement in the country.

In summary, this section provides an overview of the historical underpinnings of the links between the English language and class stratification in Argentina. While Argentine fans of English-language media and pop culture must (and do) contend with this history in their own linguistic practice, contemporary ideologies of English center its usefulness as a tool or resource in political-economic formulations. In the analytical chapters of this dissertation I will show how this historical background informs both ideologies about media-generated English, as well as the actual practice of using English and other semiotic resources that originate in globally-circulating media.

In Chapter 3, I focus on research question #1: How do discourses about English circulated through media and pop culture (as well as other semiotic material afforded by such circulation) get appropriated and transformed in Spanish-dominant, Argentine fan spaces? And, what is the social significance of English, and English-language media, in this context? I address this question through an overview of contemporary English-language ideologies in the country and an analysis of the stance-taking and strategies used by Argentine fans of Anglophone media and pop culture to orient and position themselves to such ideologies and discourses. The bulk of the data that I draw on in this chapter comes from Media Consumption/Fandom History Narratives and English-Language Learning Narratives—which, in the chapter, are shown to be closely intertwined for most of my research participants. The historical overview provided in the present chapter on the role of British (and to a lesser extent, American) involvement in Argentine politics and culture is an important background to the analyses put forward in this chapter. The orientations evident in the contemporary sociolinguistic landscape of Argentina, as well as in the narratives that my participants shared with me about their English-language learning journeys and how these intersected with their media consumption habits, reveals English as a complex linguistic and semiotic resource for Argentine fans of English-language media. On the one hand, it serves as an index of education, upward social mobility, and cosmopolitan sensibility—particularly when it is obvious that one has accessed it "through" media sources. On the other,

perceptions of "excessive" use of English and "excessive" affiliation with English-language media can link fans to historical discourses of English as a snobbish, elitist semiotic resource, and therefore fans must be prudent with when, where, and how often they insert fan- and media-driven English features in their everyday conversations.

In Chapter 4, I turn to address research question #2 and its sub-questions: What are the salient linguistic and semiotic elements in the discursive material that are utilized by Argentine fans in the construction of self and community? Do different linguistic or discursive elements get taken up and circulated in different ways? If so, what factors condition these differences? I address these questions by offering both a qualitative and quantitative description of the linguistic features and discursive strategies that comprise a "fan" linguistic style among Anglophone media fans in Argentina. Participants in my study drew on a range of linguistic and other semiotic resources from both English-dominant and Spanish-dominant sources. I focus on two features/strategies, and sub-categories within them: discourse markers (in both English and Spanish), and the intersection of code-choice and communicative affordances of the various social media platforms used by fan groups (focusing primarily on Facebook and on Tumblr). I argue that the (English and Spanish) discourse markers used in Argentine fan style serve as resources that construct stances and qualia of humor, casualness, alignment, and affiliation; these stances/qualia allow the Argentine "fan" to avoid accusations of snobbishness or elitism in their avid consumption of English language media that are discussed in Chapter 3, and instead claim a more youthful, educated, cosmopolitan positionality as rationale for their fan activities. Similarly, the ways in which Argentine fans of English-language use the communicative affordances of Facebook meme groups and Tumblr allows them to display critiques of and disalignment with the Anglophone dominance of global media and fandom, thereby avoiding identification as an "excessive" user or consumer of English.

In Chapter 5, I deal with research question #3: How does identification as a fan and/or participation in fan communities, allow Argentine fans of English-language media and pop culture to imbue globally-circulating media texts with new or alternate social meanings that reflect their own local positionality within globally-circulating mediascapes? This question is addressed through an investigation of two cases in which the texts of English-language media

gets transformed and "localized" (Appadurai 1996) into an Argentine (or sometimes more broadly Latin American) texts. First, I analyze the linguistic and semiotic strategies used by a Facebook meme group to produce parodic "dubbings" (rather, subtitles) of scenes from the British science-fiction television show *Doctor Who*. Second, I analyze the production of and fan community surrounding the YouTube series *Te lo resumo así nomás,* in which Argentine actor Jorge Pinarello creates parodic summaries of massive Hollywood media content (as well as other texts). I investigate both the linguistic/semiotic resources Pinarello uses into order to voice an "Argentine" version of these popular media texts, as well as the uptake of and commentary on these strategies within the Facebook fan group of the *Te lo resumo* series itself. These strategies of localization allow Argentinean fans to both transform the media texts that circulate through global mediascapes into something more closely relevant to their own lives, and to frame themselves as more agentive players within such global mediascapes.

Chapter 6 presents the concluding thoughts of this dissertation. I summarize how linguistic and semiotic resources in Anglophone media and pop culture are being used in Argentina to negotiate local class positions and situate them within global cultural flows. I revisit the discussion of the interlinkages between online and offline ethnographic research and the importance of such an approach for studies of contemporary media globalization. Lastly, I name some directions for future research that build on the body of work presented here, ranging from micro-level investigations of discourse marker use to macro-level studies of globalization, flows, and language.

CHAPTER 3: ENGLISH LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES IN ARGENTINA AND ANGLOPHONE MEDIA FAN COMMUNITIES

3.0 Chapter introduction

This chapter presents an analysis of the ideologies about English that circulate widely in Argentina, as well as the ideologies about English that emerge from the media consumption/fandom history narratives and English language learning narratives of Argentine fans of Anglophone media and pop culture. This analysis speaks primarily to the first research question of this dissertation: How do discourses about English circulated through media and pop culture (as well as other semiotic material afforded by such circulation) get appropriated and

transformed in Spanish-dominant, Argentine fan spaces? What is the social significance of English, and English-language media, in this context?

I address this question through a multi-pronged approach, beginning with a description of the role of the English language in contemporary Argentina. In section 3.0.0 I describe the current sociolinguistic landscape of Argentina, and the place of English in this milieu. Section 3.0.1 describes the role of English in Argentina's political economy, drawing in particular on the English language learning narrative of my research participants. Together, these sections highlight the "bivalent indexical potentiality" (Cotter and Valentinsson 2018) of English in Argentina. The subsequent section analyzes how these English language ideologies are re-created and constructed in the everyday lives of Argentina fans of Anglophone media and pop culture. Section 3.1.0 introduces the figure/social type of the "cheto" and the speech type referred to by my participants as "Spanglish", and how young adults in Argentina orient to both concepts through stance-taking and other rhetorical strategies. While "Spanglish" has become a normative mode of linguistic expression for Argentine fans of Anglophone media, it is also regarded as a marker of the snotty, elitist "cheto" persona—thus, my participants reveal several self-moderation strategies to avoid using English in the wrong place, at the wrong time, and with the wrong people. In Section 3.1.2, I analyze how these ideologies intersect with media consumption habits. Drawing on media consumption narratives as well as other sources of data, this analysis shows how media and pop culture consumption is one area in which extensive knowledge of English (if not actual use of the language) is licensed and sanctioned as an index of an educated, worldly, cosmopolitan positionality. This is evident especially in the way that Argentine fans interpret and orient to the concept of authenticity in "voices" in Anglophone mass media, and strategies for translating and interpreting them for Argentine audiences.

Together, these analyses show that when English from media and pop cultural sources gets taken up in Spanish-dominant, Argentine fan spaces, it is transformed into a form of English that can be more readily inserted into everyday life without calling up the complex history of (British) English and its attendant class dynamics. While quantity and quality of English use must still be monitored in everyday life to avoid accusations of snobbery, Argentine fans of Anglophone media use this media and pop culture as a semiotic resource for forms of English that are more

immediately linked to notions of of upward class mobility, education, and cosmopolitan worldviews, thus transforming the social significance of English in such contexts.

3.1 English in contemporary Argentina

In this section I illustrate the pervasiveness of English in the contemporary linguistic landscape of Argentina, as well as the role of English in the political-economy of Argentina. Landry and Bourhis (1997) set out a definition of "linguistic landscape" as the "visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs in a given territory or region" (23)— here I use this term more expansively to refer to the salience of particular languages in public discourse more generally. Although work on linguistic landscapes focuses primarily on visual and material representations of languages (Androutsopolous 2003), this expanded working definition allows us to understand relations between linguistic representation and the political economy of language(s) in a particular region or locale. By seeing how, where, and when English is represented in the public, visual, semiotic landscape in Argentina, as well as in broader Argentine public discourse, we can surmise something about how Argentineans see English as a political-economic tool. The perception of English as a commodified resource for (certain kinds of) upward social mobility draws simultaneously on contemporary discourses (Gee 2015) of "English as a/the global language", as well as the history of English as an elite, prestige marker in Argentina. While many Argentines see English as an important resource for job security, upward social mobility, and economic success, they also critique its role as such as a result of imperialist forces. In short, English as a linguistic code demonstrates characteristics of "bivalent indexicality"—in other words, it simultaneously indexes contrasting social meanings (Cotter and Valentinsson 2018). This overview of the linguistic landscape and political economy of English in Argentina offers a deeper background for the following two sections, in which I analyze the intersections between media consumption narratives and language ideologies, and how such intersections contribute to the construction of class positionalities among Argentine Anglophone media fans. These analyses (in section 3.2.0 and 3.2.1) show how linguistic and semiotic material circulated by Anglophone media and pop culture is taken up by Argentine fans and transformed into material that can index socially significant characteristics and personae.

3.1.0 English in Argentina's linguistic landscape

As mentioned in Section 2.2, English names and words have been present in Argentina's visual and material linguistic landscape for the last two centuries. This is largely due to the British influence in the political and cultural life of the country's early years of independence and during its growth into an established nation-state. Names of cities, sports teams, roads reflect this legacy: Alumni, Newell's Old Boys, Racing Club, and River Plate are some of the most well-known teams in the Argentine National Football League, and the most prestigious rowing and yacht clubs all have names that reflect an English-speaking history, such as "Yacht Club Argentino," "Tigre Boat Club," and "Buenos Aires Rowing Club" (Nielsen 2003, 202). Towns such as Banfield, Hurlingham, City Bell, Temperly, and Allen show a similar history (Schumacher 1981). And the capital city of Buenos Aires counts street names including "Thames", "French", "Robertson", and "Billinghurst" within its limits (and this is not limited to the ritzy, well-off neighborhoods).

The preponderance of English-language media—mostly newspapers—also reflects this history. Over the course of British involvement in the country, the Anglo-Argentine community published several widely read English-language newspapers (Graham-Yool 1981, 11, 49; Nielsen 2003, 202). Now, the Buenos Aires Herald is the only one that remains in publication, although popular news blogs such as The Bubble cover Argentine politics and culture for a growing Anglophone expat community. Of course, the vast majority of the country's media is published and produced in Spanish, including news, radio, television, music, and film. The film industry in Argentina has a notable history. In the early 20th century, it was especially robust, considered on par with Hollywood (Falicov 2006). While the industry does not currently have a Hollywood-scale budget or production output, it is still considered an important region in world cinema. Still, big-budget Hollywood films frequently outsell locally-produced films at box offices, and American television shows are widely broadcast. Movie theaters typically offer both dubbed and subtitled showings of Hollywood films. Anglophone television shows that are broadcast on national television channels are typically shown dubbed— satellite and cable channels offer more options for viewers who prefer to consume foreign media with subtitles. These consumption choices are an important signal of class status; I will discuss the semiotics of

subbing vs. dubbing within Argentine fan communities, and its relationship to the negotiation of class positionality in later sections.

English is also highly visible in the visual and material linguistic landscape of Buenos Aires. Figures 9, 10, and 11 below highlight some examples I noticed during my fieldwork.

Figure 9. Business front. Palermo, Buenos Aires, Argentina.[3]

Figure 10. Clothing store. Abasto Shopping Mall, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

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[3] Translation: Four Developers. Real Estate Development

Figure 11. Bank. Microcentro, Buenos Aires, Argentina.[4]

The use of English on business signage and advertising was relatively widespread in Buenos Aires during late January 2018 through late May of the same year. As in many similar cases, the structure of the English used in such cases is not always grammatical or semantically/pragmatically felicitous (cf. Nakassis 2016)—for instance, my participants Emilio and Pablo shared this anecdote during a broader discussion on what sorts of businesses use English in their public presentation, in Excerpt 1 below.

Excerpt 1.“Suena bien, pero...”

1	**Pablo**: tiendas de ropas (.) generalmente (.)	*clothing stores generally*
2	por ejemplo el hard rock café	*for example the hard rock café*
3	**MCV**: ajá	*mmhmm*
4	**Pablo**: justamente ahí estábamos cruzando	*we were passing by there*
5	hoy y m:	*today and*
6	**Emilio**: hay una cerca de mi casa se llama	*there's one near my house called*
7	(( )) black ants (.) tipo hormigas negras y es	*(( )) black ants (.) like black ants and it's*
8	como (.) suena bien (.) suena bien pero	*like (.) it sounds good (.) it sounds good but*
9	((laughter))	*((laughter))*

Emilio tells me about the amusing name of a clothing store near his house— "Black Ants". For a native English speaker, and even for a highly proficient L2 speaker like Emilio, this name is clearly nonsensical in as far as it relates to clothing. Although it cannot be claimed that all English business names in English-matrix or L1 English contexts necessarily relate "clearly" to

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[4] Translation: Home Banking. You want to be the owner of your life.

the products or services they offer, Emilio's laughter and use of sentence-final *pero* "but" (lines 8-9) after mentioning the name suggests that even here the name is somewhat nonsensical and strange. However, as he notes, it does "sound good" (line 8). English is considered "hip", "modern", and/or "cool", and businesses are unsurprisingly eager to tap into such indexicalities in order to market their products/services. In some industries, this leads not just to infelicitous English use, but to conflict between English and Spanish interpretive frames (Goffman 1974). While strolling around the Abasto shopping mall in central Buenos Aires, I noticed several store fronts plastered with posters reading "SALE". Even I, a native English speaker, had a confusing split second in which I interpreted the signs as communicating *leave.3sg*—the meaning conveyed by "sale" in Spanish—before I realized that the intent was to reference portrayals of consumption from (most likely) English-language media, in particular drawing on the semiotics of American shopping malls (cf. Dávila 2016). Thus, even when English is used "incorrectly", it still indexes useful social meanings for both businesses and consumers. This is especially true when English is used as a semiotic resource to index "coolness" or "hipness".

Another participant, Jodie, discussed the phenomenon of substituting English words for their Spanish equivalent in everyday speech.

Excerpt 2. "Me molesta"

1	**MCV**: se usa mucho ehm o no se frases no	*do people use um or I don't know not phrases*
2	pero que se yó palabras sueltas en inglés?	*but I dunno random words in English?*
3	**Jodie**: sí se usa mucho de hecho (.) a mi (.) a	*yes they're used a lot in fact (.) for me (.) even*
4	pesar de que (.) mezclo todo el tiempo	*though (.) I mix languages all the time*
5	idiomas m::e molesta (.) .hh ehm (.) el uso	*it bothers me (.) .hh um (.) the use*
6	de de ing — como que ahora se usa mucho	*of of eng – like now a lot of times*
7	el inglés para palabras que hay en castellano	*English is used for words that exist in Spanish*
8	[...] ((tsk)) porque me parece super forzado	*[...] ((tsk)) because it seems super forced*
9	(.) este a veces veo (.) no sé por qué ahora	*(.) like sometimes I see (.) I dunno why now*
10	((no me sale un ejemplo)) pero es como	*((I can't come up with an example)) but it's like*
11	(( )) ah por qué así? hay una palabra para	*(( )) oh why like that? there's a word for this*
12	esto que la usamos toda la vida pero ahora	*that we've used all our lives but now*
13	como está de moda usar inglés lo voy a usar	*that it's fashionable to use English I'm gonna use it*
14	en inglés (.) es como (.) es raro me parece	*in english (.) it's like (.) it's weird it seems weird*
15	raro y me parece como (.) fuera de contexto	*and it seems like (.) out of context and (.)*
16	y (.) además me parece muy ej eh: muy	*and (.) also it seems very ex um: very*
17	exclusive no? como que de des muy	*exclusive no? like you you give very*
18	excluyente perdón muy excluyente .hh	*exclusionary sorry very exclusionary .hh*
19	que marcas eh y cosas usen palabras en	*that brands um and things use words in*
20	inglés cuando tranquilamente hay una	*English when there's easily a*
21	palabra en castellano que siempre que	*word in Spanish that we've always*
22	usamos toda la vida pero que ahora la	*used all our lives but now it's*

| 23 | reemplazan (.) por ingles (.) es como por | *replaced (.) for Englsh (.) it's like* |
| 24 | qué? | *why?* |

Jodie's comments highlight that although English is relatively pervasive throughout the country's linguistic landscape, it is not universally approved of as a positive thing. She reports that, on a personal level, she's bothered by the use of English words for which commonly-understood Spanish words already exist (lines 5-7)— noting too that this is "even though"/in spite of (lines 3-4) her frequent blending of English and Spanish in other contexts. For her, the use of English words simply because they are "fashionable" (line 13) is "forced" (line 8) "weird" (lines 14-15), "out of context" (line 15) and "exclusionary" (lines 18). This sense of English use being exclusionary is clearly connected to conceptions of the historical political economy of Argentina. As I discuss in Section 2.2, English has long been a marker of the elite/ultra wealthy classes. Thus, as Jodie argues in Excerpt 2, use of it unnecessarily is potentially a sign of elitism. Note, however, how she contrasts this form of unnecessary English use with her own linguistic practice: although she mixes English and Spanish "all the time" (lines 4-5), this codeswitching/blending is a result of her involvement with English-language media fandom and thus her use of English falls into a particular domain. According to Jodie, it is fine to use English words when talking about English-language media fandom and in online spaces, but use of English words for words that already exist in Spanish is, to her, an index of elitism that should be avoided in more everyday conversational domains. In fact, in the "mixing" she describes as her own linguistic practice, Jodie frequently makes use of English words that have obvious Spanish equivalents, or widely used Spanish alternatives. For instance, I frequently observed Jodie using English-language discourse markers such as "same" (discussed in more detail in Section 4.2.1), as well as snippets of media discourse and dialogue that could easily be repeated in their Spanish translation. The more central issue, then, seems to be ideologies about where English or Spanish "should" be used, and ideas about appropriate domains of use more broadly.

Pushback against English "creep" into everyday language use is a noticeable, if not widely shared position. Nielsen (2003) reports on an "isolated" case of a mayor of a Buenos Aires suburb banning English (as well as other foreign languages) from billboards, posters, and signs in public or commercial areas (207), but several comments from my participants note that similar

attitudes do circulate through Argentine society. Consider the examples shown in Excerpts 3 and 4.

Excerpt 3. "Por las Malvinas"

1 **Pablo:** sí (.) videojuegos en la playstation mi	*yeah (.) videogames on the playstation my*
2 hermano siempre se queja mi hermano no	*brother always complains my brother doesn't*
3 sabe inglés no sabe nada (( )) miedo de	*know English doesn't know anything (( )) afraid*
4 aprender inglés (.) pero mucho de (( )) lo	*of learning English (.) but a lot of (( ))*
5 escucho (.) quejarse de que no puede jugar un	*I hear (.) him complain that he can't play a*
6 juego porque está en inglés y no entiende	*game because it's in English and he doesn't*
7 nada	*understand anything*
8 **MCV:** claro (.) y por qué se—por qué no	*right (.) and why does he—why doesn't he*
9 quiere aprender inglés?	*want to learn English?*
10 **Emilio:** eh:::	*um:::*
11 **Pablo:** tiene mucho (.) nacionalismo (.)	*he has a lot of (.) nationalism (.)*
12 ((laughter)) no?=	*((laughter)) right?=*
13 **Emilio:** =no:: eh (.) #por las malvinas#	*=no:: um (.) #because of the Malvinas#*
14 **MCV:** sí?	*yeah?*
15 **Emilio:** si por las malvinas más que nada	*yeah because of the Malvinas mostly*
16 **MCV:** tenés una cara de que no querés hablar	*you look like you don't want to talk*
17 de eso pero me interesa ((laughter))	*about it but that's interesting ((laughter))*
18 **Emilio**: y:: es algo suyo (.) también (.) pero	*well:: it's his thing (.) also (.) but*
19 más que nada por las malvinas por los	*mostly because of the Malvinas because of*
20 ingleses traidores que sé yo es todo eso	*the traitorous English I dunno all that*
21 discurso […]	*discourse [...]*
22 **MCV:** es común esa actitud o sea (.) esa	*is that a common attitude or (.) that*
23 actitud de no voy a aprender nada de inglés	*attitude of I won't learn English*
24 porque (.) por las malvinas por temas políticas?	*because (.) of the Malvinas or political reasons?*
25 **Emilio**: mm (.) supongo que para algunas	*mm (.) I suppose for some*
26 personas sí no sé	*people yeah I dunno*
27 **Pablo**: ((tiene)) que ser muy nacionalista	*((you'd have to)) be really nationalist*
28 sinceramente (.) hoy en día me parece que tiene	*honestly (.) nowadays you'd have to be*
29 que ser muy nacionalista va=	*very nationalist like=*
30 **MCV:** =o sea no es ↑ [súper común pero	*=so it's not ↑ [that common but*
31 **Pablo**: [hay gente—claro—	* [there are folks—right—*
32 hay gente he visto gente que más por lo menos	*there are folks I've seen people who more at least*
33 por ejemplo una remera que tiene la:: bandera::	*for example a shirt with the:: flag::*
34 cómo se llama esta bandera:: británica	*what's that British flag:: called*
35 **MCV:** union jack	*Union Jack*
36 **Pablo:** esa la union jack (.) he visto gente que	*right the union jack (.) I've seen people that*
37 (( )) una remera es con eso (.) por lo: las malvinas	*(( )) a shirt with that (.) because of: the malvinas*

In this excerpt, my participants Pablo and Emilio discuss Emilio's younger brother, who isn't able to play certain video games due to his lack of English skills, and the fact that it is rather uncommon for North American video game companies to translate their products for non-English speaking audiences. When I ask why Emilio's brother doesn't want to learn English (line 8-9) Pablo first explains that it's because of the brother's "nationalism" (line 11-12). Emilio, however, asserts that it is due to something slightly different: in particular, his brother's

perception of the English as "traitors" due to the Falkland Islands/Islas Malvinas conflict (lines 13, 15, 18-21). Emilio's discomfort in reporting this attitude—noticeable through his "grimace" voice quality (line 13), filled (e.g., line 13) and unfilled pauses (e.g., line 18), and vowel lengthening (e.g., line 18)—illustrate his own lack of commitment to this position, and probably also his embarrassment at reporting such an attitude to me, a North American English speaker. Pablo and Emilio both agree that this is not a particularly common stance (lines 25-29); but Pablo also notes that people who wear clothing with the Union Jack on them might be negatively received (this is my interpretation as far as it is possible to hear what Pablo says in lines 36-37— the audio is difficult to discern at this point in the recording). Negative attitudes towards English thus tend to draw on notions of the language as tool of cultural imperialism when it is transmitted through media and pop culture. Excerpt 4 contains a report of a story of similar attitudes.

Excerpt 4. "Hay que conocer al enemigo"

1	**Marta**: mirá la tía de mi ex (.) que vive en el	*look my ex's aunt (.) who lives in the*
2	sur (.) ehm a veces ella es profesora de lengua y	*south (.) um sometimes she teaches languages and*
3	de inglés (.) y a veces iba a los al bueno a los los	*English (.) and sometimes she'd go to the well to the*
4	((tsk)) más que nada los adolescentes los nenes	*the ((tsk)) mostly the teenagers the kids*
5	de primaria no tienen problema pero los	*in primary don't have this problem but the*
6	adolescentes sí tienen esa como que ah es el	*teenagers do have this like oh it's the*
7	idioma del imperio	*language of imperialism*
8	**MCV:** ah	*ah*
9	**Marta:** ella nos contaba que decían eso (.) ella	*she would tell us that they say that (.) she*
10	le—y ella muy inteligente les decía está bien	*would—and she very intelligently would say okay*
11	pero hay que conocer al enemigo les decía	*but you have to know your enemy she'd say*
12	((laughter)) con inglaterra el tema islas malvinas	*((laughter)) with England the thing with the Malvinas*
13	y toda la bola bueno (.) tiene como esa idea para	*and all that well (.) they have that idea for*
14	mi no para mi nada es un id—del el idioma es una	*me no for me not at all it's a lang—of the language*
15	herramienta punto ya esta	*is a tool full stop that's it*

Negative attitudes towards English as a result of anti-imperialist/anti-British political ideologies are obvious in this story that my participant Marta tells me about her ex-boyfriend's aunt. This aunt, a language professor at a secondary school in the south of the country, reported that her teenage students often resisted learning English because it was "the language of imperialism" (lines 6-7)—her response was to convince the students that it is useful to know one's enemy (line 11). Marta also references issues with England and the Falkland Islands/Islas Malvinas conflict as the source of these beliefs (line 12). Like Pablo and Emilio, Marta distances herself from this ideology in both direct and indirect ways. By embedding her discussion of these beliefs inside a narrative of reported speech, Marta indirectly positions herself as morally unaccountable for the

beliefs that the teens hold (Hill and Zepeda 1993; Valentinsson 2018). Immediately after relating this story, Marta also makes a direct, explicit claim to her own stance on the issue: "for me no" (line 7), "language is a tool and that's it" (line 8). As Excerpts 3 and 4 show, it was common for my participants to acknowledge the potential role of English in cultural imperialism, but much less common for them to admit to such beliefs themselves—at least not in a direct way. For participants like Pablo and Emilio, who were often involved in discussions on Tumblr about the lack of representation of points of view other than White, English-speaking, North-American positionalities in media, claiming such a critique directly, as Pablo's brother does, would put them in a complicated position with respect to their own participation in Anglophone media fandom. Indeed, why would one put hours and hours of effort into learning a language that you consider "a tool of imperialism", just to be able to better understand a television show or read fanfiction?

While several Doctor Who fans in this study reported negative attitudes on the street when wearing fan merchandise from the show that featured a British flag, I cannot say that I personally noticed the general public engaging in any kind of angry, aggressive, or otherwise negative behavior towards folks displaying the Union Jack on their clothing or on public signage. I noted several cases in my field notes where I observed British iconography (particularly the Union Jack flag) used in fashion and dress: for example, on a man's shirt on the bus from my middle-class neighborhood to ritzier Recoleta, and on a commuter's messenger bag on a train ride to a fan convention outside of the city center. It was also used widely in store signage, and naturally in the iconography of various English institutes around town (refer back to Figure 3, showing the awning of the British English Institute).

However, examples of other kinds of hostility towards British iconography and other groups of English speakers can be seen in the visual semiotic landscape of Argentina (and particularly Buenos Aires). One day, walking up Austria Street in the upper-class neighborhood of Recoleta, I passed a building that appeared to be affiliated with a Peronist political group. There was a display in the window which featured exhortations to Brazil, which borders Argentina in the north and north-east, to "not betray the Argentine and [Latin] American cause", "stop

70

collaborating with the Colonialist British" and to continue to acknowledge Argentine claims of sovereignty over the Falkland Islands (see Figure 12, image taken by Google maps in 2017).

Figure 12. Peronist, anti-British imperialism display in building window. Recoleta, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Such a strongly anti-British, anti-colonial attitude is probably not surprising to see expressed in a pro-Peronist display. References to American imperialism were also fairly common, particularly in street graffiti in and around Palermo and Recoleta, two of the top touristic neighborhoods. The image in Figure 13 shows one example of this — *yanki*, sometimes also spelled *yanqui* is a colloquial term for (North) Americans, an adaptation of the English word *yankee*.

Figure 13. Anti-North American graffiti. Recoleta, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Still more subtle expressions of anti-English/British sentiment were noticeable in other ways. The photograph in Figure 14, taken in the upper-middle-class neighborhood of Palermo, references an (at the time) upcoming national film release. The film *No llores por mí, Inglaterra*

(2018, dir. Néstor Montalbano) was advertised as a historical comedy situated during the 1806 British invasion of Buenos Aires, with a highly fictionalized plot of how soccer entered the Argentine national consciousness, and how Argentina developed its world-renowned talent in the sport. In this advertisement for the film, the blue and white stripes of the Argentine flag are seen superimposed over the Union Jack flag. At the top, the phrase "we stole soccer from them" appears in prominent white lettering. The title of the film— *Don't cry for me, England*—is of course an intertextual reference to the most popular song from the *Evita* musical. While the *Evita* song has a tragic and defeated tone, this reinterpretation of the title is more likely meant to be boastful and heroic. Overall, this advertisement, and many of the other advertisements for this film, seemed to depict an assertive (if humorous) stance of anti-British, pro-nationalist pride.

Figure 14. Advertisement for *No llores por mí, Inglaterra* film. Palermo, Buenos Aires, Argentina.[5]

The stories that my participants reported about their family members or friends-of-friends avoiding learning English, or feeling annoyed by the presence of certain English words in their everyday lives, draw on a sense of the historical relationship between Argentina and Great Britain that I discuss in Section 2.2. Just as Great Britain functionally operated in Argentina as a colonizing force, there is a widespread sense that the English language and those who speak it (the British, and to a lesser extent Americans) are "forcing themselves into Argentina". However, as Marta suggested in Excerpt 4, these discourses are held simultaneously to and in contrast with discourses that frame the English language as a tool for upward social mobility. I now turn to discussing some of the ways English is framed as a useful skill for such purposes, and the critiques that arise from these discourses.

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[5] Translation: We stole football from them. Don't cry for me, England. May 31st/Only in Theatres.

3.1.1 The political economy of English in Argentina

While an examination of the linguistic and semiotic landscape of Argentina, and how English fits into it, reveals that negative attitudes towards English and English speakers do exist, it is also widely understood that English is an important resource for education, economic success, and upward social mobility in general. In this section I discuss this further through an examination of the political economy of the English language in Argentina. By political economy, I refer to the "technologies and processes governing the valuation of resources as well as their production, circulation, and consumption within a given place and at a specific moment in time" (Del Percio, Flubacher, and Duchêne 2017 ¶ 1; see also Gal 1989, McElhinny 2015). As Irvine (1989) notes, "the allocation of resources, the coordination of production, and the distribution of goods and services, seen (as they must be) in political perspective, involve linguistic forms and verbal practices in many ways" (249). In addition, shaping the flow and circulation of an economy, linguistic skills and resources are often treated as commodities themselves (Shankar and Cavanaugh 2012). One of the commonly-assumed "facts" about this era of increased globalization is that North American (or at least global powers) interests, aesthetics, and regimes of labor and consumption dominate—this is described by Appadurai 1996, Kraidy 2002, and is hinted at in Excerpts 3 and 4, in which my participants tell stories of others who resist English and Anglophone cultural products as a means of resisting cultural imperialism. Across a range of cultural and temporal contexts, this has led to a Discourse (cf. Gee 2015) of English as "a" or "the" global language (cf. Crystal 2003). Within these Discourses, English linguistic skills are seen as a critical part of constructing a "marketable" position in a job market. Knowledge of English is seen as a marker of good education, which is often expected to translate into high-paying, middle-class professions. It is also seen as a requisite characteristic of a worldly, global, cosmopolitan citizen (Nakassis 2016, Zhang 2018).

Friedrich's (2003) survey-based work identifies many aspects of these discourses among Argentine MBA students. Collected during and immediately after the major economic crisis at the turn of the millennium, her data shows that business students perceive a strong, salient link between development of English linguistic skills and "material success". Friedrich (2003) also reported the results of a meta-analysis of job advertisements in major Argentine newspapers: "for at least 50 percent of the positions English was required and for many others it was desired"

74

(174). The strong links these MBA students reported between English skills and employment possibilities cannot be solely traced to contemporary perceptions of the international job market. Indeed, as seen in Excerpts 3 and 4, negative beliefs about a perceived British or American colonial/imperialist force *do* affect some people's attitudes towards and perceptions of the English language. Furthermore, while several of my participants agreed (with Friedrich's MBA students) that English is useful or beneficial in a job search or job advancement, many also insisted that it was not strictly necessary, particularly not for "unskilled" positions. Knowledge of English is considered by most of my participants to be, more than anything, a display of cultural capital (Bourdieu 1985)— useful, but not strictly necessary for employment opportunities. The following excerpt of a conversation with Pablo and Emilio about "advanced" levels of English education in Argentina highlights this.

Excerpt 5. "**Lo mío se mezclo mucho con videojuegos**"

1	**MCV:** y de eso sacaste (.) o sea (.) como te parece	*and from there you got (.) or like (.) what do you*
2	el nivel de inglés que sacaste del colegio?	*think of the level of English you got in school?*
3	**Emilio**: y lo mío se mezclo mucho con videojuegos	*well mine is mixed up a lot with videogames*
4	y series asi qué (.) sí saque un buen nivel (.) creo	*and series so (.) yea I learned a lot in school (.)*
5	que tengo un buen nivel (.) un nivel avanzado no	*I think I have a good level (.) an advanced level not*
6	fluido fluido pero avanzado (.) puedo tener una	*fluent fluent but advanced (.) I can have a*
7	conversación formal [(( ))	*formal conversation [(( ))*
8	**Pablo**: [a mi me parece que ((bastante	*[to me it seems that ((you're very*
9	fluido eres)) […]	*fluent)) [...]*
10	**Emilio**: o sea (.) me sé las reglas de ortografía y	*so like (.) I know orthographic rules and*
11	cosas así (.) y puedo mantener una conversación	*things like that (.) and I can have a formal*
12	formal […] pero que me enseñan es ingles británico	*conversation [...] but they teach British English*
13	y formal en la escuela	*and formal English in school*
14	**MCV:** claro (.) entonces lo lo informal lo sacaste de	*right (.) so the the informal stuff you got out of*
15	(.) de dónde?	*(.) from where?*
16	**Emilio**: eh:: la media	*uh:: the media*
17	**Pablo:** ((laughter))	*((laughter))*
18	**MCV:** las series? comics?	*tv series? comics?*
19	**Emilio**: sí (.) ((era de)) eso	*yeah (.) ((it was)) from that*

Emilio attributes his high proficiency in English (as assessed informally by me, earlier in this conversation, and Pablo here in lines 8-9) to a "mix" of his formal schooling, and his informal exposure to English through engagement with (presumably English-language) media products and media fandom (lines 3-7). The collocation of "British" and "formal" in lines 12-13 suggests an overlap with certain U.S. ideologies of British English, namely that (at least certain varieties of British English) are inherently more "formal" sounding (and that they also sound more

"intelligent", "refined", etc). Per Emilio, his experience with English education in school settings is mostly useful for knowing spelling/orthographic rules and how to carry on a formal conversation (line 10-13). The conversational proficiency he displays in casual interactional settings is due, in his perspective, to extensive engagement with media (lines 3, 16, 19). This excerpt shows that the varieties/forms of English that convey prestige on the job market—British, formal, taught in school—are contrasted with forms of English that are more "legitimate" within media fandom spaces, particularly as they are learned within such spaces.

Writing about South Korea, Shim (1994: 225) argues that the prestigious status of English in that country can be observed given "the emphasis that the education system and the job market place on English" (See also Park 2010). The same is true in Argentina, where English has been given more emphasis in the educational system than other languages. In 1993, the Argentine federal government made English-language instruction obligatory starting in late primary school; by 2006, it was made obligatory throughout secondary education (Porto 2016). While public schools are encouraged to offer other foreign languages in their curriculum, it is not obligatory, and often not feasible due to lack of resources and qualified teachers. Despite being mandated by the government, and popularly supported, resources and staffing problems exist for English-language instruction, so the quality is uneven at best. There are also at least 100 "bilingual" schools in Argentina (i.e. that offer instruction in both Spanish and English). While historically designed as "heritage" schools for the Anglo-Argentine community, the vast majority, if not all, are currently private, fee-paying institutions. Although the fees differ quite widely across institutions, few scholarships exist, so conditions of "elite bilingualism" are created (Banfi and Day 2015). English-language instructional policy in both public and private schools are geared towards developing a utilitarian competence for engaging in global, cosmopolitan employment and educational markets (Banfi and Day 2016, Porto 2016).

Another important feature of English-language education in Argentina is the prevalence of English "institutes", or *institutos de inglés. Institutos de inglés* (often colloquially referred to simply as *institutos*) are extra-scholastic educational organizations that offer specialized instruction in the English language. They are dotted across the landscape of most neighborhoods in Buenos Aires, and (to my knowledge), exist in every major city in the interior. They differ in pedagogical approach, faculty background, and student outcomes, but on a basic level all offer a

few hours per week of English-language instruction meant, in theory, to supplement school training and lessons. Many also offer adult English classes. (No work that I am aware of has described the policies, pedagogy, or history of English institutes in Argentina specifically, so this description comes primarily from explanations provided by my research participants).

Two of my research participants claimed that there was only one English *instituto* in the greater Buenos Aires area that specifically and explicitly taught American English. My own investigation suggests that there may in fact be a small handful of American English-focused schools, but it is notable that my participants find the lack of American English *institutos* to be so salient. Either way, beyond the focus on a less "useful" dialect, most of my participants reported the level of English language instruction—at public schools, private schools, and extracurricular *institutos*—did not deliver the linguistic skills necessary to achieve the kind of economic success posited by "English as a global language" discourses. Amongst my participants, typical stories of English language learning began with narratives about the lack of quality language education in school. Many such narratives repeated the notion that school lessons typically focused only on vocabulary, or reviewed the same basic grammatical structures year after year after year. When students do not do well in English language classes via traditional schooling methods, parents often register their children for extracurricular classes in English *institutos*. Before beginning my research, I assumed that the most active members of English-language media fandom would have sought out this additional English training to improve their abilities to engage with online, English-dominant fan groups. Virtually none of them reported such an orientation to *institutos*. Instead, my participants overwhelmingly described being sent to institutes by their parents, when their school grades in English language subject areas were not as high as their parents desired. Such decisions were motivated, at least in part, by parents' desires for their children to develop skills that would be beneficial in securing good employment.

It is of course important to note that, because *institutos* are fee-based, they are not equally accessible to all Argentines. Although Jodie attended a publicly-subsidized English institute, most of my participants who had received English-language instruction at an *instituto* paid out of pocket. While the tuition fees at an *instituto* are typically much lower than full tuition at a private bilingual school, the general economic situation of the country makes access to this

resource precarious even for middle-class families. A respondent to one of my online surveys described this fee structure as a feature in the uneven levels of English-language education access socio-economic classes**.**

Excerpt 6. "Existe una marcada diferencia"

1 Existe una marcada diferencia entre la calidad de	*There's a clear difference between the quality of*
2 instrucción en la lengua inglesa a la que pueden	*English-language instruction that the middle and*
3 acceder las clases medias y altas, y aquellas a las	*upper classes can access, and what more lower*
4 que acceden las clases más bajas. Si bien todos	*classes can access. Even though everyone has a*
5 tienen una instrucción general y más o menos	*general level of instruction that's more or less equal*
6 equivalente según las estipulaciones del estado y el	*per state policy and the educational system, the*
7 sistema educativo, las clases medias y altas por lo	*middle and upper classes generally send their kids to*
8 general envían a sus hijos a institutos o profesoras.	*institutes or to private lessons and they continue their*
9 particulares y continúan la instrucción por fuera del	*learning outside of the formal educational system*
10 sistema educativo formal.	

As this comment, and many of the other pieces of data I have shown here suggest, access to English-language learning opportunities, regardless of quality, is classed. To be more specific, English linguistic resources—access to learning opportunities, knowledge of English and, to a lesser extent, ways of consuming English-language media and pop cultural products—are symbolic tools in the production of class distinctions in Argentina. While the modern relationship between English use and socioeconomic class is not as rigid as it was during the heyday of British involvement in Argentina (see Section 2.2), it is still clearly tied to notions of middle- and upper-classness. Development of English linguistic skill is seen both as something the middle- and upper-classes have better access too, and as something that is key to upward social mobility. Indeed, despite many of my participants asserting that English is a benefit, but not *necessary* on the job market, there *are* material consequences to having (or not having) a proficient command of English. The story in Excerpt 7 discusses how these tensions played out in the career trajectory of Marta's father.

Excerpt 7. "Tenés que poder habler con el presidente de la empresa en inglés"

1 **Marta**: no es que por saber inglés vas a tener el	*it's not that if you know English you'll get the*
2 trabajo que quieras (.) no (.) ((no sé)) de traductor	*job you want (.) no (.) I dunno as a translator*
3 por ahí=	*maybe*
4 **MCV**: =claro=	*of course*
5 **Marta**: =pero no eh: (.) no bueno s—de gerente en	*but no eh (.) no well s—as a manager in*
6 una empresea (.) sí (.) mi papa nunca su—nunca	*a company (.) yes (.) my dad never—never got*
7 subió de puesto porque no sabe inglés (.) no sabe	*promoted because he doesn't know English (.)*
8 inglés (.) aunque lo intentó y todo nunca pudo	*doesn't know English (.) even though he tried and all*

9 porque no sabe inglés entonces siempre se quedó	*he never could get a promotion because he doesn't*
10 en el mismo puesto de siempre (.) hace veinte años	*know English so he stayed in the same position as*
11 (.) .hh (.) bueno para él inglés abre puertas porque	*(.) it's been twenty years (.) .hh (.) well for him*
12 justo fue el obstáculo que a él no le dejo subir (.)	*English opens doors because that was exactly the*
13 pero no siempre (.) no siempre es ese el obstáculo	*obstacle that didn't let him rise (.) but it's not always*
14 **MCV:** y de qué trabaja tu padre? o sea—	*and what work does your father do? like—*
15 **Marta:** eh: es empleado en una fábrica (.) […]	*um: he works in a factory (.) […]*
16 tiene un puesto jerárquico (.) eh pero para la gente	*he's in a hierarchical position (.) um but for the folks*
17 de ahí de la fábrica es tipo (.) eh (.) gerente como de	*there in the factory he's like (.) um (.) a manager for*
18 man— no es gerente es como encargado de	*the man—he's a not a manager he's like in charge of*
19 mantenimiento […] contrata a la gente (( )) los	*maintenance […] he hires people (( )) the*
20 jardineros la gente de limpieza como que se ocupa	*gardeners the cleaning people like he's in charge*
21 del mantenimiento de la fábrica (.) pero como es una	*of factory maintenance (.) but since it's a*
22 multinacional […] y los gerentes hablan inglés el los	*multinational […] and the managers speak English*
23 el presidente de la empresa […] bueno el chabón ese	*the president of the company […] well that guy he*
24 habla inglés (.) si vos sos un gerente un manager lo	*speaks English (.) if you're a boss a manager or*
25 que sea (.) director (.) tenés que poder hablar con el	*whatever (.) director (.) you have to be able to speak*
26 presidente de la empresa (.) en inglés (.) bueno (.) eh	*with the president of the company (.) in English (.)*
27 así funcionan los multinacionales	*that's how multinationals work*

While Marta's father was able to reach a managerial position in his work at a factory outlet for a multinational company, she reports that his further promotion was stymied due to his lack of English skills. To advance to higher managerial positions in a multinational company, you must be able to speak to the company president—which, in this case, means speaking English (lines 5-6, 24-26). (The parent company of the factory Marta's father works for is indeed an American company). So, while her father's cultural capital includes enough resources for him to secure a job with a stable, middle-class income, his lack of English is in fact the very thing preventing him from accessing a more cosmopolitan, "globalized" form of upward social mobility, at least in Marta's estimation. Although this was the only story I collected in which English linguistic skills were framed as having specifically hampered someone's career trajectory, there was a pervasive sense of English as a "tool" that "opened doors"—and therefore a skill worth developing for individuals with global/cosmopolitan sensibilities. Indeed, for many Argentineans, including Marta, English is taken for granted as the default language of the global, cosmopolitan business sphere. As she states in line 27, "that's how multinational [corporations] work"—obligatorily in English, especially in the higher positions.

3.1.2 The bivalent indexical potentiality of English in Argentina

In Sandra Billings' work on language and globalization in Tanzanian beauty pageants, English is seen as both tool for success and an index for having achieved it (Billings 2013, 3). The data I have presented in this section suggest that my participants interpret English in a rather similar

way, in that the valorization of different forms of English is not consistent among Argentines, which reveals different ideologies about its cultural value. In Argentina generally, the entanglements between the pseudo-colonial history of English in Argentina, and the contemporary perception of English as a tool for/index of "success" and global, cosmopolitan lifestyle orientations makes using English in everyday life a meaningful, loaded choice. This set of meaning relationships reflects what Cotter and Valentinsson (2018) term a bivalent indexical potentiality— in the broadest sense, English can index both of these contrasting local notions of elitist exclusivity and global notions of upward social mobility simultaneously. These two contrasting ideologies—the more positively-valued sense of English as a tool for upward social mobility and as an index of a globally cosmopolitan positionality, and the more negatively-valued association between English and cultural imperialism—form the bedrock for the various indexical associations related to English in Argentina. In practice, English use can index a range of social characteristics and characterological figures that encompass and refer to these more general bivalent discourses. Eckert's concept of the "indexical field" (2008) allows us to see the range of social types and characteristics that can be generated by English use. In the next section, I turn to an analysis of stance-taking in media consumption narratives, specifically focusing on how such discursive moves allows Anglophone media fans to align and/or disalign themselves with the characteristics and social types generated by the indexical field of English in Argentina.

3.2 The construction of English language ideologies through stance and positionality in fan discourse

In this section, I take a primarily discourse analytic approach to analyzing stance-taking and positioning strategies in personal narratives and online discourse of Argentine fans of Anglophone media and popular culture. I look at stance-taking and positioning with respect to salient class-based personae, and the linguistic practices associated with such personae; as well as stance-taking with respect to different languages and voices in the media.

Argentine fans of Anglophone media use techniques of alignment and disalignment (Goffman 1981, Bucholtz and Hall 2005) in order to activate desirable areas of English's indexical field (Eckert 2008), while simultaneously downplaying the historical and contemporary discourses that shape the characteristics and types present in the language's indexical field. These fans also

take up similar stances towards dubbing and subtitling of Anglophone media as a way to position themselves with respect to broader cultural discourses, particularly those relating to age/maturity, class/education, and authenticity. Overall, these stance-taking strategies illustrate a careful balance of the competing/bivalent indexical potentialities afforded by English use generally.

3.2.0 Class, Personae, Spanglish, and the English Indexical Field

Ideas about English, and English use itself, can be used by Argentine members of English-language media fandoms as a way to negotiate their stance towards both locally and globally circulating discourses of class. To begin to illustrate this claim, I begin with a piece of data that introduces two salient class-based personae in the Argentine social landscape. My use of the term "personae" draws primarily on Eckert (2005), and Agha (2007). Eckert (2005) lays out the most straightforward understanding of how the term can be used: *personae* are "particular social types that are quite explicitly located in the social order", with "ways of speaking" (a.k.a. linguistic *styles*) as key to producing them (17). Agha (2007)'s formulation of the concept frames it as a "characterological figure" (54), with an associated, recognizeable "register" of speech. When a style/register or persona becomes widely recognized and distinguishable from other styles/registers/personae, it is considered to be "enregistered", i.e. "widely recognized" (Agha 2007, 235). The enregisterment of a particular style or persona allows it to be "troped upon"— that is, stereotyped, recontextualized, and circulated within and across social groups and formations (Agha 2007).

In particular, I highlight several cases of what I call *distancing and alignment techniques*— linguistic stance-taking moves that allow these speakers to acknowledge, but not claim or identify with, the personae or characterological figures that are linked to certain linguistic styles. Similar to frameworks of alignment/disalignment established in Goffman 1981 and Bucholtz and Hall 2005, this concept is proposed as a lens through which to see how relatively small-scale aspects of interaction shape broader pattens of social relations and language ideologies. By engaging in this type of stance-taking, Argentine fans of English-language media and pop culture create the space/conditions that enable them to adopt a certain style of English use, while avoiding the potentially negative connotations associated with other personae strongly linked to English use (which I discuss in Sections 2.2 and 3.1) . This analysis illustrates another way in which the linguistic material from English-language media (and related discourses) gets

reappropriated and transformed, particularly into indexes of specific social characteristics or characterological figures in Argentina.

The piece of data that introduces the two personae at issue here comes from an English language learning narrative" (discussed in Section 2.0.2)—in these interviews, participants discussed why and how they learned English, as well as how that experience has shaped their participation in Anglophone media fandom. In these conversations, I often brought up the questions of whether English learning or English use was associated with any particular social group. Pablo and Emilio's take on this question is shown below in Excerpt 8.

Excerpt 8. "Chetos"

1	**MCV:** o sea (.) [cuáles son los grupos que (.) que se	*so like (.) what ar the groups that (.) that you notice*
2	nota un (.) más uso de inglés?	*(.) more use of English?*
3	**Pablo**: [clase alta [clase alta	*upper class upper class*
4	**Emilio:** [chetos=	*chetos*
5	**Pablo**: =sí	*yea*
6	**MCV:** ((laughter)) […]	*((laughter))*
7	**Pablo:** [ehm: clase alta	*um: upper class*
8	**Emilio:** [chetos (.) más:: sí más o menos clase=	*chetos (.) more:: yeah more or less class=*
9	**Pablo**: =media alta=	*=upper middle=*
10	**Emilio**: =entre media y alta=	*=between middle and upper=*
11	**Pablo**: =sí	*=yea*
12	**MCV:** claro	*of course*
13	**Pablo:** [y sobre todo que tiene mucho: (.) que	*and above all someone that has a lot: (.) that*
14	**MCV:** [pero hay otra cosa—clase alta pero [también	*but is there anything else—upper class but also*
15	**Emilio**: [supongo	*I suppose*
16	que sería [la el acento de LA	*that it would be like the LA accent*
17	**Pablo:** [que se muestra mucho::	*that they use a lot of::*
18	**Emilio**: creo que eso es el acento […] [tipo ese tipo	*I think it's that type of accent [...] like that type of*
19	de acento eso sería un cheto […] de libro	*accent would a cheto [...] by the book*
20	**Pablo**: de libro (.) muy de libro .hh […]	*textbook cheto (.) very textbook .hh [...]*
21	**Emilio:** de ahí salió tipo me empezó dar miedo decir	*that's why like I started to get afraid to say*
22	sorry en voz alta porque=	*sorry out loud because=*
23	**Pablo**: =~ay sorry~	*=~ay sorry~*
24	**Emilio**: porque se usa ~ay sorry:~ (.)	*because they say ~ay sorry:~*
25	**MCV:** wow	*wow*
26	**Emilio**: tipo (.) ~na:: tipo~ [cosas así	*like (.) ~no:: like~ [things like that*
27	**Pablo:** [~ay no porque na que~	*[~oh no because no because~*
28	.hh sí	*.hh yeah*
29	**MCV:** y por qué eso por qué el inglés?	*and why that why Engish?*
30	**Pablo**: porque tienen mejor hh. educación: [de (.)	*because they have better hh. education: [of (.)*
31	en cuanto al inglés y todo eso probablemente	*with respect to English and all that probably*
32	**Emilio**: [sí	*[yeah*
33	porque pudieron pagar una mejor educación	*because they could pay for a better education*
34	**Pablo**: ((tsk)) (.) mm	*((tsk)) (.) mm*
35	**MCV**: es por eso	*it's because of that*
36	**Emilio**: o porque son hijos de (.) ingleses	*or because they are the children of (.) English folks*

37	**MCV:** mm	*mm*
38	**Emilio**: también	*that too*
39	**Pablo:** y porque £[((van mucho a)) estados unidos	*and because £[((they often go to)) the US*
40	(.) y porque ((van mucho a)) estados unidos £	*(.) and because ((they often go to)) the US*
41	**Emilio**: £[((laughter)) obviamente ellos£ (.)	*£[((laughter)) obviously they (.)*
42	obviamente ellos si tienen tipo (.) plata y cosas así=	*obviously they yeah have like (.) money and all that=*
43	**Pablo:** =sí	*=yeah*
44	**MCV:** ((…)) y ok ya y aparte de los (.) los chetos	*((…)) and okay and aside from the (.) the chetos*
45	(.) otro grupo otro—	*(.) any other group that—*
46	**Emilio:** estudiantes supongo (.) va:: (.) y escuelas	*students I guess (.) well:: (.) and bilingual*
47	bilingües (.) estudiantes gente que anda mucho en	*schools (.) students people who spend a lot of time*
48	internet [gente que juega muchos videojuegos […]	*on the internet [people who play a lot of videogames*
49	**Pablo:** igual tienen un::: inglés medio:: como:: raro	*but still their:: English is sort of:: like:: weird*
50	(.) deformado (.) los que juegan videojuegos (.) […]	*(.) deformed (.) people who play videogames (.) […]*
51	sí (.) tienen como (.) deforman lo: [las cosas el el	*yeah (.) they have like (.) they deform [things the the*
52	**Emilio**: [la comunidad	*[the otaku*
53	otaku entonces así también usan bastante	*community so they also do use it a lot*
54	**Pablo:** sí (.) deforman un poco el inglés (.) en cierto	*yeah (.) they deform a bit the English (.) in a*
55	sentido (.) eh:: la forma en la que hablan (.) no?	*sense (.) um:: the way they speak (.) no?*
56	pero por ahí no saben lo que (.) o sea no saben como	*but maybe they don't know what the (.) or like they*
57	se pronuncia entonces lo pronuncian de una manera	*don't know how to pronounce so they pronounce it*

The salience of the link between English use and a particular kind of class-based persona is evidenced by the fact that, before I had even completed my initial question (lines 1-2), Pablo and Emilio opened with overlapping responses (lines 3-5, 7-8) naming a particular quality ("high/upper class") and a related persona ("cheto"). "Cheto" is an Argentine slang word that refers to a snobby, stuck-up rich kid.

Figure 15. Screenshot of "COMO SER CHETO!!" parodic YouTube video.

Figure 15 is a screenshot from a humor video by an Argentine YouTuber describing "how to be cheto". He mentions expensive cars, international travel, designer clothes as part of "cheto"

practice. As illustrated by this frame, peppering your speech with English words is another marker of "cheto" practice—note the stylized spelling of the English word "what?" in white above the actor's face. Pablo and Emilio's own definition of "cheto" is elaborated in lines 7-13 and 30-42, where they mention qualities such as being from a high or middle-to high socioeconomic class, education, money, travel, and family connections, in addition to a general sense of "English use" as suggested by the first question-answer sequence (lines 1-4). The link that Emilio draws between the English use of "chetos" and class seems interesting, in that he points to the notion of an "LA" (i.e. Los Angeles) accent as a source for their style of speaking (lines 15-16); although it is not surprising that someone deeply familiar and engaged with American media would connect such a widely circulated media stereotype from Anglophone media to the figures and social types in their own cultural milieu. The wider cultural stereotypes of Americans as wealthy, self-centered, and annoying overlap in some ways with the more local "cheto" stereotype that Emilio points to here. Ultimately, he is drawing on the notion of "LA" (forms of speech, personae, et cetera) as rich, exclusive, and stuck-up (cf. Stewart et al. 1985) as a comparison to the Argentine figure of the "cheto"—a rich, exclusive, stuck-up type of person.

Based on the content of this excerpt, as well as various other discussions about this characterological type, it is also clear for Emilio and Pablo, alignment with a "cheto" persona or style is something to be avoided. Specifically, Emilio tells us he is now scared to say (the English word) "sorry" out loud (line 21-22), since it might be seen as a feature of "cheto" style or "cheto" persona, a characteristic which he does not claim for himself and does not want others to associate with him. This move is one of several examples of distancing techniques evident throughout this excerpt. By claiming that he is "afraid" to use stylistic features that might index a "cheto" (or, indirectly, an "LA") persona, Emilio is positing a quite visceral desire to not be positioned or grouped with such people. It generates an implication that Emilio will change (or has changed) his own behavior in order to distance himself from the "cheto" persona. This particular distancing technique also shares similarities with Taha (2017)'s formulation of *shadow subjects* (cf. Irvine 1996 on *shadow conversations*): by claiming that he adjusts his own linguistic practice to avoid the "cheto" label, Emilio is positing the existence both of a "cheto" persona, and also that overuse of the word "sorry" as a characteristic of said persona, while simultaneously positioning himself in (moral) disalignment with "chetos".

Further on, Pablo and Emilio name some other groups in their social milieu who might use English in their everyday speech: students, people who use the internet a lot, gamers, and "otakus", that is, people engaged with Japanese media like anime and manga. For these groups, qualities or characteristics such as having a high level of education, having enough money/leisure time to buy technology for web browsing/gaming, and playing games on an expensive system are further links to upper-middle and upper-class positionalities. Specifically, "cheto" emerges as a sort of new-elite persona—but not *too* new, as it still retains English use as one of the classic markers of upper-classness in Argentina (refer back to Section 2.2). While the English use of "chetos" is clearly marked (in that it seems to have an "LA" accent—that is, the accent of a snobbish, rich, American social type), they describe the English use of these other groups as much more so, in particular calling it "deformed" (lines 49-51) with respect to pronunciation especially (lines 54-57). On its own, this can be taken as another distancing technique— by setting up an "other" form of English use, they are able to generate the implication that their own forms of English use are separate, distant, perhaps "properly" formed. More generally, the *form* that English takes in Argentine speech is another salient characteristic in conversations about English use. During the social media "think aloud" task I conducted with Marta, code mixing/codeswitching was brought up as one such marked form.

Excerpt 9. "Hablan todo en Spanglish"

1	**Marta**: sí las chicas de TARDIS mucho en	*yea the girls from TARDIS often on*
2	Facebook hablan todo en Spanglish (.) todo (.)	*Facebook speak all in Spanglish (.) everything (.)*
3	mezclan cosas— ay el otro día vi un post— no era	*they mix things—oh the other day I saw a post—not*
4	de ellas era de una página que que decía cosas (.)	*from them it was from a page that said things (.)*
5	como (.) tres palabras en castellano dos en inglés	*like (.) three words in Spanish two in English*
6	después dos en castellano cuatro en inglés y £así	*then two in Spanish four in English and £like that*
7	como todo mezclado y era muy gracioso£	*all mixed up and it was so funny£*

Like Emilio's linking of the "LA" accent to the "cheto" social type, Marta's use of the term "Spanglish" illustrates another case in which U.S./American-based language ideologies shape her understanding of language use in her fan communities. In this case North American ideologies about Spanglish being amusing or humorous in its structure are taken up by Marta. The sociolinguistic and linguistic anthropological literature on code-switching/mixing and other forms of linguistic hybridization between Spanish and English in the U.S. has shown that

mainstream ideologies of this practice link it to incomplete language acquisition, inferior intellect, poor education, racialized ethnic categories, and immigrant status—despite these links being untenable from a scientific perspective. Even U.S. populations who have this sort of linguistic practice as part of their regular linguistic repertoires have been found to hold negative opinions about it (García and Otheguy 2014; Hill 1993, 1998; Otheguy and Stern 2010; Rothman and Rell 2005; Urciuoli 1991, 1996; Zentella 1997, 2003). Marta's comments here do not suggest her view of what she calls "Spanglish" is quite so virulently negative as mainstream U.S. ideologies of the practice, but her evaluation of it as "funny" does suggest that she sees it as perhaps unserious and informal. Indeed, one of the "*TARDIS* girls" that Marta is naming here as a Spanglish user is Jodie, who does hold some negative perceptions of blended English-Spanish linguistic practices. Recall Excerpt 2 in the previous section, in which Jodie remarked that even though she herself "mixes languages" all the time, it bothers her to hear English words used when a Spanish equivalent is readily available. Jodie's take is that these singleton English lexical switches come into use simply because they are "cool", and this interest in performative coolness is framed negatively (in that Jodie is clearly annoyed by it, claims it is "exclusionary", et cetera). Through their descriptions and evaluations of linguistic practices in which English is salient, both Marta and Jodie discursively *distance* themselves from such styles. Marta, who is a highly proficient English speaker and who I have heard using English and Spanish simultaneously, names "the girls" from the group and other Facebook pages as speakers (or rather users) of "Spanglish". Despite being a member of that group herself, this framing effectively erases her participation in it, allowing her to claim separation and distance from their linguistic practices. Jodie, on the other hand, is willing to claim "mixing" as part of her own linguistic repertoire, but sets up a particular sub-genre of the practice (i.e., using English words when a Spanish word for the same thing already exists) to identify as undesirable or annoying, thus distancing herself from both the linguistic practice itself and, by extension, those who engage in such practices.

Although Marta's comment does not name a particular characterological figure or social type associated with the speech style she terms "Spanglish", Jodie's description of attitudes or stances associated with the use of occasional English lexical items ("it's fashionable", "exclusionary", Excerpt 2) seemed to track with some of the stances and characteristics associated with "chetos" that Pablo and Emilio had described to me in Excerpt 8. For this reason, I followed up with them

in a text message exchange about whether "Spanglish" as a specific form of English use would also be associated with the "cheto" persona. The exchange is reproduced in the excerpt below.

Excerpt 10. "O piensan que somos snob o piensan que somos raro"

1	**MCV:** we talked about how if certain people in	
2	certain contexts used English here it might	
3	be seen as chet@, is that true for Spanglish/code	
4	switching also? like if someone saw the texts you	
5	have where you switch back and forth between	
6	English & Spanish a lot do you think they might	
7	think you're snobbish or something like that?	
8	**Emilio**: Creo que pensarían que somos raros más	*I think they'd think we're weird more*
9	que nada, si fuera que nos escucharon irl si	*than anything, if they heard us irl yea*
10	sonaría snobbish pero leído no se	*it would sound snobbish but read I don't know*
11	**MCV:** Jaja	*Haha*
12	**MCV:** Ok fair enough	
13	**Pablo**: Mmm depende de la cantidad de inglés uno	*Mmm it depends on the amount of English one*
14	pensaría que está bien o que uno es cheto	*would think is ok or that you're cheto*
15	**Pablo**: Porque en si hay varias palabras que la gente	*Because they are several words that people*
16	usa del inglés	*use from English*
17	**Pablo:** (por ahí se puede ver sobretodo en twitter)	*(you can see that mostly on twitter)*
18	**Pablo**: o incluso instagram	*or even instagram*
19	**Emilio**: Amor usamos demasiado el inglés o piensan	*My love we use so much English either they think*
20	que somos snob o piensan que somos raro no hay in	*we're snobs or they think we're weird there's no*
21	between	*in between*
22	**Emilio**: Por snob me refiero a tincho ofc	*By snob I mean tincho of course*
23	**Pablo**: Algo que me acuerdo es de un grupo de	*Something I remember is a group of*
24	chicxs que hablaban de temas de fandom (ponele	*folks who talked about fandom things (like*
25	shipping) cerca de 2014 y yo no estaba metido	*shipping) around 2014 and I wasn't involved*
26	todavía, no sabía de qué hablaban pero parecían	*yet, I didn't know what they were talking about but*
27	copadxs	*they seemed cool*
28	**Pablo**: En ese momento no pensé que fueran	*Back then I didn't think they were*
29	snobbish	*snobbish*
30	**Pablo:** Claro, puede ser	*Right, that could be*
32	**Emilio:** Raros en el sentido nerd honey	*Weird in the sense of nerd honey*
33	**Pablo:** [Reply to: Algo que me acuerdo es…] Igual	*Even so they went to ILSE*
34	iban al ILSE	
35	[…]	
36	**Pablo:** [Reply to: Raros en el sentido…] Claro,	*Right,*
37	bueno, eso puede ser	*well, that could be*
38	**Pablo:** Sergio por ejemplo (un amigo nuestro) no	*Sergio for example (a friend of ours) doesn't*
39	usa mucho el ingles irl más que para hacer	*use much English irl except to reference*
40	referencia a memes y rupaul	*memes and rupaul*

Emilio's initial response to my question tells us that that *modality* of English use matters: the text-based code-switching he engages in with Pablo and their friends might just be seen as weird (lines 8-9), but oral (or "IRL", internet slang/shorthand for "in real life", referring to offline social spaces) code-switching would definitely sound "snobbish" (line 9). Pablo also notes that

there are several words related to and in use on social media platforms, and that English is licensed in these spaces (lines 17-18). This aligns with Marta's comment and stance of amusement towards "Spanglish" in Excerpt 9—perhaps because the Spanglish she is commenting on in Excerpt 9 is produced in primarily in digital (and fandom-oriented) spaces, she is able to see it as an amusing rarity rather than something explicitly indexical of a "snobbish" attitude or "cheto" persona. Conversely, although I do not directly name a modality in the question I pose to Jodie in the opening of Excerpt 2, when I ask her about the everday use of words from English, the framing does suggest oral, everyday conversation, where her take on English use within a Spanish matrix is rather negative. Relatedly, mixing with English is licensed for particular *topics*. In lines 38-40, Pablo mentions a friend of theirs who uses English in offline conversations to refer to "memes" and the American reality show *RuPaul's Drag Race*. Using English words, or mixing English and Spanish, is acceptable—and not "cheto"-like—if it is done within discourse contexts related to internet cultures or media fandom.

Pablo adds a qualification about *quantity* as well: there are English words that people use, but other (presumably higher) quantities might lead to being deemed "cheto" (lines 13-14). Emilio introduces the slang term "tincho" in line 22 with a similar framing to "cheto". In follow up conversations, Emilio and another online participant confirmed that both terms both roughly mean something like "snobby rich person". Emilio later added that "tincho" may be used more to refer to teens/young adults, whereas "cheto" is "all ages", while my online participant suggested that "tincho" might further be localized to the greater Buenos Aires area and not so commonly used in the interior. In other words, as Pablo summarized, "a tincho is a cheto but not all chetos are tinchos". While the exact "quantity" of English that one can use in everyday conversations without being labeled a "cheto" or "tincho" isn't made clear in this discussion, Pablo says there are "several" words from English that people might use in everyday life (lines 15-16).

Further on in Excerpt 10, Emilio creats an either-or frame for of the social meaning of Spanglish—namely through the claim that someone who oversaw/overhead them using English would find them "either weird or snobbish, there's no in between" (lines 19-21). Pablo attempts to contest this framing with a story of group of fans he came across (who presumably, given the framing of the conversation, used a lot of English, although he does not say this explicitly): he

thought they were cool, rather than snobbish (lines 23-29). Still, as he points out in a subsequent turn, "they went to ILSE"—an extremely rigorous semi-private secondary school affiliated with the University of Buenos Aires (line 3-34). So, even as Pablo attempts to create discursive distance between the link between "Spanglish" and the "cheto"/"tincho" persona, he nevertheless acknowledges that, at least in the case he describes, many of the qualities or characteristics of "cheto" persona are still salient.

While the indexical relationship between the "cheto" and "tincho" labels and (certain kinds of) English use circulates throughout Argentine society, these discourses shape interaction within media fandom in particular ways as well. In early March 2018, I attended a meet up for one of the two fan clubs I worked with organized around the British science fiction show *Doctor Who*. As it was my first time hanging out with the group as a whole, I was being regaled with the long form story of the group's history, told in a collaborative narration style by all of the attending members. At one point, Jodie, one of the group leaders, told me a story about the low-level harassment campaign that some group members—not endorsed by her or the other leaders—had directed at the social media pages for the SyFy Latinoamerica channel. At that time, SyFy was the only channel in Latin America broadcasting Doctor Who. Their broadcasting strategy at the time was to air the same episode twice in a row, once subtitled and once dubbed. The harassment campaign was designed to get SyFy to stop showing the dubbed version of the show, as it "spoiled" the way it was meant to be watched. For these fans, if you weren't watching *Doctor Who* in English, it wasn't worth watching at all. Jodie told this story apologetically, seemingly embarrassed to be affiliated with such people. She described this attitude as (unfortunately) common in *Doctor Who* fandom, due to the fact that "muchos fans de *Doctor Who* se creen británicos y son re snobs", *lots of* Doctor Who *fans think they're all British and they're real snobs*. In other words, these fans saw themselves as too good for the Argentine audience that SyFy was attempting to connect with with the dubbed broadcast. Despite being Argentinean themselves, they saw themselves more aligned with an imaginary British public—and that alignment, in Jodie's view, was a "snobbish" move. This draws of course on the historical discourses linking English with the elitist, exclusive upper classes, and with perceptions of the British as elitist and posh more generaly.

About a month later, during an interview with Marta I also began a "think aloud" data collection session (Section 2.0.3), in which we were jointly examining language use and interaction on the fan club's facebook page. We were discussing a particularly contentious post in which various members were engaged in debate with each other. She focused in on an exchange she shared with another member, shown in Figure 16.

Figure 16. Screenshot of Facebook comment thread between Marta and another member of TARDIS.[6]

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[6] Translation: [First comment] I didn't say anything about the woman. About Argentineans known throughout the world for their reaction to opposition, for cursing people out, for acting like hooligans and assuming without asking,

The larger debate thread that the screenshot shown in Figure 16 was taken from was centered on the casting of Jodie Whitaker as thew new lead in the *Doctor Who* series. As the first woman ever cast in the role, this initiated a flurry of activity on the group's facebook page in summer of 2017, in the early days of my online fieldwork. Towards the end of this sub-thread, Marta's interlocutor moved to terminate their interaction by mentioning she needed to finish editing an interview with former *Doctor Who* actor David Tennant, closing with "kisses [greetings] from Edinburgh!" and a photo (presumably) of the city. Marta's analysis of this interaction is shown in Excerpt 11.

Excerpt 11. "Solamente para figurar"

1	**Marta:** ahí tenes lo de: los snobs que se hacen lo	*there you have the snobs thing that do that*
2	porque están: en otro lado (.)£entonces yo le puse	*because they are somewhere else (.) so I put ha*
3	jajaja tratá de no volver£ ((laughter)) £ya estaba re	*ha ha try not to come back ((laughter)) I was so*
4	caliente ahí£ (.) pero por qué (.) salta con esa	*mad there (.) but why (.) she jumps out with that*
5	boludez (.) entendés (.) o sea claramente no tenía	*stupidity (.) get it (.) like clearly she had no*
6	argumentos (.) no tenía nada para decir y puso eso	*argumentations (.) she had nothing to say she put*
7	aparte seguir editando la entrevista con Tennant ah	*that not to mention continuing editing the interview*
8	le hiciste una entrevista a Tennant? mirá vos (.) no	*with Tennant oh you interviewed Tennant? look at you*
9	la publica— no la publicaste en el grupo además no	*you don't publish—you don't share it in the group*
10	comentaste en el grupo che chicos miren que le	*you don't comment in the group hey guys look I'm*
11	estoy haciendo una entrevista a David Tennant no	*interviewing David Tennant that doesn't matter you're*
12	te importa lo decís ahora solamente para figurar	*just saying it now to put on airs*
13	para hacerte la importante (.) boh (.) bueno y I—I	*to make yourself seem important (.) tuh (.) well and I-I*
14	rest my case	*rest my case*
15	**MCV:** sí también (.) I know lovey	*yeah also (.) I know lovey*

In line 1, Marta refers back to the persona/character type that Jodie had described to me at the club meeting several weeks prior to this data collections session. "There you have the snobs thing" creates an link back to the "snobs" in Jodie's story about protesting Doctor Who fans, while also allow Marta to name a set of specific characteristics related to "snobbishness". She points to the interlocutor's "name dropping" of a famous actor from the series, their mention of being abroad ("Besitos desde Edinburgh!"), and the use of English as part of their (attempted) closing sequence ("I rest my case"), as strategies used by the interlocutor to make themselves

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yes. Why didn't I make an argument? Because you all jumped out with this mess instead of with Debate. Anyway I'm going to keep on editing the interview with Tennant. Kisses from Edinburgh! [Photo of Edinburgh, Scotland]
[Second comment (Marta)] HAHAHAHAHAHAHAHAHAHAHAHAHAHAHAHA try not to come back
[Third comment] There we go again. I rest my case. :-*
[Fourth comment (Marta)] You're just marvelous <3
[Fifth comment] I know lovey :)

seem "important"— yet these moves are rejected by Marta as essentially an inauthentic way of participating in the fan club's facebook group.

The coda (cf. Labov 2013) of Jodie's story about the fans harassing the social media manager of the SyFy channel was framed with two evaluative statements: "se creen re británicos" *they think they're all British* and "son re snobs" *they're real snobs*. The framing of these evaluations suggests that there is equivalence between them— that is, "creerse re británico" represents a similar attitude, stance, or ideology to "ser snob". This snobbish/"British" attitude is also linked towards a particular attitude to English, in particular to an assertion about the linguistically correct way to consume *Doctor Who* media (in the original language, with subtitles if you must, but certainly not dubbed). Meanwhile, Marta's analysis of her interaction on the club's Facebook page highlights links between English use and other facets of "snobbishness"— namely living abroad and contact with celebrities. Neither uses the term "cheto" or "tincho" specifically, but characteristics that overlap with the indexical fields (Eckert 2008) are clearly activated. These stances should not be surprising, given the historical and contemporary context of English in Argentina given in Chapter 2, and in Section 3.0 of this chapter, and Pablo and Emilio's discussion of "cheto" and "tincho" personae in Excerpts 8 and 10**.** What is relevant for positioning and interaction within these fan communities, however, is the need to carefully moderate English use in order to achieve an authentic "fan" positionality. English use is critical to engaging in English-language media fan communities— all of the participants whose voices feature in this chapter thus far acknowledge their own use of English in various forms. Yet they also illustrate constraints on acceptable use. Pablo and Emilio tell us that inappropriate quantities of English, and particularly in the wrong modality or on the wrong topic, can lead to association with (a) negatively-valued persona(e). For Marta and Jodie, their own relatively frequent use of English must be counterbalanced with a firm rejection of "exclusionary" language ideologies that posit English as superior.

These findings all strongly echo in Constantine Nakassis's ethnographic work with young adults in Southern India. While English in Southern India is generally associated with upward social mobility, education, and the like, the form and amount of English these Tamil youth use in their

everyday speech has to be carefully moderated (Nakassis 2016; see also Osborne 2018). He writes

"even if everyone [among a group of Tamil-Nadu youth] understands the English sentence, it is always safer to avoid clause- and sentence-level constructions. Indeed, there was a tendency to avoid full English clauses and sentences and a preference for simply inserting English lexical items into Tamil grammatical constructions, thereby enveloping English and subordinating it to Tamil so as to offset its disruptive powers, to frame it not as too much but as just right" (Nakassis 2016, 116).

A similar sense of "just-rightness" with respect to quantity and modality of English use is critical for Argentine fans of English-language media to claim an "authentic" fan positionality that does not also activate the negatively-valued qualities of English's indexical field. Through distancing/alignment techniques and other stance-taking strategies, negative indexes are downplayed or avoided. The data presented in this section suggests an indexical field for English such as the one diagrammed in Figure 17.
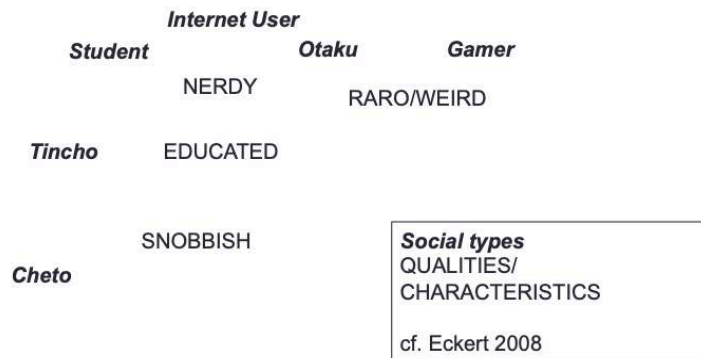
Figure 17. Proposed indexical field for English use in Argentina.

This section has illustrated how Argentine fans of Anglophone media take stances in alignment and disalignment with the opposing "poles" of the bivalent indexical potentialities of English use in Argentina, both shaping and being shaped by the indexical field of English use suggested in Figure 17. These stance-taking moves illustrate how English linguistic/semiotic material gets reappropriated and transformed in the Spanish-dominant, Argentine fan spaces into an index of a locally salient class-based persona. In other, more general terms, it shows how linguistic/semiotic material produced in one sociolinguistic context can be taken up to index

social meanings that are relevant in a different sociolinguistic context. In the next section, I analyze stance-taking towards the English- (and Spanish-) speaking "voices" within media texts, and stances towards different (linguistic) modes of media consumption. Jodie's story about *Doctor Who* fans in this section preview some of these arguments; in the section that follows, I will show how dis/alignment towards different media voices indexes discourses of age/maturity, class/education, and authentic. This analysis provides another example of how the linguistic and semiotic material from English is taken up and transformed by Argentine fans to produce new, locally-relevant social meanings.

3.2.1 Authentic Voices In Spanish Subtitling and Dubbing of English-Language Media

The concept of "voice" in linguistic anthropology is massively multivalent. Keane's definition centers the question "Who is speaking?" in a particular segment of discourse (2001, 268); however, he also notes that it is linked to understandings of participant roles (Goffman 1981), stance and positionality, and forms of social differentiation and interaction (Bakhtin 1981, Volosinov 1986). This notion of "voice" is also inextricably tied up with notions of embodiment and physicality. On a basic level, we think of the movements of the human vocal apparatus producing sound waves, which travel through air to vibrate around in the auditory apparatus of a listening person— the "voice" here engenders, in both the "speaker" and the "listener", a literal physiological effect. More generally through, typified, "enregistered" voices are linked to embodiment understandings of the characterological types or personae they index (Agha 2005, 39). When a particular "voice" is seen to index a social persona that is marked as male, working-class, rural (or whatever constellation of characterological features), it can also be seen as indexing the type of "body" that is also associated with those same characterological features. This linkage of voice and bodies can lead also to a view of "voice" as inherent and essential to individuals, or expressive of some essential authenticity. This is particularly clear in investigations of celebrity, media, and pop culture. For instance, Gallagher 1995's historical analysis of Swedish opera signer Jenny Lind's popularity in North America centers on media descriptions of her voice as "a natural effusion of her soul", linking her popularity to notions of inherent, "natural", authenticity (Weidman 2014). Work by Danielson 1997 and Lohman 2010 on the juxtaposition of Egyptian singer Umm Kulthum's radio programs with national news programs shows how this "voice" became linked to notions of authentic nationhood. Weidman's work (2003, 2010) on the emergence of recording technologies in Southern India and the entree

of women performers into South Indian classical singing traditions also illustrates the widespread circulation of the linkage between (classed, gendered, racialize, etc.) bodies and particular voices. Of course, these notions of essentialism and authenticity of a particular "voice" are mutable. Taylor 2009's historical analysis illustrates how ideologies of "appropriately embodied voice[s] and … appropriately voiced bod[ies]" (17) shifted as the American movie industry transitioned from silent films to sound films. The resulting norm was that a star's voice is a critical, inherent, embodied part of their celebrity persona, and thus an index of authenticity in mediatized discourse. For contemporary audiences, dubbing— the process of recording a secondary audio track (usually in a different language, but sometimes in different dialects) over some piece of filmed (animated or live-action) media— creates a visceral disruption between "voice"-"body" pairings, as the figure on screen is seen to "speak" with a voice that the audience (for the most part) knows full well does not "belong" to the actor. The global spread of (particularly English-language) media and pop culture makes this "disrupted" state of "voice"-"body" pairings a rather common form of media consumption across a range of sociolinguistic contexts. In this section, I examine how Argentine fans of English-language media and popular culture orient to different forms of voice "disruption" in the media products they consume. Among the group of my research participants, preference for the "authentic" voices of actors/performers is seen largely as an index of maturity, but also less directly to cosmopolitan, globally-aware attitudes, and middle-class sensibilities.

This analysis offers further perspective into the question of how linguistic material afforded by media circulation gets reappropriated and transformed by Argentine fans in their local context(s). These transformations of the social meanings of linguistic and semiotic media material can also be understood as transformations of Argentine media fans themselves—especially how they see themselves within the context of global mediascapes (Appadurai 1996). This question, and the analysis offered in this section in answer to it, echoes work such as Boellstorff (2003) on how globalized/globalizing media and national debates over dubbing foreign media in Indonesia allow for the creation/transformation/translation of subject positions and subjectivities. Boelstorff (2003) concept of *dubbing* is understood as a process by which distinct, perhaps even contradictory cultural logics are "held together" *without* being "[resolved] into a unitary whole" (226). Individuals who claim *gay* and *lesbi* subject positions in Indonesia do so through

entanglements with (globalized) mass-media, bringing mediatized depictions of queer identities and lifestyles to bear on, interpret, and transform their own understandings of sexualized and gendered subject positions. For my research participants, orientations to various forms of translation practices in Anglophone mass media—practices which disrupt the seamlessness of the "voice"-"body" pairing described above—are indirectly linked to orientations towards three broad cultural discourses: age/maturity, education/class, and authenticity. The relationships between these three discourses allows Argentine fans of Anglophone mass media to project contrasting subjectivities of cosmopolitan consumers vs. local, "provincial" consumers on to different linguistic engagements with globally circulating media and pop culture. While Park (2009) shows how different types of subtitling practices in Korea regiment and hierarchicalize different forms of institutional authority through the texts themselves, this analysis shows how such regimentation and hierchicalization is also accomplished through individuals positioning themselves with respect to opinions about dubbing, subtitling, and other translation practices in English-language media products.

As described in Chapter 2, I conducted (roughly) two ethnographic interviews with each participant, both loosely organized around different central themes of English language learning, and fandom/media consumption histories. In both "types" of interviews, the prepared questions included discussion of dubbing/subtitling in media generally, and specifically within the media participants consumed, although participants often brought the conversation around to those topics on their own. When I would introduce the topic, I usually approached it first by asking about their preferences: that is, when consuming media made originally in a non-Spanish language, do they prefer to watch dubbed or subtitled versions? For online-only participants, I provided similar questions in an online survey form. Across both of these data collection contexts, preferences for subtitling over dubbing were functionally universal—although consumption of dubbed media was considered appropriate in certain contexts by most participants, every single participant in this study expressed a personal preference for viewing English language media with subtitles, rather than dubs. Most mention of dubbing/dubbed media was framed as part of their "past", or "childhood" media consumption.

Excerpt 12. "Alrededor de los 13 años"

1	Alrededor de los 13 años, con canales como Disney	*Around age 13, I watched [dubbed] shows in Spanish*
2	Channel y Cartoon Network; veía las series en	*on channels like Disney and Cartoon Network; later.*
3	español en mi televisión y después entraba a internet	*on I started searching on the internet for videos and*
4	a buscar información y videos en inglés.	*information in English*

Excerpt 13. "Desde que tengo uso de razón"

1	Desde que tengo uso de memoria, en un primer	*Since I can remember, at first [I watched*
2	momento [veía los series/peliculas/etc.] doblados al	*series/movies/etc.] dubbed into Spanish, but since*
3	español, pero desde que tengo uso de razón he	*having use of reason I've been exposed to*
4	estado expuesta a los medios y la cultura popular	*Anglophone media and pop culture.*
5	anglo-parlante.	

These two responses to my online survey question, "¿Cuándo, cómo, y dónde empezaste a consumir medios y/o cultural popular en inglés?" (*When, how, and where did you start to consume media and/or pop culture in English?*), describe a shift in consumption format (subtitling vs. dubbing) that is age graded. While the respondent in Excerpt 12 names a specific age as an entry point to consumption of dubbed Anglophone media (line 1)—particularly from media products aimed at children and teens— the respondent in excerpt 13 creates a rhetorical parallelism to mark their "departure" from consuming primarily dubbed media to primarily subtitled media (lines 1 and 3). This parallelism— "desde que tengo uso de memoria"/ *"desde que tengo uso de razón"*—also highlights a shift in linguistic engagements with media as an effect of growing up. It further links age-graded shifts to shifts in "maturity", similar to another participant's evaluation of his friend's preference for dubbed media in an oral interview.

Excerpt 14. "La típica respuesta."

1	es como la típica respuesta que dicen es que no	*[For my friends who prefer dubbing] the typical*
2	puedo ver y leer al mismo tiempo […] nosotros los	*response is they can't read and watch at the same*
3	cargamos de (( ))	*time [...] We make fun of them for that*

This participant describes making fun of his friends who prefer to consume Anglophone media dubbed into Spanish. The justification these friends provide—"not liking to watch and read at the same time" (lines 1-2)—is seen as laughable (line 3), likely because it is linked to a common reason given for dubbing children's media in particular. But it is not only children who are seen as unable to "watch and read at the same time". The elderly—particularly those *not* aligned with global/cosmopolitan lifestyles and consumption habits, i.e., "my parents back home", where

home is a Buenos Aires exurb or provincial town—are also seen as lacking the requisite "maturity" for preferring subtitled media. Usually this is not because they do not yet know *how* to watch and read at the same time (as is certainly the case for at least some children), but rather because it is tiring or taxing. The Facebook comment shown in Figure 18 is taken from an extensive debate in a comment thread from the TARDIS group page for "offtopic" discussion (i.e., any kind of discussion related to Doctor Who outside of general news, casting announcements, and episode release dates).

Claro si, que me parece re logico, a mi incluso los shows de Syfy que he visto en ingles me ha chocado la primera vez que los vi en castellano, pero no me parece que sea lo mas terrible que nos ha pasado en el fandom. Ademas me parece re lindo que este DW en la tele, mas alla de no estar de la forma que yo lo vi o todo el DW que me gustaria que este, yo pienso por ejemplo en mi yo mas pequeña, antes de manejar el ingles que manejo, cuando era chica y podia ver Los Expedientes secretos X (o incluso CODIGO X) porque Fox me lo pasaba en castellano, o ahora que no se coreano pero gracias a que esta doblada puedo seguir la novela esta que me da Telefe (Si chicos, la novela de la tarde y con mucho orgullo eh xD), o en mi papa o mi abuela que si, pueden leer, pero les es mas comodo VER lo que pasa y escucharlo, como hago yo que tengo la posibilidad de hacerlo tanto en castellano como en ingles ❤️

Figure 18. Screenshot of comment from *TARDIS Argentina* Facebook group thread about dubbing vs. subtitling.[7]

The overarching topic of the larger comment thread from which this post comes (with close to 200 comments), is a discussion precisely on people's preferences for subtitling vs. dubbing, instigated by the group moderator's as an open conversation/debate. Throughout the thread,

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[7] Translation: Yes of course, that seems very logical, for me also the shows on Syfy that I've seen in English have surprised me the first time I saw them in Spanish, but I don't think it's the worst thing to happen to the fandom. Additionally it seems really nice that Doctor Who is on TV, even if it's not in the format that I watch it in or all the Doctor Who that I'd like to be there, I think for example of my younger self, before having command of English like I do now, when I was young and I could watch The X-Files (called Code X here in Argentina) because Fox aired it in Spanish, or now how I don't know Korean but thanks to it being dubbed I can follow the soap opera that Telefe is airing (Yes friends, the afternoon soaps and with a lot of pride eh XD), or about my father or my grandfather who yes, can read, but it's more comfortable for them to SEE what's happening and listening, just as I do as someone who has the option of doing it in Spanish as well as in English

people focus largely on Doctor Who, since this is of course a Doctor Who fan group, but other media products are discussed as well to provide further examples. This commenter points to two tropes of maturity and age that are relevant to this analysis. First, she mentions "mi yo mas pequeña" *my younger self:* this self-lamination (Hill 1995) allows her to construct a scenario in which Spanish-language dubbing of English-language media products is both appropriate and warranted. This is in line with the links between preferences for dubbing and age I have already mentioned. However, she also references her father and grandmother, licensing their preference for dubbing because "while yes, they can read, it's more comfortable for them to SEE what happens and listen". The concern for the comfort/ease of parents and grandparents may be related to issues of inter-generational respect, but it also seems to point to stereotypes of parents and older adults being "out of touch" and not connected to modern trends and development. This last point is also related to the second prominent theme in orientations towards dubbing and subtitling of English-language media products: class and education. As parents and grandparents likely did not have widespread access to the kinds of self-teaching tools that many young adults in Argentina use currently, nor obligatory English lessons in schools, they are perceived as not having the appropriate skills to listen to English dialogue while following along with written Spanish subtitles.

Some participants cited their educational background with English as a reason for preferring subtitling to Spanish dubbing. My participant Bruno expressed his preference for subtitling to me as shown in Excerpt 15.

Excerpt 15. "Las voces originales"

1	me gusta el sonido original (.) las voces originales (.)	*I like the original sound (.) the original voices (.)*
2	el tratamiento de sonidos (.) como te dije yo había	*the way the sounds are (.) like I said before I've*
3	estudiado antes (.) sé que se pierde algo pasando al	*studied [English] before (.) I know you lose things*
4	castellano y no (.) prefiero ir no sé ir a otro cine pero	*translating to Spanish and no (.) I'd rather I*
5	(.) ver los subtítulos (.) sí	*dunno go to another theatre but (.) to see the*
6		*subtitles (.) yeah*

Bruno states that since he studied English, he is too aware of potential translation issues with dubbing (lines 3-4). Something is "lost" in the translation that dubbing provides—interestingly, he does not seem to note potential translation issues with subtitling, even though his background with English study suggests he would also be able to see how subtitles do not always fully

capture the original dialogue. This comment frames a preference for subtitled English-language media as a result of advanced instruction in English (lines 2-3). And indeed, as I have mentioned before, most of my participants have exceptional proficiency in English, largely due to self-teaching efforts rather than a particularly strong English-language education program in Argentina's public schools. Pointing also to discourses of "maturity" that were mentioned earlier, these statements frame preference for subtitles as a stance held by people who "know better".

Of course, what these comments elide are the fact that access to high-quality English language education in Argentina is class-stratified. As discussed throughout this section, English language classrooms in public schools leave much to be desired, so unless one's family has enough disposable income to pay for attendance at an *instituto*, there are limited resources for developing the kind of linguistic proficiency that is presumed necessary to "prefer" subtitling to dubbing. Still, commentary that explicitly invokes the role of class in preferences for linguistic mode of media consumption did come up. See, for instance, these two comments from online surveys in Excerpts 16 and 17.

Excerpt 16. "Una disposición estatal"

1	Hace un par de años las producciones originalmente	*A few years ago productions originally in English*
2	en inglés solían subtitularse, ahora suelen consumirse	*tended to be subtitled, now they tend more to be*
3	más dobladas en la televisión por cable o abierta,	*consumed dubbed on cable or public broadcast tv,*
4	dado a una disposición estatal que buscaba el	*because of a government program to develop the*
5	desarrollo de la industria del doblaje y favorecer	*dubbing industry and favor Spanish-language*
6	contenido en español. Por lo general, los doblajes son	*content. In general, the dubs are good and faithful*
7	buenos y fieles al material original, prefiero las	*to the original material, I prefer the subtitled*
8	versiones subtituladas dado que considero que a	*versions because I think that sometimes certain*
9	veces ciertos significados originales pueden perderse	*meanings can get lost in translation. Subtitles tend*
10	en la traducción. La subtitulación suele preferirse en	*to be preferred in higher socio-economic classes*
11	estratos socio-económicos más altos (los que llegado	*(even among those who can understand without*
12	al caso incluso pueden entender sin la necesidad de	*subtitles, depending on their competency in*
13	requerir subtítulos, dependiendo de su competencia	*English), in contrast to dubbing.*
14	con el inglés) al contrario del doblaje.	

Excerpt 17. "La ley del doblaje obligatorio"

1	Antes venía todo subtitulado, pero después de	*Before, everything was subtitled, but after passing*
2	sancionarse la ley del doblaje obligatorio en	*the law of obligatory dubbing on cable channels,*
3	canales de cable, casi todas las transmisiones se	*almost all transmissions are dubbed in Latin*
4	hacen en el español latino del doblaje, para ayudar	*American Spanish, to help integrate people from*
5	a integrar a la gente de clase baja que no podía leer	*the lower class who can't read the subtitles at the*
6	el subtítulo al mismo tiempo que veia las series y/o	*same time as they watch tv shows and/or movies.*
7	películas. Yo personalmente prefiero el subtitulado	*Personally I prefer subtitles because in the*
8	porque en el doblaje se pierden muchos chistes que	*dubbing you lose a lost of jokes that are funny in*

9	tenian gracia en el idioma original (como los	*the original language (like "puns", for example),*
10	"puns", por ejemplo), pero me gusta que el cine	*but I like that film can be accessible to all people*
11	pueda acercarse a todas las personas a través del	*through dubbing.*
12	doblaje.	

Excerpts 16 and 17 both refer to a specific policy action taken by the Argentine federal government in 2013. Since 1988, there has been a federal law on the books requiring that foreign programs broadcast on Argentine television be dubbed into Spanish. However, this law was not applied. When I lived in Argentina in 2007, most of the American television shows I watched in the U.S. were readily available and frequently broadcast in English, with Spanish subtitles. In 2013, Cristina Kirchner's government decided to implement this policy more rigorously, imposing sanctions on broadcasting companies who did not comply with the terms of the law. President Kirchner's explanation of the policy shift was that dubbing would "guarantee" that programs could be widely understood throughout Hispanophone Latin America—and although this statement does not mention class or education specifically, the participants who described this law to me in excerpts 16 and 17 both appear to have read such themes into it. In their view, obligatory dubbing is "for" people with lesser educational attainments, and lower socioeconomic statuses. This is viewed as a positive development, too—as participants put it, it helps "integrate people from the lower class" (excerpt 17, lines 4-6), or "help dad and grandma watch comfortably" (paraphrased from Figure 18). This illustrates that discourses linking dubbed media to lower socio-economic positionalities circulate much more broadly than the niche community of Anglophone media fan community in Argentina. However, it also illustrates some interesting contradictions in how English is taken up in these broader forms of circulation. This regulation of dubbing for all foreign media, thus making sure the Spanish language is foregrounded in media contexts, seems to work against the directives of education policy which seem to push English competency as a key component of foreign language education (refer back to Section 3.1.1 on the political economy of Argentina and the access to different forms of English-langauge education to which my participants had access).

However, the discourses of class/education and age/maturity are not ones that these individuals orient their current, adult selves to in framing their linguistic media consumption preferences. Overwhelmingly, my research participants drew on discourses of "authenticity" to legitimize and ratify their preference for subtitled media over dubbing. Consider the comment shown in Figure

19. This participant specifically frames his preference for subtitling as hinging on a preference for/interest in "the original voices" of the actors. In discussions about subtitling vs. dubbing, participants frequently cited pleasure and joy in hearing an actor's "authentic", "actual" voice, such as the tweet from an Argentine Supernatural fan account in Figure 19.

Figure 19. Screenshot of tweet from Argentine *Supernatural* fan account.[8]

This tweet (unsuccessfully) calls out Warner TV (the channel that broadcasts Supernatural in Latin America) for dubbing episodes of the show. The author of the tweet states directly that she "likes to hear the original voices, they are a little gem for my ears".

The labor landscape of dubbing/voice acting in Latin America also contributes to a sense of disruption of "authenticity". My participants frequently commented to me that the pool of Latin

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[8] Translation: @/Warner don't dub Spn [Supernatural], I like hearing the original voices, they are a little gem for my ears what's the matter? You haven't heard Kech? I dunno but I love his British accent.

American voice actors/dubbers was relatively small. Thus, when voice actors take on a particularly iconic role, their voice becomes strongly associated with that character, and hearing their voice in other roles is disruptive to the viewer's (or rather, some viewers') sense of embodied integrity between voice-actor. One member of the TARDIS group mentioned to be that the voice actor who portrays Spongebob Squarepants in the Latin American also portrays the voice of the 11th Doctor in the Latin American dubbing of Doctor Who— meaning she couldn't enjoy the dubbed broadcasts as much, because she was constantly "hearing" Spongebob. Many participants mentioned hearing "the voice" of the character Homer Simpson, portrayed by voice actor Francisco Humberto Vélez Montiel in a range of other media— such as Family Guy, Shrek, Monsters, Inc., Star Wars, Married with Children, Melrose Place, and The Sopranos. This experience is humorously indexed in memes such as the one shared to the *ACC Fans 2018* Facebook group (for folks interested in or attending Argentina Comic-Con in May 2018), shown in Figure 20.

Figure 20. Screenshot of meme shared to *ACC Fans 2018* Facebook group.[9]

Voice actor Mario Castañeda is well-known for voicing the character Goku in the Latin American dub of the anime program Dragonball-Z. The meme shown in Figure 20 suggests that

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[9] Translation: [Text above meme] My idol..
[Image/Meme text] When I watch a movie with dubbing by Mario Castañeda.

whenever a viewer sees a film in which Mario Castañeda dubs a major character, the character of Goku is superimposed on their aural experience of the character—even when they are played by major Hollywood stars, like Jim Carrey and Bruce Willis. Note that the attitude towards these experiences—of "hearing" the voices of other characters in dubbed media— are not necessarily described negatively. The attitude is more one of humored annoyance. Still, these experiences are felt as a disruption to a sense of "authenticity" in the voicing of the media product.

Such ideologies extend beyond the experience of the media product itself, and into secondary media experiences in fandom. Celebrity guests at media/fan conventions generally participate in a "panel", or a public interview with a convention official. This is a major draw at most conventions, but particularly in Argentina, due to a sense that most major celebrities do not want to take the trouble to travel all the way to Argentina, or are too expensive for Argentina Comic Con to sponsor. Therefore, many people eagerly crowd the main panel hall to hear famous actors give interviews, regardless of whether they personally are fans of the media product the actor is representing/promoting. As most of these celebrity guests come from North America (and occasionally Europe, typically the United Kingdom), the convention organizers must make provisions to facilitate interaction and communication between the foreign guests and the attendees. As I have previously stated, the majority of participants in my research are highly proficient English speakers, and indeed many would probably be perfectly happy to have celebrity guests at Comic Con give all their interviews in English, with little to no "mediation". But the audience for Argentina Comic Con is much broader than the people who directly participated in my project. Families bring children (who may be studying English in school, but not yet have a robust mastery), for instance, but many adult fans do not have the kind of English competence necessary to follow an all-English interview—recall that English skills acquisition is strongly classed in Argentina. Thus, the organizers of Argentina Comic Con have taken various approaches to facilitating cross-linguistic communication between English-speaking celebrity guest and (primarily, but not only) Spanish-speaking attendees. Two of my participants, Clarke and Lexa, described some of these approaches at Comic Cons they have attended, and how these approaches affected their experience of the event.

Excerpt 18. "El traductor era pésimo"

1 **MCV:** y cuando traen famosos de alla allá	*and when they bring celebrities from over there*
2 ((laughter)) de estados unidos ehm o de	*((laughter)) from the US um or from*
3 inglaterra o de otro sito ehm van ehm dan algún	*England or from somewhere else um do you um*
4 tipo de charla o no? algo si (.) que pasa dan la	*they give like a talk right? something like that (.)*
5 charla en inglés y hay un traductor o que pasa	*what happens they give the talk in English and*
6 como es	*there's a translator or what happens?*
7 **Lexa:** el año pasado (.) no el ante año no?	*last year (.) no the year before right? when*
8 cuando vino jamie lannister había un traductor	*jamie lannister came there was a translator*
9 ahí en vivo	*there live*
10 **Clarke:** para tonks también	*for tonks too*
11 **Lexa:** no para tonks fueron subtítulos	*no for tonks it was subtitles*
12 **MCV:** subtítulos? en serio?	*subtitles? seriously?*
13 **Lexa:** sí que lo lo hacían en vivo	*yeah that they do do live*
14 **MCV:** ah wow	*oh wow*
15 **Lexa:** pero con jamie lannister el traductor era	*but with jamie lannister the translator was*
16 pésimo [((laughter)) pésimo	*horrible [((laughter)) horrible*
17 **Clarke**: [((laughter))	* [((laughter))*
18 **MCV:** por qué?	*why?*
19 **Lexa**: porque traducía la mitad de las cosas (.) y	*because he translated half of the things (.) and*
20 habia cosas que no era lo que estaba diciendo él	*there were things that weren't what he was saying*
21 (.) entonces era como que la gente entendía lo	*(.) so it was like people understood what the actor*
22 entendía el al actor y o nos reíamos antes o tipo	*said and either we laughed too early or like*
23 cállate le decíamos al traductor	*we told the translator to shut up*
24 **Clarke:** ((laughter)) pobre	*((laughter)) poor guy*
25 **Lexa:** eh (.) y era como que no necesitábamos al	*um (.) and it was like we didn't need the translator*
26 traductor (.) o sea hay mucha gente sí (( ))	*(.) well there are lots of people who do (( ))*
27 porque no saben inglés pero la mayoria	*because they don't know English but the majority*
28 **Clarke:** si lo entendés	*if you understand it*
29 **Lexa:** entendíamos (.) y cuando vino tonks (.)	*we understood (.) and when tonks came (.) they*
30 hicierion subtítulos (.) y mucho mejor	*did subtitles (.) and it was a lot better*
31 **Clarke**: sí	*yeah*
32 **Lexa**: que si bien la mayoría entendía lo que	*which even though most of us understood what she*
33 estaba diciendo (.) porque habla muy claro (.) y	*was saying (.) because she speaks very clearly (.)*
34 lento claro (.) y (.) entonces era como que no	*and slow clear (.) and (.) so it was like you didn't*
35 necesitabas entenderlo (.) eh al traductor le ah	*need to understand her (.) uh the translator re um*
36 leerlo	*read it*
37 **MCV:** no es super interesante ese idea de tener	*no it's super interesting this idea of having*
38 los subtítulos ahí en vivo	*live subtitles there*
39 **Lexa**: eso fue la primera vez sí (.) estuvo bueno	*that was the first time yeah (.) it was good*
40 (.) porque era como que te (.) no sé te concentras	*(.) because it was like you (.) I dunno you*
41 más que con el traductor	*concentrate more than with the translator*
42 **MCV:** y sí porque si ya están acostumbrados a	*well yeah if you're already used to*
43 ver las series las películas con subtítulos	*seeing shows and movies with subtitles*
44 **Lexa:** claro (.) aparte es más rápido más	*right (.) also it's faster more dynamic (.) (( ))*
45 dinámico (.) (( )) traduzca lo que está diciendo	*translates what they're saying*
46 (.) es molesto	*(.) it's annoying*
47 **MCV:** es más como más natural con subtítulos	*it's more like more natural with subtitles*
48 no?	*right?*
49 **Lexa:** claro (.) aparte él habla en inglés (.) es	*exactly (.) also he speaks in English (.) it's*
50 como que uno quiere escucharlo a él no al	*like you want to hear him not the*
51 traductor	*translator*
52 **MCV:** obvio sí (.) con razón (.)	*obviously yeah (.) makes sense (.)*
53 **Lexa:** entonces (.) estuvo eso fue así (.) pero	*so (.) that was how that was (.) but*
54 este año recién pusieron subtítulos (.) eh va por	*just this year they put subtitles (.) um well at least*

| 55 | lo menos desde que vamos | *since we've been going* |
| 56 | **Clarke:** desde que vamos es la primera vez | *since we've been going it's the first time* |

In lines 7-9 and 11-13, Lexa introduces me to the two forms of "translation" that Argentina Comic Con has provided at its celebrity interview panels: in-person, in-situ translation, and live subtitling. However, at smaller panels with foreign guests—i.e., comic book artists who might be well known by hard-core comic book fans, but are unlikely to draw the massive crowds generated by actors who star in popular Netflix series—did have a Comic Con staff member provide in-situ translation. At these smaller panels, the guest would be seated with both a session mediator, and a translator. The mediator would pose a question, then allow the translator to explain the question to the guest, who would answer in English. After the guest delivered their answer, the translator would provide a translation to the audience.

According to Lexa and Clarke, this method of in-situ translation was previously used even for the headlining celebrity panels—but both women found this translation method disruptive. In lines 19-20, Lexa draws on discourses of authenticity/fidelity to the "text" of the actor's speech, noting that he only translated "half the things" and "said things that he [the actor] wasn't saying". This disruption of authenticity in turn created a disruption in the proper sequencing of an interview genre—whereas typically laughter comes after the delivery of a humorous turn, Lexa reports "laughing before" the translator delivered the turn (line 22). Discourses of class/education are also indirectly referenced here. In lines 25-27, Lexa first claims that they "didn't need the translator", but then self-corrects— "well there are lots of people who do [need the translator] because they don't know English". The "people who do need the translator" due to lack of English skills are, for reasons I have discussed above, likely to be seen as people from less privileged educational and class backgrounds. Yet in Lexa's view, the majority of attendees have enough English competence to prefer live subtitling over the disruptive in-vivo translation, largely because the celebrity guest could be counted on to speak slowly and clearly (lines 32-36).

Clarke and Lexa's evaluation of the live supertitling method used currently at Argentina Comic Con is much more positive (lines 29-30), although here too she reports not needing to rely on them, and assigns the same positionality to the rest of the audience (lines 32-36). With supertitles one can "concentrate more [on what the actor is saying, rather than the translator]" (lines 40-41),

and the experience is "faster and more dynamic" (line 44-45). In lines 49-51, Lexa points to discourses of authenticity not only with respect to the "original voice" of the celebrity guest, but also to the "original language" that voice is heard to speak in. The comments in these lines refer to Nikolaj Coster-Waldau, the actor who portrays Jamie Lannister in the hit HBO fantasy series *Game of Thrones*; the topic came up again shortly after this excerpt in reference to actress Natalia Tena, famous for her portrayal of Nymphadora Tonks in the *Harry Potter* films (she also appeared as a minor character in *Game of Thrones*). Tena appeared as a guest at Argentina Comic Con in 2016. As a fluent Spanish speaker, Tena gave at least part of her interview at the 2016 edition of Argentina Comic Con in Spanish (in Excerpt 18 above, Clarke and Lexa also mention supertitling in Tena's panel; I was not able to find a recording of this panel that showed any sub or supertitling). Lexa, a hard-core fan of the *Harry Potter* series, was excited to hear Tena's live interview, yet found the experience unsatisfying.

Excerpt 19. "Yo quería escucharla en ingles"

1	**Lexa:** por ejemplo cuando vino:: (.)	*for instance when:: (.)*
2	Nymphadora (.) habló en castellano […]	*Nymphadora (.) came she spoke in Spanish [...]*
3	yo quería escucharla en inglés […] claro porque	*I wanted to hear her in English [...] right because*
4	vos (.) en las películas la ves hablando en inglés	*you (.) in the movies you hear her speaking in*
5	(.) entonces era como raro escucharla en	*English (.) so it was like weird to hear her in*
6	castellano	*Spanish*

Lexa locates an "authentic" voice not just in the voice-body pairing matching up, but in the voice using the language in which she originally heard it. Tena speaking in Spanish does not make Lexa feel she understands the celebrity better—she simply finds it "weird" (line 5). Because Lexa attended this panel as a fan of Tena's work in Harry Potter, in which her character speaks in English, the voice she heard emanating from the actress on stage at Comic Con was not precisely an "authentic" experience of that persona's voice. Vocal authenticity is thus strongly linked to ideologies in which voices, and the languages they use to speak, are seen as naturalized, inherent qualities of corporeal, physical bodies.

Of course, subtitles are not inherently faithful representations of an "original" language, either. Translation subtitles (as well as subtitles in the same language as the audio track) often shorten or simplify what is said, in order to keep up with the pacing of speech, and to avoid overloading the screen with text, among other things. As Park (2009) has shown, the content and style of

translation subtitles make assumptions about the linguistic competence of viewers (560), and work to minimize intertextual gaps in media texts (566). Such choices are, obviously, ideologically-driven. Moreover, it is neither obvious nor natural that an educated, upwardly mobile young adults should prefer subtitling to dubbing. Sherouse (2015) reports that in Georgia, viewers generally strongly preferred to view Hollywood media (films, television, etc.) dubbed into Russian— even for viewers under the age of 18, the demographic in Georgia with the lowest competence in Russian (219). A 2011 government mandate that all films be shown with Georgian subtitling or dubbing was met with annoyance by the public. Subtitling was viewed by some Georgians as old-fashioned, "out of sync with newer, higher quality visuals" (220); it was also "considered undesirable for how it altered the medium from visual to 'text' and also for how it changed the role of the film consumer from passive viewer to active reader" (222). Similar to the Argentine fans in this study, the Georgian filmgoers in Sherouse (2015) are drawing on discourses of authenticity to frame and legitimize their consumption choices— yet in Georgia, it is an authenticity based on fidelity to the form of the media product (i.e., film vs. literature), rather than authenticity to a coherent, "matching" voice-body pairing. This is not to say that medium does *not* matter to Argentine fans of Anglophone media. Several participants, particularly those most invested in comic book fandom, reported preferring to read comics translated into Spanish, even if they prefer subtitling to dubbing in their audio-visual media consumption. In general, though, the participants in this study viewed subtitles as a sort of support mechanism. Most of them have sufficient English skills to more or less understand what is being said without subtitles on an English media product, but the presence of Spanish subtitles to explain terms they were unfamiliar with, or English subtitles to help them keep up with the pace of speech, helped them watch television shows and films more comfortably.

In the Georgian case analyzed by Sherouse (2015), "quality" is another important metric by which Georgian subtitling/dubbing is found inferior to Russian. Argentine fans of Anglophone media also know that subtitling is not perfectly accurate or representative of the audio track. However, this awareness is more often described as a technological failure, rather than as a "quality" issue. A meme recently shared to the Facebook group for fans of a popular media/pop culture YouTube channel (discussed in detail in Chapter 5) illustrates this belief:

Figure 21. Screenshot of meme shared to *Fans de Te Lo Resumo* Faceboook group.

In Figure 21, the text above the image of the young boy running through the desert reads *"Oh, the subtitles are a bit out of synch, but whatever, I'll just watch it like this"*. The quotation marks assign these words to an unseen, unnamed, but imaginable media viewer. The image is a screenshot from *Star Wars Episode I: The Phantom Menace* showing the character who later grows up to become the evil Darth Vader, with the subtitle text reporting the adult Darth Vader's most iconic line in the film *Star Wars Episode V: The Empire Strikes Back:* "Luke, I am your father." In other words, the image and the "subtitles" occur in entirely different films, representing entirely different chronological moments in the franchise. The subtitling mis-match in this meme is of course humorously exaggerated—this image and this line of subtitling in fact occur in different films within the *Star Wars* franchise, so such a case of de-synchronization is highly unlikely. Yet a preference for subtitling over dubbing is also expressed here, despite potential technological failures: "oh well, I'll just watch it like this" illustrates a commitment to the "original" voices even in the event of major technological/quality failures of subtitling. It also highlights a particular skill with English—someone that can comfortably watch such

109

desynchronized subtitles is likely only using subtitles for additional clarification/support, rather than needing them to understand the plot properly.

The data in this section has shown that stances taken toward subtitled/dubbed media among Argentine fans of Anglophone media and pop culture are loaded with social meaning. By pointing to discourses of age and cultural capital, Argentine fans of Anglophone media explain how and why some people might prefer foreign media to be dubbed—despite its "obvious" failure to authentically represent the voice(s) of the media figures and the content of what they say. In justifying preferences for "dubbing" as a marker of lower-class status, lower educational attainment, and lesser forms of maturity, these fans can conversely position themselves as upwardly mobile, educated, cosmopolitan audiences, who truly understand the value of consuming media "authentically". Notions of class habitus are therefore "smuggled" in through orientations to different forms of linguistic media consumption, in both digital/online and analog/offline sites. Specifically, it speaks to how Argentine fans can take the linguistic and semiotic material circulated via Anglophone media and pop culture, and transform it into indexes of locally-relevant social meanings. More generally, this analysis shows how orientations to and talk about media consumption can produce forms of social distinction.

3.3 Chapter conclusion

In this chapter, I have focused on research question #1 of this dissertation:

How do discourses about English circulated through media and pop culture (as well as other semiotic material afforded by such circulation) get appropriated and transformed in Spanish-dominant, Argentine fan spaces? And, what is the social significance of English, and English-language media in this context?

In Section 3.0, I descsribed how English fits into the contemporary sociolinguistic landscape of Argentina, and its current role in (perceptions of) Argentina's political economy. This section showed how the intersection of the historical status of English and the British in Argentina, and current global discourses of English as a tool for upward social mobility intersect. In short, English in Argentina has developed, on a broad scale, a "bivalent indexical potentiality" (Cotter and Valentinsson 2018), meaning that it can index both the politically fraught linkages to exclusive, elitist, "snobbish" positions based on its historical role in the country, as well as

desirable notions of upward social mobility and global cosmopolitanism. The two analyses offered in Section 3.1 show how the forms of English circulated to Argentine fans through media and pop culture, and other discourses/semiotic material that are circulated along with the language, are used by these fans to navigate and negotiate their relationship to the indexical bivalency of English in Argentina. First, Section 3.1.0 showed how notions of "Spanglish" and forms, modality, and quantity of English can be legitimized (or not) as ways of using English that do *not* activate the links to English's elitist history in Argentina. Section 3.1.1 analyzed how English-speaking "voices" in media(tized) discourse contexts can be used as proxies for the construction of class distinction.

Together, these analyses show that when English from media and pop cultural sources gets taken up in Spanish-dominant, Argentine fan spaces, it is transformed into a form of English that can be more readily inserted into everyday life without calling up the complex history of (British) English and its attendant class dynamics, while still allowing Argentine fans to display their English skills (in certain contexts and in certain ways) to index their positionality as global, cosmopolitan, educated media consumers.

CHAPTER 4: LINGUISTIC RESOURCES USED IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF AN ARGENTINE FAN PERSONA

4.0 Chapter introduction

In this chapter, I approach the second major research question of this project through an exploration of stereotypes of "fan" and "fandom-based" styles, as well as an analysis of a sub-set of the linguistic features that are commonly used within Argentine fan communities. Specifically, the analysis offered in this chapter speaks to the question, what are the salient linguistic and semiotic elements in the discursive material that are utilized by Argentine fans in the construction of self and community? It also speaks to the related subquestion, do different linguistic or discursive elements get taken up and circulated in different ways?

The structuring of this chapter is as follows: in Section 4.1, I delve into the scholarly literature on fans and fandom, focusing on the various stereotypes that circulate (globally, and in certain local contexts) about the semiotic package of fan "styles". This discussion illustrates how stereotypes

of fan behaviors and communities have typically linked such positionalities to characteristics of obsessive, "excessive" emotionality, which fans themselves trope on and play with in the construction of their own fannish selves and communities. I then move to an investigation of some of the salient linguistic resources used by Argentine members of Anglophone media fan communities to index both their affiliation with fandom/status as "fans". The way Argentine fans of Anglophone media use these linguistic resources play with the metaphor of linguistic "excess" (Reyes 2017) in various forms. Section 4.2 covers the use of discourse markers from Spanish and English that can be used to perform the kind of effusive, "excessive" emotionality considered a stereotype of fan behavior. The Spanish discourse markers, covered in Section 4.2.0, and the English discourse markers, discussed in Section 4.2.1, are typically used to key utterances or turns as humorous, nonserious, even ridiculous, playing with the stereotype discussed in Section 4.1 of fannish linguistic performance as excessively ridiculous.

The analyses presented in Section 4.3 investigates issues of linguistic "excess" through an examination of how code-choice is negotiated and managed on social media platforms used by various subsets of the fan communities I studied. As shown in Section 2.2, and throughout Chapter 3, English is a linguistic resource that must be carefully managed by Argentine fans. As many fans develop advanced proficiency in English through their engagement with media fandom, they also wish to display these skills; however, using "too much" (i.e., excessive) English in the wrong domains, or for the wrong purposes, can link speakers to personae and positionalities that may not be desireable (i.e., the "cheto", Section 3.2.0). On social media platforms where fans gather to discuss their favorite Anglophone media, these issues are just as relevant. Fans must balance the need to use some degree of English due to the material under discussion, while also asserting the importance of their "offline", Spanish-dominant lives.

Thus, the analyses in Section 4.3 focus on how notions of "too much", or "excessive" amounts of English are managed on different social media platforms. Section 4.3.0 looks at how Spanish-dominant spaces are highlighted on the English-dominant platform of Tumblr, while Section 4.3.1 looks at how English is critiqued and moderated in Spanish-dominant Facebook groups. The metaphor of "excess" is thus used in a slightly different way here than in Section 4.2— which speaks more to a linguistic performance that can be seen as "too much", "over" (cf.

Nakassis 2016), or "excessive". However, the analyses in both Section 4.2 and Section 4.3 that managing ideas of linguistic "excess" are crucial to the construction of an Argentine fan persona.

I conclude the chapter in section 4.4 by revisiting the primary research question framing this chapter, and summarizing how the data presented in sections 4.2 and 4.3 speak to this question.

4.1 Fans, fandom and fannish styles

As I discuss in Chapter 1, "fan" identities and "fan" communities (fandom/s) have long been a focus of study in media and cultural studies and related disciplines. Much of this work foregrounds analysis of "fannish" behavior and practices. Importantly, these practices are ones which highlight a "going beyond" the text of a media product, or the moment of consumption—in other words, practices that are outside of or beyond "the common expectations for a member of the audience" (Costello and Moore 2007, 126). Such practices include things like writing fan fiction (e.g., Bacon-Smith 1992, Borda 2008, Trovarelli 2016), producing fan art, including replicas of key props in a film or television series or edits of film material (e.g., Bacon-Smith 1992, Hill 2014, Wille 2015), maintaining highly curated informational databases and archives (e.g., Tankel and Murphy 1998, Horbinski 2018), conducting in-depth research into the text in order to advance theories about new episodes/book installments/films (e.g. Christensen and Jensen 2018), and organizing massive, multi-day in-person events that include discussion panels, merchandise vendors, and often even franchise stars (Bacon-Smith 1992, inter alia).

In popular discourse, stereotyped characterizations of fannish behavior and fan practices abound[10]. These stereotypes also locate fan "identity" in particular gendered, racialized, and classed bodies; however, the gendered/racialized/classed component of fan identity has largely been located within a North American cultural and linguistic context. The stereotype of the male fan—an overweight, middle-aged, white man, living in his parents' basement, obsessed with collecting original merchandise, as in the character of Jeff Albertson/Comic Book Guy from The

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[10] Note that such stereotypes, like this dissertation as a whole, refer primarily to *media* fandom, i.e., fans of film, television, comic books, novels, and the like. Communities centered around other fan objects, such as sports fandom, grapple with another sort of stereotype altogether. Sports fandom does seem to have been studied more robustly cross-culturally, particularly due to the relevance of soccer/football to identity and nation-building (e.g., Magazine 2007). Sports fans are largely stereotyped as disorderly, boisterously aggressive, lower-middle class men (Magazine 2007, Pope and Williams 2011)—although, of course, these indexical potentials can also shift across sociolinguistic contexts (Waysdof 2015).

Simpsons—contrasts with the stereotype of the (usually white and middle-class) female fan, who is seen as overemotional and dramatic (including in her speech), due both to her gender and also her age (as she is often portrayed as a shrieking teen), and only interested in "unserious" aspects of media, such as the attractiveness of leading actors or the romantic relationships between characters (Jenkins 1992, Bacon-Smith 1992). The stereotype of the male fan comes under public scrutiny because of how they are seen to be overly interested in "kid' things", i.e. the action figure collectionist who is teased for having so many "toys". The stereotype of the female fan seems to be more naturalized as a fall out of adolescent girl "emotionality", but this figure is also critiqued within fandom spaces. Nagle (2017), writing about the intersection of digital fandom spaces and political "culture wars", finds that "[t]he hatred of the vain, shallow, clueless girl with mainstream tastes trying to infiltrate a geeky subculture has become central to geeky subcultures. A common trope employed across a variety of geek alt-right subcultures is that of the girl who is trying to belong to geek subcultures, but who fails to use the correct markers of belonging, such as correct slang and depth of elite knowledge" (107). Importantly, both of these stereotypes draw on notions of obsession, extra-ness, "over" (Nakassis 2016), and "excess", which is relevant to the linguistic analysis I advance here. First though, I wish to show how notions of fan identity intersect with linguistic stereotypes of "excess" and offer a brief overview of linguistic research on fandom and fans.

The term "fangirling" encapsulates ideas about the behavior and practies of such people. UrbanDictionary.com, a site in which users can submit and vote on definitions of popular slang terms, lists the top-voted definition of "fangirling" as:

Excerpt 20. Reproduction of UrbanDictionary.com Definition of "Fangirling"
1   The art of obsessing over fandoms, the characters in
2   in the fandoms, the actors who play the character (if the
3   fandom is a film/show) etc…….
4   Just saying something to do with a fangirls fandom will
5   usually lead to them frantically crashing into the room.
6   you're in making high pitched sounds that to you might
7   sound meaningless, but to other fangirls will make total
8   sense

As is common with many entries on UrbanDictionary.com, the contributor who provided this definition also includes a script that exemplifies use of the term defined. Here, the term itself is

shown in use alongside a stylized (Coupland 2007) example of the behavior that the term
"fangirling" is meant to encapsulate.

Excerpt 21. Reproduction of UrbanDicionary.com example usage of "Fangirling"
1   Person : Dean Winchest-
2   *loud crashing noises*
3   *sound of footsteps*
4   Fangirl:
5   ASDFHIHEWCBEDIHBQQDIYCBFQEYULCQGEDTOUCEDQVTOQWDVUWVUTWSYVQDWGUVW
6   XUK WHO THE HECKLES JENSEN ACKLES SAID THE NAME OF BABY!?!?!?!?!?!?!?!?!
7   Person: fangirling again?
8   Fangirl: *nods while spasming on the floor*

In this "script" (Ytreberg 2002) of an instance of "fangirling" behavior, the fangirl's reaction to
the mention of the name of a character from Supernatural is met with a dramatic, overemotional
response— here encoded as "crashing noises", and an unintelligible speech stream, represented
here in all caps to suggest screaming.

Although the nominal form "fanboy(s)" exists and is used, the present participle form
"fanboying" is not nearly as widely used as "fangirling" (consider: in a Google search conducted
on January 30th, 2019, the term "fangirling" returned approximately 67,100,000 results, whereas
a search for "fanboying" returned only 605,000 hits). From this brief example, it is clear that
perceptions of fan speech draw on particular notions of *gendered* speech—especially ideas that
women's speech tends to be especially (or excessively) emotionally effusive (Lakoff 1973;
Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003). Despite this, rather little research has been conducted on the
linguistic and discursive practices of fans and fan communities, and how this might relate to
larger social categories or formations.

Fandom in fact a uniquely rich site for sociolinguistic research. As Bednarek (2018) writes,

Through fan activities, people may acquire considerable language, writing, or technical skills, and work through
important issues including social justice, equality, and diversity… Additionally, fans were early adopters of social
media platforms such as Facebook or Twitter… and may thus play an important part in the diffusion of linguistic
innovations, in particular when the form, function and meaning of the respective innovation encourage such a
diffusion from media consumers to other speakers (546)

The last point in this passage refers to Lauren Squires' (2014) work on the spread of the phrase
"lady pond", popularized as a euphemism for "women as objects of sexual desire" by the Bravo
television network personality, Andy Cohen. Squires' study traces how the phrase became

"indexically bleached" of its links to Bravo and Cohen, while still retaining its original pragmatic/semantic meaning, as it traveled from the community of Bravo TV fans to wider circulation. Building work such as Spitulnik's critical 1997 study of the circulation of radio announcer phrases from mediatized contexts to other, more "everyday" speech contexts; Schulthies 2009 study of the use of "media scripts" within Lebanses and Moroccan families; and Androutsopolous' 2001 study of German youth's incorporation of "ethnolectal German" features as portrayed in media and pop culture, Squires' work shows how media consumers are sources of innovative forms of language use that are worthy of linguistic attention. Still, these studies tend to focus on a more general sort of media consumer, or on the spread of media innovations to wider communities, rather than on the linguistic practices of fans as a particular kind of highly engaged media audience.

Early studies on language use by fans focused on the notion of a "specialized lexicon" within specific media fan communities (Byrd 1978, Southard 1982). More recent studies have focused on specific discourse or rhetorical strategies as methods for the formation or maintenance of the fan community. For instance, Grieser (2018) studies how members of the *Twilight* fandom identify cases of the rhetorical strategy of "white-knighting" (i.e., an "overly-vehement defense" on behalf of an interlocutor who did not request defense or support). Lammers (2013) investigates how members of *The Sims* fandom use "pedagogic discourse" to manage shared knowledge and community order. Petersen (2014) investigates the rhetorical strategies and interactional routines used by members of the *BBC Sherlock* fan community on Tumblr in order to index shared knowledge, emotions, and engagement with the show. Much of this research focuses on the enaction of fandom on social media and in other digital spaces because there is a widespread sense that fandom occurs, in large part, online. Most fan products, such as fanfiction and fanart, are circulated in online communities; indeed, as many of my participants expressed to me, it would be difficult to imagine calling oneself a "fan" (in the highly engaged sense that I mention in Chapter 1, not in the casual sense) without also participating in online fan communities. Fans, in other words, are perceived to have an "always on" (Baron 2010, boyd 2012) relationship to the internet and social media

Monika Bednarek's (2018) chapter offers a useful overview on linguistic research that focuses specifically on the linguistic practices of media fans on social media. Her focus on language use on social media is important because of how such platforms have massively expanded participation in fandom, particularly by increasing the international, cross-cultural and cross-

linguistic nature of these communities (see also Jenkins, Ito, and boyd 2016: 16). As Harrington (2014) puts it, these platforms have created "virtual loungerooms" in which "audience[s] can commune and centrally share the television experience). Social media produce/create platforms for "searchable talk" (Zappavigna 2012, 2018), which facilitates the process of community building around key terms, concepts, or ideas. Androutsopolous and Weidenhöffer (2015) offer a study of such a case, investigating the hashtagged live-tweeting of a German police procedural show, illustrating how it is both similar and different to face-to-face forms of audience engagement. Similarly, Bednarek's own work (2017) has investigated different forms of multimodal (i.e. both online and offline) responses to TV series as forms of (re)-circulation of media texts. To my knowledge, none of the work on the linguistic practices of fans or fandom directly analyzes how stereotypes of linguistic and other behavioral forms of "excess" shape the construction of fan communities and fan identities. The data I will present here, however, suggests that this stereotype may be an important semiotic reference point for the construction of an Argentine fan identity.

While fandom is becoming increasingly mainstream in contemporary North American fandom, and therefore increasingly less likely to be seen as a marginalized community of "shrieking fangirls" (Pinkowitz 2011) or "awkward nerds" (Scott 2011, Gilber 2015, Borda 2015), media fandom is not a part of the mainstream cultural landscape of Argentina in quite the same way. Writing about American pop music fandom in Spain, Roig Marín (2016) argues that because the term "fan" is itself an anglicism, it has become divorced from the connotations of excessive obsession that the folk etymology of "fan" in English draws from (fan>fanatic) (194). A similar situation may have arisen in Argentina, as the assessment of "fannish" behavior by outsiders seems to be relatively tame. For instance, participants who responded to questions about stereotype of fans and fandom within Argentina specifically noted that friends and family who are not involved in fandom found their activities "nerdy" or "raro" *weird/strange*, with one participant noting that her family sees her as "una nerd infantil" *a childish nerd* . Similarly, participants noted that the characterological figure of the "fan" in Argentina was most strongly linked wth "chicas adolescents" *adolescent girls*, particularly those "de clase media-alta" *from the middle-upper class* are part of the image of the "fan" in Argentina. According to one participant, this is "due to their free time and the possibility of connecting and being on the internet and on social media for many hours during their leisure time". As discussed in Chapter 3, middle to upper-middle class adolescents who have ample leisure time are also strongly associated with (excessive, or over-) use of English in their everyday speech, and it is here that

117

the characterological figure of the "cheto" comes into contact with the figure of the "fan". Like the "fangirl", the "cheto" is critiqued for "excesses" of language use, particular in his (over-)use of English. Argentine fans of English-language media and pop culture must negotiate their relationship with this figure as their own interests and engagement with this form of media necessitate, to an extent, an amount of English use that could be perceived as "excessive". The closeness of the "cheto" figure is especially problematic for fans because many (though not all) fans see fandom as a space to engage in progressive political discussions on topics such as misogyny and racism in media (Jenkins 2012, Jenkins et al 2016). However, as fans across the globe play on the stereotpye of the overly emotional, obsessive fan in their own performances of their identities, Argentine fans *do* have an interest in engaging in some forms of "excessive" linguistic behavior in order to authenticate their fan behavior as truly fannish. One way in which they accomplish this is true the use of discourse markers—stereotyped in a range of sociolinguistic contexts as a marker of the overly/excessively effusive speech of certain groups (particularly young women). I now turn to discuss these discourse markers and their use in Argentine fan communities.

4.2 Spanish and English discourse markers in Argentine fan communities

While neither of the above examples of "fan girl" speech from UrbanDictionary.com highlight discourse marker use specifically, they both express a sense that the speech style(s) of fans (and fan*girls* in particular) is characterized by a sense of excess, disorganization, emotionality, etc. In both English and Spanish, discourse markers are often characterized in popular discourse as an "overused" feature, especially in the speech of young women. This coincides with the broader cultural stereotype of women as excessively emotional (Eckert and McGonnell-Ginet 2003). Although I did not set out to investigate discourse markers as a feature of fan speech specifically, such data became relevant very quickly, especially as the majority of my participants are young women. Given this group's robust engagement with English-language media, it is unsurprising that ideologies connecting discourse markers to gendered and age-graded categories have been imported into this Spanish-language context, in a similar sense to the "semiotic hitchhiking" of creaky voice across different contexts of use (Mendoza-Denton 2011). This is especially likely as one of the discourse markers under investigation in this chapter is a direct import from English. However, there is an increasingly robust body of research on the social meanings of discourse

marker use in Spanish-speaking communities, which I will discuss in detail below (but see, e.g. Bucholtz 2009, Holguin Mendoza 2011).

As a linguistic unit, discourse markers are notoriously difficult to define, both theoretically and functionally—the absolutely massive size of the interdisciplinary literature covering these items does not make this task easier. They are referred to with a range of different terms across the literature: in English as discourse markers, discourse-pragmatic markers, pragmatic markers, discourse(-pragmatic) particles (see Fraser 1999); in Spanish as muletillas (Cortés Rodríguez 1991), conectores pragmáticos (Briz Gómez 1993, Arce Castillo 1998), marcadores del discurso/marcadores discursivo, among others (Portolés 1998).[11] Syntactically, they are (usually) non-obligatory, and their presence or lack thereof does not alter the truth-conditions of a sentence (Schourup 1999). Schiffrin (1987) defines them as "sequentially dependent elements that bracket units of talk" (31). Brinton (1996, 33) describes them as being stylistically stigmatized, particularly in written and formal discourse genres. Broadly, discourse markers serve a range of pragmatic functions that tend to relate to sequence organization, stance/positionality, and/or illocutionary force (Andersen 1998). This encompasses lexical items such as "conjunctions (e.g. and, but), interjections (e.g., oh), temporal adverbs (e.g. now, then), and lexicalized phrases (e.g. y'know, I mean)" (Bakht 2010, citing Schiffrin, Tannen and Hamilton 2003: 57), as well as filled pause items such as "uh", "um", and "eh" (Roggia 2012). More innovative, contemporary uses of lexical items such as "like" (D'Arcy 2006, 2007, 2017) and "como" (Kern 2014) or "así" (Holguín Mendoza 2011), as well as "so" (Tagliamonte and Roberts 2005) and "entonces" (Aaron 2004) also fall under this typological umbrella. I offer this summary as a general overview of the problematic and confusing nature of "discourse markers" as a class (if there can even be said to be such a class)—while I will address some of the discourse-pragmatic functions and distributions of the discourse markers under investigation in this section, the analysis focuses more prominently on their social perception, i.e., what social characteristics or personae they are considered to index within this community.

Although gender is not the most salient social category in my findings about discourse markers in fan communities, I discuss it here because (1) much of the research on (English) discourse

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[11] Many further principled terminological distinctions are made with respect to this set of lexical items. Fraser 1988 defines pragmatic markers as the superset category, for instance; Tagliamonte 2016a, D'Arcy 2017 inter alia, distinguish between marker and particle. As I do not concern myself here with the actual structural properties of such markers, I simply use "discourse marker" as a catch-all, without meaning to imply any particular theoretical commitment.

markers demonstrates that, as a class, they are often associated with the speech of women and (2) stereotypes of women's speech is strongly tied to notions of excess and overuse. The English discourse marker that is perhaps most strongly linked to gender is "like"— although association is strongest in North America, less so in other English-speaking regions (D'Arcy 2017, 127). Dailey-O'Cain (2000) reported perceptions of "like" as uneducated and lazy, but also rated speaker guises which used discourse marker (and quotative) "like" as cheerful, friendly, and attractive (69-70) (however, see also Maddeaux and Dinkin 2017 and Hesson and Shellgren 2015 for studies that problematize these evaluations). While D'Arcy (2017) notes, "since sociolinguistic meaning is tied to style, stance, context, and interlocutor, we can expect judgments to vacillate across settings" (135), the potential connection between ideologies of "women" as a gender category, and characteristics such as cheerfulness, friendliness, but also lazy, sloppy, or imprecise speech styles, echoes some of the characteristics of the "fangirl" speech styles as stereotyped on UrbanDictionary.com.

Perhaps even more salient than the link between discourse marker use and gender is the link between discourse marker use and age. D'Arcy (2017) notes that in stylized/stereotyped performances of "young, typically female speech", "discourse particle LIKE features prominently" (14). Perhaps because it is seen as a sloppy and unruly misuse of language, "popular ideology continues to associate LIKE with 'kids these days'"— despite the fact that it is used across age groups (D'Arcy 2017, 117). This seems to be true more generally (i.e., for other discourse markers), as well. Tagliamonte (2016a), for instance, asserts that discourse markers are "among the most prominent features disparaged in teen language", due to a widespread assumption (in the English-speaking world) that "teenagers stick in a lot of extra words that are unnecessary" (25). This points to notions of "excess" in speech, which is also made salient in the voicings of fangirl speech in the examples from UrbanDictionary.com. Folk linguistic ideologies also often identify them as a form of "slang" (Tagliamonte 2016a), another category of (largely) lexical items that are linked to youth identities and are perceived as being used by young people in excessive, sloppy, uncontrolled ways (Reyes 2005, 2012; Roth-Gordon 2007). This intersects with many of the ways that language use on the internet and in other forms of electronic media is perceived. In studies of popular discourse about language on/in the internet, teenagers are implicated (or, more precisely, blamed) for the vast majority of linguistic changes associated with computer-mediated communication (Thurlow 2006, Tagliamonte 2016a and b). While it is true that adolescents use the linguistic affordances of computer-mediated communication in different ways than adults do (Tagliamonte 2016a and b), the moral panics surrounding linguistic

degradation due to the disorganized, informal way that teens use the internet and related technologies is, of course, unfounded (Tagliamonte and Denis 2008; Tagliamonte 2016b). Certain discourse markers—namely, over-use of novel intensifiers—are perceived as being a part of this style.

There are also links between discourse marker use and racialized and classed social categories, although these links seem to emerge most strongly with specific discourse markers, rather than with discourse markers as a class. Discourse marker/particle "like", for instance "is ideologically associated with whiteness, and with suburbanite" (D'Arcy 2017, 119), which converge with gender and age in the stereotype of the "California Valley Girl" persona, in which gendered, age-graded, racialized, and classed qualities all converge. On the other hand, discourse markers such as "aite" and the lexicalized phrase "na mean" were found to be used by Asian American youth to (in part) index affiliation with urban African American speech styles (Reyes 2005).

Much of the work on Spanish discourse markers focuses on their sociolinguistic distribution and pragmatic function rather than how they are perceived socially, but there is work that offers some suggestion that some of the broader associations between discourse markers and general social categories are similar in English-speaking and Spanish-speaking contexts. Kern (2014) on Spanish discourse marker "como" (analyzed as a calque of English "like"), argues that the distribution of "como" among young adults in southern Arizona may be leading to the enregisterment of "como" as a stylistic marker of young female speech. Similarly, Holguin Mendoza's (2011) dissertation study on young Mexican women on the U.S.-Mexico border revealed potential links between the discourse marker "así" and feminine, youthful attitudes and styles. Martínez Gómez (2014) is one of the few studies that deals with how discourse markers (generally speaking) are perceived in connection to social categories. Her work finds that "overuse of certain discourse markers", namely 'o sea' ,'así', and 'como' (88) are perceived on internet forums as markers of "fresa" (literally "strawberry") style, a social category in Mexico linked to high socioeconomic status. Chaparro (2016) investigates the construction of both "fresa" style and "naco" style, a social category linked to lower socioeconomic status and educational attainment—"excessive use of discourse fillers" (47) is discussed as a salient characteristic of "fresa" speech.

These links between discourse marker usage and notions of "overuse", "excess"—particularly in the speech of young, upper-middle-class women—call back to the social scripting of the fan girl

persona (see also Reyes 2012 on notions of "excess" in the portrayal of the 'conyo' social figure in the Philippines, and Osborne 2018 on the term 'nosebleed' in Philippine everyday conversation). The two discourse markers I examine in the next subsection—"ahre" from Spanish and "same" from English—are not treated as "excessive" in the way that many of these other (English and Spanish) discourse markers are, but they do index classed and age-graded positionalities in ways that are central to the construction of a "fan" persona in Argentina, as well as calling on notions of affiliative-but-excessive emotionality that are hallmarks of fan participation across a range of sociolinguistic contexts (Jenkins 2012, Pinkowitz 2011). Neither "ahre" nor "same" indexes all of the characteristic components of an Argentine "fan" style, but both (along with code-choice, which I discuss in section 4.3), offer some of the central linguistic building blocks for such stylistic performance.

4.2.0 "Ahre" and "(?": the intersection of "youth"-based and "internet"-based linguistic styles

Early on in my digital data collection, I noted Argentinean users including the lexical item "ahre" in some of their posts. I initially interpreted this as some newer variant of the intensifier re, used throughout Latin America but particularly in Argentina and the Southern Cone countries (Kornfeld 2012). However, I soon began to notice it in contexts in which an intensifier would be unusual, if not unlicensed. In early March, about a month and a half after I had arrived in Buenos Aires, one of my research participants retweeted a post on Twitter from an Argentine celebrity that brought the term into question. The tweet is shown below in Figure 22.

Figure 22. Screenshot of Magnus' retweet of Lali Esposito's tweet.

In this image, Magnus has retweeted a tweet published by Argentine pop star Lali Esposito, in which the star asks, "why is everyone using ahre these days?"— implying her own lack of understanding of the term while also acknowledging its ubiquity. Magnus' take on the retweeted post is "an idol of mine has fallen." (The dramatic tone of this is meant as a rhetorical device to index sarcasm— not an actual evaluation of Esposito). This tweet of Esposito's is in fact a response to another Argentine twitter user, who had playfully posted a tweet reading "lali esposito thumbs up or thumbs down? ahre", shown below in Figure 23.

Figure 23. Screenshot of original tweet and Lali Esposito's reply.[12]

Why should Magnus, even playfully, comment on Esposito's inability to understand the word "ahre" as something that would cause her to lose status as one of Magnus' "idols"? Esposito, as a former child star, well-known for her roles on immensely popular children's show and in Disney-branded media products, is widely seen as an icon of youth/teen culture and style in Argentina. Currently 27, Esposito is considered an arbiter of cool styles, attitudes, and trends. In

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[12] The original poster's response to Esposito's "Why is everyone writing 'ahre' these days?" tweet can be roughly translated as "LALI OMG I'M GOING TO DIE"—a hyperbolic reaction to a celebrity noticing and responding to one's offhand tweet about them.

short, she is precisely within the demographics of speakers perceived as the originators and users of the lexical item "ahre"— to admit, in a rather naive tone, that she does not understand the term or why everyone is using it these days, creates a humorous conflict of expectations (cf. "intertextual gap", Briggs and Bauman 1992). This interaction in two salient characteristics of "ahre". First, it is associated with a youthful speaking persona—and a particular sort of mediatized youth persona at that. And second, its meaning in use, at least in the original tweet shown in Figure 23, seems to index a sort of humorous nonchalance or lightly sarcastic tone.

In an effort to understand where and how "ahre" was being used, I collected a small corpus of tokens of this item from across the social media platforms I studied. I was able to collect significantly more tokens of "ahre" from the Facebook groups I participant-observed in than from the other social media platforms; this is in part due to the fact that Spanish is the dominant language of Argentine fan groups of English-language media on Facebook (see the next section for more details on this). Across platforms, "ahre" occurs more frequently in turns written entirely in Spanish, rather than turns with a mix of English and Spanish or (the much less common) turns written exclusively in English. Within specific posts, "ahre" appears turn-finally more frequently than in other positions. Although "ahre" can serve, according to my participants, a humor-keying function, it occurred rather infrequently with written laughter expressions (e.g., "lol", "jajaj", "haha", see McKay In prep). It may be that the presence of "ahre" makes a laughter token redundant.

ahre N= 336

Source	N	%	Turn Position	N	%	Language	N	%	Laugh Token?	N	%
Twitter (Manual)	47	13.99%	Initial	40	11.90%	Spanish	247	73.51%	Yes	45	13.39%
Twitter (Scrape)	12	3.57%	Medial	117	34.82%	English	13	3.87%	No	291	86.61%
Facebook	265	78.86%	Final	145	43.15%	Mixed	76	22.62%			
Instagram	7	2.08%	Solo	34	10.12%						
Tumblr	5	1.49%									

Table 1. Counts of "ahre".

My research participants tended to describe the meaning of "ahre" in a range of related ways: it was described as a way "to make what you're saying less serious" or "to soften a criticism", to mark "when you're telling a joke", as an "expression of surprise", or "to emphasize something you already know or something that's obvious". Jodie's description of the term, below, highlights two of these definitions.

Excerpt 22. "Es re difícil de explicarlo"

1	**Jodie:** =ay es re difícil de explicarlo el otro día	*oh it's so difficult to explain the other day*
2	me pidieron que lo explique (.) es como (.)	*someone asked me to explain it (.) it's like (.)*
3	**MCV:** [es como sarcasm o?	*[is it like sarcasm or?*
4	**Jodie:** [es una muletilla—	*[it's a filler—*
5	**MCV:** sí	*yeah*
6	**Jodie:** se puede usar para un montón de cosas en	*you can use it for a ton of things actually*
7	verdad eh porque (.) también es como es un (.)	*um because (.) it's also like it's a (.)*
8	es una expresión de sorpresa como que cuando	*it's an expression of surprise like when someone*
9	uno te sorprende ahre! me estas jodiendo—	*surprises you ahre! you've got to be kidding—*
10	**MCV:** pero no siempre se usa así	*but it's not always used like that*
11	**Jodie**: no no (.) ehm: (.) o: (.) como para (.)	*no no (.) um: (.) or (.) for like (.) to emphasize (.)*
12	hacer énfasis en (.) en algo obvio (.) o en algo	*something obvious (.) or something you already*
13	que ya sabés por ejemplo mi papá me dijo (.)	*know for example my dad told me (.) like (.) he*
14	como que (.) me mintió en algo y yo como ahre	*lied about something and I said ahre but the other*
15	que la otra vez me dijo tal cosa?—	*time you told me the opposite?*
16	**MCV:** mm	*mm*
17	**Jodie:** entonces como (.) no sé como explicarlo	*so like (.) I dunno how to explain it*
18	es como lo tengo (.) aparte lo uso desde como	*it's like I have it (.) on top of that I've used it since*
19	que tengo quince años lo tengo tan incorporado	*like I was fifteen years old I have it so*
20	que no sabría como (.) explicarlo=	*incorporated I wouldn't know how to explain it*

As this example and the preceding examples from media data show, "ahre", like many other discourse markers, seems to have the functional properties of an epistemic modality marker (Nuyts 2001). Specifically, it is used to index a particular emotional or affective stance towards a proposition one makes on one's own, or a proposition made by an interlocutor—this emotionality/affectivity is, as discussed in Section 4.1, a characteristic of the "fangirl" stereotype. However, the exact emotional/affective stance it indexes seems to be somewhat more flexible. In Excerpt 22, Jodie describes some of its mirative effects (surprise) and its emphatic effects, but neither of these quite square with its use by the original poster of the "thumbs up or thumbs down" tweet in Figure 23, which seems instead to key a jocular, teasing tone. Last, I wish to note that there is evidence that "ahre" is linked with a particularly Argentinean speech style as well, rather than simply with a pan-Latin American nonserious, youthful, mediatized speech style. One of the fan groups I participated in centers around the YouTube channel "Te Lo Resumo Así Nomás" *I'll just sum it up like this*, in which an Argentine hosts records

parodical/humorous film trailers for Hollywood films, major network television shows, and other such massive forms of pop culture. With two million YouTube subscribers to the YouTube channel, it is no surprise that the fans of the channel/host are not limited to fellow Argentines. The Facebook group for fans of the channel includes participants from across Latin America, who (perhaps somewhat self-consciously) will point to "ahre" when performing, stylized/stereotyped "Argentinean" speech. Figures 24 to 27 illusrate an overt example of this, in a discussion on the *Te lo resumo* fan group's Facebook page about Argentine slang that viewers learned through the channel's host.

Figure 24. Screenshot of post to *Fans de Te Lo Resumo* Facebook group about Argentine slang.

In Figure 24, a member of the *Te Lo Resumo* fan group on Facebook has created a post reading "Raise your hands all Mexicans who learned Argentine slang thanks to Jorge [the host of the channel]". Within the nearly 200 comment responses to the post, several make use of "ahre" in a multi-layered, almost metalinguistic indexing of both "mediatized, youthful, 'always on' Argentine style" as well as framing of their performance of said style as humorous and nonserious. Three examples are shown below: the comments in Figures 25 and 26 were posted

126

by Mexican fans, and the comment in Figure 27 comes from a Chilean fan (as identified by publicly available information on their Facebook profiles).

Figure 25. Comment in response to Figure 24.[13]

Figure 26. Comment in response to Figure 24.[14]

Figure 27. Comment in response to Figure 24.[15]

Thus, within this media fan community, "ahre" has come to be linked clearly to an Argentine speech (or writing) style. In popular discourse, "ahre" is widely identified as a feature of youthful speech styles. One example, from the Mendoza-based newspaper Los Andes, lists "ahre" as one of the terms in "the Argentine teen dictionary" (Figure 28).

Figure 28. *Los Andes* **news headline from 21 March 2016**[16]

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[13] Translation: Les Luthiers is endeared by your post…Ahre, I also learned Argentineisms with Don Jorge
[14] Translation: Ahre it's true.
[15] Translation: Ahre I learned to speak like an Argentine.

Similarly, an example from the nationally-circulating newspaper La Nación (Figure 29) shows perceptual linkages between "ahre" and youth styles in its humour/culture piece about a retiree who became popular on Twitter for "learning to speak like millennials".

Figure 29. *La Nación* news headline from 18 July 2017.[17]

The article identifies "ah re" (La Nación's spelling) as one of the first terms that the retiree, 62-year-old Mirna Lusso from the province of Mendoza, began using. It states,

The first term that Mirna incorporated was "ah re". In a tweet, Mirna asked what words were most used by young people and the user @luzplaja responded to her: "Ahre And it's used when you say something as a joke, like for example 'how fat you are ahre'". After that explanation, Mirna tweeted, "How lovely that vacations are soon. Oh right I'm retired ahre." This tweet has more than sixty thousand retweets and catapulted Mirna to Twitter stardom. After that, the ex teacher incorporated other terms and also the use of meme, always successfully. [My translation]

The reason why a grandmother's obscure Twitter account generated a write-up in one of the most prominent newspapers in the country parallels the reason why Magnus found Lali Esposito's lack of mastery of the term "ahre" humorous—there is a mismatch between the expected user and the "actual" user. That said, the article makes clear that Lusso's use of teen language is a result of "lessons" or explanation from her grandchildren. Further, it suggests that her use of "ahre" and similarly youth-coded semiotic forms, such as memes, is limited to her popular Twitter account, rather than items she has incorporated into her own spoken idiolect.

I now turn to a brief discussion of a seemingly related discourse marker that I discovered in my data—the use of an opening parenthesis and a question mark, (?, as well as related forms, (?),

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[16] Translation: "Milipilis", "same", y "ahre": this is the Argentine teen dictionary. Words that young people use on social media are showing up in everyday conversations. Learn what each one means.
[17] Translation: The retiree who learned to talk like millennials and is the new star of Twitter.

(???, (??, (????, etc. This non-alphabetic expression is limited to written (e.g. online) interaction, not least because there is no obvious way to pronounce it in spoken discourse. I at first believed that these forms shared some sort of overlapping meaning or function with "ahre", as these forms often co-occur with that discourse marker. The following examples, taken from Facebook fan group comments, illustrate such co-occurrence.

Excerpt 23. Reproduction of a Facebook comment in *ACC Fans 2018*

1	Tenés que comprar la vip y la general si o si, si.	*You have to buy the VIP and the general no matter*
2	no, te retan (? Ahre no fuera de joda, tenés que	*what, if you don't they scold you (? Ahre no but*
3	comprar las dos, así dice en la página del evento	*seriously, you have to buy both, that's what it says*
4		*on the event page.*

Excerpt 24. Reproduction of a Facebook comment in *ACC Fans 2018*

1	Y encima te llamas Sol (? Ahre nada q ver XD	*And on top of that you're named Sol (? Ahre*
2		*that's nonsense xD*

In Excerpt 23, the phrase *no fuera de joda*, "no but seriously" (lit. "outside of (the) joke") makes explicit the shift in key between the two clauses marked by *(?* and *ahre*: from joking, nonserious, silly to helpful, factual, informative. In Excerpt 24, the phrase *nada que ver*, "that's nonsense" (lit. "nothing to do [with that]") reinforces what *(?* and *ahre* do here: marking the first clause in the turn as humorous and nonsensical. However, "(?" and its related forms also occur on their own, such as in Excerpt 3.6, also taken from a Facebook fan page comment.

Excerpt 25. Reproduction of a Facebook comment in *TARDIS Argentina.*

1	En Torchwood, Russell saca a relucir todo su	*In Torchwood, Russell brings out all of his*
2	Moffatismo (?)	*Moffatism (?)*

Here, (?) seems to indicate that "Moffatism" is a nonsensical word that readers might find strange or surprising. "Ahre", which keys humor and nonseriousness, does not seem usable here, as the commenter's goal is not for other group participants to find the word funny, but rather that they are trying to advance a proposition based on a term or a notion that may not be equally agreed upon by the rest of the community. The distributional patterns of (? (and related forms) that I observed shows similarity with "ahre" in that it does not tend to co-occur with laugh tokens, and that it occurs much more often in turns written entirely in Spanish. There are differences in where in a turn this form can appear—most likely because it can be read as punctuation, it is not attested at the beginning of a turn/utterance.

(? N=		208									
Source	**N**	**%**	**Turn Position**	**N**	**%**	**Language**	**N**	**%**	**Laugh Token?**	**N**	**%**
Twitter (Manual)	14	6.73%	**Initial**	0	0%	**Spanish**	171	82.21%	**Yes**	19	9.13%
Twitter (Scrape)	133	63.94%	**Medial**	75	36.07%	**English**	3	1.44%	**No**	189	90.87%
Facebook	35	16.83%	**Final**	131	62.98%	**Mixed**	34	16.35%			
Instagram	23	11.06%	**Solo**	2	0.96%						
Tumblr	3	1.44%									

Table 2. Counts of "(?" and variants.

However, participants who I interviewed about this term asserted that despite their frequent co-occurrence, they did not carry the same meaning.

Excerpt 26. "No es lo mismo"

1	**MCV:** pero siempre lo veo y lo veo cuando	*but I always see it and I see it when*
2	también (.) o alguien me mencionó que si: [a ver	*also (.) or someone mentioned to me that if [let me*
3	si	*see if*
4	**Jodie:** [el	* [the*
5	signo de preguntas? [y la—el parentesis	*question mark? [and the—the parenthesis*
6	**MCV:** [sí (.) sí sí sí	* [yes (.) yes yes yes*
7	**Jodie:** sí=	*yes=*
8	**MCV:** =es lo mismo? [o no es lo mismo?	*=it's the same? [or it's not the same?*
9	**Jodie**: [.hh (.) no no es lo	* [.hh (.) no no it's not*
10	mismo=	*the same=*
11	**MCV:** =por qué?	*=why?*
12	**Jodie**: eso es para cuando estás diciendo algo	*that's for when you're saying something*
13	que no tiene mucho sentido	*that doesn't really make sense*
14	**MCV:** mmhmm	*mmhmm*
15	**Jodie:** es para eso (.) cuando (.) estás diciendo	*it's for that (.) when (.) you're saying*
16	algo que es medio una boludez es como bueno	*something that's a little stupid it's like well*
17	tiras eso como para que se note (.) que más en el	*you put that so like you can tell (.) it's more in*
18	tipo sí en el hablado en— en el hablado	*like speech in—in speech*
19	((laughter)) en el escrito mensajes y que se yo	*((laughter)) in written messages and I dunno*
20	.hh este (.) no sé de donde salió eso también los	*.hh so (.) I dunno where it came from that too I*
21	lo tengo como visto desde muy chica (.) de muy	*I have it like I've seen it since I was very young (.)*
22	adolescente (.) y lo tengo súper incorporado (.)	*from my teen years (.) It's super incorporated (.)*
23	pero por ejemplo (.) eh (.) esa chica Marta (.)	*but for example (.) um (.) that girl Marta (.)*
24	que empezamos a hablar cuando ella tenía	*who we started to talk when she was 15 and I was*
25	quince yo ya era re grande y (.) se lo mandaba y	*already much older and (.) I would send it and*
26	ella no entendía lo que era (.) tampoco (.) hasta	*she didn't understsand what it was (.) either (.)*
27	que después como por contexto y todas las veces	*until later like with context and all the times*
28	que lo fui usando se dio cuenta que era (.) pero	*I was using it she realized what it was (.) but*
29	sí (.) eso lo saque de una amiga que lo hacía	*yeah (.) that I got from a friend who does it*
30	mucho y se me pegó	*a lot and it stuck*

In this conversation, a continuation from the interaction in Excerpt 22, Jodie is immediately able to associate my question about the form that always seems to co-occur with "ahre" as (?. Like "ahre", she associates it with youthful/teen language, but interprets the function as a way to mark nonsensical or "sort of stupid" utterances—so that your interlocutors are aware that you, the speaker/author are also aware of the potential for your utterance to be interpreted as nonsensical. This differs from her intuitions about "ahre", which are that it is used to key humor, mirativity, or emphasis. Other participants explained their intuitions about the function as a marker used to key or index "doubt", "talking without knowing" (i.e., being nonsensical), "when you're saying something that doesn't make any sense", and "when you're saying something that you know is a bit stupid and you know you want people to know that you know." These qualities of silly, nonsensical, speech styles track closely with the "scripting" of fangirl speech shown from UrbanDictionary.com in Section 4.1—thus, (? and variants might be used to perform a kind of silly, playful fan linguistic style for Argentineans in fan groups on social media.

One interesting point of note is the fact that "(?" has not received the attention in popular discourse about teen/internet language that "ahre" has. In fact, I was not able to find any evidence of popular or folk linguistic discourse about "(?", aside from moments during interviews in which I asked my participants about it directly. Still, at least within the community of my participants, "ahre" and "(?" seem to be linked to similar sorts of linguistic styles. Jodie, in Excerpts 22 and 26, reflects on how both of these discourse markers key a youthful or teenaged linguistic style—and, again, these positions are often also conflated with a "fannish" positionality, regardless of whether that reflects the actual demographics of fandom in general or a particular fandom. In the news headline examples shown in Figures 28 and 29, "ahre" is linked not just to youth, but also to youth style within a particular communicative context— that is, on the internet. As "(?" is a not (obviously) pronounceable item, it seems only logical that it, too, is linked to digital discourse contexts. Perceptual links between "youth" semiotic styles and "internet"(-based) semiotic styles abound. With folks born in the 1980s and 1990s often perceived as "digital natives", members of this generation also tend to be seen as the "native speakers" of this so-called internet language. Thus, features of internet language that are perceived as overly informal, sloppy, ruinous to grammar, and so on, become linked to

131

naturalized perceptions of youth as lazy, sloppy and overly informal in other aspects of their behavior.[18] Humor and exaggeration are hallmarks of the styles used both on internet-based social media platforms (Coleman 2012, Davison 2012), and within offline fan community configurations (Jenkins 1992) so "ahre" offers great semiotic utility for the construction of a positionality that can be seen as engaged with such groups. More broadly, the use of such lexical items plays into ideas of "excessively" unrestrained language use—ideas which connect directly to the broader stereotype of fans as excessively obsessive and emotionally effusive, and therefore characteristics of personhood that Argentine fans want to align themselves with. These Spanish discourse markers offer a tool for engaging in such performance without invoking the associations between English and the "cheto" persona at all. Instead, they draw on connections to playful, youthful, digitally-mediated personae and styles that, in a local Argentine context, can also be seen as "excessive" linguistic behavior (in the way that many linguistic innovations by teens and young adults are criticized as being sloppy, overused, and so on).

While these Spanish discourse markers act as a linguistic resource for performing authentically "excessive" fan styles without drawing on links to the "cheto" persona, members of Anglohpone media fandoms do also incorporate English discourse markers into their digital (and offline) language use. In part, this has to do with the English-dominance of certain platforms—to be seen as a competent user of such platforms, fluent use of English discourse markers is a necessary (though not sufficient) skill. However, use of English discourse markers to perform a kind of playful, youthful, digitally-mediated persona can also authenticate Argentine fans' deep and intense involvement with Anglophone digital spaces. Thus, the presence of English discourse markers in the language use of Argentine fans is not surprising. I now turn to discuss a class of English discourse markers in the online (and occasionally offline) language use of Argentine fans of English-language mass media: affiliative stance markers.

4.2.1 English affiliative stance markers and global cosmopolitan style

As I will discuss in the following section, the choice to use English at all in both online and offline fan spaces is a highly salient one. However, there are also smaller-scale aspects of

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[18] Although not all of my participants can be fairly called "youth", they all share a shared minimum level of engagement with the sorts of internet culture(s) that are strongly associated with youth as a social category. Note also stereotypes of fandom participation as a "kid" activity, particularly for folks who collect merchanise/memorabilia.

language use that appear to play an important role in the construction of a (cosmopolitan, global, educated, and engaged) fan persona. Particularly in digital spaces, the use of English stance markers is a particularly notable strategy. Here, I focus on a sub-set of English discourse markers used to code stance, which I term here "affiliative stance markers", following work in discourse and conversation analysis on the negotiation of stance, alignment, and affiliation in everyday (online and offline) conversation (for instance, Bucholtz 2009; Hurtig 2017; Kiesling 1998; Sierra 2016; Stivers 2008; Valentinsson 2018a, 2018b; Zappavigna 2014, 2018). This term is meant to be self-descriptive: I use it here to refer to discourse markers that are deployed to index alignment, agreement, or affiliation with some previous utterance, turn, or proposition, or with one's interlocutor. In the discussion that follows, I describe the use of four such markers: "same", "me", "mood", and "kin". As with "ahre" and "(?" (and variants) it is of course not the case that *only* participants in Anglophone media and pop culture fandoms make use of such English discourse markers. However, as Roig-Marĩn (2016) discusses in her study of anglicisms among American pop music fans in Spain, deep engagement with these mediatized sources of English linguistic resources makes fan communities a prime site for the importation of anglicisms (185). And, since a huge portion of fandom activity occurs in online communities, where global flows of linguistic and semiotic exchange can be easily accessed, it seems probable that such lexical items entered Argentine Spanish via this route

Stand-alone "same" as an affiliative marker seems to be a rather recent innovation in English. Based on UrbanDictionary.com entries, it appears to have become widespread as a youth linguistic practice in the United States in the early 2000s. As with the rest of the affiliative stance markers to be discussed in this section, it is typically used as the second part of an adjacency pair (Levinson 1983, Crystal 1987), in which the first speaker in the first turn shares a comment, and the second speaker utters "same" as a way to index alignment or affiliation with what the first speaker uttered. For instance, if one speaker uttered a phrase such as "I hate homework", their interlocutor could the utter "same" to express alignment with the proposition expressed by the first speaker's utterance. This is not in conflict with the standard or typical semantic meaning of "same". However, an older, or less internet-engaged speaker might express that sentiment by uttering a more complex phrase—for instance, "I feel the same way" or even "me too".

Currently, this usage of "same" has morphed into a more general way to index enjoyment, pleasure, alignment with, identification with, or affiliation with, or with a range of semiotic material, even if the propositional content of the semiotic material is not entirely clear. This

produces a sort of absurdist humor and "concise flippancy" (Highfield 2016, 48) that is considered an important characteristic of internet linguistic styles and fandom linguistic styles (Davison 2012; Nagle 2017; Phillips and Milner 2017; Zappavigna 2018). Consider the following example.
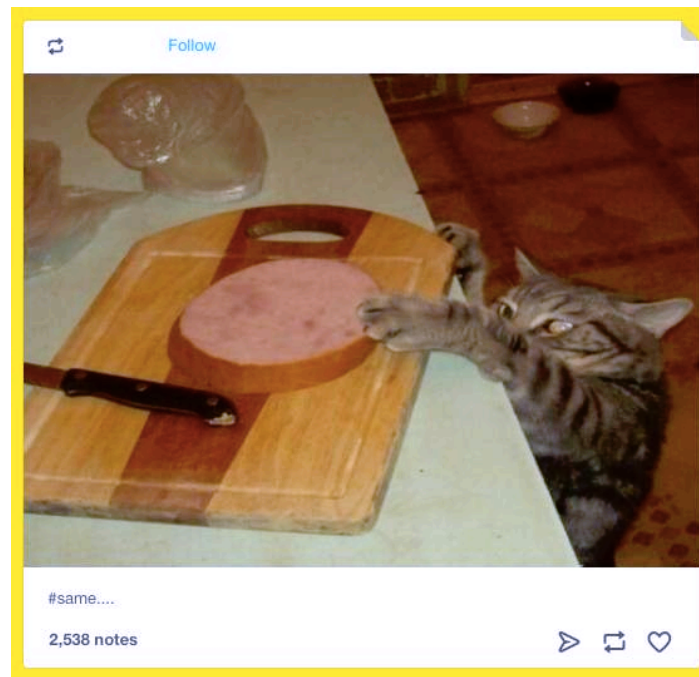
Figure 30. Screenshot of Tumblr post tagged "same".

The image in Figure 30 is a screenshot from the blog of one of the Argentine Tumblr users who chose to participate in my study. It shows an imagine of a cat reaching onto a counter, possibly to grab a thick slice of sandwich meat that is resting on a cutting board. Aside from the text and figures that display aspects of Tumblr's functionality (number of "notes" i.e. interactions with the post on the bottom left; the reblog/heart icons on the bottom left; the user name, here whited-out but normally in the upper left—see Petersen 2014), the only text that appears is the tag that this user has employed to categorize the post, #same. This is an example of what Bourlai (2018) and Hurtig (2017) refer to as a "comment tags"—using Tumblr's taxonomizing and categorizing affordances to add metatextual or metalinguistic commentary to a post. Rather than tagging the post with information that reflects the content of the image—perhaps things like #cat or #funny—the user who reblogged this post tags it just as "#same….", which doesn't seem to correspond to any part of the content of image. Tumblr users (and "always on" internet users, per Baron 2010 and boyd 2012) interpret this particular tag-image relationship as a purposefully humorous, purposefully absurd statement of affiliation with some kind of vague feeling or

emotion expressed by the image. Here, the feeling may be something along the lines of "surreptitiously trying to steal a snack from whoever is preparing a meal", although it could be something else entirely. It doesn't really matter what the 'meaning' of the image is—in fact, it is often the case that the more absurd, the more humorous. For instance, an image of a sad or crying face could get tagged with #same (with the reading that the blogger adding the tag also felt sad), but it is not as felicitous as a picture of a ridiculously or humorously contorted crying face being tagged with #same. It is also not felicitous to explain the aspect of the meme or image or text that the blogger feels aligned with, as part of the absurdity of the humor arises from the "unsaid-ness" of the joke. The use of a #same tag communicates the blogger's mastery of the ironic, absurdist style of humor that is indexical of a youthful, digitally-connected, internet-aware persona. The humorous nature of "same" is also evident in the way that is often co-occurs with "ahre", whose humor-keying functions I have described above. In Figure 31, an Argentine fan of the television series *Supernatural* retweets a post that roughly translates to "I was thinking about putting on my graduation t-shirt HUNTER or WINCHESTER ahre I like option 2 wELL", adding their own comment of "SAME, but they'd lynch me in my class ahre".
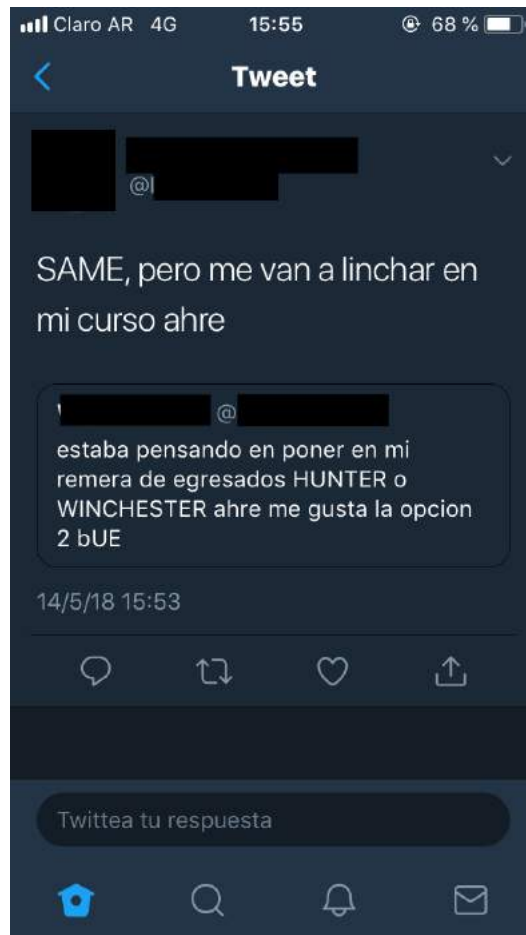
Figure 31. Screenshot of tweet illustrating "same" and "ahre" in the same utterance.

The all-caps "SAME" serves to index alignment/agreement with the content of the original tweet; ending the turn/utterance with "ahre" adds a layer of ironic recognition to the "excessive" practice of putting names or words from a favorite show on one's graduation t-shirt (rather than, as is customary, one's own name or nickname).

I do not have any way to determine when this use of "same" was imported to Argentina— indeed such a question is probably pointless to ask, as Argentineans were undoubtedly using the internet just as widely as American English-speakers when such usage arose among that community. It very well may have been a matter of days, or even moments, if there is even a utility in pinpointing the time frame in such a way. Currently, its use in Argentina extends beyond internet discourse contexts, and it is explicitly framed as part of youth linguistic styles. The newspaper article from Los Andes mentioned above in Figure 28 in fact names "same" as part of the "Argentine teen dictionary". The article describes the word as an "import from English, used to demonstrate that the person identifies with a tweet", locating it specifically within the context of

136

digital discourse and social media, but not explicitly within fandom. Because online interactional contexts license more English use than offline interaction, it is not surprising that "same" has found purchase in the online spaces of Anglophone media fan communities. But while "same" as clearly spread to offline contexts—as suggested by the newspaper excerpts, and by several in-person fan group meetings I attended—a range of other English affiliative stance markers remain largely confined to online interaction.

The affiliative stance markers "me", "mood" and "kin" have—unlike "same—not entered popular conversations about "teen" or "internet" language, but they accomplish largely similar functions. "Mood" as an affiliative stance marker is used to express that something is relatable. It can be applied to linguistic content with clear-cut propositional meaning, but also to images, gifs or clips that don't hold any obvious propositional meaning. It is probably equally likely that the Tumblr user who reblogged the cat image in Figure 30 would have tagged the post with #mood as it is with #same. However unlike "same", "mood" seems to be amenable to modification in various ways. See, for instance, the Tumblr post in Figure 32.

Figure 32. Screenshot of Tumblr post tagged "MONUMENTAL mood".

Here, the Argentine Tumblr user who reblogged a (humorous, written-in-English) post about a student abruptly leaving a classroom, has added the comment tag "#MONUMENTAL mood". Both the modifier itself and the use of capitalization suggest an intensification of the affiliative stance marker, communicating that the blogger feels especially identified with the sense of abrupt fed-upness that is communicated in this (very) short story. "Big" is another common

137

modifier used to intensfy "mood", although it may also be the case that "big mood" is considered a stand-alone element on its own. UrbanDictionary.com lists a separate entry for "mood" and "big mood", but not, e.g. "monumental mood". "Mood" is also the only English affiliative stance marker that I found to allow blending with Spanish morphology, such as in the screenshot shown in Figure 33, in which the blogger adds a commentary tag "#moodazo" to a meme criticizing th Marvel comic book/film character Tony Stark. The "-azo" (sometimes spelled "-aso") suffix intensifies or augments the meaning of "mood" (cf., for instance, "amigazo" *a great friend*, "golazo" *a great/awesome goal*).
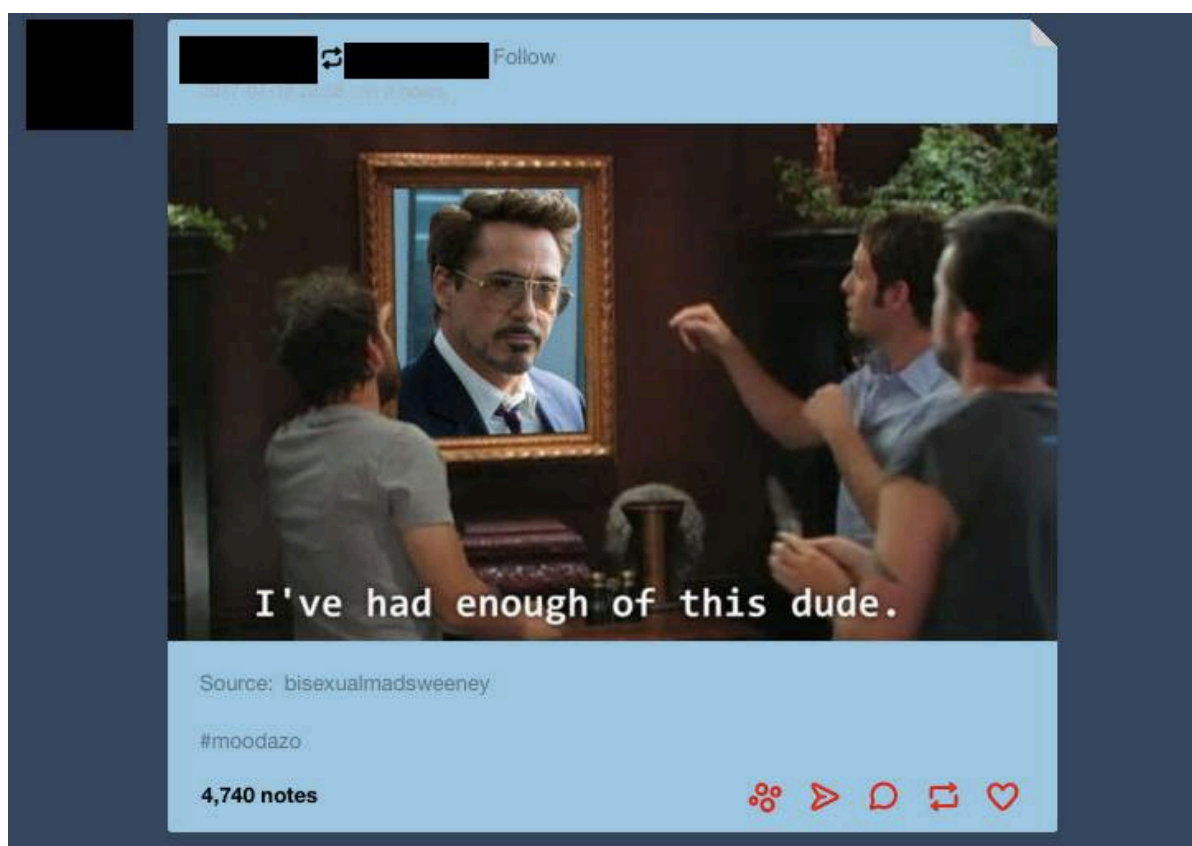
Figure 33. Screenshot of Tumblr post tagged "moodazo".

"Same" and "mood"/ "big mood" are used across various social media platforms, but the affiliative stance marker "kin" is much less common outside of Tumblr. While clearly related, on some level, to the English word referring to familial relationships, its use in digital spaces has more to do with a unique internet subculture that proliferated on Tumblr starting the mid 2010s. (Some journalistic work, e.g. Mamatas 2001, has traced such practices back to fantasy genre

138

email listservs of the late 1990s. Little academic work exists on the topic). I do not have the space to dive into a history of "kinning" here, so I will just briefly mention that this term refers to wide-ranging set of individuals who feel that they are fictional characters, animals, historical people, and other sorts of non-human identity categories. In other words, a member of this (loosely defined) community might identify themselves as "kin" with Hermione Granger, a fictional character from the Harry Potter series. Through this identification, such individuals mean to communicate not that they strongly identify with the characteristics that author J.K. Rowling portrays Hermione as having that they really "are", on some essential level, Hermione Granger. Other Tumblr users, including my participants, critique and mock such practices and the people who engage in them as excessive, absurd, attention-seeking, and/or psychologically disturbed. However, *knowledge of* "kinning" can be used to index an "always on" (Baron 2010, boyd 2012) and thus, for Argentineans, global and cosmopolitan awareness of the various intricacies of digital subcultures. Thus, the adoption of "kin" as an affiliative stance marker serves a dual purpose: both to indicate a sense of alignment or affiliation with content expressed in the previous turn, and also as an ironic or sarcastic critique of actual "kin culture".
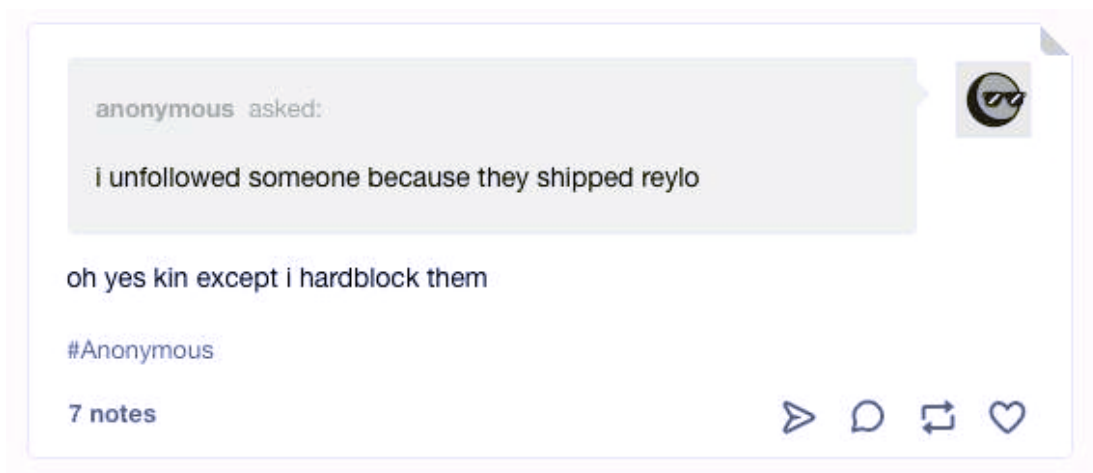
Figure 34. Screenshot of Tumblr anon ask featuring use of "kin".
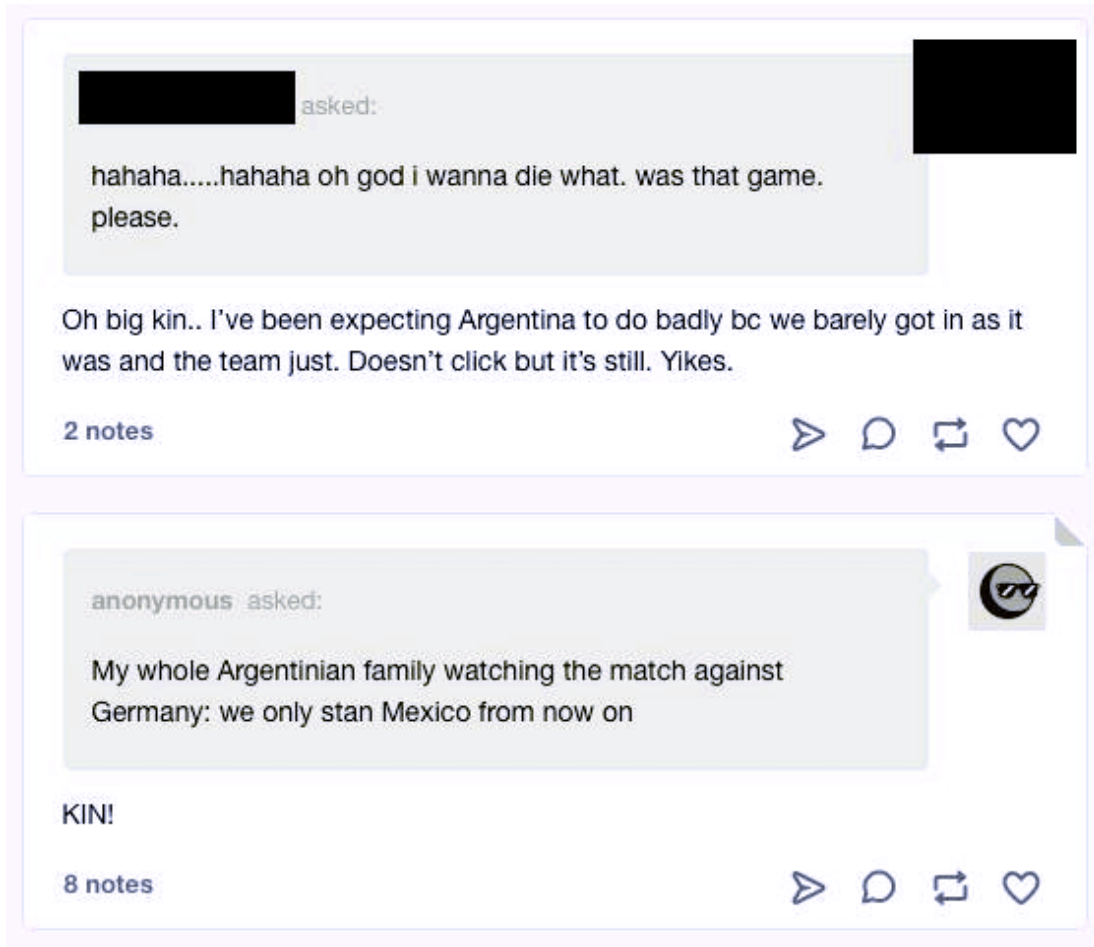
Figure 35. Screenshot of two Tumblr anon asks featuring use of "kin".

Figures 34 and 35 show screenshots from another Argentine participant's blog. These
screenshots also highlight the "ask" function of Tumblr in which other users—anonymously or
not—can submit questions or comments to other blogs they follow. The blog owner who
receives the ask can then publish their response to their blog. In Figure 34, the posted ask
includes a "keyword tag" (Bourlai 2018), marking the post as a response to an anonymous ask.
The others have no tags of either type. In Figure 34, "kin" is used mid-"utterance" to
communicate affiliation with the proposition expressed in the anonymous ask—the blog owner,
like the anonymous asker, also unfollows blogs that support a relationship between Rey and
Kylo Ren/Ben Solo (characters in the current iteration Star Wars franchise). (In fact the blog
owner states that they would go one step beyond just unfollowing—which only removes a blog
from one's news feed—to hardblocking, which prevents any posts from that account from being
displayed to you as you navigate Tumblr). The first post in Figure 35 shows that "kin" can be
intensified in a manner similar to "mood"— "big kin" indicates that the blogger strongly

identifies with the sense of disappointment and upset (about Argentina's poor performance in a World Cup soccer match) expressed in the ask. The second post in Figure 35 illustrates that "kin" can be used in a turn/utterance on its own—again similar to "same" and "mood", here expressing something like "I agree!".

Finally, I turn to a discussion of the lexical item "me" as an affiliative stance marker. Generally speaking, it is used in the same ways as the markers already described. Figure 36 offers an example.
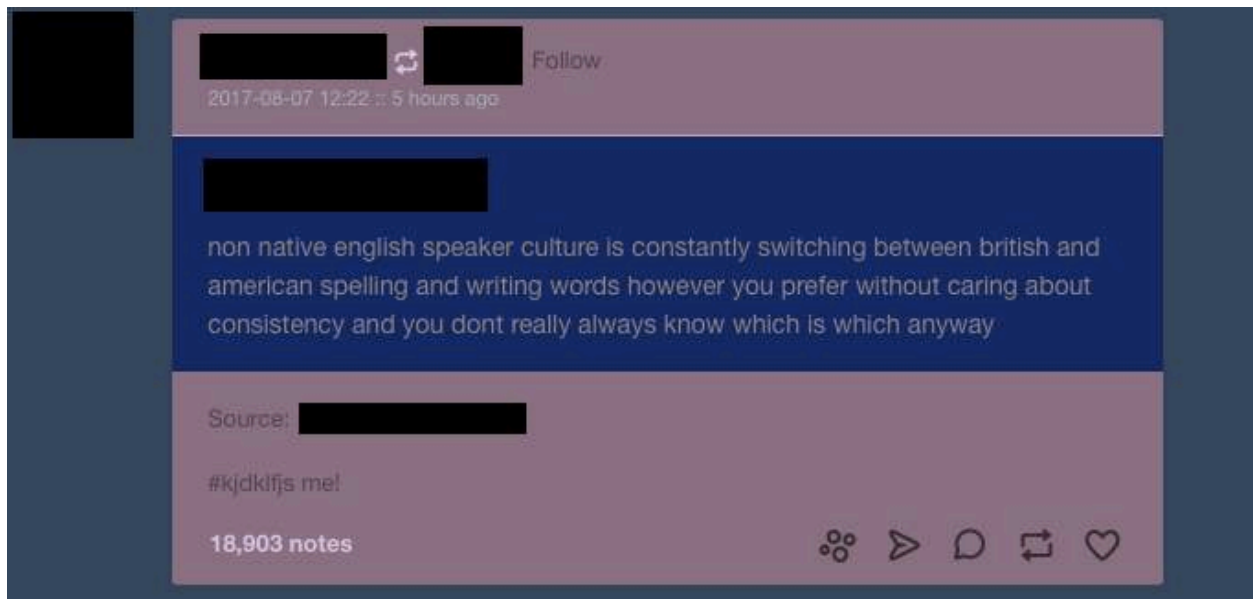
Figure 36. Screenshot of Tumblr post tagged "me".

This use of same also illustrates another linguistic feature seen as iconic of fannish internet language—the "keysmash". While I do not have space to delve into a full analysis of the semiotics of keysmashes, they are in general used to express an effusive, "excessive" outpouring of emotionality, keying things like surprise, shock, excitement and the like. The affiliative stance marker "me" is, of course, used to index alignment with the content of the Tumblr post the user has reblogged. "Me" can also take modifiers, though these tend to be prepositional phrases rather than the sorts of intensifiers/augmentatives that "kin" and "same" do.
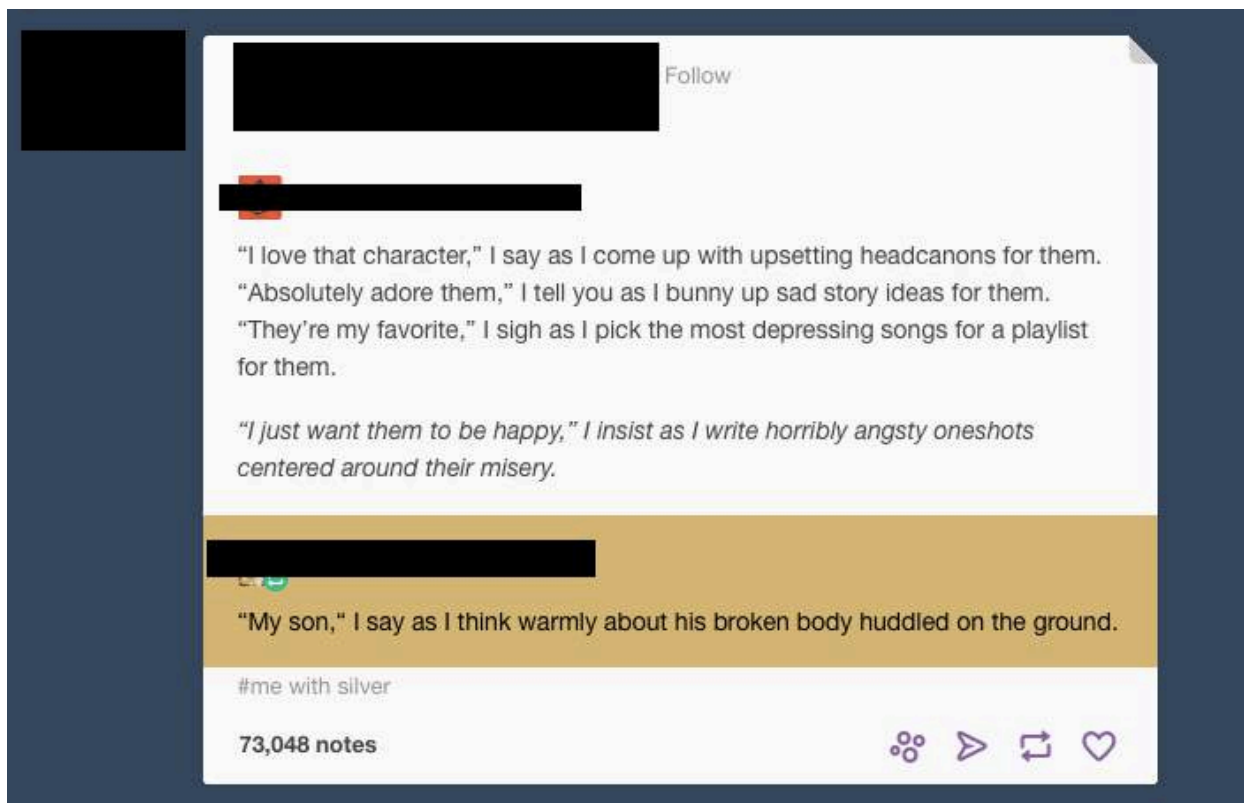
Figure 37. Screenshot of Tumblr post tagged "me with X".

In Figure 37, the Tumblr user reblogs a set of threaded posts about how fanfiction writers are particularly cruel to their favorite characters, tagging it with the affiliative stance marker + prepositional phrase "me with silver". This, of course, limits the scope of the "affiliation" to speak to this user's fanfiction treatment of a particular character (here, John Silver of the pirate drama *Black Sails*). "Me" is also the only affiliative stance marker that I observed to have been calqued into Spanish. See, for instance, the example in Figure 38, a screenshot from a Twitter post.

Figure 38. Screenshot of tweet featuring "yo" and "ahre".

142

The original tweet (in the sub-set box of text) translates roughly to "I really want to start a one shot[19] Destiel[20] but I'm worried about leaving the fic I already started unfinished fml[21]". An Argentine Twitter user who participated in my study retweeted this post, adding their own commentary of "Yo ahre", i.e. "Me ahre". By pairing "ahre" with this affiliative stance marker, the tweeter plays up the humorous/silly nature of identifying with a statement about wanting to start a new piece of fanfiction before having finished the fic they are currently working on.

Despite the possibility of using the Spanish "yo" in place of English "me" as an affiliative stance marker, I perceived this choice to be a much less common one. One possible explanation for this is due to the interactional structure of Tumblr and Twitter, in which content is reblogged/retweeted with the option of including additional metalinguistic commentary—such a structure seems to call for a set of linguistic forms that can more explicitly index agreement or alignment with the reblogged/retweeted content. And since Twitter and Tumblr fan networks operate much more frequently in English, the predominance of English affliative stance markers is a logical choice for these Argentine users. Facebook's post-comment structure perhaps does not lend itself as easily to sharing content with a plain "me" or "same" in the text of the post or in a comment, and since Facebook groups for Argentine fans of Anglophone media operate primarily in Spanish, using such English lexical items would be much more marked anyway.

For Argentine fans of Anglophone media who use social media platforms to engage with fan communities, the use of these English affiliative stance markers forms allows them to demonstrate alignment with the English-dominant, digitally connected, youthful styles of internet-based fan culture, in which "excessively" absurdist humor styles—such as indexing alignment with nonsensical images or text posts—dominate the interactional landscape. Furthermore, these discourse markers allow them to demonstrate their mastery not just of the actual media texts/products their fandoms center on, but also of the sociolinguistic contexts in which such media was produced, linking them to cosmopolitan pos. This, as Roig-Marín (2016) argues, facilitates the development a sense of exclusive fan group belonging (192-193), and asserts their position as "authentic", "true", "hardcore" fans (193).

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[19] "Uan yot" is a stylized/Hispanicized spelling of "one shot", which is a short, single-chapter, character-driven piece of fanfiction.
[20] "Destiel" is the name for one of the most popular relationships/pairings in fanfiction for the television series *Supernatural*.
[21] "Lpm" is actually an acronym for "la puta madre" *the slut mother*, so it does not directly translate to the English "fml"/"fuck my life". But the sentence-final meaning of "fml" in English social media discourse is closest in function to the role "lpm" plays in this tweet.

4.3 Code-Choice Negotiation across Fandom Spaces and Social Media Platforms

In this section, I offer an analysis of how Argentine fans of Anglophone media and pop culture negotiate notions of "excess" with respect to code-choice in online fandom discourse, given the unique communicative affordances and norms of different social media platforms. My understanding of the term "communicative affordances" draws on Gershon (2017)'s citation of Hutchby's (2001, 47) definition of the possibilities for action that a medium or communicative channel makes available to users. In Gershon's framework, "affordances can exist as a range of possibilities inherent in the materual structure of the channel itself", but "which aspects of these affordances become relevant in a given situation for a group of people is culturally specific" (18). Gershon's (2017) article highlights several strands of linguistic anthropology research on (new/social) media affordances, two of which intersect with the analysis I present here. First, she cites emerging work on "media ambivalence", which examines "how people's media ideologies use them to control their own and others' use of particular channels…and then to analyze the practices that spring up in response to these attempts because this control is only partial" (19). Later, she describes work on "how people's beliefs about media shape what they understand a medium's affordances might be and thus shape the potential for transformation that a medium might introduce" (19). Both of these analytical strands deal with how people make sense of the interactional affordances of a given communicative channel, given their own or others' beliefs about the channel. In their navigation of code-choice in online fan communities, the most pervasive "media ideology" Argentine fans of Anglophone media/pop culture products confront is the sense that the internet is, in broad terms, an "English-only" space.

Such stereotypes of the Internet as an English-only space are widespread, but this sterotype conflates two distinct "measures" of linguistic diversity in digital spaces (Thurlow et al. 2004). On the one hand are measures of what languages internet users speak. By the early 2000s, slightly more non-native English speakers than native English speakers were using the internet— the native languages of the non-native English speakers were, perhaps unsurprisingly, mostly European languages, but with increasing representation of East Asian languages such as Japanese, Korean, and Chinese (Thurlow et al. 2004, 143). Alternatively, one may count how

144

much of the actual content of the internet appears in different languages. By the late 1990s, "about 84 percent of all webpage content was in English—followed by German (about 5 percent), Japanese (about 3 percent) and French (about 2 percent)" (144). In 2014, the Internet Society, a non-profit research organization dedicated to promoting access to free and open internet, reports that there are "approximately 165 languages with web presence today [but] only 36 of them are actively used"[22] and about 80% of all online content is written in English, Chinese, Spanish, Arabic, Portuguese, Indonesian/Malaysian, French, Japanese, Russian, and German[23]. So, although the picture of the internet is rather more multilingual than stereotypes suggest, it is not wholly off-base to suggest that, as a whole, it is an English-dominant medium. Work on code-choice in "translocal" social media communities has argued that these choices are an effect of audience design (Bell 1984; Christiansen 2015 and 2016)—and if one presumes that their audience is largely English-speaking, it should be no surprise that, at least on certain social media platforms, users construct their posts in English in order to accommodate to their audience.

There is a rich body of research examining how this (perceived or actual) presumption of English dominance affects how speakers of other languages use the internet, in particular on platforms designed for robust interaction, such as email listservs, social media sites, and multiplayer game environments. Axelsson, Abelin, and Schroeder's (2007) work on language shifting in a virtual world a la *Second Life* (Boelstorff 2008) showed that bids to shift into Swedish were rarely accepted in the English-dominant main gaming area, but were successful in language-specific sub-sets of the virtual environment. As Androutsopolos (2007) points out, such code-shifts into non-English native languages tend to be licensed by particular topics, participants, and interactional contexts. In general, though, there is a sense that the wider one wishes their message to go, the higher the pressure to produce one's content in English—if English is a non-native language, it is still more or most people's non-native language (again, at least on some platforms) (Durham 2007). Work in this vein has also suggested that being among a linguistic community's sub-group of "early adopters" of the internet and social media technologies is correlated with more widespread English use, and more innovative use of the native language

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[22] https://www.internetsociety.org/blog/2014/12/multilingualism-and-the-end-of-the-global-internet/
[23] https://www.internetworldstats.com/stats7.htm

(Warschauer, El Said, and Zohry 2002, 315); and that even within digital spaces in which non-English native languages flourish, English is widely and creatively incorporated (Dovchin 2017a and b).

My investigation into the linguistic practices (including code-choice) of Argentine fans of Anglophone media and pop culture began through the blogging site Tumblr.com because it is considered a central nexus for online fan activity for fans from North America (Deller 2015; Thomas 2013; Booth 2015; Gilliland 2016; Gonzalez 2016; Pande and Moitra 2017). I soon learned that while there is a community of Argentine (and other Latin American) Anglophone media fans on Tumblr—especially those who wish to engage with the widest swath of fandom, and the most politically progressive corners of fandom—there is an equally (if not *more*) robust presence of Argentine fan groups on Facebook. Although my data collection soon took me also to social media platforms like Instagram and Twitter, I focus in this section on negotiations of code-choice on Tumblr and Facebook as they represent the most salient areas of fan engagement and participation for the Argentineans in my study. They also represent two contrasting spaces of language dominance: Tumblr, as a whole, is an English-dominant space, whereas the (Argentine) Facebook fan groups I observed are largely Spanish-dominant. In what follows, I illustrate how issues of code-choice are negotiated, contested, and critiqued by Argentine fans of Anglophone media on both platforms, paying particular attention to how the communicative affordances of each platform license (or not) particular decisions about code-choice and language use. On both Tumblr and Facebook, these negotiations are largely (though not entirely) geared towards managing perceived "excesses" of English, which—as Chapter 2 argued—is necessary to fully engage in fan communities, but can also index the persona or style of a "cheto", which most Argentine fans wish to avoid. By contesting and negotiating code-choice on fan-related social media, Argentine fans of Anglophone media mark out and legitimize spaces in which a sense of "too much" English can be permitted, thus simultaneously skirting interpellation as "cheto" while laying claim to a hard-core, authentic fan persona, especially one who is plugged in to global (i.e. English-dominant) fan discourses.

4.3.0 Code-choice on Tumblr
As a social media platform, Tumblr is perceived as a space dominated by English-speakers, English-language content, and North Americans and Europeans. It is also considered an

important digital nexus for online fan activity, so Argentine fans of English-language media and pop culture who wish to engage with fan communities closely connected to the media source must content with the linguistic landscape of this place. Some users (not necessarily connected with fandom) organize movements in order to promote the use of non-English languages on tumblr, such as the "use your language day" event promoted in Figure 39. This event was reblogged by an Argentine participant in my study, who included a "commentary tag" (Bourlai 2018, see more discussion on this below) that translates to "i always forget LMAO". This particular movement was not widely adopted the network of Argentineans that I observed, but the fact that this post has nearly 5,000 "notes" (a figure of engagement/reach) highlights a significant desire to moderate the "excess" use of English on the platform.
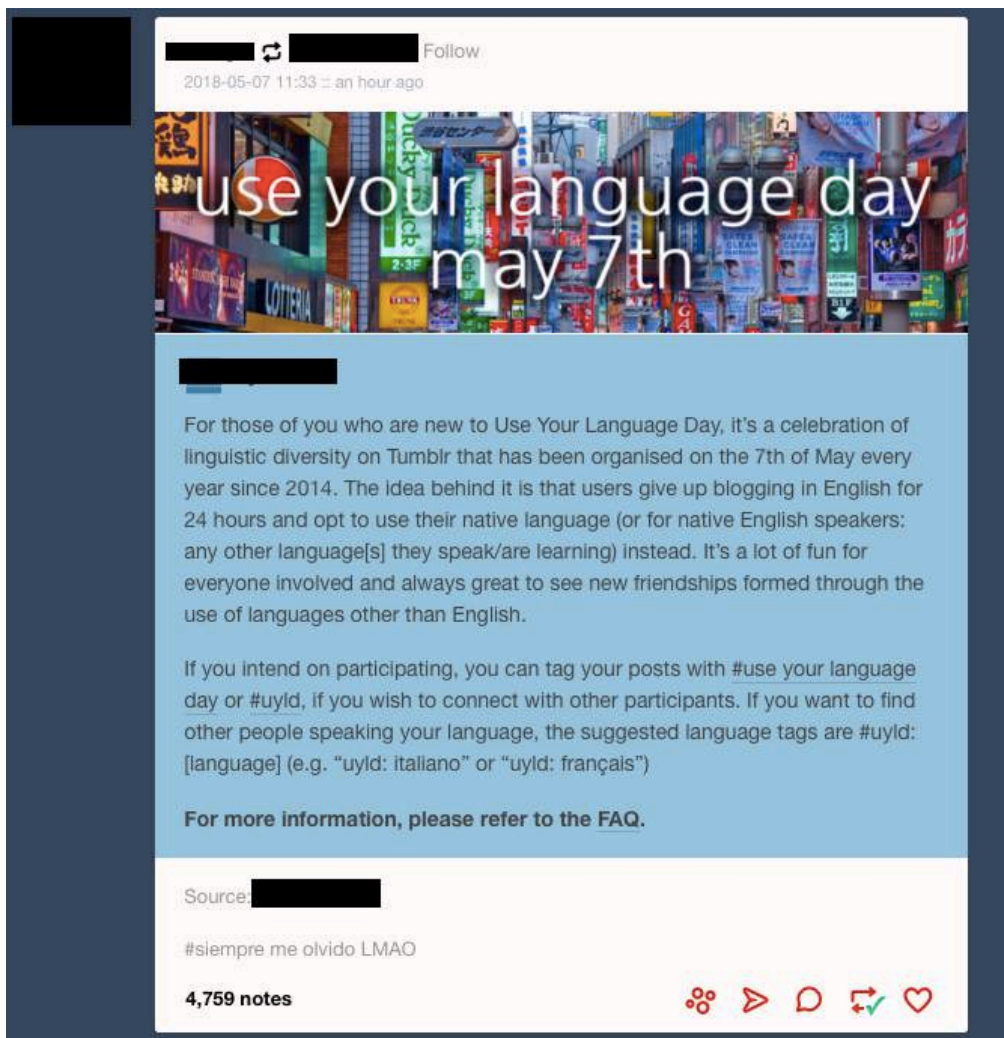
Figure 39. Screenshot of Tumblr post about "Use Your Language Day".

Many Argentineans who use Tumblr to connect with other members of English-language media fandom report that, in their early days on the platform, they assume there is little Latin American presence, much less Argentinean presence, on the site, and thus make no effort to produce content in Spanish. Virtually all of my Tumblr-based participants shared stories of surprise when they first encountered other Spanish-speaking fans, and other Argentinean fans of their preferred media products, such as the participant whose post I show in Figure 40, who invokes a "Hello, Kitwe"-style piece of Argentine media discourse (Spitulnik 1997) when she realizes a long-time follower might be Argentinean.
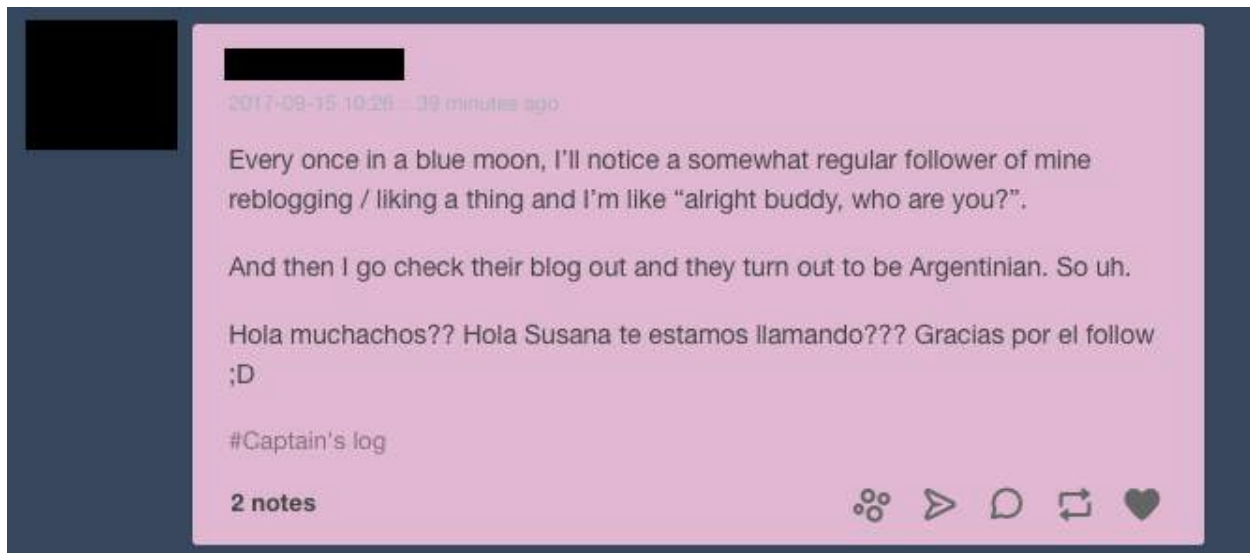
Figure 40. Screenshot of a Tumblr post about noticing a follower is Argentinean.

Although most Argentinean fans of English-language media connect to Tumblr in search of more global/international fan community, many also express a desire to connect with other Argentineans, or minimally other Latin Americans and other Spanish speakers. In this section, I show how one of Tumblr's primary communicative affordances—tags—both highlight (Park 2010) and erase (Irvine and Gal 2000) the possibility of a Spanish-centric linguistic space on the platform. Per Tumblr.com's official help documentation, "tags" on posts are freely-chosen keywords designed to "make it easier for readers to find posts about a specific topic on your blog"[24] (cf. Hyde et al. 2012 and O'Reilly 2012). Tumblr "tags" are visually similar to hashtags

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[24] https://tumblr.zendesk.com/hc/en-us/articles/226161387-Tagging-your-posts

on other social media sites. They usually appear at the bottom of a post, and in theory create intertextual links between the post in question, and other posts across the site with the same tags. In theory, this is meant to allow, for instance, all of the posts about Lord of the Rings to be found together in a single stream (perhaps tagged #lord of the rings or #lotr); as well as all of the posts about Lord of the Rings fan fiction (perhaps as #lotr fanfic); as well as all of the posts about Lord of the Rings fan fiction in which the characters Legolas and Gimli are in a romantic relationship (in this case two tags are likely, perhaps #lotr fanfic and #legolas x gimli, but three— #lotr #fanfic #legolas x gimli—would also not be surprising to find). Figure 41, below, shows an example of this sort of tagging practice. The tags appear near the bottom of a post, above the last line which features information about the reach of the post ("notes", bottom left), and buttons which allow users to share or interact with tbe post in various ways (bottom right), and below the main area of the post in which texts, images, links, and clips can appear.

Bourlai (2018) classifies the tags on this post as "keyword tags", as they function primarily "as descriptive labels that enhance the visibility and searchability of a post" (47). The tags on the post in Fig 4.20, for instance, tell us that the post contains spoilers for a particular show (in the first tag), but also in general, in the second tag. Clicking on the first tag leads the user to the set of all other posts that are tagged with #OUAT spoilers, across the website— this is the abbreviated tag for the popular fantasy television series, "Once Upon a Time", which until recently had an active fan base on Tumblr. Bourlai (2018)'s framework creates a binary distinction between these sorts of "keyword" tags, and what they call "comment" tags, which are not added to posts as a way to organize metadata labels, as keyword tags do, but instead to convey a range of discourse functions pragmatically related to the content of the post, such as "expressing an opinion, a reaction, or including [conversational or interactional] asides" (46-47). In the post shown in Figure 41, however, it is clear that this distinction is not rigid: with the #anti-a&e tag, anyone reading the OUAT spoilers tag knows that this post contains negative discussion of the primary show runners (A&E are their initials) and also that the author is likely not themselves a fan of said show runners. So, even tags that function primarily for keyword/metdata organization can index stance-taking and other pragmatic effects (Neill Hoch 2018).
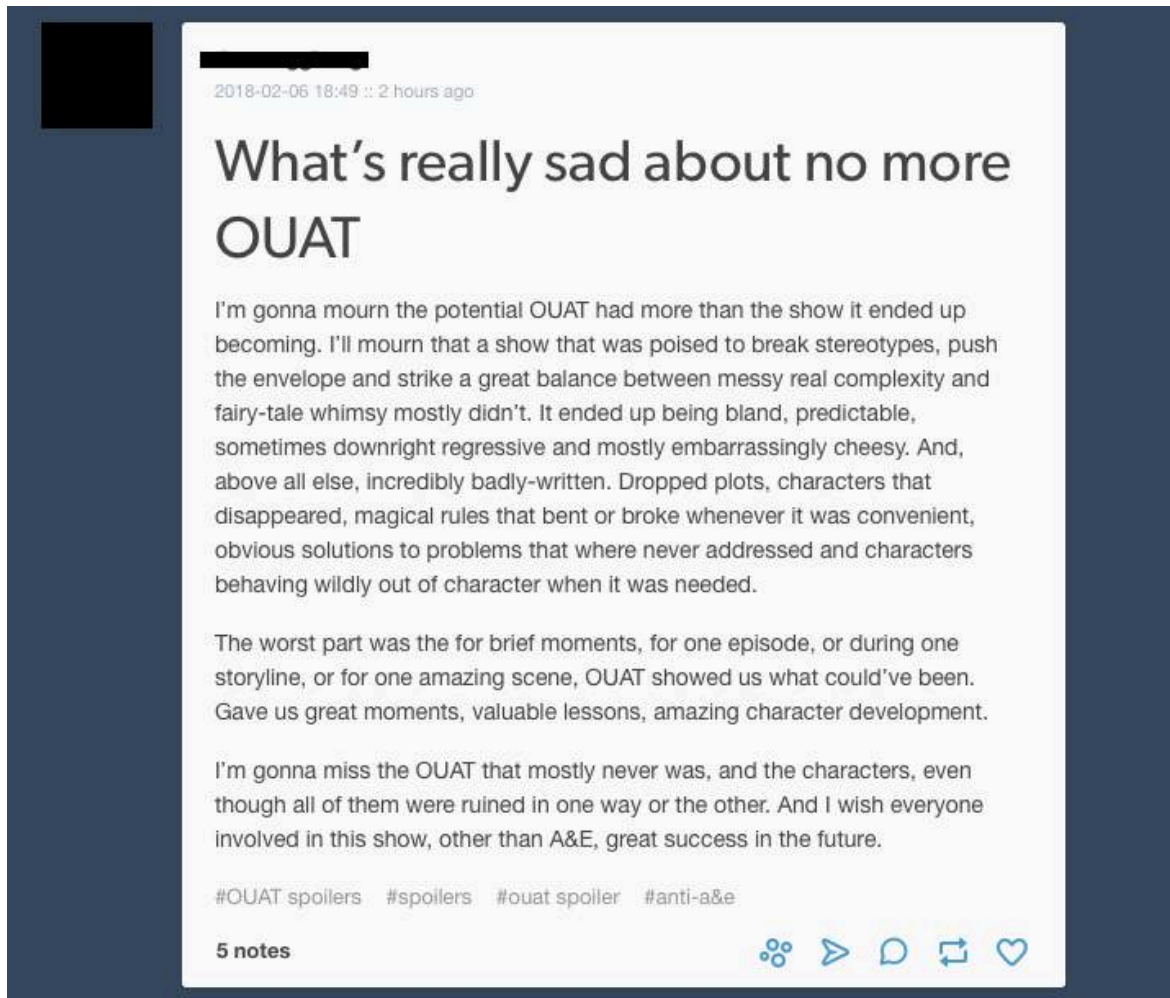
Figure 41. Screenshot of Tumblr post featuring keyword tags.

As I mentioned earlier, English is by far the most common language on the platform; and, as I have also previously stated, most of the participants in my research are highly proficient in at least written English. As a result, many of their posts are in English, or feature English strongly. In my corpus of Tumblr posts, English-dominant posts are never tagged according to their language, yet posts written entirely in or featuring Spanish are often tagged to indicate this. Figure 42 offers an example of this.
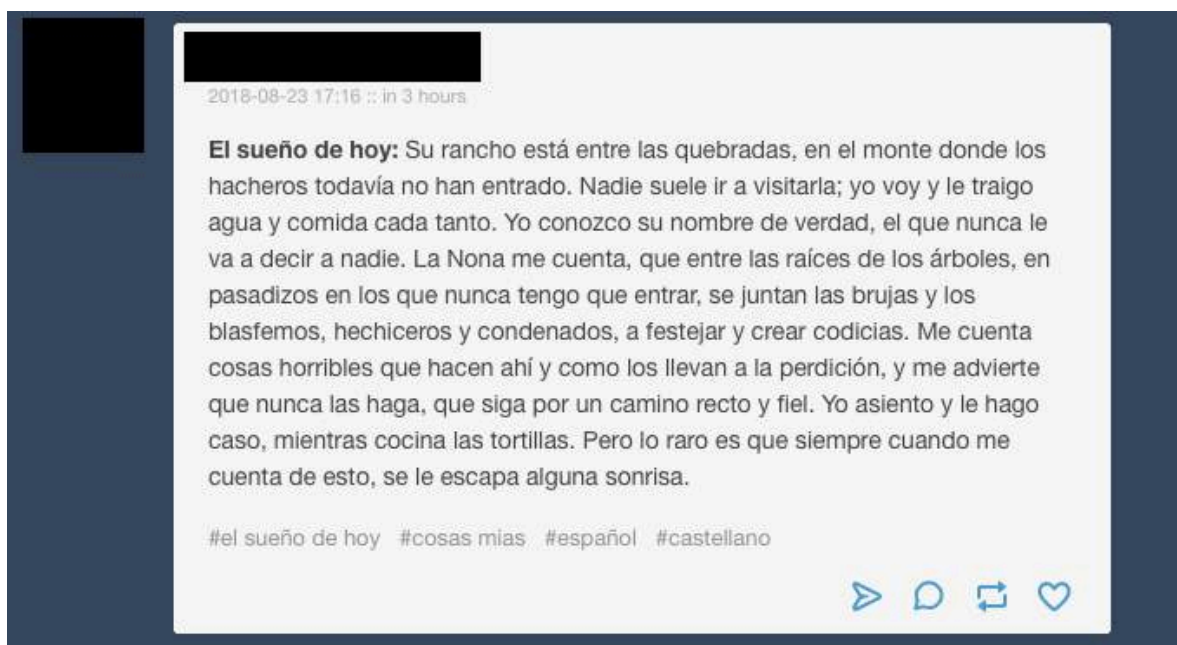
Figure 42. Screenshot of Tumblr post featuring metalinguistic keyword tags.

In Figure 42, a participant's personal post—part of a series in which he posts about recent dreams he has had, and written entirely in Spanish—is tagged "#el sueño de hoy" (Translation: today's dream. His personal tag for this series on his blog.), "#cosas mias (Translation: my things. His personal tag for blog posts dealing with personal issues rather than posts about fandom or politics), and "#español" and "#castellano" (Both these terms translate as "Spanish", marking the language in which the post was written). Adapting from Bourlari (2018), I classify these types of tags as "metalinguistic keyword tags". Bourlai's study of "keyword" vs. "commentary" tags posits that keyword tags, as well as other studies of Tumblr tags, posit that "keyword" tags "enhance the searchability and visibility of a post" (47). Thus, tagging posts with #spanish or #castellano can increase the possibility of the tagged post reaching other folks who wish to consume content on Tumblr that is written in Spanish. This can be interpreted as a "highlighting" (cf. Park 2010) communicative affordance of Tumblr. One of the most active Tumblr users within the network of Argentine fans I observed, who I call Steve, also explained their own use of such metalinguistic keyword tags in similar terms. Excerpt 27 is a transcript of a chat I had with them (within Tumblr's 1-to-1 instant messaging service) in which they respond to a question I approached them with asking them to tell me about their use of such tags on their own blog.

151

Excerpt 27. "If people want to feel like home for a while" [25]

1 jfh myblog isn't organized AT ALL, i just do it because this site it's full of usamerican/European stuff, so its really hard to find a "relatable" latine post (information, discussions, jokes, anything)

2 so I find it more easy to collect all the stuff so if people want to feel like home for a while they can go there

3 and of course it feels good to have a part of my blog with my experiences

4 with argentina, the same. the first thing that argentinians say when they talk to me its "oh my god i can't believe that i found an argentinian" because we NEVER found posts about our country

5 (so it feels good to go to my notes and see an argentinian or latine stalking those tags

6 with spanish, its kind of different. i have it for two reasons: one, because spanish speakers can get tired of writing/reading in english all the time, it gets to a point where your brain is just….tired, and finding things in spanish here its SO refreshing

Steve asserts that they use their tagging system—particularly the use of tags such as #argentina, #latine, and #spanish—as a way to push back against the English-dominance (and cultural dominance of North Americans and Europeans) of Tumblr: by tagging content about Argentina, or Latin America, they make it easier for Argentines and Latin Americans using the platform to find community with each other. In tagging Spanish-language posts specifically, they mention that the English-dominance of Tumblr can get physically and mentally overwhelming (turn 6, Excerpt 4.8). See, for example, Figures 43 and 44, which are screenshots of reblogs and replies to a post by Steve sarcastically asking users of the site to "just speak Spanish for 2 seconds", because "all the English is giving them a headache."

Figure 43. Screenshot of Steve's "can u a all.....speak spanish" Tumblr post.

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[25] In reproducing these Tumblr chats, each numbered section represents a new "turn", i.e., everything the participant typed before hitting "send". These excerpts are also untranslated as they occurred totally in English.
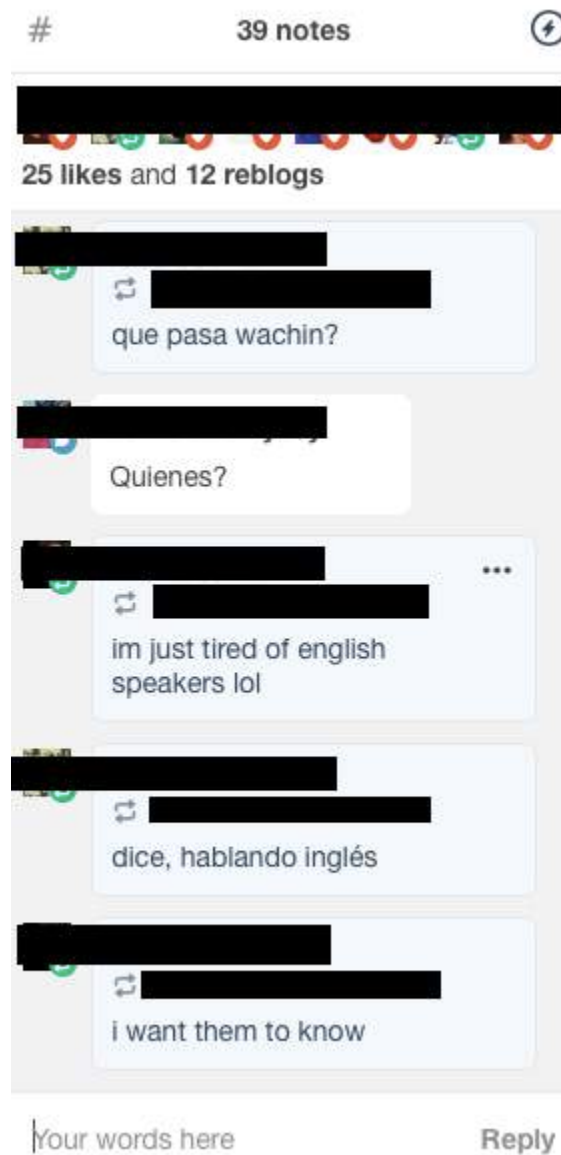
Figure 44. Screenshot of replies to Steve's "can u all" Tumblr post.[26]

As another Argentine points out in reply to this post ("dice, hablando ingles", *they say, speaking English*), it is notable that Steve feels that they must make this joking comment in English. Steve comments that their choice of English to communicate is because "i want them to know"—"them" referring of course to English speakers, who are in turn perceived to be the majority of a Tumblr user's audience. Steve's use of metalinguistic keyword tags that highlight/make their

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[26] Translation: [First comment/reblog] What's going on, dude?.
[Second comment] Who?
[Fourth comment] they say, speaking English

153

Spanish posts easily searchable is thus posited as a technique for dealing with the frustration of the English-dominance of the platform, even as Steve must acquiesce to the English-dominance of the platform in order to express such ideas.

As Steve expresses in Excerpt 27 (see underlined portions), metalinguistic keyword tags help to highlight spaces of community for Spanish-speakers, Spanish-language content, and Latin America-centric content. In turn this allows them to manage the negative sensations of experiencing "excessive" English use on the platform. But the use of such tags also allows such posts to be identified and sorted by another important communicative affordance of Tumblr: the tag "filtering" function, more commonly known as blocking. This function allows a user to avoid seeing any posts tagged with particular keywords. For instance, referring back to on Figure 41, if a fan of Once Upon a Time *did* approve of the narrative choices of the show runners, they may not wish to see posts that discuss them negatively. These posts will likely be tagged #anti-a&e—so, said user can enter this tag in the "tag filtering" section of their account settings page, and block all posts which include the tag from their dashboard (i.e. home page). This affordance thus allows certain types of communication to be "erased" (Irvine and Gal 2000), rather than "highlighted". Indeed, Steve may be reckoning with just that in the post shown in Figure 43 and the replies in Figure 44, as the post is not tagged in any way that would allowed a monolingual English member of their blog's audience to block it.

Furthermore, some Argentine Tumblr users do claim to use to metalinguistic keyword tags as a strategy for conforming to the English-dominance of the platform. During a data collection session with my participant Pablo, we were jointly examining his blog as he talked me through his thought processes while navigating the site and making decisions about how to participate. Figure 45 shows a screenshot of his blog's "about" page—not all Tumblr blogs have this, but those who do use it to give a brief summary of the typical content of the blog and biographical information about the author(s), and often the tagging system the author(s) uses. Our discussion is shown after this, in Excerpt 28.
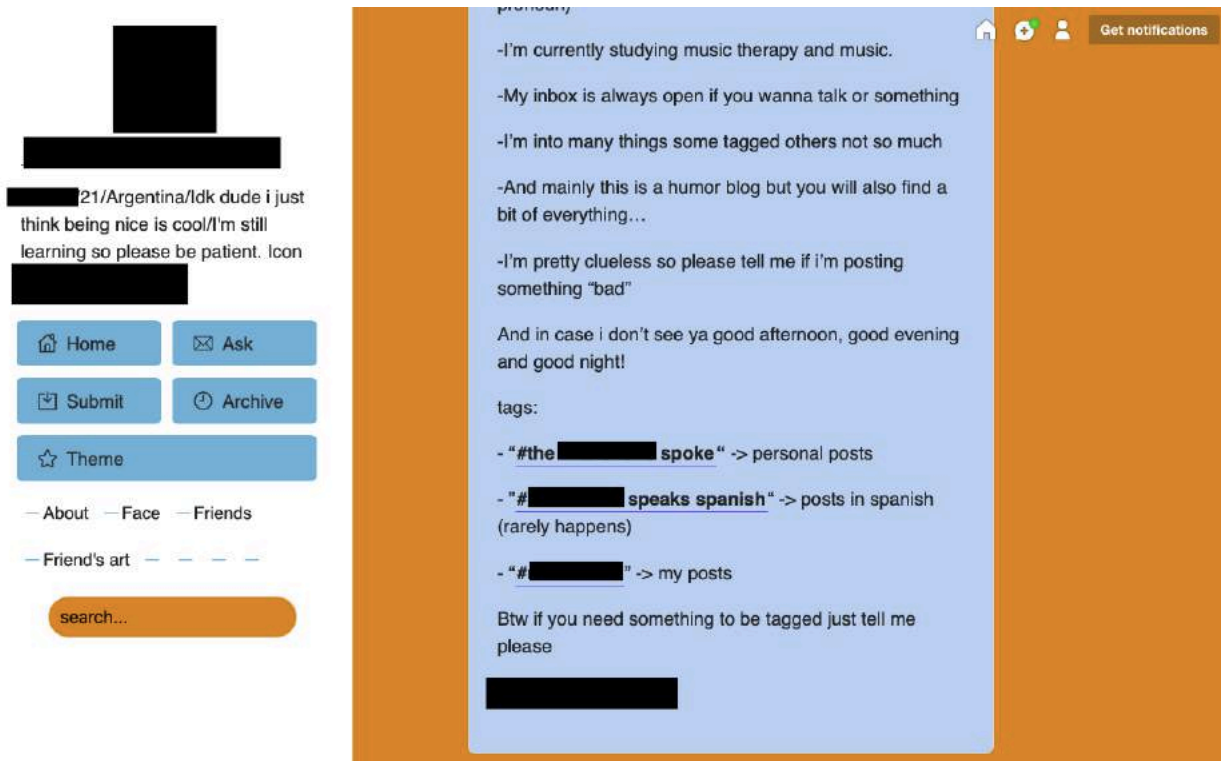
Figure 45. Screenshot of Pablo's Tumblr "About" page.

Excerpt 28. "Para no molestar"

1	**MCV:** bien y por qué (.) por qué::=	*ok and why (.) why=*
2	**Pablo**: =Pablo speaks Spanish? .hh y para no	*=Pablo speaks Spanish? .hh well to not*
3	molestar [me parece	*bother [I think*
4	**MCV:** [para no molestar? [qué?	* [to not bother? [what?*
5	**Pablo:** [£sí (.) es—£	* [£yeah (.) it's—£*
6	**MCV:** £pero molestá si querés£ ((laughter)) no	*£but bother if you want to£ ((laughter)) no*
7	yo digo (.) no	*I mean (.) no*
8	**Pablo**: sí no no no >[la verdad es que estoy de	*yeah no no no >[the truth is I agree*
9	acuerdo (.) estoy de acuerdo<	*(.) I agree<*
10	**MCV:** [es tu blog	* [it's your blog*
11	**Pablo:** no es una postura ((mía)) es	*no it's a thing I do it*
12	contradictorio con lo que todo lo que digo (.)	*contradicts everything I say (.)*
13	pero es como (.) ((tsk)) que sé yo (.)	*but it's like (.) ((tsk)) I dunno*
14	[…]	
15	**MCV:** [hmm	*[hmm*
16	**Pablo**: [pero:: ((tsk)) es como que (.) esto no—	*[but:: ((tsk)) it's like (.) this doesn't—*
17	no le interesa a todos mis followers entonces	*it's not interesting to all of my followers so*
18	(.) que sé yo (.) o sea sé que es mi blog y yo	*(.) I dunno (.) like I know it's my blog and I*
19	puedo postear lo que yo quiero (.) pero tampoco	*can post what I want (.) but I also don't*
20	quiero molestarles entonces yo hice mi propio:	*want to bother them so I made my own:*
21	tag (.) para no mo—no molestar tanto por ahí	*tag (.) to not bo—not bother so much that way*
22	(.) a pesar de que (.) £na no tiene sentido£	*(.) even though (.)£no it doesn't make sense£*
23	((laughter))	*((laughter)*

The first thing Pablo points me to is the tag he uses to organize his Spanish-language posts—#Pablo speaks Spanish (edited here and in the screenshots for anonymity). In the first line, I attempt to elicit an analysis from him about what kind of content he puts in this tag, and why he uses it. His response, in lines 2-3, is that "he doesn't want to bother people". This is referring to the fact that by explicitly tagging his Spanish-language posts, he is making it easier for users employing Tumblr's tag-blocking function to avoid seeing his Spanish-language posts, thus, in a way, highlighting the English-dominance of the platform and erasing its potential multilingual aspects. The surprise I express in lines 6-7 leads him to clarify that he does see a contradiction between this practice and his own political stances. But, as he tells me later in this session, this choice is practical as well: according to Pablo, if one wishes to communicate with other fans on Tumblr, English is simply obligatory. The ideological conflict behind Pablo's tagging practice reveals the indexical bivalency (Cotter and Valentinsson 2018) of these metalinguistic tags: even when users like Steve and Erika who employ metalinguistic tagging systems for their blogs as a strategy for dealing with the "excessive" English or Tumblr, the very nature of this communicative affordance makes it such that users who do not want to engage with that content can also more easily disengage.

This data shows that Tumblr, like the rest of the Internet, is, objectively, a multilingual space; but also, that ideologies of English dominance and "excess" shape Argentine users' experiences of the platform. Metalinguistic tagging practices by Argentine Tumblr users allow both of these conflicting realities to be indexed concurrently—or bivalently, as Cotter and Valentinsson (2018) put it. This bivalency, in turn, creates a semiotic effect of leveling, in which Tumblr's linguistic multiplexity is both highlighted and erased simultaneously (Park 2010). For Argentine fans of Anglophone media and pop culture logging on to Tumblr to try and connect with other fans, this creates a precarious, conflicting interactional position. Just as they must manage and circumscribe their English use in everyday life (Chapter 3), their English use on fannish social media platforms must be similarly managed. While English is generally perceived by Tumblr users to be a requisite for engaging with other fans, they can also contest this expectation through their manipulation of the communicative affordances of the platform. This allows them to construct a locally-relevant (i.e. more Argentine) sense of Anglophone media fandom, while still

engaging in the linguistic practices (i.e. English use) that allow them to connect to the more global networks of fans and fandom.

4.3.1 Code-choice on Facebook

As I mention earlier, I did not originally approach Facebook as a site for Argentine fan engagement with English-language media and popular culture. It was during preliminary fieldwork in 2016 that a contact suggested several Facebook groups to me as a starting point, including the Doctor Who groups and Supernatural group that represented some of the most active digital sites in my work. This surprised me, not only because, as I also mention earlier, Tumblr is considered the current central platform for fandom activity generally, but also because there is a growing sense among young North American and European social media users that Facebook is simply uncool (see Sweney and De Liz 2018). This perception appears to be very much not the case, including among Argentine friends and acquaintances who are not involved in fandom. Indeed, "el feis", as it is often called in Argentina, was easily the most prominent social media site in the country, at least from 2016 to 2018. Twitter and Instagram are both also widely known, but seem to be less used by folks who aren't involved in fandom. Tumblr does not seem to be widely known outside of the subset of individuals who participate heavily in online fandom for English language media and pop cultural products. In fact, while many such individuals report an awareness of Tumblr, and even having a current account/having once had an account, they assert a preference for Facebook because of its more clearly structured commenting architecture.

Although Facebook allows searchable hashtags, they are not as widely used as they are on Tumblr. This is likely because hashtags were not built in as a platform affordance. Facebook incorporated hashtag support into its platform only in 2013, and it does not seem to have caught since then. On Facebook, users can post hashtags in status updates and comments, which become clickable links that leads one to a feed of other comments, status updates, and other posts that include the tag. Functionally, this is more or less the same way that hashtags work on other social media platforms. In practice, however, the do not make up the architecture of a typical post or comment. Commentary tags (Bourlai 2018) do occasionally appear, but the sense is often ironic (Evans 2016, Zappavigna 2018); keyword tags are rare.

Two important communicative affordances distinguish Facebook from Tumblr for Argentine fans: first is the clearer threading of comments on a given post. As several of the figures in section 4.3.0 show, Tumblr posts collapse "likes", reblogs, reblogs with additional commentary, and comments into one massive metric called "notes". While it is possible to click on a post's notes metric and see the various comments, reblogs, and likes, it obscures the various different interactional threads that can spring off a single post. Meanwhile, on Facebook, "likes" (and other forms of "reacts" such as a laughing emoji, an angry face emoji, and a heart emoji) are counted and displayed separately from the comment threads. Sub-threads are nested within comments on the same post, so that a user can easily navigate between different threads of interaction branching off from the same post. Thus, for many Argentine fans, Facebook is seen as a better platform for engaging in extensive conversation and debate about their preferred media/pop cultural products. However, it is also possible (and common) to share a post from one timeline to another, thus disrupting the interaction links mentioned above. Therefore, this particular affordance might be better framed as an "imagined affordance", following Nagy and Neff (2015). The post-comment structure is seen as an aspect of Facebook's interactional structure that lends itself to improved conversation and debate; yet the affordance is more a result of user's perceptions and expectations of the platform.

The second central affordance of Facebook is the ability to create exclusive "groups", that fully separate content in the group from one's primary news feed. While Tumblr users may track or generate keyword tags in order to construct a sense of community, there are no clearly defined group "spaces" that one must explicitly "join" in order to participate in. For Argentine fans of English-language media, this means that communities explicitly labeled for, for example, "Harry Potter Fans Argentina" are easily to find, join, and participate in. Although this affordance was not as readily identified by my participants as a benefit to Facebook, the possibility of clearly defined groups such as this constrains much of the possibilities for code-choice on this platform.

Because virtually all of these groups include some kind of localizing terminology in their titles—variants of *X fans Argentina* are most common—people's own searching practices, as well as Facebook geotagging and other algorithms, there is a presumption that everyone in the group

will be both Argentinean and a native Spanish speaker. (Again, not a presumption that Tumblr users can make—they can only highlight content in Spanish through the use of metalinguistic keyword tags and hope that others think to search for those particular terms). Thus, the primary language of these groups is Spanish, and one that is marked in many ways as Argentinean. While the phonetic features of this dialect are obscured by the text-based medium of the platform, many users employ creative orthographic forms in order to mark such phonetic features. For instance, the Rioplatense yeísmo, in which the sounds represented by orthographic // and *y* are pronounced with a postalveolar fricative (voiceless in Buenos Aires, voiced in the central and western parts of the country), are represented in Facebook posts with orthographic *sh*. This stylized spelling is meant to represent an iconically Argentinean speech style. Chapter 5 discusses the use of the distinctive linguistic features of Argentine Spanish to "localize" (Appadurai 1996) media texts, but here we can see fans using it to perform not just a Spanish-speaking, but a specifically Argentine fan identity. Figure 46 shows an example of this from a Facebook comment.

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Figure 46. Screenshot of Facebook comment featuring stylized spelling of "lloro" (cry.1sg).[27]

The stylized spelling of "lloro" occurs in a comment using overly/excessively emotional affective language to express admiration of a scene from the American television show *Supernatural*. The use of such stylized orthographic representations is often used to in discourse contexts in which the stereotypical performance of an effusive, emotional fan reaction is justified (and even expected). Just as frequently, members across such groups will create memes or imagine manipulations in which characters from popular English-language media series (or the actors who portray them) consume *mate*, a popular tea beverage consumed communally in various Latin American countries, but considered especially iconic of Argentina. Figure 47 shows an example of this.

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[27] Translation: It's so beautiful no. Look at it. THE VORTEX. I CRY.

Figure 47. Screenshot of Facebook comments with photoshopped image of *Supernatural* actors drinking mate.[28]

These two practices are not, of course, exclusive to Facebook, but they serve to highlight how these groups are keyed as spaces in which Argentine Spanish is the default or norm. Despite this, all of these groups are fundamentally centered around the consumption and enjoyment of English-language media and pop cultural products. As I have previously argued, mastery of English and a limited display of such skills can be utilized to index one's commitment to fandom, and one's hardcore, authentic fan persona—such as when fans insist that consumption of media products dubbed into Spanish is awkward and unpleasant to listen to, so they consume

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[28] Translation: [First comment] Over there in Corrientes…
[Second comment] NICEEEE! I love the Boys Nac&Pop with mate and thermos in hand!! Thanks to you also!! <3 <3 <3
[Third comment] nahhhhhh perfect

their media in the original English (with Spanish subtitles, if necessary) as a more pure, authentic form of consumption (see Chapter 3). On Tumblr, the display of such linguistic skill is relatively unproblematic, as a baseline mastery of English is assumed by most to be necessary to interaction on the platform. How, then, do Argentine fans in these Facebook groups negotiate and license the inevitable "leakage" (cf. Goffman 1956) of English into these spaces?

Since the vast majority of news about objects of English-language media fandom is published in English, links to such information are often accompanied by bids for translation. When links or images featuring large amounts of English are shared without translations, posters typically offer some kind of "remedial" account for the lack of translation. For instance, in Figure 48, a member of a Supernatural fan club shares a series of images with text on them, based on an interview that the main actors of the series gave at a convention in the United States. This fan is the first to comment on this post, where they say "COMMENTS AND APPROXIMATE TRANSLATIONS, I'll put them up later today or tomorrow. I UPLOADED THIS right away. Kisses to all." Even though most (but not all) members of this particular group are relatively proficient in English, it is considered poor form to post links to English-language content without also including translations (or information about where to find good translations). In other words, unmediated English-language content must be translated in order to be felicitously shared with the group.

Figure 48. Screenshot of post and comment to *Hunters FTW* Facebook group

Posts in which unmediated English is *not* offered alongside a translation can come under critique, such as the example shown in Figure 49.

But does the connection go deeper than that? She does have a habit of disappearing when you're not looking, after all. We know that the Weeping Angels are as old as the universe itself, "or very nearly"; in that "very nearly" period, did they evolve from Time Lords? They live off time energy, after all, and no one knows their home planet.

👍 3   21 Comments

👍 Like   💬 Comment

Porque las putas teorias siempre en ingles 😠? No me gustaa

Ahora algo que no entendi con el especial ese que The Master logra traer de regreso a los Time Lords y su Planeta... Porque despues el doctor quiere buscar Gallafrey, si cuando tuvo la posibilidad de traerlos los volvio a encerrar?

4y · Like   👍 1
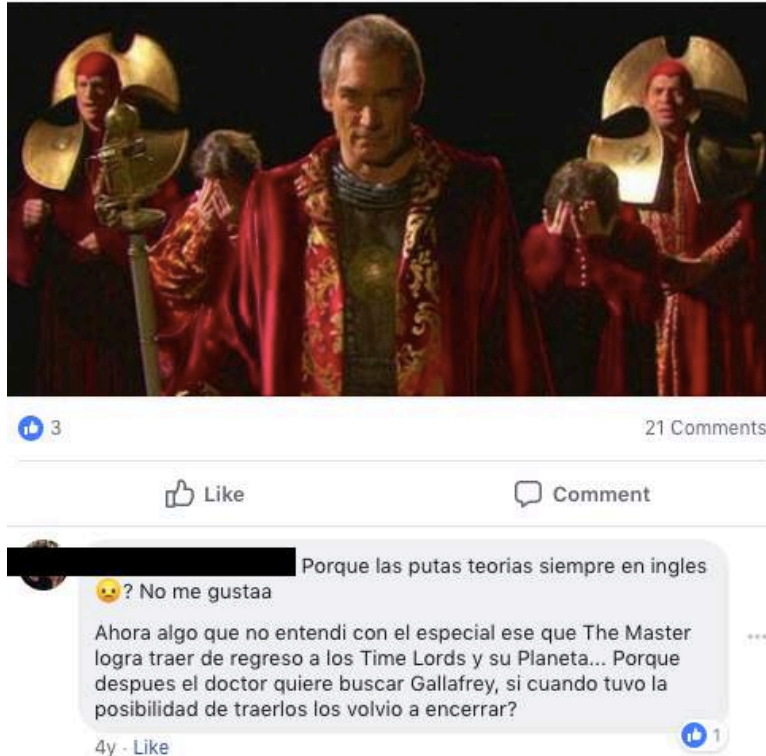
Figure 49. Screenshot of post and comment on *TARDIS Argentina* Facebook group.[29]

Figure 49 shows a post shared to a Doctor Who fan group, in which the original poster copied an excerpt of a fan theory about the "Weeping Angels", a recurring but mysterious group of villians in the British science fiction show. The first comment on the post begins, "Why are the fucking theories always in English 😠? I don't liike it". The commenter goes on to address a point in the post that illustrates that they do in fact have enough mastery of English to interpret the complex fan theory the post posits. Their critique, then, of "theories always being in English", can be read as a pushback against an "excess" of English use in spaces that are otherwise treated as (Argentine) Spanish-dominant. While the source text is best consumed in its original linguistic form (see Section 3.2.1), fans in these Facebook groups seek to transform the code of fan culture to one in which they can more readily participate.

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[29] Translation: Why are all the fucking theories always in English 😠? I don't lie it. Now something that I don't understand with this special is that The Master succeeds in bringing back Time Lords and their Planet…. Why does the doctor want to find Gallafrey after, if when he had to possibility of bringing them back he just locked them up again?

However, Argentine fans of Anglophone media and pop culture also readily recognize the inevitability of this "leakage" of English from the media materials they consume to their everday speech. Memes such as the one shown in Figure 50 illustrate humorous takes on such awareness.

Figure 50. Screenshot of meme shared to *ACC Fans 2018* Facebook group.[30]

This image, shared to a group for attendees of Argentina Comic Con, posits that fans blend the "official" English and Spanish titles for major media products—in this case, the titles of Marvel superhero films—inserting iconized English lexical items like titles into Spanish matrix utterances. It would not be felicitous to refer to a massive franchise film like Marvel's *The Avengers* using the official Spanish translation *Los vengadores*. To do so would mark one as a casual, non-serious fan; someone not deeply engaged with media fandom and fan communities— only people not "in the know" would refer to it using the full Spanish title. On the other hand, to

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[30] Translation: [Text] In English: The avengers. In Spanish: Los vengadores. How I say it: Los avengers. [Image] Perfectly in balance, everything exactly as it should be.

use the English article in the title, and utter (or write) *The Avengers*, risks an "over" or "excessive" slippage of English into one of the few digital fannish spaces in which one can assume a linguistic norm of (Argentine) Spanish. Thus, the blended form "Los avengers" indexes both an orientation to local versions of Spanish-dominant media fan culture, and also an awareness off/alignment with the globally-dominant versions of fan cultures which centralize English.

The data in this section illustrates some of the strategies for managing excessive English in Facebook groups for Argentine fans of Anglophone media products. While the presence of some English is not only licensed, but expected, given the focus of these groups, they are still largely perceived as Argentine, Spanish-dominant digital spaces. Thus, unlike Tumblr, which is perceived as an English-dominant space and thus have Spanish-centric spaces carved out in it through the use of metalinguistic keyword tags, Facebook groups must manage the leakage of "too much", or "excessive" quantities of English into the groups. This is accomplished in large part through a policing of the type of linguistic material shared to the groups—any material directly imported from the English-dominant sections of Anglophone media fandom must come with translations, or deferals of translations to a later date (Figure 48). Failure to do so can result in censure from other group members—even if it is very clear to those group members what the English-language content actually says (Figure 49). Broadly, then, these last two sections have shown that the "excessive" amounts of English inherent to Anglophone media fandom and certain digital media platforms on which fans congregate can be managed and mitigated through several interactional strategies. These strategies help Argentine fans legitimize their own "excessive" engagement with English, while also carving out space for and legitimizing Spanish-dominant fan spaces.

4.4 Chapter conclusion

This chapter was centered around the second major research question of this project— what are the salient linguistic and semiotic elements in the discursive material that are utilized by Argentine fans in the construction of self and community? And, do different linguistic or discursive elements get taken up and circulated in different ways?

The analysis advanced here of the features of and stereotypes about "fans" and "fandom" styles within Argentina offers several interrelated answers to these questions. Given the powerful social connotations of the English language as a whole—including characteristics such as an indexing of a global, cosmopolitan, upwardly-mobile lifestyle, as well as historical associations with snobbish, elitist social positions—the linguistic and semiotic material that Argentine fans draw on in order to construct their "fan" personae must be carefully managed in order to avoid "excess" English, but must also manage to display sufficient affective "excessiveness" to be recognizeable as a "fannish" style. The analysis of Spanish discourse makers and English affiliative stance markers in section 4.2 illustrates that, as a linguistic class, discourse markers are especially amenable to uptake, circulation, and reformulation from mediatized contexts (English-language and otherwise). As discourse markers tend to index social categories such as "youth"/"teens"/"adolescents"—categories which are often collapsed into the category of the "fan"—Spanish discourse markers offer an ideal linguistic tool for performing the effusive, emotional style considered characteristic of fan styles. Meanwhile, English discourse markers can be easily drawn from English-language media and English-language media fan spaces in a way that do *not* cause evaluations of English use to reach "excessive" levels, but *do* index an awareness of digitally-aware, globally-circulating internet fan cultures. These findings are also in line with other findings about discourse markers as a particularly flexible and semiotically rich linguistic class.

On a slightly larger scale, the analyses in section 4.3 about negotiations of code-choice on different fandom-centric social media platforms reveals that the language of media and pop culture (in this case, English) is subject to a range of modulating strategies in order to contain the potential "excessiveness" of its force and assert possibilities for fan engagement within Spanish linguistic classes; and also how Spanish can be adopted to perform the kind of excessive, effusive fan style in a more locally relevant way. Although there are plenty of aspects of fandom that occur offline, these digital communities are critical, central spaces for fan engagement and participation. Because of the widespread beliefs about both fandom and the internet at large as an English-dominant space, to be "always on" (and therefore also global, cosmopolitan, oriented towards lifestyles of upward social mobility, and everything else that being "plugged in" entails) also means "always English"—or at least always in contact with English. This "excessive"

presence of English is managed, in various ways, across various fan communities and social media platforms, in ways that allow fans to avoid the negative connotations of the elitist "cheto" label, while also laying claim to a hardcore, engaged, authentic fan persona. On Tumblr, the use of metalinguistic keyword tags offers a bivalent communicative affordance that both facilitates the delineation of specifically Argentine fan communities while also potentially hiding them away from the mainstream. Facebook fan groups offer a space where Spanish is considered the default; however, playful, silly incorporations of English (and manipulations of Spanish) are still used to index a playful, effusive fan style.

In a specific sense, then, we can say that discourse markers, code choice, and platform communicative affordances are used by Argentine fans to construct fannish "selves" and delineate fan communities. Features of both English and Spanish are used in different ways to accomplish this, both drawing on the trope of the "excessively" emotionally effusive fan and in the sense that "excesses" of English in Argentine discourse must be monitored to avoid seeming like a snob while also showing off one's commitment to and alignment with Anglophone media fandom. More broadly, this chapter shows the complexity of the linguistic and discursive negotiation of mediatized identities.

CHAPTER 5: LOCALIZATION OF ANGLOPHONE MEDIA THROUGH STYLIZATION AND INTERTEXTUAL MEDIA REFERENCES

5.0 Chapter introduction

In this chapter, I focus on the third and final research question of this project: How does identification as a fan and/or participation in fan communities, allow Argentine fans of English-language media and pop culture to imbue globally-circulating media texts with new or alternate social meanings that reflect their own local positionality within globally-circulating mediascapes? I address this question by exploring two venues in which audiences of (primarily) Argentine fans take up, reformulate, and recirculate texts and images from English-language media sources. To do this, I employ notions of style and stylization from sociolinguistics (citations) and and linguistic anthropological approaches to intertextuality.

The structuring of this chapter is as follows: in section 5.1, I offer a brief background on the sociolinguistic landscape and theoretical concepts that inform my analyses in this chapter. First, I cover the sociolinguistic literature on the iconic features of Argentine Spanish, as elements from this variety of Spanish are widely utilized by Argentine fans to produce reformulated intertextual media objects that can then circulate, with new social meaning, throughout fan communities and in spaces of "everyday life". Second, I discuss the sociolinguistic and linguistic anthropological literature on style and stylization, and the linguistic anthropological approach to intertextuality. A clear picture of the perceptually iconic/stereotyped version of "Argentine Spanish" is critical to understanding the "localizing" (Appadurai 1996) resources that these fans and audiences draw on in order to reformulate Anglophone media texts in ways that are relevant to their offline lives. As these fans accomplish this reformulation through intertextual media references, a theoretical grounding in these concepts helps frame the analyses. In Section 5.2, I turn to my first analysis: a discussion of a Facebook meme group in which fans of the science fiction television *Doctor Who* series create "Argentinized" subtitles/dubs for the show. These subtitles (or "dubs" as the title of the group puts it) create a niche style of humor that renders the massively popular media text of *Doctor Who* unreadable to anyone *except* Argentine fans. Finally, in Section 5.3, I investigate the texts produced by Argentinean Jorge Pinarello's popular YouTube channel, *Te Lo Resumo Así Nomás*. On this YouTube channel, Pinarello creates parodic video summaries of popular English-language franchise media (as well as "national", i.e. Argentine, media). The Facebook fan community that has emerged around the micro-celebrity/influencer (Abidin 2018) figure of Pinarello and the persona he enacts through his YouTube parodies illustrates several richly intertextual semiotic strategies for reinterpreting, revaluing, and re-circulating English-language media texts and images. These include the use of stylized features of Argentine Spanish, as with the *Doctor Who* meme group, as well as playing with concepts of code choice and American/English dominance in the global media landscape. Although extremely different in both size and scope, each of these analyses presents a case in which Argentine fans of English-language media and pop culture create new social significance for the linguistic and semiotic features of global media in ways that relate more directly to their everyday lives than the primary text might. These strategies of "localization" (Appadurai 1996) allow Argentinean fans to both transform the media texts that circulate through global mediascapes into something more closely relevant to their own lives, and position themselves as relevant players in global mediascapes. I

conclude the chapter in section 5.4 by revisiting the primary research question framing this chapter, and summarizing how the data presented in the foregoing sections speaks to this question.

5.1 Linguistic resources for the construction of stylized intertextual media references

5.1.0 Argentine Spanish

Although there is substantial dialectal variation within Argentina (see Vidal de Battini 1964; Fontanella de Weinberg and Donni 2000), the dialect of the country as a whole is often assodciated with two features, one phonological and one morphosyntactic. The "yeísmo" of the Greater Buenos Aires region is the most salient phonological feature. "Yeísmo" refers to the delateralization of the palatal lateral approximant /ʎ/ (orthographically 'll'), merging with the palatal approximant /j/ (orthographic 'y'). Most American dialects of Spanish exhibit "yeísmo"— in Argentina, however, both phonemes are produced as post alveolar fricatives. The voiceless realization [ʃ] is more common in the immediate Buenos Aires area (but also extending over the Río de la Plata to parts of Uruguay), whereas the voiced realization [ʒ] is more common throughout the rest of the country (Chang 2008; Rohena-Madrazo 2013, 2015). This form of "sheísmo" is a highly iconic feature of Argentine Spanish, both in an in-group and out-group sense. Many of my participants, as well as other friends and colleagues in Argentina, would often stylistically render the orthography of "lloro", *cry.1sg.PRS* as "shoro", rendering their native pronunciation of [ʃoɾo] more visible in the orthography. Similarly, in out-group performances of 'mock' Argentine Spanish, "sheísmo" is exaggerated as a means of indexing "Argentineanness".

The most iconic morphosyntactic feature of Argentine Spanish is the use of *vos* as the second person singular informal pronoun, as well as the corresponding verbal forms. In contrast, mainstream varieties of Iberian and Mexican typically use the second person singular informal pronoun *tú*, with a distinct set of corresponding verbal conjugations. . This paradigm is typically referred to as "voseo", and it is not limited to Argentina Spanish— it is prominent in Uruguay, Paraguay, Venezuela, Chile, Bolivia and Ecuador and parts of Colombia and Central America, although the actual forms of the verbal morphology can differ across varieties (Benavides 2003). The voseo pronoun and verbal forms is also known to correlate with social factors like education

and age (e.g., Carvalho 2010, Cameron 1993, Solé 1970, Uber 2011). It should also not be assumed that use of *voseo* is universal, even within *voseante* regions. Johnston and Grinstead (2011), for instance, show that certain negative imperative forms condition the use of *tú* pronouns/verbal forms even for native speakers of Argentine Spanish. Still, the *vos* pronoun, and the verbal conjugations that approximate the *voseo* verbal forms that are used in Argentina— which typically involves a stress-shift to the last syllable of the verb, e.g. "vos amás" rather than "tú amas" for *you love*—rarely fail to appear in parodic or stylized performances of Argentine Spanish.

Several lexical items have also become iconic of Argentine Spanish and can be seen and heard in stylized portrayals of Argentine Spanish. "Che" is likely the most well-known of these— as an interjection/discourse marker used in contexts similar to English "hey" and "dude", it's syntactic flexibility and semantic opaqueness makes it an ideal resource for mocking and parodic performances of Argentine speech. "Boludo" is another such term, roughly equivalent to "dumbass" or "jerk". Although considered rude or offensive in some contexts, in casual conversation it is used primarily as a playfully teasing term of address/reference. It is fairly common for "che" and "boludo" to co-occur in an utterance, especially for hailing and greeting interlocutors. Newer lexical items like the intensifier "re" (i.e. "very") (Kornfeld 2012) and "ahre" (Chapter 4, section 4.2.1) also may index some kind of "Argentineanness" for individuals within the kind of highly online, media-engaged communities my participants dwell in.

5.1.1 Style and stylization

In early variationist sociolinguistics, the term "style" was used primarily as a gloss for "attention paid to speech" or level of formality (Eckert 2012, 89). As variationist sociolinguistics incorporated ethnographic methodologies from disciplines like anthropology[31], the notion of "style" shifted. Identifying salient linguistic variables and the social meaning(s) they developed within particular speech communities, "style" in sociolinguistics became better explained through a model of "distinction" (Bourdieu 1979; Hebdige 1979; Irvine and Gal 2000; Irvine 2001; Zhang 2018). Styles—linguistic and otherwise— "cannot be explained independently of others. Instead, attention must be directed to relationships among styles– to their contrasts,

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[31] This is not to say that sociolinguists *never* utilized such methods. As Eckert (2012) points out, Labov's study of Martha's Vineyard is properly an ethnographic study.

boundaries, and commonalities" (Irvine 2002, 22). These relationships of contrast and commonality are, of course, shaped by ideology. The social meaning(s) of a particular style emerges from what it means to stand in contrast to another style; styles, then, can become indexes for other social formations that stand in contrast (or, more accurately, are positioned to stand in contrast) to one another. Broadly, "style" for sociolinguists and linguistic anthropologists may be best understood as a "multimodal and multidimensional cluster of linguistic and other semiotic practices" (Bucholtz 2009, 146), which, manipulated "[agentively, reflexively, and relationally", allows "language users to position themselves vis-à-vis others in their local communities situated within broader sociocultural-historical landscapes" (Zhang 2018, 22). Taking a stronger move away from Labovian definitions of "style", scholars such as Sultana, Dovchin, and Pennycook (2013) see style as a way " to account for local language use without recourse to the vocabulary of languages, dialects or varieties", allowing the analyst to focus instead on "the ways cultural forms are enacted, reconstructed and relocalized through divergent linguistic forms" (690).

It is important to remember that the features that compose a style do not need to be wholly different from the set of features that compose a "contrasting" style. Eckert's notion of the "indexical field" (2008) illustrates how this is possible by drawing on a definition of style that also highlights how these clusters or packages of features construct stances and alignments that themselves may accrue to index particular identity formations. A "released" realization of /t/ in American English, for instance, may index stances, qualia, or social types such as "educated", "articulate", "clear", and "formal"— which, again for American English speakers, may contextually point to a persona or style of a nerd girl, a school teacher, or a fancy Brit. Similarly, Argentine fans of Anglophone media constrast their use of English with the ways that *chetos* use the language— for them, it is a sign of their "nerdiness", for chetos, it is because they are "snobs".

The notions of "styling" and "stylization" build on such understandings of "style". The work of Ben Rampton (1995) and Nikolas Coupland (2001, 2007) is foundational here, although Coupland (2001) traces the concept back to Bakhtin. In the writings of Bakhtin/Vološinov, "stylization" refers to a practice of speaking with the voice of or in the genre of social types or

characterological figures perceived as holding power, "i.e. priests, prophets, preachers, judges, patriarchal fathers, and so forth" (Bakhtin 1986, 132). As Coupland puts it, for Bakhtin stylization is "a subversive form of multi-voiced utterance, one that discredits hegemonic, mono-logic discourses by appropriating the voices of the powerful and reworking them for new purposes" (Coupland 2001, 345). In the work of Coupland and Rampton, however, "stylization" is linked more directly to notions of in/authenticity (Eckert 2003; Bucholtz 2009) and performance (Bauman 1977, 1992, 1996). In short, when speakers engage in linguistic performances which are "studied", purposefully "artificial", playing with stereotypes and caricatures, they can be said to be performing a "stylized" version of a linguistic style. While sometimes styling/stylization is undertaken by speakers who are not ratified as "authentic" users of a style, it can also be used as by "native" users of a style to "de-authenticate" themselves in ways that critique the style being transformed without actively mocking or denigrating it (Coupland 2001: 347, 371). Such processes are visible in, for instance, the work of Mason Carris on the performance of styles marked as racially White among Latinxs in Southern California (Mason Carris 2011). Similarly, the analyses that follow this section highlight stylized performances of Argentine Spanish by Argentinean fans and social media users as a form of playfully mocking their own subordinated positionality in global mediascapes; and as a way of inserting an "especially" or "particularly" Argentine positionality into such mediascapes. As I mention back in Section 1.3, Argentine fans view their own positionality in global mediascapes in terms of marginalization and lack of access. These kinds of playful stylizations of Argentine voices, inserted into globally circulating Anglophone media texts, can highlight (perceived) issues of unequal access to certain aspects of global media flows.

5.1.2 Intertextuality and media references

Lastly, I turn to a discussion of intertextuality— and specifically, intertextual media references— as an initial framing for the analyses provided in this chapter. Intertextuality entered linguistic anthropology/sociolinguistics via the work of Bakhtin (1981, 1984, 1986), and through Julia Kristeva (1980)'s synthesis of Bakhtinian diagolism and Saussurean semiotics. The notion of intertextuality rests firstly on the idea that there are "texts"—in the sense of "any coherent complex of signs" (Bakhtin 1986: 103), or an "objectified unit of discourse" (Gal 2006: 178). The tangible, material nature of "texts" afforded by these definitions sets up an understanding of texts as moveable and transportable. Bauman and Briggs (1990) explain that this materiality is

engendered through "entextualiztion"—the process by which texts are rendered readable or interpretable as a cohesive unit and enter into social circulation (see also Nakassis 2016, 219-220) . Texts can then be "decontextualized"—removed from their original context—and "recontextualized"—placed into a new context (Bauman and Briggs 1990; see also Tannen 2006 on the "recycling, reframing, and rekeying" of texts in conversation). Through these movements, texts come into contact with other texts, and can become infused with features and signs that point to these other texts. This state—in which references and links to multiple texts (broadly understood) exist within a single text—is intertextuality. For Bakhtin, of course, there is never a state of non-intertextuality— language is 'always already' "shot through with intentions and accents" (1981:324), "filled with dialogic overtones" (Bakhtin 1986: 92). Still, there are moments in which the intertextual nature of a particular text may be highlighted or played up (and conversely, cases in which a text's intertextuality may be downplayed or obscured— but here I focus more on the former case).

One area in which intertextuality is not just highlighted but played with and troped upon is during moments of media reference in interaction. Spitulnik (1997) represents some of the earliest anthropological work on the way that mediatized discourse is used for everyday interactional/conversational work. More recently, Sylvia Sierra's work (2016a, 2016b, 2018, In prep) has been particularly relevant in this area. Her analyses of how friend groups utilize media references in everyday conversation—ranging from references to video games, to Internet memes, to television shows—highlights how drawing on and recognizing shared knowledge of prior text serves to reinforce group identities. Similarly,, Goebel's work on the consumption of Indonesian teledramas by Indonesians living in Japan showed that shared knowledge of mediatized texts enables consumers to position themselves and others as parts of various types of audiences (Goebel 2012, E2). This is deeply relevant to the discussion of shared literacies and memes that I will discuss in the following section (5.2), but it is also more broadly relevant to the collective construction of an Argentine fan positionality that assumes and requires literacy in both local cultural texts and texts that circulate in Anglophone mediascapes. The ability to unpack the interlocking sets of texts that are brought into an intertextual meme in an Argentine fan group is crucial to claiming authentic membership, but it is also considered a defining practice of fandom as a whole. Henry Jenkins, one of the foremost authorities in fan and fandom

173

studies, describes fandom as "a discursive logic that knits together interests across textual and generic boundaries" (2012, 40).

Forms of intertextuality are also visible in frameworks of mediatized talk. Petersen (2014) puts forward a framework of talk on *Tumblr* relating to the BBC television show *Sherlock*. Talk about the show is grouped into talk through (1) interpretation, (2) appropriation, and (3) imitation. While "talk through interpretation" primarily refers to fans engaging in meta-discussion of the media text, "talk through appropriation" and "talk through imitation" blend media texts (such as scripts and characterization) and the "text" of fan positionality as fans use the "voices" of characters to engage in role play, fan fiction writing, and other forms of creative textual transformation. Specifically, "talk through appropriation" refers to "visually, textually layered expressions that invite playful interpretation [or uptake] by other fans" (94), whereas "talk through imitation" refers to cases where fans "borrow" the voices of fictional characters to create their own portrayls of them (99). Drawing on the voices of the show's characters as a generic form of speech (Penry Williams 2019), these fans engage in a sort of performative intertextuality. More broadly, fannish authenticity can be legitimized through appropriate use of intertextual references.

Thus, by producing richly intertextual memes, YouTube videos, and engaging in intertextual banter within broader discussions of mass media and popular culture, these Argentine fans can create a sense of delineation in their own communities (i.e., Argentine fans of Doctor Who, Argentine (and Latin American) fans of parodic YouTube summaries of media products) and, more broadly, assert their membership in "fandom" at large. This latter effect of intertextual media discourse effectively allows Argentine fans to authenticate and legitimize their participation in such Anglophone-dominant mediascapes.

5.2 Doctor Who memes and Argentine Voices

5.2.0 TARDIS Doblaje Argento

The Facebook page *TARDIS Doblaje Argento* ("TARDIS Argentine Dubbing") is one of the least active of the online sites I observed, as well as holding one of the smallest memberships. The page produced 23 posts from August 2016 through August 2018; no additional posts have been

made thus far in 2019. There is some key overlap between the list of individuals who have "liked" this page, and members of group *TARDIS Argentina,* but in total the page counts only 299 likes/300 follows (refer back to section 4.1 for a discussion of these different spaces/different forms of interaction on Facebook). In fact, I became aware of the page when scrolling through old posts of *TARDIS Argentina,* and noticed that several of the *Doblaje* page's posts were shared to the *TARDIS ARGENTINA*-Offtopic discussion group (this secondary group is used, as I mention in Section 3.1.2, for members of *TARDIS* to discuss items that are not directly related to *Doctor Who*). Despite the small size and relatively low activity of this particular online fan space, the content posted here offers rich, highly relevant data for this study on how globalization and intertextuality intersect to reframe the semiotic material of an English-language media product as locally salient.

This page's content focuses on screenshot style memes, in which subtitle/supertitle-like text is imposed on images. In this case, the images in question are stills from the British science-fiction television series *Doctor Who*; the text, as the page's name suggests, is typically reformulations of the actual lines that were spoken in the scene shown in the image into textual representations of a highly stylized Argentine linguistic style. It is therefore not "dubbing" in the traditional sense--that is, voice over style recordings produced to 'translate' a media text from one standardized linguistic code to another (Park 2009, Pertucci 2015). Nor is it a metaphorical reference, as in sort of "dubbing" described by Boelstorff as a process of "[holding] together cultural logics without resolving them into a unitary whole" (2003, 226)— although the "lack of fit" between the cultural logics that are "held together" through or within these memes is a primary source of the humor they engender. The "doblaje" refereed to in this group's name is, in fact, a Bakhtinian, carnivalesque (Bakhtin 1984) melding of a massively popular, globally circulating, and iconically British English source text, with linguistic forms that index highly stylized, highly localized forms of Argentine Spanish. Within the context of the history of British imperialism in Argentina, this can even be read as quietly subversive. Most of the memes on this page are incomprehensible or nonsensical to individuals without a working knowledge of the sociolinguistic landscape of Argentina—indeed, I had to ask several participants to help translate the humor or punchline in several of them. However, it is important to make clear that these memes are not produced to make this British show more 'intelligible' to a wide range of

Argentine fans. This is a niche product, evidenced not least through the infrequent posting and small numbers of the group. In order to parse the humor that these memes engender, viewers must have both a highly proficient knowledge of the sociolinguistic landscape of Argentina, as mentioned above, as well as a highly proficient degree of literacy in the primary text of the show and the cultural indexes of within that text. Why is this "intertextual gap" (Briggs & Bauman 1992) humorous, though? And what social functions do these memes accomplish for Argentine fans of Doctor Who in particular, beyond the pragmatic and interactional effects of humor? By addressing these questions, some of the salient linguistic elements that Argentine fans use to make globally-circulating English-language media (more) relevant to their everyday lives become decipherable. In the case of these memes, it specifically illustrates how voicing of "always on", youthful, lower-class, informal styles of Argentine Spanish can be used to produce a more intertextual, but also more 'localized' version of a global media text.

Before delving into an analysis of posts made by this Facebook page, and uptake of these posts across other digital fan spaces, I briefly discuss some of the previous literature on memes and meme production as tools for community building online, and show how this literature relates to research in linguistic anthropology.

5.2.1 Memes: definitions, functions, community

A massive body of literature across the social sciences has theorized the role of "memes" in mediatized, online social relationships. The vast majority of scholars agree that they represent a fundamental unit of internet (if not also wider media) discourse. The classic definition draws on Richard Dawkins' writing in the 1970s, in which he utilized the term "meme" as a metaphorical analogue to the biological "gene". In other words, just as genes, as the basis of the human genetic code, pass biological information on from one organism to the next in reproduction, "memes" are units of (vaguely defined) cultural information that are spread through social space by means of social observation and replication (Dawkins 1976; Davison 2012). This includes practices and activities such as manners of dress, sports, religion, arts, and even forms of language. Despite not being explicitly discussed as such, Spitulnik 1997's influential work on the spread of reformulated snippets of radio announcer talk in Zambia offers a clear example of linguistic form(s) behaving "mimetically". She describes cases in which snippets of "media discourse"—

for instance, catchphrases from television news programs, or conversational turn-taking routines that mimic the interactions of radio DJ's—are used in everyday speech. This behavior is "mimetic" in that a piece of culturally-contextualized linguistic information is spread through various channels and then reformulated and reused in different social contexts. (In this case, while still maintaining a link to the "original"). Spitulnik argues that the circulation of such portions of media discourse into everyday interactional moments illustrates the role that media plays as a "reservoir" and "reference point" for linguistic forms within a community. More importantly, it suggests that understanding how, and under what conditions, such semiotic resources are spread and circulated may allow us to better understand the forms and boundaries of a particular speech community (Spitulnik 1997, 18). I will return to the topic of community shortly— but first I will discuss more contemporary understandings of the term "meme" and different forms digital/internet memes can take.

As the term "meme" was adopted in more popular discourse, it has come to refer primarily to cultural forms that live primarily in digital/internet-mediated spaces. Blommaert and Varis (2015), for instance, define them as "signs that have gone viral on the Internet" in which "images and texts are combined" (18). Some of the key properties of "memes" in this modern sense, as identified across research in a range of disciplines, include (1) a templatibility which leads to fast replication and (2) a humorous sensibility. Davison 2012, for instance, has proposed the following definition, which centers the role of humor: "An Internet meme is a piece of culture, typically a joke, which gains influence through online transmission" (122). Shifman 2013's definition centers the role of replication and sharing, understanding memes as "content items such as jokes, rumors, videos, or websites" which are "propagated…from one person to others via the Internet" (362). Other scholars have located a sort of Baktinian "polyvocality" in this process, as the wide spread sharing, re-mixing, and transformation of memes allows for "the diverse engagement of many voices" (Milner 2013, paragraph 9; Ask and Abidin 2018). Because of their polyvocalic nature and tendency to spread very quickly to very different users and groups, the ability to "read" (i.e., interpret) a meme relies heavily on awareness of intertextual references and indexical relationships between various cultural texts. While in many cases this "awareness of references and relationships" involves an awareness of specific texts, images, or other semiotic resources, memes can also be built through intertextual pastiche of generic

177

conventions more broadly. Furthermore, the process of "indexical bleaching" illustrates that direct knowledge of a particular text can become unnecessary in being able to "read" or interpret a meme (Squires 2014). As I will discuss in my analysis of *Doctor Who Doblaje Argentino* memes (and to a lesser extent in my analysis of the *Te lo resumo* YouTube series in the section to follow), the success/uptake of these memes rests on a type of intertextual remixing that specifically takes a global media text and makes it "unreadable" for the majority of the audience by hyper "localizing" it through the use of stylized forms of Argentine Spanish.

These definitions are largely (though not entirely) premised on a particular type of visual meme. For these definitions, and for most internet users, the term "meme" calls to mind the sort of image in Figure 51 in which humorous text is overlaid on top of an amusing image. However, many other structures and formats of these units of internet culture exist. The formats that become most well-known are highly "templatable" in that their structure can be modified in small ways to create different references as they are re-shaped and adapted to different groups or networks that take them up. For instance, in the "copy pasta" meme format, a string of text and emoji is copied and pasted into different contexts, with changes primarily made to the content lexical items. Examples of two different versions of the same copy pasta are shown in Figures 52 and 53. In this sort of meme, the overall form of the text remains the same across all iterations, so it is immediately identifiable as a copypasta meme, even if the content varies from context to context. The practice of "rick rolling" could also be considered a meme. "Rick rolling" refers to an internet prank in which the reader is set up with some kind of serious (or at least non-humorous) text or interaction. Within the "serious" content, a reference is made to the 1980s pop song "Never Gonna Give You Up" by singer Rick Astley. This reference might be 'direct', such as a link purportedly leading to more information or additional resources about the "serious" topic, but in fact leading the YouTube page of the song's music video. It may also be more indirect, such as spelling out the title of the song acrostically (i.e. using the first letter of each line of the matrix/"serious" post).

Figure 51. "Linguistics Llama" meme in the classic white text overlaid on image meme format.

Figure 52. Original version of the "good shit" copypasta meme.

Figure 53. "Spooky" (Halloween-themed) version of the "good shit" copy pasta meme.

179

No matter the meme format, folks who participate in "always on" lifestyles and communities develop an awareness of valid meme structures and forms—a "memesense", if you will— such that they can identify memes in various online spaces, even if the "joke" or the original media sources of the image or text used are not within their own repertoire of semiotic resources. Building on the arguments from Spitulnik 1997 (and Sierra 2016, 2018 ; Shifman 2013, 2014), a shared meme literacy is a critical tool for constructing a sense (or senses of) community in online spaces. In other words, being able to accurately interpret the same set of texts, and unpack the intertextual and indexical references therein, serves as a signal of shared practices, media consumption habits, political orientations, and more. Such an orientation towards shared behaviors recalls notions of community centered on the "community of practice" model (Lave and Wenger 1991; Eckert 2000). Ask and Abidin (2018), for instance, offer a case study of a public Facebook group devoted to the creation and circulation of internet memes about problems in the lives of college students. The authors describe the creation and circulation of memes within this group as a public, networked social practice which serves as "a form of boundary work", because "[f]amiliarity with certain memes and meme vernacular are ways to distinguish between groups and to create a sense of belonging, as only those with the requisite intertextual know-how will understand the joke" (Miltner, 2014). Consequently, the making and sharing of memes is a way to make and negotiate collective identities through shared norms and values" (Gal, Shifman, & Kampf, 2015)" (Ask and Abidin 2018, 3). In the case of the "Student Problems" Facebook group that Ask and Abidin (2018), this sense of community is heightened by the fact that humorous memes offer "a safe venue to express potentially shameful experiences…as relatable" (11). They further write that "the use of SP Memes becomes a form of boundary work that results in a collective SP Memes identity, as it tells stories about 'us' and what 'we' relate to" (Ask and Abidin 2018, 11).

Similarly, humor and relatability are key factors that shape the memes of *TARDIS Doblaje Argento*. As a result, a certain sense of "community" becomes salient as well. However, in the case of the *Doctor Who* meme group that I now turn to analyze, this sense of community does not hinge on affirmations of shared life problems. Instead, the highly intertextual style of humor illustrated in these memes creates a sense of community by radically transforming and carnivalizing popular, global, mass-mediated voices into something only Argentine fans can

understand and enjoy. At the same time, by localizing such a massively global pop cultural text, these Argentineans can position themselves as the kind of fan who has a broad, multicultural media literacy, able to engage with global media texts on a profound level while also bringing locally salient styles and voices to "interact" with said texts. While the authors of this page use the familiar template of a classic visual meme—an image paired with text—they are specifically designed to *not* be widely circulable, or at least not widely interpretable. Instead, they use the classic viral meme format to create a text that is only legible to Doctor Who fans who also have a deep literacy of Argentine popular culture.

5.2.2 Intertextual media references in TARDIS Doblaje Argento

As discussed in Chapter 3 (Section 3.1.2), dubbing as a media translation practice occupies a loaded place for hard-core Argentine fans of English-language media and pop culture. Aside from distorting the "authentic" sounds of the actors' voices, many of my participants cited a linguistic inauthenticity rooted in the linguistic styles typically used for dubbing. Most major, globally-circulating media products are dubbed into separate "European Spanish" and "Latino Spanish" versions. It is not at all uncommon, however, for media products to only be available in a European Spanish dub. Indeed, for many of my participants the word "doblaje" itself conjures up the sensation of listening to the characters in their favorite films or television shows using a mainstream Iberian/Peninsular dialect of Spanish. Meanwhile, in "Latino Spanish" dubs, characters are seen to speak with a sort of pan-Latin American accent—most voice actors use forms of Mexican or Colombian Spanish that are widely perceived as "neutral".

Thus, the name of this group—*TARDIS Doblaje Argento*—takes the (ostensibly) localizing practice of dubbing and further situates it as "Argentinean". Because there is no such thing as Argentine Spanish-specific dubbing, the name is meant to be humorous. Aside from the fact that the memes on this page do not actually make use of dubs (i.e. voiceovers), but rather stylized textual representations of slangy, informal Argentine Spanish in the style of subtitles, there is an additional mis-match between the title of the group and the content of its page. This mis-match is, of course, meant to be read as another source of humor. In sum, dubbing/doblaje is never Argentinean, and the content of this page is not audiovisual anyway—but the fact that the page

creators have used these terms to title the Facebook group tell us that a particular brand of vaguely absurdist internet-style humor is at play here.

What do the memes of *TARDIS Doblaje Argento* look like? In Figure 54 I show the first post made to the group's Facebook page. The image shows actor Matt Smith in his portrayal of the 11th Doctor. This incarnation of the Doctor is famed for his appreciation for bowties. His character is frequently heard to utter lines such as "bow ties are cool"; the text on the meme shown in Figure 54 roughly translates to this. However, rather than representing this line in a standardized or mainstream variety of Spanish—which would look something like "Están geniales los moños" (or perhaps "guay" for "cool" if an Iberian variety of Spanish were being used for the dub)—this "dubbing" produces an Argentinean voice for the 11th Doctor through a variety of orthographic strategies.

Figure 54. Screenshot of "tan re piola lo moño" meme from *TARDIS Doblaje Argento* Faceboo group.

Reduction of the verb "están" *to be.3pl* as is shown by representing the verb orthographically as "tan" this is not unique to Argentine Spanish by any means, but serves to point to a casual and informal speech style. Syllable-final /s/ elision, also common in casual/informal speech styles across dialects of Spanish, is further shown in how the plural is represented: "lo moño" rather

182

than "los moños" *the bow ties*. Finally, informal language typical of southern cone countries is used to "dub" the English word "cool". The meme creators use the intensifier "re" (Kornfeld 2012), and the slang term "piola". Other memes make use of the slang intensifier "ahre", discussed in Chapter 4 as an iconic marker of youthful Argentine speech styles. In Figure 55, for instance, a character's line is "dubbed" with "ahre" to express surprise in a narrow pragmatic sense. More broadly, though, it marks the "dubbing" portrayed in this meme as especially Argentine. In general, the linguistic features used to "dub" these lines from the original show into "Argento" draw on linguistic elements which, in combination, are clearly recognizeable as Argentine Spanish. In other words, the voices that Doctor Who characters use in these "dubbing" memes is not simply a generic, mainstream, newscaster-style variety of Argentine Spanish— it is marked, through the orthographic representation of phonological features and slang items, as an informal, perhaps youthful, perhaps uneducated/working-class style of Argentine speech.

Figure 55. Screenshot of "Cara de Boludo" meme from *TARDIS Doblaje Argento* Faceboo group.[32]

By transforming the mainstream British English of Matt Smith's 11th Doctor character into a recognizably Argentinean style, the meme creators elicit reactions of laughter, likes, and "hearts" on their Facebook page. Several group members shared this meme to their personal page as well, adding comments such as "Necesito que miren más Doctor Who para que haya mas memes" *I need you all to watch more Doctor Who so there will be more memes.* Such comments illustrate a general appreciation and enjoyment of this type of meme content. The attestations of humor also recall the analysis I provide in Chapter 3 about (audiovisual) dubbing of English-language media content. One of the primary reasons my participants gave for preferring consuming media in

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[32] Translation: [First image] When I was a kid I was an idiot and I didn't have balls.
[Second image] In the neighborhood they call me "the face of Idiot".
[Third image] –Ahre –Damn he really looks like you.

184

English (with Spanish subtitles if necessary) rather than a Spanish-language dub, is that the Iberian Spanish used for many dubs sounds inauthentic and is difficult for them to relate to. While no one I interviewed suggested that a dub produced by Argentine Spanish-speaking voice actors would be preferable, the use of Argentine linguistic features to voice characters through these memes does offer a humorous take on what such a dubbing might look like.

Figure 56. Screenshot of "Ir a Ugi's" meme from *TARDIS Doblaje Argento* Facebook group. [33]

But the creators of the *TARDIS Doblaje Argento* do more than simply transform the British English voices of the original actors into stylized Argentinean subtitles. They also employ Argentine cultural references as a further tool for humorous localization. The post shown in

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[33] Translation: [Top Left image] Maybe we could go to Ugi's, drink a beer.
[Top Right image] Right away.
[Bottom Left image] We could go to a motel and… I'll mix you up a (Nescafé) Dolca.

Figure 56, for instance, draws on two highly localized media and pop culture references. First, the well-known Buenos Aires pizza institution Ugi's is used as a stand-in for a location in the original text. The line "te bato un dolca" also references a commercial by the coffee brand Nescafé that aired in Argentina in the mid 2010s to promote the instant coffee product "Dolca". In one part of the advertisement, a man and a woman walk home after a date. As they stop in front of the man's apartment, he invites the woman to come up to his apartment so he can "stir her a Dolca". The advertisement also shows folks in many other contexts offering to prepare each other the instant coffee product, but the use of the verb "batir", which is often used in sexual innuendo, caused this particular line to be taken up as a humorous way of inviting someone to engage in sexual activities. The resulting humor—generated by reimagining two characters who are engaged in a relatively innocent conversation in the original text as instead having a sexually suggestive conversation—is extremely difficult to recover without both a strong sense of local Buenos Aires cultural institutions, as well as familiarity with broader Argentine media.

Similarly, in Figure 57, characters from Doctor Who are replaced visually and/or referentially with characters from the Argentine political and media landscape. In the bottom image, Mirtha Legrand, the highly prominent host of a five-decade-long afternoon talk show, has replaced the character of "Cassandra O'Brien", the futuristic character of a rich woman whose body has been reduced to a stretch of skin held aloft by a frame. This comparison is clearly a reference to Legrand's unusually long-running career and rumors about having undergone various plastic surgery procedures— suggested in part by a comment made by a user who shared this post to their own Facebook timeline, in which they write "Lo peor es que con ese eps me la imagine a Mirtha asi posta en un futuro" *The worst thing is that with that episode I imagined Mirtha like that for real in some future.* The top image names Jabe, the queen of a humanoid tree species in Doctor Who, as Moria Casán, another actress and television host who has been popular in Argentina since the 1970s—again drawing on the literally alien appearance of the Doctor Who character to comment on broader cultural allegations of Moria Casán's appearance and plastic surgery.

Figure 57. Screenshot of "Mirtha Legrand" meme from *TARDIS Doblaje Argento* Facebook group..[34]

The middle image in Figure 57 also references an Argentine media meme that circulated in 2013 from an interview conducted by the television channel Crónica, known for its use of tabloid-style, shocking, large-font headlines. In the interview, a Crónica journalist attempts to ask a public bus attendant his opinion on fare hikes, but the attendant clearly does not wish to engage in an interview. At one point the journalist asks "¿Así atiende la gente?" *Is that how you serve people/customers?*. The bus attendant responds, "Atiendo boludos" *I serve idiots*. Many audiences found the bus attendant's rude, no-nonsense response to be funny, and thus the bus attendant's image and snippets of his responses have become meme-ified. Because of the

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[34] Translation: [Top Image] Ladies and gentlemen, our second guest of honor, Moria Casan.
[Middle Image] Please, welcome, the face of Bold (Idiot)
[Bottom Image] In honor of this world that's going to shit, Mirtha Legrand.

attendant's use of the term "boludo"—an iconically Argentine slang word roughly equivalent to idiot/jerk—the meme has come to be known as "el atendedor de boludos" *the attendant of idiots*. Thus, "el atendedor de boludos" is a useful media figure through which to gloss the Doctor Who character named as "the Face of Boe". Because the name "Boe" (English IPA /boʊ/, Spanish /bo/) bears a minimal phonetic resemblance to the beginning of the word "boludo", the authors of the *TARDIS Doblaje Argento* memes often gloss mentions of "the Face of Boe" in the primary text as "la cara de boludo" *the face of idiot*, which itself can be heard as a relatively common saying in reference to someone who looks out of wits, silly, stupid, and so on. In short, this meme takes iconic Doctor Who characters and reinterprets them as characters within the much more locally-circulating Argentine mediascape—even framing the dubbing in the generic style of Mirtha Legrand's lunchtime interview show in which she introduces special guests one by one. This meme thus presents the lines of the characters in Doctor Who in the metaphorical "voice" of an icon of Argentine television (Mirtha Legrand), creating a web of intertextual references that indicate the meme author's fluency in both key moments in the Doctor Who fandom, and also in Argentine media/cultural characters. The response to this meme—as evidenced by the likes, hearts, laugh reacts, and comments this and other posts in the group— allow members of the group to demonstrate their own fannish authenticity through uptake of these intertextual references.

One rather more unique strategy of intertextual "dubbing" memes that the *TARDIS Doblaje Argento* group has produced also involves a complex interweaving of British language ideologies with Argentinean language ideologies. The meme shown in Figure 58 offers a particularly interesting example of this.

Figure 58. Screenshot of Jujeño meme and comments on meme in *TARDIS Doblaje Argento* Facebook group.[35]

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[35] Translation: [Image] If you're a martian, why do you talk like someone from Jujuy?
[First comment] Lots of planets have a Jujuy (?)
[Second comment] For those of you up in the stratosphere (NB: "Strasosphere" in this comment may be interpreted to mean something like "in the far north of the country", i.e., Jujuy)
[Third comment] I want a someone from Jujuy like that <3

Much ink has been spilled (ranging from short and sweet posts on the linguistics blog Language Log, to full scholarly analayses, as in Nicol 2018) regarding the significance of the scene shown in the screenshots of this meme, which show a moment from the first episode of the 2012 reboot of Doctor Who. The season's primary companion, Rose, asks the 9th Doctor, "If you are an alien, how come you sound like you're from the north?" The 9th Doctor (recall, a character who is functionally a time-traveling alien), replies, "Lots of planets have a north!". The actor portraying the 9th Doctor, Christopher Eccleston, hails from Manchester, and utilizes a Mancunian accent in his portrayal of the 9th Doctor. In addition to being regionally marked in England, certain features of this speech style in certain contexts are further linked to perceptions of lower socioeconomic class and poor education (Carrie and Drummond 2016; Baranowski 2017). By drawing primarily on the question of regional distinction, the character of Rose (a London department store clerk who uses a London accent that also indexes a lower/working class position) comments on the character's speech style for humorous effect.

Like in the other memes, the text applied to the screenshots from the above scene by the *Tardis Doblaje Argento* authors have created a cultural dubbing that is close to unintelligible without a working knowledge of Argentine regional, class, and linguistic ideologies. In the meme-ified/dubbed version of this scene, Rose now asks, "if you're a martian, why do you talk like someone from Jujuy?" Note also the use of the *voseo* verbal conjugation on the informal 2nd person singular "eres"—"sos"—as previously discussed (section 5.1.0) this conjugation is used throughout Latin America but is strongly associated with Argentine Spanish. However, this line does not just produce a direct translation of this scene using features of Argentine Spanish. It also draws on local sociocultural stereotypes to produce the humor of the meme. Jujuy is a province in the extreme northwest of Argentina (bordering Chile and Bolivia)— so on that note alone, it offers an easy parallel to the "northern" part of England. Why name Jujeños[36] and Jujuy specifically, though? Broader stereotypes about Jujuy jokingly frame it as a "colony [or province] of Bolivia", thus activating stereotypes of Bolivian immigrants to Argentina as poor, uneducated, and racially minoritized and therefore of Jujeños as poor, uneducated, and racially minoritized. By choosing Jujuy/Jujeños as a "dub" for notion of "the north" in the original text,

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[36] People from Jujuy.

190

the authors of the meme illustrate a deep knowledge of the sociocultural implications of the British language ideologies indexed by the original line, as well a sophisticated understanding of the intersections of language and sociocultural issues within their own country.

The intertextual overlaying of British and Argentinean language ideologies requires the management of a rather complex set of cultural logics in order to parse its humor. In order to grasp the humor of this meme, then, the audience must be rather fluent both in key moments within the media text itself, the underlying British language ideologies that make the in-text joke funny, and a level of awareness about cultural and linguistic stereotypes within Argentina—not to mention the fact that the question Rose asks uses a linguistic form that can be read as markedly Argentine. As Ask and Abidin 2018's and Miltner 2014's work has suggested, the necessity of fluency in these several distinct cultural logics thus limits the potential audience for this meme quite substantially. Indeed, recall the description of this group I presented in section 4.2.1—there are no more than 300 participants in this group which, compared to the other Facebook groups I analyze in this dissertation, is very small. This can be taken as further evidence of the fact that intertextual references, and the knowledge needed to decipher them, can be used to delineate communities. However, it also illustrates how (a specific subset of) Argentine fans of Doctor Who are using a form of performative intertextuality to subsversively transform the original media text of their favorite show into a commentary on social and lingusitic issues that are relevant *only* to Argentineans.

The work of these memes seems to be a relatively simple, surface-level engagement that transforms the source media to feel more Argentinean. However, the fact that Argentinean fans of Doctor Who find humor in this linguistic and semiotic transformation of a globally circulating—yet identifiably British—source text speaks to the broader sense of marginalization that Argentine fans feel within Anglophone media fandoms and the role they see themselves in within broader global mediascapes. The meme authors in this group and the group members who like, laugh react, comment on, and share these memes are jointly constructing a humor that is purposefully narrow, intelligible only to other Argentineans who are also Doctor Who fans, and thus building an exclusive community for such individuals. The semiotic strategies used to produce these memes—drawing on features of markedly Argentine styles of Spanish, referencing

Argentine media and cultural figures, and overlaying Argentine cultural and linguistic ideologies with those present in the source text—create a niche style of humor that takes a massively popular, globally circulating media product, and transforms into something it could never be. In line with Petersen (2014)'s framing of mediatized fan talk "as appropriation", it allows fans to re-interpret the text in voices or styles that more closely match their own. In doing so, it offers a space for Argentine fans of such media products to imagine themselves (albeit in a humorous, unserious way) within global mediascapes (Appadurai 1996). In doing this, they also "defang" engagement with Anglophone media fandom: that is, by producing memes that recast British English media dialogue as highly local/Argentinean, they also offset potential accusations of "chetoness" that come with being heavily engaged with English-language media products. The data I present in the next section offer another case study for such imagining and positioning. While this section focused on a case of localization through appropriation and transformation of media discourse (i.e., "dubbing" scenes from Doctor Who into stylized forms of Argentine Spanish and references to Argentine media figures and language ideologies), the next section investigates a case of localization through talk about globally circulating media franchises in a stylized Argentine voice.

5.3 Commenting on Anglophone Media Through Argentine Stylization and Media References

5.3.0 The YouTube channel "Te lo resumo así nomás"

Te lo resumo así nomás (roughly, "I'll just sum it up for you like this")— abbreviated by fans as *Te lo resumo*, and which here I will shorten to *TLR*— is a YouTube channel created by Argentinean actor Jorge Pinarello in 2012. As of early 2019, it has over 2 million subscribers, making it one of the most prominent YouTube channels in the country. The primary content produced by Pinarello on this channel is humorous, parodic summaries of major media products. Typically, these media products are films and television series, although more recently he has also begun producing "biografías" *así nomás* of prominent Hollywood stars such as Sylvester Stallone and Arnold Schwarzenegger. Although these summaries generally tend to focus on English-language media products and stars (typically from North America or Europe), Pinarello does also produce these parodic summaries of popular anime series (i.e., *Dragon Ball-Z,* which was in fact the first of these parodies to go viral), and classics of Latin American/Hispanophone

media, such as the long-running sitcom *El chavo del ocho*. Pinarello uses an individually idiosyncratic *voz rasposa* ("raspy voice"), as well as stylized features of Argentine Spanish to record these summaries over clips of the film or television show, occasionally interspersed with memes and other media in ways that comment on familiar tropes or language within the primary text being summarized. In this section, I investigate the linguistic, discursive, and other semiotic elements Pinarello employs through these media texts to "localize" the globally-circulating, predominantly Anglophone media texts he summarizes. But first, I offer a few examples from outside the *TLR* videos and the *TLR* fandom to illustrate how it is claimed and identified by Argentineans as a "local" text, even one that runs counter to "hegemonic" global media flows (Appadurai 1996).

I first became aware of Pinarello's channel through my observation of the network of Argentine Tumblr users. In early 2018, tumblr user Erika, created the post shown below in Figure 59 which included an embedded video of the *Te lo resumo* summary of the film "Star Wars: The Force Awakens" (2015). It was shortly after reblogged by user Steve— this reblog is shown in Figure 60.
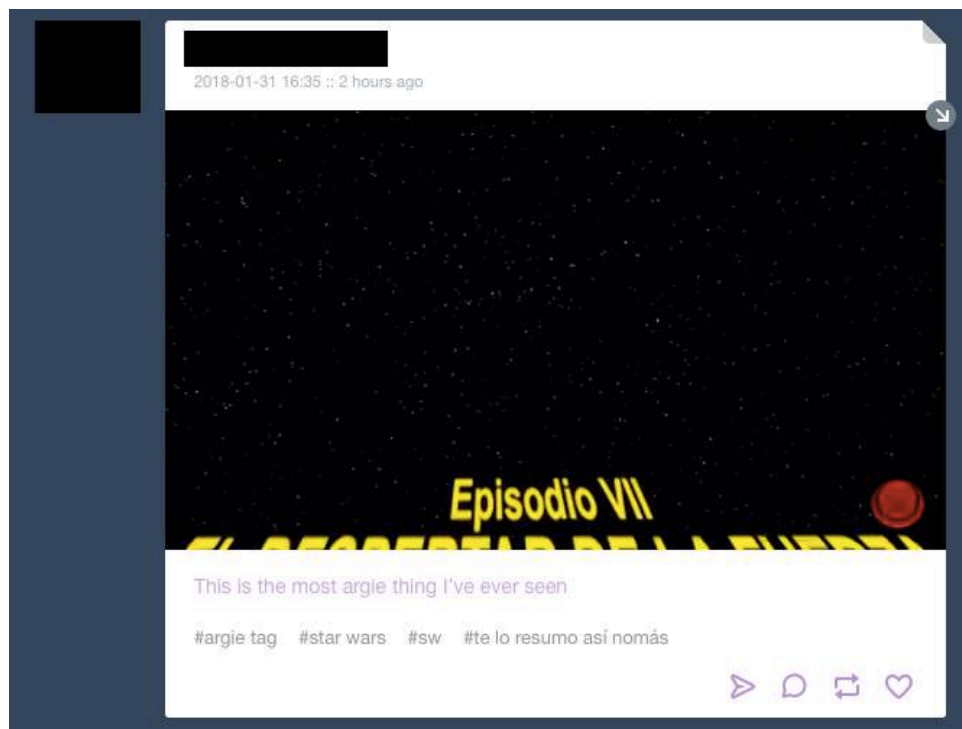
Figure 59. Screenshot of Erika's Tumblr post about *TLR* "El despertar de la fuerza" video.

193

Figure 60. Screenshot of Steve's reblog of Erika's Tumblr post in Figure 59.

The text in both Erika's original post and Steve's reblog, as well as the tags in both posts,

illustrate both a positive assessment and a "claiming" of the material shown in the clip, and

probably of the YouTube channel/series as a whole. Consider Erika's claim, made in the text just

below the video clip in Figure 59, that "This is the most argie[37] thing [she's] ever seen". The post

is also categorized using the keyword tag "#argie tag". But, what precisely is the "this" she refers

to? She is not, of course, referring to the media product at the center of this summary— it would

be absurd to call a *Star Wars* film "the most Argie thing [she's] ever seen". Rather, this claim

refers to the use of a markedly Argentine linguistic style to summarize the plot of a major

Hollywood media franchise film. Steve's reblog of this post highlights this sentiment, both

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[37] "Argie" here means "Argentinean"—I unpack this term of reference in the next paragraph.

through a distancing of themselves from the media product being summarized ("I never watched anything about Star Wars"), and through their keyword tags—#argie, #latine, and #español—which classify and highlight for others the fact that this material is relevant to Argentineans specifically, Latines in general, and in Spanish. As I mention in Section 4.3.0, these keyword tags also make it more possible for others to block this content and avoid engagement with it, but both Steve and Erika report using such tags as a highlighting mechanism). The use of the #argie tag is particularly telling.

Most members of the Tumblr network I observed interpreted "argie" as an ethnic slur term for Argentineans (possibly originating with British soldiers during the Falkland Islands/Islas Malvinas war). They are vehemently against non-Argentineans using the term, with many even mentioning this specifically in the biographical information they provide on their blogs. As an example, see a recently-updated version of Steve's "before you follow" (BYF) page in Figure 3. These pages typically list out warnings about blog content, as well as any expectations that the blogger has of their followers. In this case, Steve asserts that any of their followers must subscribe to an extensive list of (largely leftist) political-ideological positionalities. Included among this list is a prescription to not follow their blog if "you call argentinians 'argies' or sudamericans 'sudacas'" (see Figure 61). This prescription does not specify that Argentineans and South Americans themselves are exempt from this rule, but from Steve and Erika's own use of the word both as a term of address/reference and as a part of their keyword tagging systems, we can inuit that both of these users have "reclaimed" the term in some sense. To tag this content as "#argie", then, goes beyond an assertion that the content of the TLR video is "authentically" Argentinean. It suggests instead a reading of this media text as part of a particular kind of slight subversive, globally oriented yet locally engaged, "always on" (Baron 2010, boyd 2012) Argentinean subculture. The way these Tumblr users tag *TLR* content illustrates one aspect in which we might read *TLR* as a media text that counters and critiques media flows that fans enjoy, yet also recognize as "hegemonic" in some way. In what follows, I will discuss the specific linguistic and semiotic strategies that Pinarello uses to localize globally-circulating media products as Argentinean.

byf

Don't follow if:

× if you're a terf/twerf/swerf/radfem/truscum
× if you are lgbt+phobic (homophobic, transphobic, biphobic, panphobic, etc) racist, islamophobic, antisemitic, etc.
× you are a map or a pedophile apologist/use the "fiction isn't reality" to support it
× you're an adult and produce, ship or/and support content sexualizing minors or you ship incest or abusive couples (shaladin, bkdk, palotor, piladin, reylo, jonerys,etc)
× you believe in reverse racism
× you use slurs you can't reclaim
× you call argentinians "argies" or sudamericans "sudacas"
× you believe that latine is a race
× you don't believe in non-binary genders
× you're a fujoshi
× you're pro-life
× you are a political conservative, a neonazi, fascist, white nationalist, or support trump
× you are a ddlg blog or support that
× or if you are just a shitty person in general, you know what i mean.

Figure 61. Screenshot of Steve's "before you follow" page.

5.3.1 Strategies of localization in Te lo resumo videos

Te lo resumo as a body of related texts reformulates global media into a text with local salience and relevance in a variety of ways, which I will cover at length in this section. On first glance, the name itself indexes a broad "Latin American" positionality— the *así nomás* portion of the title is widely recognized as a structure of Latin American Spanish (RAE 2018). Thus, even just by hearing the title, viewers are keyed in to the central goal or purpose of *TLR*: to reformulate, through summary, media products that are globally circulating in nature and characters that are "originally" English-speaking, into products and character voices that are "hearable" as Latin American. In Petersen (2014)'s framework, we would likely call these videos a form of "talk through appropriation", as they both play with voicing media characters and also commenting on or re-interpreting those characters within a particular media consumption framework.

Once a viewer presses play on one of these video summaries, the linguistic style in which these summaries are produced becomes an easily recognizable, highly salient clue about localization. Because the producer and narrator of these videos is a "native" speaker of Argentine Spanish, it is no surprise that the narratorial voice uses an accent that is instantly identifiable as Argentinean. The Argentine voice that Pinarello uses in these videos, however, is not "just" Argentinean, but a highly stylized version of an Argentine way of speaking, especially with respect to his vocabulary. In other words, while non-Argentine viewers of TLR do note Pinarello's accent as a noticeable feature of the videos, the markedly Argentine lexical items seem to be especially Argentine. As an example, refer back to Figure 24, (Chapter 4, Section 4.2.1)**,** in which a member of the Facebook fan group asks other members "raise your hand if you've learned Argentine slang from Jorge"—the numerous comments ratifying the humorous nature of the original post all collaboratively index Argentine slang as a salient, and circulatable, feature of the speech used by the TLR narrator. Viewers of the YouTube channel outside of the Facebook group of more engaged fans also note this as a feature of the summaries. An Uruguayan member of the extended network of Argentineans I followed on Tumblr, for instance, commented the following to me (original, no translation).

Excerpt 29. "It's done on purpose".[38]

1   They [the videos] are very Argentinean and I'd say it is done on purpose, like, they are
2   made specifically to be an exaggeration of the Argentinean way of commenting […]
3   [Pinarello] plays an annoyingly exaggerated porteño accent XD […] Porteño accent,
4   porteño slang, loud voice, references to Argentinean productions from the past […] For
5   example, in the MiB [Men in Black] review: "mocha de" "chabón" "la loma del orto"
6   "maquinola" "si te la bancás" or the PotC [Pirates of the Caribbean] review: "la yuta" "de
7   pedo" "tener onda" (used for chemistry in particular" "gilastrún"

Although the most mainstream varieties of Argentinean Spanish and Uruguayan Spanish are not considerably substantially different from each other, linguistically (Vidal de Battini 1964; Fontanella de Weinberg 1966), this Uruguayan identifies the narratorial voice that Pinarello uses in the TLR videos as "exaggeratedly" Argentinean. She places it as a "porteño" accent, i.e. the accent of someone native to the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires. Pinarello is in fact from La Plata, the capital city of the Province of Buenos Aires, but this is still widely considered to be within the same dialect region (Vidal de Battini 1964, 83), despite other stereotypes which

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[38] Refer to Table 3 for translations of slang terms mentioned in this excerpt.

iconize the specifically "porteño" accent as different to other regions of the country (cf. Lang-Rigal 2014, Davenport 2018). His use of voseo pronouns/verbal agreement certainly positions his speech as "Argentine", although it is less easy to determine how the "exaggerated" (cf. "excessive" in Chapter 3) features mentioned by the Uruguayan Tumblr user in Excerpt 29 map on to "Argentineanness". The features that are "exaggerated" include the (phonological) accent of Pinarello, his volume/pitch of his voice ("loud voice"), "references for Argentinean productions from the past", and "slang". I will return to the penultimate point later, but Argentine slang is clearly a salient feature of the TLR videos, both in how they produce humor, and in how they localize globally circulating material, as evidenced by Excerpt 1 above and Figure 24 in Chapter 4. The Uruguayan participant in Excerpt 29 names some examples of these lexical items, and I compile several more, as well as their definitions, in the table below.

Terms in summary of "Men in Black" Franchise	English translation	Terms in summary of "Pirates of the Caribbean" franchise	English Translation	Terms in summary of "Star Wars: The Force Awakens"	English Translation
bocha de	A lot of	la yuta	The police	bocha de	A lot of
Le pone toda la onda	He puts in a lot of effort	El gualicho	The spell/curse	La loma del orto	The middle of nowhere
Al toque	Instantly	la guita	The money	se pegan alto cagazo	They get in huge trouble/a big mess
Queda como el orto	It's awful	gilastrun	Fool, idiot	La guachada	Wickedness/evilness
Alto pajero	Huge wanker	al pedo	Idle, bored	Re loco	Very crazy
Chabón	Dude/guy	ta posta	They are serious/for real	Chabón	Dude/guy
La loma del orto	The middle of nowhere	la cagada	The shit (negative)	Requete amigos	Lots and lots of friends
Chota	Crappy/bad quality	Engualichado	Bewitched/found in a bad situation	Al toque	Instantly

Table 3. Sample of Argentine slang expressions in *TLR* videos.

One might argue that, as an Argentine, for Pinarello to use such a linguistic style is unavoidable, but as an actor, a command of various other linguistic styles are also likely at Pinarello's command. He could, for instance, use a parody of the typical voices used in Spanish-language dubbing of media (often speakers of mainstream styles of Mexican or Colombian Spanish for Latin American dubs; mainstream Iberian Spanish in all other cases). I argue that the choice to narrate these videos in not just his native accent, but in a highly stylized version of Argentine Spanish, is marked and meaningful. This can be seen at work through Pinarello's frequent use of

the entextualized phrase "que la fuerza te acompaña", the Spanish-language version of the iconic quote from the *Star Wars* media franchise, "may the force be with you." My own informal counts of several of these videos suggest that this phrase turns up 1-2 times per video, most commonly when the narrator reaches a point in the summary in which a major character dies or is otherwise made irrelevant to the plot (which of course makes sense pragmatically). As an already globally-circulating, entextualized portion of media discourse, "may the force be with you" has long since ceased to index only the *Star Wars* media franchise, or the *Star Wars* fandom. In the broadest sense of contemporary science fiction and pop culture fandom, it indexes a more general "fannish" or "nerd" style, as virtually anyone who has any involvement in mainstream science fiction media products will have some awareness of the phrase, whether or not they have actually seen/consumed the media product in question. Uttered in Pinarello's stylized Argentine accent, the phrase serves both as a tagline for the TLR video series, and also as an intertextual link between Argentinean and Latin American fandom, and English-language media fandom as a whole. Circulated through Argentine media consumption networks (as well as wider, Latin American media consumption networks), the entextualized "que la fuerza te acompañe" from TLR, rather than from *Star Wars*, becomes iconic of an Argentine way of consuming and commenting on mass mediated Anglophone cultural texts. It is a way of mitigating the intertextual gaps between North American, Anglophone fandom and Spanish-speaking, Latin American fandom. Just as Nakassis finds within Tamil youth's "filmic citations" of media discourse, this kind of transformative citationality of an entextualized phrase "does something to the text; it perforates it, alters and deforms it, and […] thereby lodges its complex and dispersed semiotics 'in' it" (2016, 187). This, in turn, illustrates one way through which to understand how "experiences of liminality come to be managed through citational acts" (Nakassis 2016, 227). By uttering the iconic Star Wars line "que la fuerza te acompaña", over and over again, in his own native (but exaggerated) Argentine accent, Pinarello metaphorically crafts a space for Argentine voices (or at least *an* Argentine voice) within the global media flows that have circulated this phrase around the world. In other words, these acts of citationality allow Argentine fans to critique, shift, and/or mitigate their own sense of their liminal position within global media flows.

In addition to emphasizing his own identifiably Argentinean speech styles in his production of the narratological voice of TLR, Pinarello also employs orthographically stylized representations of the Argentinean (and, more specifically, casual/informal/lower-class porteño) dialect of Spanish through his production of subtitles for excerpts of the English-language films and television shows he summarizes. This includes the use of *voseo* pronominal forms and corresponding verbal conjugations, but also of the stylistic representation of Argentine/Porteño phonology. The figure below illustrates one example of this, in which a principal character from the *Twilight* film saga is subtitled using the *voseo* pronoun.

Figure 62. Screenshot of *TLR* video about the *Twilight* film saga, in which the protagonist's line is dubbed using the "vos" pronoun. The caption translates as: You broke my car?

Finally, I return to one of the other markedly Argentinean features that the participant in Excerpt 29 noticed in Pinarello's narration style— the use of "references for Argentinean productions from the past". As a semiotic resource that goes beyond a linguistic re-tooling of the media text to be hearable/readable as more Argentinean, these references allow Pinarello to "trope upon registers to dramaturgical and comedic ends" (Swinehart 2012, 85)— but, in particular, these are tropes that *only* an Argentine audience will have full access to. In his summary of the *Kingsman* film franchise, Pinarello intersperses brief clips of a 1998 government-produced commercial

promoting anti-drug youth initiatives with the catchphrase "¿drogas? ¿Para qué?" *Drugs? Why?*
(Figure 63). Within the narrative of the summary, this reference is inserted after Pinarello
discusses a plot point in which the villain of the series attempts to poison/drug the world's
population. For the largely millennial audience of Pinarello's channel, this reference therefore
produces not just a humorous commentary on the plot that Pinarello is summarizing, it also
references a highly iconic mediatized phrase from their childhood or teen years (cf. Sierra 2016).
In other words, by inserting a clip of a government anti-drug propaganda to comment on a part of
the media narrative in which mass drugging/poisoning takes place, Pinarello tropes on the
intended seriousness of such ads to produce a silly, comedic effect.

Similarly, the phrase "besito besito chau chau" that appears at the end of most TLR videos, and
also appears in the fan community rules excerpted above, references "Brigada Cola", a 1992
program on Argentine channel Telefe. Like "que la fuerza te acompañe", "besito besito chau
chau" is readily decontextualizable and recontextualizable bit of semiotic material that serves
double purpose as an obvious sign-off phrase, while also pointing to a niche cultural reference
for those in the know. Because the phrase does not have any other special cultural significance,
beyond being an iconic phrase from an early 90s media program, it is especially useful for
Pinarello as an intertextual reference. Non-Argentine viewers can interpret it as a sort of absurdly
humorous sign-off phrase, while Argentine fans can read it in this way *and also* as a reference to
a local media product. Here, references to niche media products allow Pinarello to trope on the
register of television variety shows as a site for comedic sketch performance to bring to a close
the narration of a given video.

Figure 63. Screenshot of *TLR* video about the *Kingsman* film franchise referencing Argentine from the late 1990s.

The YouTube videos produced by Pinarello for the *TLR* channel demonstrate a kind of multilayered intertextuality—linking together linguistic styles and cultural knowledge from Argentina to globally-circulating Anglophone media texts. This linkage, like the case described in the previous section is undoubtedly a form of localization that humorously transforms "foreign", distant media texts into more locally interpretable and enjoyable texts.

Just as Pinarello's summaries are voiced virtually entirely in Spanish, so too is the discourse of the group conducted entirely in Spanish—with the exception of specific media slogans and references. This illustrates a rather powerful rejection of the notion that English is necessary to be a hardcore, authentic fan (and much less to produce fan content!), contradicting the assessment expressed by many of my participants in Chapter 3 that true fannish engagement necessitates English. Several studies have highlighted the practices and communities that arise (particularly in digital spaces) of fans *of* fandom, or fans of particular forms of fan practice, such as fan fiction (see, e.g., Booth 2015; Brennan and Large 2014, Deller 2015). As I discuss in Section 2.1, this Facebook "group" is different from the "page" of *Te lo resumo,* in that it is an informal digital community for discussion and debate regarding the series itself and topics related to such. While the Facebook page for *Te lo resumo* has been "liked" by over 175,000

accounts (as of March 2019), the fan group counts a comparatively smaller membership number of just over 61,000 (also as of March 2019). Still, this membership number is massively larger than all of the other Facebook fan groups I observed. Indeed, the largest membership number of all the other Facebook groups I collected data from is in the neighborhood of 8,000— and all of the memberships of every single group I observed for this study collectively barely reaches half the number of the *Te lo resumo* Facebook fan group. I suspect there is a fairly large amount of overlap between the *Te lo resumo* group and members of the other, media product-specific groups that I observed, but the computational techniques needed to determine this is beyond the scope of this dissertation. In any case, this is not exactly surprising, as the topical focus of *Te lo resumo* is much more expansive than the focus of a media-product-specific group. The group was created in early 2016, several years after the creation of the *Te lo resumo* YouTube channel, but just around the first time one of the video summaries gained viral uptake[39].

Another important point to note about this Facebook fan group is that, more than any other group I have observed, it is much more international in scope. While the majority of the groups I observed do allow participation by non-Argentine members, it is generally not common for non-Argentineans to ask to join groups titled, for instance "Star Trek Fans of Argentina". Because the *Te lo resumo* videos are enjoyed by internet users across Latin America (indeed, probably across the world), the membership is rather more diverse in terms of nationality than most of the other groups I participated in. Thus, unlike the *TARDIS Doblaje Argento* group which specifically produced memes designed to delineate a niche community of fans, the *TLR* YouTube videos are designed to have a broader appeal across Latin America, even despite the use of iconically Argentine linguistic features and narrow Argentine media references—and this is evidenced by the massive number of members of the Facebook fan group, as well as its more international appeal.   Therefore, while Pinarello's videos may be read as a form of localizing global media texts, the emergence of an internationally oriented Facebook fan group surrounding these summaries can potentially be seen as a site in which broader groups of Spanish-speakers can claim more agentive consumer positions within Anglophone media fandoms/mediascapes.

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[39] http://www.descontracturadosradio.com.ar/2018/03/07/jorge-pinarello-comence-te-lo-resumo-asi-nomas-para-expresar-el-odio-que-tenia-hacia-the-walking-dead/

5.4 Chapter conclusion

This chapter centered on the third research question of this dissertation, how does identification as a fan and/or participation in fan communities allow Argentine fans of English-language media and pop culture to imbue globally-circulating media texts with new or alternate social meanings that reflect their own local positionality within globally-circulating mediascapes? I address this question through an examination of how new versions of media texts are produced by Argentine fans of Anglophone media and pop culture in ways that reshape the original products through overtly Argentinean stylistic choices. Specifically, I analyze the memes produced by an Argentine Doctor Who fan page, and the YouTube videos produced by Jorge Pinarello for his channel *Te lo resumo así nomás.*

In both of these cases, linguistic features and cultural references provide the bedrock for transform of otherwise 'foreign' media texts into something more locally relevant. Both the Doctor Who meme group discussed in section 5.2 and the YouTube channel discussed in section 5.3 use stylized representations of Argentine Spanish to reframe media voices as highly local Argentine voices. This aligns with the form of mediatized talk that Petersen (2014) refers to as "talk through appropriation". Crucially, these interpretations reposition something global and foreign as something local and decipherable only within an Argentine (or Latin American) framework. In addition to the stylization of Argentine Spanish, both cases also illustrate the layering of Argentine cultural references to produce a highly localized form of intertextuality. By framing key Doctor Who characters "as" iconic Argentine media figures; linking Argentine language ideologies to mediatized language ideologies; and linking plot points of major Anglophone media franchises to specific Argentine media phrases or cultural moments, these Argentine fans engage a sort of performative intertextuality that legitimizes their fannish authenticity, while also allowing them to negotiate a more powerful place for themselves within global media flows Rather than being beholden to the "center" as members of a "periphery" within a global mediascape (Appadurai 1996), these cases illustrate that fan engagement with global mediascapes disrupts this basic distinction. Though the reformulation of popular Anglophone media texts in a iconically, markedly Argentine styles, these fans perform a localization that gives new meaning to both the "local" linguistic and semiotic resources they use in this endeavor, and to the media texts themselves.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

As global cultural flows bring Anglophone media texts to Argentine audiences, Argentine fans can use these texts as semiotic resources for various interactional means. The work of this dissertation has shown how engagement with globally circulating media allows Argentine fans to constrast themselves with local social types/discourses in new ways. It also allows these fans to position themselves in new ways within global mediascapes. These two interactional goals are primarily accomplished through stance-taking and intertextuality.

In Chapter 3, my analyses show how these stances, positionalities, and styles are reflected by the interlocked relationship between the everyday life experiences of Argentine fans and the range of possible lifestyles and worlds they can "imagine" themselves a part of. For instance, in section 3.0, the discussion of the linguistic political economy of Argentina reveals that ideologies about English have been tied up with ideas about wealth, class, and elitism since the formation of the country. These same indexical associations play into the current "English as a global language" discourse that is not unique to Argentina. In section 3.1, however, the media consumption and fandom history narratives of my participants show that new possibilities for English are generated through exposure to and engagement with global mediascapes. Argentine fans voice social types such as the "cheto" (3.1.0) as a way of legitimizing their own linguistic practice with regard to English as appropriately oriented towards cosmopolitan consumption, rather than as elitist or snobbish. They also construct "authentic" and "inauthentic" forms of interfacing with subtitles and dubbing in ways that align their own media consumption practices with imagined forms of legitimate consumption in Anglophone media markets (3.1.2). The first research question of this dissertation asked: how do discourses about English circulated through media and pop culture (as well as other semiotic material afforded by such circulation) get appropriated and transformed in Spanish-dominant, Argentine fan spaces? And, what is the social significance of English, and English-language media, in this context? The analyses in Chapter 3 reveal that as Argentineans participate in Anglophone media fandom, the role of the English language in the everyday lives of Argentineans shifts from an index of elitist snobbery to one of intelligent, cosmopolitan, "first-world" media consumption practices. Argentine media fans voice

contrasting social types and practices in order to distinguish their own English use as generated from appropriate, legitimate, media sources.

Building on this, Chapters 4 and 5 show how the mediascapes circulate the semiotic resources necessary for the construction of fan styles and fandom participations that are both uniquely Argentinean but also still legible within the broader context of global media fandom. As much media fandom participation is, these days, located online within digital social media spaces, access to these semiotic resources—of which the English language is usually a necessary, but not sufficient condition for entree—there ends up being significant overlap between linguistic and broader semiotic features that are read as aspects of "internet culture", "fandom culture" —the analyses of Spanish and English discourse markers in section 4.2 show various examples of this. It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to fully unpack this overlap but parallel indexical associations between youthfulness, being digitally connected, and excessive emotional frivolity (also addressed throughout Chapter 4) are likely at work here. The second research question I posed in Chapter 1 asks, what are the salient linguistic and semiotic elements in the discursive material that are utilized by Argentine fans in the construction of self and community? Do different linguistic or discursive elements get taken up and circulated in different ways? If so, what factors condition these differences? The analyses in Chapter 4 point to discourse markers from both English and Spanish as important resources in the construction of a "fannish" self; but also, that the ways that code choice gets taken up on different fandom-oriented social media spaces in ways that illustrate the gendered, radicalized, and classed aspects of "fannish" styles and positionalities.

The intertextual resources afforded by media texts and fandom participations are also crucial tools in the construction of Argentine fan styles and communities. As I discuss in Chapter 5, shared literacies—being able to identify similar sets of intertexutal references, and intertextual gaps—reinforces the sense of fandom as a community of practice. Argentine media fans who transform Anglophone media texts or images for humorous effects expect their audiences to be able to identify the intertextual references made—thus engaging in a *practice* that aligns the media literacy of, for instance, a meme producer with the fans who consume their memes. This, in turn, sets up the expectation that similar reactions, or sensorial experiences will be generated.

In other words, a fan who renders dialogue from Doctor Who in a stylized Argentine "accent" reinforces the notion of a uniquely Argentine fan community of Doctor Who in the presuppositions that the audience will 1) understand the local and media-based intertextual references being made and 2) experience it as amusing or humorous. The humor is derived from a perceived incompatibility between (stylized versions of) local Argentine linguistic and semiotic styles, and the aesthetics of Anglophone media culture and Anglophone media fandom. These humorous intertextual mash-ups represent spaces of Argentine media fans insertion of their own positionalities into global media flows. Mediascapes, and the intertextual resources they transport to new sociocultural and linguistic contexts, "create specific irregularities because both viewers and images are in simultaneous circulation […] the work of the imagination, viewed in this context, is neither purely emancipatory nor entirely disciplined but is a space of contestation in which individuals and groups seek to annex the global into their own practices of the modern" (Appadurai 1996, 4). Thus, this chapter speaks to the final research question of this dissertation: How does identification as a fan and/or participation in fan communities, allow Argentine fans of English-language media and pop culture to imbue globally-circulating media texts with new or alternate social meanings that reflect their own local positionality within globally-circulating mediascapes? By identifying as a "fan" and positioning oneself within a fandom, Argentineans lay claim to a set of media literacies— from their own "local" sociocultural context, and from the Anglophone mediascape context—that can generate commentaries on the global political positioning of "Argentineans" as a class, and on their relation to broader global cultural flows.

Overall, these three analyses illustrate how linguistic and semiotic resources shape the ways in which Argentine fans of Anglophone media and pop culture can engage with global media flows. Appadurai (1996) writes that "globalization is not the story of cultural homogenization" (11)— and it is clear from the work of this dissertation, too, that the global spread of Anglophone media and pop culture is not a case of people choosing to affiliate with "cool" American products. While globalization "brings" such media products (nearly) everywhere, the ways in which such media is taken up, interpreted, transformed, and used as a resource for structuring local, everyday sense of self and community is very much not the same everywhere. The lives of Argentine fans of Anglophone media and pop culture— like the lives of Egyptian farmers who watch soap operas about rich folks from Cairo; South Indian teens who avidly consume Tamil and

Bollywood film; and Moroccan and Lebanese families who incorporate television talk in their everyday lives— "are now inextricably linked with [mediatized] representations" (Appadurai 1996, 63-64) of both themselves and others. This is of importance to linguistic anthropologists and sociolinguists because language (and related semiotic resources) is one of the primary resources for "localizing" forces and flows which might otherwise be read as homogenizing (cf Sultana et al 2013, Blommaert 2010). As many sociolinguists have begun to argue (Carvalho 2004; Sayers 2014; Stuart-Smith 2014; Tagliamonte 2014), even though the mass media may not be in itself a driving force for language variation and change, it does serve as an important cultural model that offers speakers access to new varieties, social types, and characteristics that may themselves shape language use (Zhang 2018). This dissertation shows how globally circulating media may play into such changes; and although variation and change is not the focus of this work, it does provide strong evidence that engagement with globally-circulating media fandom can shape the ideologies that frame linguistic variation. A full sociolinguistics of globalization, as Blommaert (2010) argues, looks at how the global circulation of semiotic resources produces new forms of linguistic repertoires that can be imbued with profoundly different indexical associations depending on the local context in which they are taken up. This dissertation illustrates precisely the sort of work that Blommaert (2010) argues for.

Given some of the broader anxieties in Argentine society about Argentina's position in other sorts of global cultural flows—refer back to the mention in Chapter 1 about the common Argentine saying that "Argentina is a third world county—this dissertation sheds light on a new avenue through which to study orientations to globalization, media and pop culture. Although Argentine fans are often concerned with the ways in which their marginalized position affects their ability to participate in Anglophone media fandom—i.e., due to (perceived) lack of access to certain kinds of English, perceived lack of access to official/licensed fan merchandise—the analyses offered in this dissertation show that Argentine fans in fact engage in very creative, agentive reforumaltions of these globally circulating Anglohpone media texts. Moreover, they appropriate these media texts and use the semiotic resources afforded by them in order to do very locally-meaningful work of positioning and stance-taking work.

However, the types of positioning work that Anglophone media can be used for in Argentina are shaped by the historical and contemporary discourses of the English language within the country. The flows of global mediascapes bring other forms of foreign language media into Argentina—for instance, Japanese anime, and Korean pop music, and European television shows. During preliminary fieldwork in 2016, I attended an anime convention with a local contact of mine who made several comments during the course of the event about the more "working class" profile of the average attendee. Meanwhile, European telenovelas (soap operas)—particularly from Spain and Italy—have in recent years become increasingly popular on media streaming platforms like Netflix. During my fieldwork in 2018, one of the most popular cosplays at the various fan conventions I attended were outfits from the Spanish series "La Casa de Papel" (marketed in English as "Money Heist"). The *Te Lo Resumo* Facebook fan group saw several heated debate posts arguing the merits of this show versus several others. Just as Anglophone media fandom complicates links between the English language and class positionalities in Argentina, discourse surrounding who enjoys these other "foreign" media sources and why seems to be connected to ideas of Argentine national identity, class, and race. The ongoing line of research that this dissertation sets up, then, is a broader project on language and a wide-range of globally circulating media forms—not just Anglophone media. Through this dissertation, and the broader project that will be built from it, we can glean a clearer understanding of the forms that "local uptake" of globally circulating media takes, and in particular how these processes are mediated through language.

APPENDIX A: Transcription Conventions

Symbol	Meaning
(.)	Untimed pause
[word [word	Overlap
(( ))	Unintelligible
((word))	Difficult to understand, words in double parentheses are best estimation
((laughter))	Laughter
?	Question intonation
wo::rd	lengthening
word= =word	Latching
word—	Abrupt stop/interruption
~word~	Nasal voice quality
#word#	Grimace voice quality
£word£	Smile voice quality
[…]	Short section of speech removed for length/intelligibility
hh.	Outbreath
.hh	Inbreath
↑	Rise in pitch

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