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Communicative Care Across Borders:
Language, Materiality, and Affect in Transnational Family Life

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements
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by

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ABSTRACT

Communicative Care Across Borders:
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by

Lynnette Arnold

In recent years, scholars of language and social life have grappled with the implications of increasing global connection for the field's foundational concepts. Addressing lacunae in such research, this dissertation takes a bottom-up approach to the study of language and mobility, starting with the linguistic practices of everyday life to demonstrate how such communication produces and reproduces the forms of social organization through which human movement is experienced and understood. Inspired by foundational work and emerging theories within linguistic anthropology that argue separately for the importance of materiality and affect, the dissertation suggests that incorporating the linguistic, the affective, and the material into a single analytical framework productively elucidates the implications of cross-border ties. The dissertation illustrates the analytical purchase of this unified approach through an examination of everyday communication in transnational families living stretched between El Salvador and the United States. Utilizing a multisited methodology that analyzes the complete circuit of transnational life, the dissertation studies how such mundane cross-border conversations sustain family belonging.

The analysis draws on interdisciplinary feminist research on care to suggest that these interactions instantiate *communicative care,* a novel concept developed through the dissertation's examination of three specific communicative practices. The first analytical chapter explores transnational greetings, demonstrating how this everyday ritual constructs

and maintains affective kin ties in ways that ultimately support the material well-being of family members who are economically dependent on migrant remittances. The subsequent chapter analyzes these material negotiations in greater detail, elucidating the deft linguistic practices through which the families protect their ongoing relationships while managing the profound economic inequalities that characterize their cross-border lives. The final analytical chapter explores how families remember together in transnational conversations, building scenarios of idealized family life that link memories of the past with imagined togetherness, thus interweaving the materiality of embodied personas as well as their affective orientations. Through this analysis, the dissertation contributes to a more comprehensive understanding of language and mobility, shedding light on the fundamental imbrication of materiality, affect, and language in such experiences.

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A mother in El Salvador recruits a visiting researcher and her video camera to record a greeting to send to her migrant sons and daughter in the United States. Standing in front of the milpa (cornfield), which she had spent all morning weeding in preparation, she faces the camera, names each of her migrant children in turn, and wishes them well using formulaic ritual language.

A migrant son is speaking on the phone to his mother back home in El Salvador. She tells him that the first ears of corn in the milpa are just beginning to grow, and he asks her to send him some riguas (fresh corn cakes). His mother readily agrees, saying she will send them as soon as the corn is harvested, but the riguas are never sent.

In another cross-border phone call, a migrant daughter and her mother reminisce about the youngest daughter of the family, who used to refuse to go to the molino (corn grinder). They laugh together as they remember how she used to grind the corn for tortillas by hand instead. The mother confirms that her youngest daughter still will not go to the molino, and the migrant daughter says if she were there, she would go to help her mother.

Introduction

Moments such as these are increasingly part of everyday life for families living separated across borders, thanks to the increasing availability of low-cost digital communication technologies. Such cross-border conversations constitute a transnational social practice (Basch, Schiller, and Szanton-Blanc 1994; Schiller, Basch, and Blanc-Szanton 1992), allowing migrant communities to live across national borders. Transnationalism is often considered a hallmark of recent globalization (Khagram and Levitt 2008; Vertovec

1999), with cross-border mobility on the rise as a result of late capitalist neoliberalism. Since the late 1970s, economic policies have been guided by a dominant neoliberal ideology suggesting that "human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade" (Harvey 2005a:2). Such economic practices have prioritized the unfettered circulation of global capital over the well-being of the world's citizens, allowing a privileged few to amass great wealth at the expense of the marginalized many. This global system creates precarious life conditions for those it pushes to the margins, particularly residents of the global south, who often find themselves obligated to leave their home communities to find wage labor or to flee the endemic violence that is a product of increased inequality.

Migration has long been a survival strategy for the world's poorest citizens, but under today's neoliberal regime, the cross-border movement of migrants from the global south is made more pervasive at the same time that it is severely constrained, often causing these individuals to migrate without legal authorization. Given the hazards and expense of such unauthorized journeys, undocumented migrants tend to remain in their new homes for long periods of time, sending money to kin in their country of origin and thus ensuring family survival. Under such conditions, familial separation becomes stable, often lasting for decades at a time, with digitally mediated communication, such as that described in the opening vignettes, bearing the weight of sustaining family ties. Migrant parents make arrangements for childcare, check in on educational progress, and socialize their children through cross-border conversation. Non-migrant kin articulate their material needs and economic decisions are worked out through transnational talk. Adult children manage the medical care of their

elderly parents back home, separated wives and husbands work to sustain intimacy, arrangements are made to celebrate birthdays, holidays, and other milestones of family life, all through such everyday cross-border communication. And yet, these conversations across borders remain almost completely unexplored by existing research on transnational families. It is this lacuna that my dissertation aims to address.

This dissertation examines cross-border communication in families living stretched between El Salvador and the United States, drawing on the theoretical and methodological tools of sociocultural linguistics (Bucholtz and Hall 2008) to highlight the role of language in sustaining transnational ties. My analysis of these cross-border conversations focuses on what I call *communicative care*: fine-grained linguistic practices through which interlocutors attend to one another's material and affective needs. The dissertation demonstrates that communicative care practices perform important relational work in the immediate interaction, subtly reminding relatives of their kinship ties and obligations, delicately managing tense economic negotiations, reminiscing about the past and imagining future togetherness. At the same time, communicative care facilitates and makes possible other forms of care across borders, while also allowing families to socialize new generations into the affective orientations and linguistic practices that make transnational family life possible. Communicative care thus sustains cross-border family ties, not only in the enchronic time of immediate interaction (Enfield 2011) but also in the synchronic time of everyday life and in the diachronic time of cross-generational transmission and continuance, making it the most fundamental form of transnational social practice.

In this introductory chapter, I lay out the theoretical foundations upon which my concept of communicative care is built. The scholarship that has given rise to this concept

and to which it speaks is broad, encompassing a range of disciplinary and methodological perspectives. I begin with language-based approaches to globalization and migration, the subfield within which this dissertation is situated, before discussing how materiality and affect have been explored in linguistic anthropology and transnational studies. Understandings of materiality and affect are crucial to the concept of care as it has been theorized in feminist, disability, and transnational studies; my review of major debates in this scholarship sets up the most immediate framework for exploring communicative care in greater depth. As I bring together this wide-ranging scholarship, I build a theory of communicative care, which is then empirically deployed in the remainder of the dissertation.

Language and Mobility

In the early 1990s, scholarship on globalization began to emerge within the social sciences and humanities (Appadurai 1990; Giddens 1990; Grewal and Kaplan 1994; Harvey 1989; Kearney 1995). By the end of the decade, this area of study had exploded, leading some scholars to question whether globalization was in fact a new historical phenomenon or whether it simply reflected a new analytical perspective (Hirst, Thompson, and Bromley 1999; Scott 1997). Current approaches to globalization tend to recognize its historical antecedents while also exploring the contemporary manifestations of these dynamics from a range of disciplinary perspectives (Held and McGrew 2007; Scholte 2005). Linguistics, as is often the case, was late to take up the study of globalization, with a special issue of the *Journal of Sociolinguistics* (Coupland 2003) representing the first systematic foray into this area (although see earlier work by Cameron [2000a]). The "sociolinguistics of globalization" – as Blommaert (2003) dubbed this area of study – was quickly established (Besnier 2004; Jacquemet 2005), and just a few years later, a handbook of language and globalization was

published (Coupland 2010). Indeed, Coupland suggests that "linguistic perspectives on globalization now constitute an independent discourse of globalization" (2010:8).

However, rather than representing a singular approach, scholars have studied language and globalization from a range of perspectives, from work on world Englishes and global languages (Pennycook 2006; Mar-Molinero 2010) to critical analyses of discourses of globalization (Fairclough 2006), from research on the commodification of language under global capitalism (Cameron 2000a; Heller 2003; 2008) to examinations of the mediation of social relations across shifting spacetime (Arnaut et al. 2012; Blommaert 2010). This latter perspective, in particular, has productively challenged sociolinguists to rethink foundational notions of the field, which often start by assuming a geographically bounded, copresent speech community. Nevertheless, much of the scholarship on language and globalization relies on a macro-level perspective, taking a top-down approach to theorizing the role of language in a globalized world. Moreover, this research tends to focus on language used in domains of public life such as governments, corporations, and schools; the role of the most fundamental and influential social institution, the family, is left largely unexamined (but for valuable exceptions see Duranti 1997b; Inoue 2012).

Another significant body of scholarship has examined language and global connection from the perspective of language and migration. Within linguistics proper, such work builds on earlier research on multilingualism (Bullock and Toribio 2012; Gardner-Chloros 2012; Otheguy and Lapidus 2003; Otheguy, Zentella, and Livert 2007; Poplack 1980) and language contact (Ammon 1989; Appel and Muysken 1987; Thomason and Kaufman 1991; Weinreich 1966) to examine how migration influences processes of language change (Gugenberger 2007; Woods 2010). Indeed, scholars in the Spanish-speaking world

have suggested the need for a dedicated linguistics of migration that not only examines the linguistic shifts experienced by migrants, but also considers the impacts of migration on language patterns within the broader host society as well as on the sending society (Zimmerman and Morgenthaler 2007). Proposals for the development of this subfield have been explicitly activist in nature, encouraging scholars to pursue theoretical insights while also making contributions to the very real challenges faced by migrant communities (Gugenberger 2007), which are often based on discriminatory language ideologies and negative discourses about migrant communities. This dissertation takes such an approach; the concluding chapter discusses the policy implications of the research presented here.

Outside of linguistics, an interdisciplinary body of work has focused on the more social aspects of language and migration, at the intersection of anthropology (Dick 2010b; 2010a; Falconi 2011; 2013), discourse analysis (Baynham and De Fina 2005; De Fina 2003; Wortham et al. 2011; Wortham, Mortimer, and Allard 2009), and oral history (Chamberlain and Leydesdorff 2004; Hammock et al. 2006; Thomson 1999). By examining specific instances of language use in contexts of migration, this work challenges the top-down perspective of much research on language and globalization. In building theory from the bottom up, this scholarship has highlighted the crucial role of language in producing the ideological and geographic borders that structure migration processes and produce their social meanings (Dick 2011; Gal and Irvine 1995). Work within the United States, in particular, has demonstrated the importance of studies of family life for understanding the influence of migration on language (Bhimji 2005; Garro 2011; Sánchez and Orellana 2006); however, this work tends to conceptualize families as copresent, uni-local entities, eliding

their cross-border connectivity and the key role of language in transnational family social practices.

Recent discussions within linguistic anthropology (Dick, Lo, and Rosa 2013) have suggested that research on language and global connection be framed not in terms of globalization or migration but rather in terms of mobility, a perspective that resonates with recent perspectives in sociolinguistics (Blommaert and Dong 2010; Collins and Slembrouck 2005; 2007) and interactional linguistics (Haddington, Mondada, and Nevile 2013). Unlike a limited focus on migration, the broader analytical concept of mobility facilitates connective analyses, avoiding the reinscription of marginalization that occurs when migration is separated from other forms of human movement. Moreover, while research on language and globalization often emphasizes the perceived newness of global social processes (cf. Reyes 2014), a mobility perspective emphasizes the historicity of human movement, its many motivations, and the institutions that delimit, enact, and control both mobility and immobility. Implicit in the framework of language and mobility lies the issue of place, a fundamental concern of sociolinguistics (Pennycook 2012). And while research on the sociolinguistics of space and place has begun to theorize how the language used in particular locations is connected to larger global phenomena (Arnaut 2005; Vigouroux 2005; Dong 2013), a focus on mobility draws out the processes through which connections between places are both constituted and constrained through language practices and ideologies.

The language and mobility framework resonates more broadly with a new mobilities paradigm put forward within sociology, geography, and transportation studies (Cresswell 2006; 2010; Sheller and Urry 2006); this scholarship emphasizes the fundamental role of movement in all aspects of human experience. Critical responses by feminist and

postcolonial scholars have highlighted the complexity of human movement, drawing out the ways in which power is central to studies of mobility (Ahmed 2004a; Kalir 2013; Skeggs 2004). These scholars caution against a fetishization of mobility that "depends upon the exclusion of others who are already positioned as not free in the same way" (Ahmed 2004:152), suggesting that analyses of mobility must also consider questions of immobility as well as connections between mobility and immobility. As Skeggs so succinctly puts it, "Mobility and control over mobility both reflect and reinforce power. Mobility is a resource to which not everyone has an equal relationship" (2004: 49). Most recently, these concerns have been integrated in a regimes-of-mobility approach (Kalir 2013), which conceptualizes mobility as fundamentally intertwined with systems of economic, social, and political power, thus highlighting differential experiences of mobility based on social position and geographic location.

I argue that a language-based approach to mobility is particularly valuable, as it productively elucidates how experiences of human movement come to be differentiated. Rather than taking for granted the meaning of mobility, research that examines language ideologies and practices in transnational life reveals how movement is constituted as a socially significant traversing of boundaries and borders (Dick, Lo, and Rosa 2013; Dick and Arnold in preparation). This dissertation therefore adopts a mobility perspective, exploring how those caught up in processes of transnational migration use language to manage and create meaning from their experiences of mobility and immobility. Through this examination, the dissertation seeks to address lacunae in existing research in order to develop a more comprehensive understanding of language and human movement. Unlike much work in the study of language and globalization, my research takes a bottom-up approach to

understanding language and mobility, building up from an analysis of everyday linguistic practices to demonstrate how such mundane communication produces and reproduces the very social categories and boundaries that constitute and organize movement. Human mobility across borders, in this perspective, is fundamentally linked to the movement of language ideologies and practices, as well as to other forms of mobility such as the movement of global capital and material goods, as well as cross-border engagement in practices of affect and care. Such a situated and holistic conceptualization of movement is crucial in today's neoliberal era, in which mobility and immobility play an ever larger role in determining life possibilities for increasing numbers of people. The dissertation demonstrates the analytical purchase of a mobility approach through a focus on transnational family life, where the material and affective facets of everyday life must be worked out through cross-border communication. Indeed, a key argument of this study is that focusing on family and mobility demonstrates that the linguistic, the affective, and the material are ultimately inseparable and must be treated together in a unified analytical framework.

Language, Materiality, and Affect

Both materiality and affect have long been the subjects of substantial theorization and research in social and cultural studies (e.g., Ahmed 2004a; 2004b; Barad 2003; Brennan 2004; Miller 2005). There is now a vast literature that approaches the material and the affective from a range of different epistemological and methodological perspectives. In this section, I focus specifically on those areas of investigation that are most germane to the analysis presented in the dissertation: language-based research and work on issues of globalization, migration, and mobility. In this review, I highlight the theoretical tools that are of use for a unified analytical framework of materiality and affect in language. I begin with

research on materiality, moving from there to a consideration of affect and then to an exploration of the interconnections between the two concepts. Ultimately, language is fundamentally both material and affective; my discussion of these as distinct issues does not intend to reify such divisions, but is rather a practical choice based on the trajectory of previous research.

Materiality, Language, and Mobility

Materiality is a broad phenomenon whose variable definition is in part a result of a range of approaches within language-based scholarship. Shankar and Cavanaugh offer a simple gloss of this term that provides a useful starting point: materiality is "the state or quality of being material, embedded within and taking meaning and value from sociocultural and political-economic structures and processes" (2012:356). Early work on materiality emerged in Marxist literary and cultural studies (Coward and Ellis 1977; Williams 1977), and resisted theorizations of language that drew a clear distinction between the material and the linguistic (e.g., Saussure 1916). Voloshinov was among the first to put forward an understanding of language as a fundamentally material form of social action, suggesting that in order for a sign to "enter the social purview of the group and elicit an ideological semiotic reaction, it must be associated with the vital socioeconomic prerequisites of the particular group's existence; it must somehow, even if only obliquely, make contact with the bases of the group's material life" (1929:22). In other words, linguistic signs only become meaningful through their connection to the material realities of everyday life. Bourdieu's (1977) work builds on this conceptualization, viewing language as a form of social capital whose value is linked to the place of its users in systems of economic and cultural power relations.

Subsequent scholarship has developed these early insights into a more sophisticated understanding of the value of language within political-economic systems (Cavanaugh and Shankar 2014; Gal 1989; Irvine 1989; Urciuoli 1995; Urciuoli and LaDousa 2013; Woolard 1985). Such work emphasizes the material conditions and value of language, suggesting that "because linguistic practices provide access to material resources, they become resources in their own right" (Gal 1989: 353). Rather than a single monolithic marketplace of linguistic value as Bourdieu would have it, there are competing systems that valorize different linguistic varieties in different contexts (Woolard 1985). The function of these alternative modes of valuation is not fixed; thus, semiotic signs take on value in political-economic systems in a variety of ways that must be explored by scholars of language concerned with questions of materiality. However, Woolard suggests that studies of language and political economy have been too focused on formal institutions such as the nation-state and calls for an examination of "the effects of primary economic relations on arrangements for everyday living, and on the informal structures of experience in daily life" (1985:742). Thirty years later, this call is still relevant, and the dissertation responds through its focus on the linguistic and the material as they are manifested in family life.

In addition to work on language and political economy, a separate strand of scholarship has pursued connections between semiotics and materiality (Kockelman 2006; Rogers 2012; Sharp 2000). Drawing on Peircean semiotics to examine signification as a material process (Keane 2003; 2007; Lee 1997; Manning and Meneley 2008; Munn 1992), such work aims to extend social theorizing to an understanding of the material as both produced by and producing meaning. In outlining the basis for this approach, Keane (2003) suggests that semiosis is both retrospective (emerging from past meanings) and prospective

(creating new meanings).[1] He argues that the processual nature of semiosis is particularly useful for examinations of materiality: "iconicity and indexicality begin to open up signification to causality, to the possible effects of material qualities, and of their logistical impositions, on persons and their social worlds" (2003:417). Moreover, semiosis construes and constructs the material as meaningful through what he (2003) calls semiotic ideologies: "basic assumptions about what signs are and how they function in the world" (2003:419). Semiotic ideologies underlie different ways of parsing the material world as meaningful, specifying, for example, whether an object that falls from a shelf and breaks is simply a victim of gravitational pull or rather a sign of preternatural agency. Semiotic approaches to materiality thus encompass a two-way relationship between meaning and the material world.

Political-economic and semiotic analyses thus take different approaches to the study of language and materiality, emphasizing value on the one hand and meaning on the other. In a recent review of such work, Shankar and Cavanaugh suggest that these two strands can be productively brought together in a framework of language materiality. Such an approach, they suggest, will allow linguistic anthropologists to "consider systematically the material dimensions of language in use" (2012:356), a tactic that is particularly important in today's era of neoliberalism on a global scale (cf. McElhinny 2007). Under globalization, language is subject to new forms of commodification and circulation (Heller 2003; Cavanaugh and Shankar 2014; Urciuoli and LaDousa 2013) that can only be understood if materiality is part of the analytical frame. Such global processes of objectification are informed by materially informed semiotic ideologies that are linked to capitalist principles of economic exploitation.

[1] Scholars of language and social life have long recognized the backwards- and forwards-looking facets of language, beginning with Labov's (1972) conceptualization of linguistic variables as moving from indicator to marker to stereotype, and later in Silverstein's (2003) theorization of presupposition and entailment in orders of indexicality.

Not surprisingly, then, work on migration has long documented the materiality of mobility (Thomas and Znaniecki 1958), although it is only recently that such connections have been explicitly highlighted and theorized as variably constituted through different forms of mobility, Basu and Coleman (2008) call for ethnographically grounded studies that can capture more precisely the relationship between materiality and forms of mobility. De León's (2012) examination of the materiality of border crossings at the U.S.-Mexico border illustrates the potential of such an approach. Focusing on the technologies – such as dark clothes, cheap sneakers, and water bottles – that are adopted by migrants as they attempt to cross the desert, his research demonstrates that, while such material investments make sense given migrants' limited financial resources and the fragmentation of collective border-crossing knowledge, these technologies nevertheless prove oppressive to those who adopt them. The negative consequences are certainly material (for example, dark clothes cause increased perspiration and more rapid dehydration), but they are also semiotic: adopting these specific technologies, which have come to assume a particular indexical meaning, marks migrants as border-crossers in the eyes of immigration and customs enforcement, singling them out for particular forms of treatment. Close ethnographic attention to the material culture of migration thus refines understandings of mobility, moving away from singularly celebratory articulations that emphasize unobstructed flows, de-materialized in their effortlessness (cf. Löfgren 2008), and underscoring instead the materially grounded nature of all experiences of mobility.

To explore materiality in a context of global mobility, this dissertation follows the urging of Shankar and Cavanaugh (2012), by taking a broad approach to materiality that includes questions of both value and meaning. Black (2013) suggests that such a holistic

perspective facilitates examinations of micro-macro connections that move back and forth between overarching structures and ideologies and the momentary practices of language as it is used in everyday life. However, semiotic and political-economic approaches to materiality often remain at a macro level of theory and analysis that lacks grounding in the micro-level manifestations and experiences of embodied materiality.

In order to build a truly comprehensive approach to materiality, I advocate the incorporation of insights stemming from multimodal interaction studies. This significant body of scholarship, which often examines language use in situated activities such as archaeological digs or bicycle repair, emphasizes the centrality of embodied actions to language-in-use (Arnold 2012b; 2012c; Goodwin 2003; Goodwin 2006a). The role of the body was of course highlighted early on by Bourdieu, who stated that "linguistic capital is an embodied capital…language is a body technique" (1977:660), and noted, for example, the embodied hexis of the vocal tract in producing particular class-based pronunciations. However, the embodied actions studied by interactional scholars go well beyond speech production to include gaze (Goodwin 1980; Goodwin 1981; Haddington 2006; Sidnell 2006), gesture (Nick J Enfield 2009; Streeck and Hartge 1992; Kendon 2001; LeBaron and Streeck 2000), and posture (Markaki and Mondada 2012; Schegloff 1998). Moving beyond embodiment, multimodal research also emphasizes the role of the immediate physical environment as a resource for meaning-making, demonstrating how material artifacts can be both explicitly oriented to and implicitly mobilized in the production of meaning (Arnold et al. 2012; Goodwin 1994; Streeck 1996; 2009; Manning 2012; Murphy 2012; 2005). Such interactionally based studies can provide helpful grounding to an inclusive language materiality framework, linking these perspectives to people's everyday lived experiences.

This dissertation takes up such an approach in order to demonstrate the ways in which materiality is connected to and creates values and meanings, from the micro level of interaction up to the level of large-scale political-economic systems and ideologies such as neoliberalism and global capital. Moreover, the dissertation combines this comprehensive understanding of materiality with an emphasis on affect, which is outlined in the following section.

Affect, Language, and Mobility

In addition to a substantive history of work on materiality, scholars have long recognized the affective work done by language, which has generally been described as a specific function variously identified as emotive (Bühler 1990 [1934]), phatic (Jakobson 1960), or expressive (Lyons 1977). However, the traditional study of language as a system (e.g., Saussure 1916) left no room for investigations of affect; in large part this was due to a conceptualization of emotion as individual and therefore unsystematic, despite early insights into the fundamental imbrication of the individual and the social (Sapir 1949; Voloshinov 1929). It was not until the 1990s that work on affect and language began to emerge more systematically, overlapping with a turn to affect in anthropology, feminist and queer studies, and postcolonial and critical race theory (Ahmed 2004b; Brennan 2004; Clough 2010; Clough and Halley 2007; Gregg and Seigworth 2010).

However, while much research in cultural studies draws a strict division between emotion and affect (Leavitt 1996; Massumi 2002; Thrift 2004), scholars of language have largely avoided such terminological distinctions (McElhinny 2010; Wilce 2009). Taking affect as the broader term, language-based scholarship has defined it as "feelings, moods, dispositions, and attitudes associated with persons and/or situations" (Ochs and Schieffelin

1989:7). More recently, scholars of language have begun to include the cognitive and sensory domains in the study of affect, drawing on the concepts of qualia (Chumley and Harkness 2013; Gal 2013; Lemon 2013) and haptics (Goodwin n.d.; Paterson 2007; Stuart 2012)to emphasize the embodied experience and construction of emotion.

Nevertheless, to date most language-based scholarship focuses on linguistic forms with affective functions, asserting that these can be found at all levels of language structure, from the phonological to the morphological, over a range of grammatical features, as well as in lexical items (see lists provided in Besnier 1990:422-428; Ochs and Schieffelin 1989:12-14). Discourse structures can also be used to convey affect, and intonation and prosody have recently garnered a great deal of attention in research on emotion as well . As Wilce puts it, "the loci of emotion in language are as numerous as locusts in a plague" (2009:39). Indeed, the structural pervasiveness of affective language is a reflection of its omnirelevance in the social situations in which language is used: "affect thus permeates all utterances across all contexts because the voices of social beings, and hence their affect, can never be extinguished from the discourse" (Besnier 1990:433). The broad relevance of affect to language has made it difficult to study, a challenge which is still faced today (Du Bois and Kärkkäinen 2012). However, thirty years of research on affect and language have provided useful insights on which this dissertation builds in approaching this complex topic.

Early work on affect and language emphasized the importance of focusing, not so much on what affect is and where it is located, but rather on what affect in language does, an approach that has come to be known as the *pragmatics of affect* (Lutz 1988; Ochs 1986; Ochs and Schieffelin 1989; Schieffelin and Ochs 1986). Rather than studying decontextualized linguistic structures and attempting to assign them a particular affective meaning, this

framework focuses on exploring how affect functions in particular interactional and cultural settings. Although many other scholars have continued to urge researchers to take up an ethnographically grounded approach to emotion and language (Besnier 1990; Irvine 1990; Wilce 2009), Ochs has recently stated that twenty-five years after her earliest work on the topic, "we know very little indeed about in situ temporally developing and enveloping flows of emotion in informal communication around the world" (2012:155). Ochs here highlights the temporality of affect as central to its function, a dimension that is echoed by calls for greater historical depth in studies of affect and language (McElhinny 2010; Wilce 2009; 2014). However, the temporality that Ochs points to seems to be that of interactional enchrony rather than that of historical time, suggesting that different timescales may impinge upon the function of affect in different ways.

In considering how affect functions through language, scholars have described this relationship as one of indexicality. Ochs and Schieffelin (1989), for example, propose that linguistic forms "key" affect; and although Wilce (2009; 2014) rightly points out that this directionality can be reversed, with linguistic forms prompting particular feelings such as shame, most language-based studies of affect focus on the indexical cues of emotion in language (Du Bois and Kärkkäinen 2012). Although early work on affect tended to focus primarily on linguistic indexes (Ochs and Schieffelin 1989), more recent work has demonstrated the important role of embodiment in affective semiosis (Cekaite 2012; Charles Goodwin 2007; Goodwin and Goodwin 2000; Goodwin, Cekaite, and Goodwin 2012). The indexicality of affective signs is not precise: a given sign in context may index a broad range of meanings, or a general positive or negative valence, or perhaps even more commonly, the intensity of the affective state (Ochs and Schieffelin 1989). Furthermore, affective signs can

index different emotional categories in different communicative situations, with these shifting indexicalities being determined in culturally specific ways; signs that index affect often also have other indexicalities that connect them to social categories such as gender or class (Besnier 1990).

Given the multifunctionality of affective signs, their indexical relationships often only become clear in conjunction with other co-occurring semiotic features (Ochs and Schieffelin 1989); emotion words thus combine with particular intonational contours, gestures, and facial expressions to jointly index affect, demonstrating the inseparability of embodiment and language in producing affective meanings. Ultimately, as Besnier notes, "the indexical nature of affect in language makes it both an ideal vehicle for the affirmation of hegemonic structures and an ideal (often covert) tool in the resistance to these structures" (1990:438); an indexical approach to the relationship between language and emotion thus allows scholars to investigate how affect works to produce social norms of differentiation and inclusion (McElhinny 2010; Wilce 2014), productively linking the study of affect with broader concerns in the study of language and social life.

However, treating language as indexing emotion also highlights a conceptual challenge that has plagued linguistic studies of affect from the beginning: what exactly is it that affective signs index? The simplest conclusion would be that such signs index the speaker's emotions. However, while this approach has the advantage of taking affect seriously as an embodied phenomenon that is experienced as real, it maintains a conceptualization of emotion as a primarily individual phenomenon. At the same time, it assumes a transparent connection between semiotic forms and the individual's actual experience, eliding the fact that people can and do choose how to present their affect to the

world (Ochs and Schieffelin 1989). Most scholars of language and affect have instead suggested that emotions constitute "shared intersubjective states" (Wilce 2009: 8) and collaborative forms of social action that interlocutors produce together through their talk (Goodwin and Goodwin 2000). Affective signs, in this view, index joint constructions of affective meaning, produced moment-to-moment in interaction – what have been called "displays of affect" (Ochs and Schieffelin 1989) or the "performance of emotion" (Wilce 2009). While this approach makes affect more tractable to language-based methodologies (Du Bois and Kärkkäinen 2012), it also reifies a Wittgenstinian divide between unknowable internal states and empirical displays (Wilce 2009). Moreover, by remaining agnostic about the connection between such displays and actual emotional experiences (Ochs and Schieffelin 1989), this focus is unable to answer the question of how and why such affective performances are taken as real forms of social experience.

One possible solution to this dilemma is found in work that approaches emotion through the analytical tool of stance (Cekaite 2012; Charles Goodwin 2007; Goodwin, Cekaite, and Goodwin 2012; Sorjonen and Peräkylä 2012). Stance is conceptualized as "a public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means, of simultaneously evaluating objects, positioning subjects (self and others), and aligning with other subjects" (Du Bois 2007:163). With respect to affect, stance involves articulating an emotional reaction to some object, event, or person, through which the speaker takes up an affective position that can then be variably aligned with in subsequent turns. While some scholars have distinguished between emotional and other forms of stance (Ochs 1996; Wu 2004) others see affect as always immanent, as relevant to any stance taken, even if not explicitly articulated (Du Bois 2007; Du Bois and Kärkkäinen 2012). This latter perspective

fits more clearly with findings from previous scholarship that emphasize the pervasiveness of emotion in language.

Stance-based approaches to affect offer solutions to the conceptual challenges encountered by scholars of language and emotion. This framework resolves the individual/social division through a focus on intersubjectivity, examining how individuals line up their stances with those taken by their interlocutors, as well as with their own previous stances. Through such close attention to the sequential development of emotion, analysts can elucidate evidence for the experiential nature of affect; examining the intersubjective enactment of emotion reveals how semiotic indexes of affect are treated as real and consequential, both by the experiencer and their interlocutor. Affect, on this view, is both individual and social, both display and experience.

Moreover, stance-based approaches shed light on the relevance of both enchronic and historical timeframes for affective meaning, as stances previously taken become a resource for interlocutors working together to create meaning, both in the immediate conversation and across time. The cross-temporal alignment of stances is constructed through dialogicality (Du Bois 2007; 2014), a structure of engagement through which speakers draw upon instances of discourse uttered in other places and times to construct their own utterances (Bauman 2004; Becker 1979; Briggs and Bauman 1992; Goodwin 1990a; Goodwin and Goodwin 1987; Silverstein 2005). Through dialogic discursive strategies, speakers construct interdiscursive resonances, activating affinities across utterances (Du Bois 2007). These dialogic links between stances are constructed across space and time, creating a perduring stance field that discursively shores up ongoing social relations. The analysis presented in this dissertation demonstrates how continually maintained stance fields sustain cross-border kin ties. The

analysis presented here thus takes up a stance-based approach to affect using the tools of dialogic analysis, examining how emotional meanings are produced and affective engagements constituted through interaction in the context of sustained relationships. The temporal dimensions of this examination, while perhaps lacking the macro-level historical perspective that some scholars call for (McElhinny 2010; Wilce 2009), nevertheless demonstrates how the sequential time of the immediate interaction is connected to the past and present of family relationships, thus shoring up particular affective orientations over time (cf. Beatty 2013).

The study of affect is particularly relevant to research on mobility, as has been argued both within language-based approaches (McElhinny 2010; Wilce 2014) and within globalization research more broadly (Svašek 2008; Svašek and Skrbiš 2007). Scholarship on affect and mobility draws on theories of affect as embodied responses to movement (Massumi 2002) as well as work on emotional geographies that explores how mobility gives rise to particular forms of feeling (Anderson and Smith 2001; Davidson, Bondi, and Smith 2007). From these foundations, scholars have explored the affective facets of migration, primarily through a focus on the emotions that migrants experience and the changes that migrants undergo (Aranda 2003; 2007; Conradson and Mckay 2007; Svašek 2008). Focusing on affect enriches understandings of migration, going beyond dominant depictions of marginalization and victimization to highlight migrant agency and subjectivity (McKay 2007). Moreover, affect is not simply a reaction to globalization, but rather fundamentally constitutes experiences of mobility, as seen in migrants' accounts of their motivations for migration (Svašek and Skrbiš 2007).

Research on emotion and mobility resonates with language-based research on affect by understanding affect as a social process involving discourse, practice, and embodiment (Svašek 2010; Svašek and Skrbiš 2007), although what is meant by *discourse* is of course variable. Language has entered into these accounts primarily in terms of emotional vocabularies (Beatty 2005; Nussbaum 2001), with scholars drawing on Wierzbicka's (Wierzbicka 1986; Wierzbicka 1999) work on emotion terms. While this research productively highlights the cultural variability of emotion vocabularies, the singular focus on the lexical level provides an overly simplistic model of the relationship between emotion and language, eliding the rich indexical accounts that have emerged from within linguistic anthropology. One focus of this linguistic anthropological scholarship has been neoliberalism, which has been studied as a global phenomenon with important affective facets (McElhinny 2010; Wilce 2014). Neoliberal models valorize a form of autonomous and entrepreneurial selfhood (Rose 1998), which in turn relies upon the creation of particular "habits of the heart" (Harvey 2005a:3). A significant body of linguistic-anthropological research has demonstrated the affective labor required by neoliberal regimes of the self (Ducey 2007; Inoue 2007; Kingfisher 2007; Pujolar 2007; Yang 2007), illustrating the crucial role of language for the performance of such work. My dissertation seeks to bring these robust and nuanced understandings of the relationship between language, affect, and neoliberal globalization to bear on the study of mobility, developing a unified analytical framework for exploring the interpenetration of the linguistic, the affective, and the material in social life.

Affect, Materiality, and Language in Mobility

The preceding review of an extensive literature draws out how previous scholarship has considered the relationship between language and many forms of materiality, as well as the interconnections between language and affect. While the study of materiality and the study of affect have generally proceeded as separate strands of scholarship, research on emotion often brings materiality and affect together with respect to the embodiment of emotion as well as the affective implications of global political-economic systems. However, studies of the processes by which the material becomes affective are not as well developed: while some scholars of transnationalism call for consideration of connections between the economic and the emotional (Conradson and Mckay 2007; McKay 2007), there has been no attention to the role of language in such linkages. This dissertation therefore seeks to bring these three facets together in a comprehensive approach that highlights the multidirectionality of functions and effects among the material, the affective, and the linguistic.

The potential of such an approach, particularly for understanding the social life of mobile communities, is reflected in existing research. One example of language-based work on mobility that brings together the material and the affective can be found in Hilary Dick's (2010a) analysis of one woman's account of her family's gradual migration from Mexico to the United States. The narrator, Verónica, deploys a discourse genre that Dick calls "poetic rationalization" to depict migration as an inevitable outcome of natural family desires for material well-being; these accounts are rife with feeling, as Verónica articulates emotional ties to kin who have already migrated in order to justify her own migration. This work implicitly exemplifies the close interworking of language, materiality, and affect in contexts

of mobility. The analysis reveals the consequentiality of Veronica's embodied gender identity for her discursive engagement with migration: the affective ties she linguistically mobilizes provide her with greater access to mobility as a woman, framing her migration as necessary if she is to continue to fulfill her normative roles of wife and mother. Moreover, her narrative situates the family's migration within a global economic system in which scarce material resources in Mexico are normatively supplemented through migration to the United States. Thus, Dick's analysis illustrates how one migrant's discourse draws upon and deploys both affect and materiality in complexly interwoven and inseparable ways, to create significations that explain and shape experiences of mobility.

A second example of scholarship that incorporates the material, affective, and linguistic can be seen in Norma Mendoza-Denton's (2008a) study of gang-affiliated Latina youth in California, which documents the linguistic, embodied, and material signs by which these young women construct local distinctions (for example, between normative white femininity and chola macha styles, or between norteñas and sureñas) along the lines of global north-south inequalities, or what Mendoza-Denton calls "hemispheric localism". Although her analysis focuses primarily on the importance of materiality for processes of semiosis, the examples she provides have important affective overtones as well; this emerges most clearly in her analysis of the memorialization practices by which these young women build collective pasts (Mendoza-Denton 2008b). These practices often involve particular affective stances, from the assertive aggressive stances of "talking shit" to the playful engagements of the insults of the dozens and the sexual double entendres of the *albur*. Ideologies of affect are also traceable in drawings that take up the symbolic phrase *smile now, cry later* and in the serious, non-smiling affect displayed in the embodied poses the young women strike for

photographs. Through such richly affective practices, both material and linguistic, these young women deliberately construct a shared past that upholds their collective gang identity in the face of marginalization; Mendoza-Denton argues that as persecuted transnational groups that lack stable repositories for their history, gangs rely on affectively laden material and linguistic semiosis for vital memory work. This analysis illustrates the multifaceted intertwining of the linguistic, the material, and the affective by marginalized and mobile communities in order to build connections and sustain communities.

These two examples demonstrate the productive insights into mobility that can be generated through a unified analytical framework that considers the linguistic, the material, and the affective in all their complex simultaneity and interpenetration. If there is one message to be taken from the scholarship reviewed above, it is that an examination of the material without the affective or of the affective without the material represents an incomplete and impoverished version of social life. The affective is fundamentally material, produced and experienced through bodies, with its significance and value shaped by its connection to political economies and material ideologies. At the same time, the material is thoroughly affective: materiality only assumes value and signification in social life to the extent that it is affectively interpellated. And nowhere do such connections emerge more clearly than in language-based scholarship, which is able to plumb the deep and intricate interweaving of the affective and the material in experiences of everyday social life. This dissertation aims to contribute to this endeavor through an examination of family life, a domain in which connections between affect and materiality are readily traceable, whether due to ideology, practice, or both. For transnational families, the role of language in

mediating such material/affective interrelationships is particularly central, as illustrated in the analysis that the dissertation presents.

Constructing Family Belonging

In order to understand the lives of transnational families, I draw on research in the study of migration and family, as well as frameworks from anthropological and sociological kinship studies. Traditional kinship studies within anthropology sought to explain the cross-cultural dynamics of kin relations through the development of a taxonomy by which kin structures could be classified (Malinowski 1922; Morgan 1871; Radcliffe-Brown 1922); this approach tended to equate structural similarities, based on imposed categories, with similarities of practice, thus eliding the specificity of the processes through which families are constituted and maintained. However, in the past two decades, a "new kinship studies" has built on Yanagisako's (1979) critique of this early research to formulate a newly invigorated approach to kinship that emphasizes social process over structure and everyday lived experience over formal rules (Carsten 2004; 2000; Fouratt 2011:2; Van Vleet 2008; Vilaça 2002). Such new scholarship focuses on what Carsten calls "relatedness", a concept which focuses on "indigenous ways of acting out and conceptualizing relations between people, as distinct from notions derived from anthropological theory" (1995:224); research in this approach moves beyond the division between the biological and the social in the anthropological study of kinship, instead examining the practices by which people in a range of cultural contexts, from West India to New Guinea, to South America, construct themselves as belonging together (Collier and Yanagisako 1987; Strathern 2005; Yngvesson 2007).

This new anthropological framework, largely developed by scholars based in the United States, bears striking similarities to the family practices approach widely taken by

sociologists in the United Kingdom and Europe. Influenced by ideas emerging from practice theory and ethnomethodology, this school of thought emphasizes the fluidity and activity of family life (Morgan 1996); much like anthropological research on relatedness, scholarship in this area highlights the everyday material and affective care work through which families are built and maintained as functioning social units (Finch 2007; Hall and Holdsworth 2014; Jones and Hackett 2011; Phoenix and Brannen 2014). Much of this research focuses on families in wealthy, English-speaking nations, and indeed, Morgan (2011) calls for the extension of the study of family practices to other cultural contexts, a project to which this dissertation contributes (see Chapter 2 for an ethnographic discussion of family in rural El Salvador). Overall, both of these approaches urge investigation of the active practices through which family is continually produced, rather than taking relatedness and belonging for granted as naturally inherent in kinship. Although these frameworks emphasize kinship as action, the role of everyday language practices in producing and sustaining kinship is elided.

Moreover, despite different disciplinary and geographic roots, studies of both relatedness and family practices emphasize the production of connectedness and closeness. This dynamic has led some scholars to suggest that such an approach elides the "darker side" of kin ties: "kinship can be mobilized to signify not only specific kinds of connection and inclusion but also specific kinds of disconnection and exclusion" (Franklin and McKinnon 2000:277). Everyday practices that produce belonging among some groups of people are of course premised on the barring of others from this form of togetherness. Just as importantly, however, families are not homogeneous groupings but rather are hierarchically structured in ways that give some members greater power than others. Feminist research on family and migration has elucidated the impacts of such power structures on the practices that make up

family life. Hondagneu-Sotelo's influential work on Mexican migration (1994) argued against the unified household model often taken by previous research, demonstrating that the resources kin have access to are shaped by gender, producing differentiated practices for initiating and managing migration. Subsequent research in this area has demonstrated that other factors shape access to resources and practices, including class, ethnicity, and migration status (Abrego 2014; Castellanos 2010; Hirsch 2003). Family practices are thus necessarily organized in ways that both produce and respond to such stratification, sometimes maintaining and sometimes subverting kin-based power structures. Thus, any analysis of the construction of kinship must involve attention to both closeness and hierarchy.

Further, practice- and process-based accounts of kinship highlight the importance of agency. While this emphasis has been widely welcomed as an antidote to the overly deterministic nature of earlier approaches, scholars have also cautioned that this framework might lead researchers to ignore the importance of normative and fixed aspects of kinship. For example, reviewing work in these two traditions, Miller (2007) argues that many of the practices they examine, rather than demonstrating highly flexible negotiation, instead demonstrate the ongoing relevance of normative formal roles associated with expected social behaviors. He ultimately suggests a dialectic approach that considers both normative ideas of kinship and the wide array of concrete relational practices employed by families; research in this framework must explore the tensions between practices and ideologies of family life, interactions that become particularly contentious given conditions of family separation. The dissertation takes up such a dialectic approach, examining cross-border family communication both as a means of actively constituting kin ties and as shaped by existing expectations of normative family roles.

Care in Theory and Practice

One of the key practices by which relatedness and familial belonging are constituted is care, understood as the asymmetrical reciprocal exchange practices that form the everyday glue of kinship (Ackers and Stalford 2004; Finch 1989; Finch and Mason 1991). As a practice, care constitutes "a species activity that includes everything that we do to maintain, continue, and repair our 'world' so that we can live in it as well as possible. That world includes our bodies, our selves, and our environment, all of which we seek to interweave in a complex, life-sustaining web" (Fisher and Tronto 1990:40). Care thus involves efforts that make possible not only physical survival, but also the reproduction of social relations. Moreover, care is "an activity encompassing both instrumental tasks and affective relations" (Abel and Nelson 1990:4). Emotionally, it involves an affective orientation towards others (Benner 1996; Bowden 1997; Fisher and Tronto 1990) that can motivate the performance of particular actions. Materially, care participates in economic systems as a form of labor (Glucksmann 2005; Harrington Meyer 2000; Puig de la Bellacasa 2012; Ungerson 2000) that deploys physical artifacts and is often crucially embodied in its performance and effects (Isaksen 2005; Widerberg 2005). Focusing on care thus facilitates an exploration of the entanglement of materiality and affect in social life (England 2005; Folbre and Wright 2012; Zelizer 2005).

Research on issues related to care has been pursued under a range of terminological headings. Scholarship on reproductive labor focuses on the work of sustaining others (Glenn 1992), while studies of emotional labor emphasize the management of affect in the care of others (Hochschild 1983). Di Leonardo's concept of kin work (1987; 1984) is limited to caring practices within households, while the recently proposed term *intimate labor* includes

a broader scope of caring work provided for strangers and friends as well as family (Boris and Parreñas 2010).Yet, despite this expansive body of scholarship, the appropriate theorization of care remains a source of major tension in social theory, policy, and practice (Rummery and Fine 2012), particularly from a feminist perspective, where care has long been the subject of significant scholarship that exposes and challenges the widespread gendered ideologies that normatively prescribe care as women's work. In this section, therefore, I outline historical feminist approaches to care before reviewing substantive critiques of feminist care theory from disability rights activists and scholars. I conclude with a discussion of the challenges presented to care frameworks by globalization, in order to set the stage for my conceptualization of communicative care.

Feminist Theories of Care

The scholarly study of care first emerged in feminist circles, and this early scholarship deployed explanations based on deficit, dominance, and difference that are familiar to scholars of gender and language as well as to students of feminist theory more broadly (Bucholtz 2014). Early feminists saw the gendered division of labor, in which women were solely responsible for housework, as a primary source of women's social marginalization (Gilman 1898; 1903; Goldman 1910). Second-wave feminists, particularly those working within Marxist frameworks, took up this concern (but see also Friedan 1963), building analyses of reproductive labor as oppressed labor that resulted in the relegation of women to the private domain and the stripping away of their full humanity (Blum et al. 1980; Foreman 1977; Okin 1989; Pateman 1988). In these dominance frameworks, carework perpetuates women's oppression and must therefore be done away with; while such perspectives productively elucidate the ways in which the implications of care extend far

beyond the private domain of the house, they nevertheless ignore the affective aspects of caring relations (Abel and Nelson 1990).

A second early approach, centered around philosophical work on the ethics of care, took up the affective aspects of caring. Responding to deficit theories of women's morality, which held that only men were fully developed humans (Kohlberg 1981), feminist philosophers posited a difference approach that valorized women's morality. Women's moral perspective, according to these theorists, emphasized care, relationships, and responsibility instead of an impartial, male justice (Gilligan 1982; Noddings 1984). In this view, the different moral compass of women, particularly that of maternal relationships, offered a way of being and thinking that could greatly improve human relations of all kinds (Held 1987; Kittay 1995; Ruddick 1995); care was thus seen as central to a new form of ethics. However, these perspectives relied on essentialist and unitary notions of womanhood that erased the racialization of carework and the experiences of women of color (Duffy 2005; Glenn 1992; Neysmith and Aronson 1997), understanding care in a dehistoricized and decontextualized fashion (Williams 2001). Moreover, the gendering of an ethics of care can easily lead to a celebration of difference that oppresses women, running the risk of enshrining activities that perpetuate women's subordination, while also prioritizing caring for others over caring for the self in a way that can ultimately endanger women's own survival (Abel and Nelson 1990; Bartky 1990). One response to such critiques came in the form of studies of men as caregivers (Chang and White-Means 1991; Harris 1997; Mathew, Mattocks, and Slatt 1990), what Tronto and Fisher derisively called, in a nod to Charlotte Bunch, the "add men and stir approach" (1990:35). However, recent research on care and masculinity has demonstrated the value of examining men's experiences of caring in order to begin to unravel the normative

ideological linkage between care and femininity (Hanlon 2012; Hrženjak 2013; Pulsford 2014; Robinson, Hall, and Hockey 2011) .

From this history of feminist debate has emerged a perspective on care that brings together political and ethical concerns, conceptualizing care as a crucial component of a transformative feminist approach to social justice (Barnes 2006; Puig de la Bellacasa 2012; Sevenhuijsen 1998; Tronto 1993). Rejecting a singular focus either on care as labor or on ethical motivations for care, Fisher and Tronto (1990) advocate an approach that combines the two, suggesting that "care can serve as a political concept to prescribe an ideal for a more democratic, more pluralistic politics in the United States in which power is more evenly distributed . . . Care can serve as a strategic concept to involve the relatively disenfranchised in the political world" (Tronto 1993:21). This extremely influential model of care (Olthuis et al. 2014) has produced an expanding body of scholarship that uses care as a model not only for social policy (Daly and Lewis 2000; Noddings 2002; Williams 2001) but also for the more global domains of international relations (Robinson 1999) and development policy (Eyben and Fontana 2011). While this is a powerful model that emphasizes the relevance of care to a range of policy issues and social justice concerns, its overall celebratory attitude towards care has been critiqued.

Disability Rights Perspectives on Care

Feminist theories that valorize care have been confronted with serious challenges from the perspective of those concerned with issues of disability. In organizing efforts such as the independent living movement (http://www.ncil.org/about/aboutil/), as well as in the academic domain of disability studies (Finkelstein 1993; Morris 1991; 1993; Oliver 1990; Oliver and Barnes 1990), care has been viewed as an oppressive force in articulations that

echo first-wave and Marxist feminist understandings of reproductive labor. Arguing, rightly, that feminist approaches have focused on carers and have neglected the perspectives of care recipients (Brisenden 1986; Morris 2001; 2004), disability rights frameworks suggest that the focus on an ethics of care robs disabled individuals of their agency, viewing them simply as dependent. Wood writes, "the concept of care seems to many disabled people a tool through which others are able to dominate and manage our lives" (1991:199–200). Rather than care, people living with disabilities have called for choice and control in decisions about their lives. Care is often seen as antithetical to such independence: "the only way to empower disabled people is to throw off the ideology of caring which is a form of oppression and an expression of prejudice. … People who are said to need caring for are assumed to be unable to exert choice and control" (Morris 1997:54). Indeed, some scholars suggest that an emphasis on care necessarily detracts from an equality paradigm, since it is structured around relationships of domination and subordination (Silvers 1995).

It might thus seem that feminist and disability perspectives on care are "poles apart and fully incompatible with each other" (Kroger 2009:406). Nevertheless, several scholars have drawn out points of connection between the two approaches in order to develop a theory of care that takes these critiques seriously (Barnes 2011; Kroger 2009; Lloyd 2000; Rummery 2011; Watson et al. 2004). At the most fundamental level, scholarship from both perspectives emphasizes equality and argues against the inequalities of current caring practices (Williams 2001); beginning from such a perspective highlights other resonances between these two bodies of scholarship, which I discuss here with respect to the insights that shape the conceptualization of care presented in this dissertation. Firstly, there is no way of conceptualizing care without involving relationality. As feminist theorists have suggested,

not only is care a fundamentally relational practice, it is also an unavoidable part of all relationships (Deneulin and McGregor 2010; Eyben and Fontana 2011; Kittay and Feder 2002). Disability rights perspectives can help care scholarship to more fully develop an analysis of the relationality of care that focuses on both care recipients and caregivers (Barnes 2006; Williams 2001). At the same time, disability scholarship draws attention to the power inequalities that are part of care relationships (Brisenden 1986; Morris 1993) and which may constrain the agency of the care recipient. Although feminist perspectives tend to focus primarily on the negative effects of care on female caregivers, bringing both approaches together draws out the complexity of the relationship between care and domination (Puig de la Bellacasa 2012).

In grappling with such power inequalities, reciprocal models of care offer particularly powerful insights (Rummery and Fine 2012); such perspectives recognize that there is rarely a clear binary between carer and cared for, but rather that everyone occupies both roles at different times in their lives (Fine and Glendinning 2005; Rummery 2002). Care is a practice that involves everyone, and we are all ultimately both carers and cared for; care is thus understood as fundamentally reciprocal (Williams 2001). However, as Rummery and Fine suggest, such reciprocal models can never do away entirely with the need for an ethics of care, which is "arguably *most* important where there is the *least* reciprocity" (Rummery and Fine 2012:328; original emphasis), as for example in the care of those with advanced dementia or of infants (Brannelly 2011; Kittay 2002). Thus, there is a need for ethical principles that guide care, and Williams (2001) suggests interdependence as one such value; although feminist work on care has long advocated for interdependence, she argues that this work needs to acknowledge the emphasis on independence coming from the disability rights

movement. Interdependence, in this perspective, must therefore be reworked in order to include possibilities for autonomy, choice, and control. Such an integrated perspective emphasizes that even as care is crucial for sustaining social relations, it may shore up inequalities of many kinds, a dynamic that becomes particularly clear in studying care under conditions of globalization.

Caring Across Borders

Another challenge to existing theories of care has come from research on globalization and transnationalism, which expands the frame of reference for care beyond the domain of copresent households and even beyond the nation. The increasing global dominance of ideologies of neoliberalism has significant consequences for care (Green and Lawson 2011; Raghuram, Madge, and Noxolo 2009). A primary tenet of neoliberalism is the dismantling of the welfare state and the privatization of public services such as health care and education (Harvey 2005a; 2007; Ilcan 2009); in Latin America, such moves towards privatization have often been met with significant resistance (Perreault 2006), as in the case of the long-term strikes staged by Salvadoran health workers (Almeida 2006). To justify such shifts, neoliberal ideologies place an emphasis on independence from state help and on the need for personal responsibility (Larner 2003; Peck 2004), which can be seen in workfare policies in the United States that require recipients of state assistance to hold a job (Peck 2001). At a discursive level, such ideologies are manifested in the formation of a racialized "welfare queen" who is universally derided and maligned for not embodying the independent self required under the neoliberal regime (Hancock 2004).

In addition to the privatization of care, neoliberalism also promotes the domestication of care, constructing the family as the naturalized domain of caregiving and thus shifting

responsibility for care from the state to the family (Green and Lawson 2011). Transnational migration and family remittances represent one means by which families attempt to manage such obligations. However, familial disintegration and individual destitution may also result, as families that are unable to provide care exclude more dependent individuals from familial networks through a range of othering strategies (Biehl 2005; Colson 2000; Peters 2002; Scheper-Hughes 1993). Thus, while much research, including this dissertation, is focused on families that sustain relationships and care, it is crucial to recognize that such maintenance requires work that is not always possible for those living at the extreme margins of the global economy.

Neoliberal policies have also resulted in a global reorganization of labor with its own implications for care. Caring practices have become increasingly commodified (Green and Lawson 2011; Mulligan 2014), allowing some people who were previously directly involved in care to pass these responsibilities on to others. Commodification has resulted in what scholars have called "global care chains" (Hochschild 2000; 2005; Parreñas 2001; 2005a; 2005b), in which migrant women from the global south provide paid care for their Western, middle-class counterparts, facilitating the latter's pursuit of full-time careers. Such feminine migration then produces a care vacuum in the sending societies (Hochschild 2005; Pyle 2006); most of these migrants are mothers who rely on other relatives – primarily women – to care for their own children, thus establishing a global chain of care from the South to the North. This research has made a major contribution by revealing how care exchange is commodified as part of a global capitalist system that profits from sustained inequality.

However, recent scholarship in this area has recognized that global exchanges of care are more complex than the care chain literature would suggest (Herrera 2010; Kofman 2012;

Huang, Thang, and Toyota 2012; Thai 2012; Yeates 2008). This work demonstrates that globalized care involves many actors, producing not simple chains but rather extended care networks, in which caring practices move in multiple directions, not just from South to North. By employing a simplistic linear representation, care chains frameworks may thus elide the possibility of cross-border intimacy and transnational care, while simultaneously representing migrants as victims of neoliberal globalization in ways that preclude agency (McKay 2007). This recognition of complexity has recently led Baldassar and Merla (2014) to propose the concept of "care circulation" as a new paradigm for thinking more holistically about cross-border exchanges of care. It appears that the metaphor of circulation used in the care circulation approach is meant to capture the complex directionality and non-linear forms of cross-border care. Unfortunately, however, this metaphor seems to suggest that care is an object that can be circulated, rather than emphasizing its constitution in and through practice.

Nevertheless, the care circulation framework productively highlights the ways in which care can be actively sustained in non-copresent networks such as those maintained by transnational families, thus moving forward theories of care that tend to be largely based on assumptions of co-presence (see definitions provided in Cancian and Oliker 2000:6; Engster 2005:55, as well as distinctions between different types of care in Fisher and Tronto 1990, Folbre and Wright 2012). Baldassar (2008) details four strategies by which care circulates within such families: proxy care, which involves the sending of material objects or economic resources; short-term physical copresence in visits; connecting through imagination in which family members think about their distant kin; and virtual care, involving long-distance communication via digital technology. While Baldassar's categorization frames virtual care as simply one caring strategy among others, this dissertation argues that communication is

the most fundamental form of care in transnational families. I highlight its centrality by proposing the concept of communicative care.

Communicative Care

Care, as discussed in the previous section, is an ongoing activity with the goal of repairing, continuing, and maintaining the social world, which includes material components, affective facets, and social relationships. Communicative care, then, refers to all the ways that language functions to sustain human existence. More specifically, with this term I seek to draw attention to the fine-grained interactional practices through which linguistic and embodied semiotic resources are deployed – often in subtle and nuanced ways – to facilitate the continuation of the social aspects of human life, while attending to the multiple ways in which these relational facets are thoroughly imbricated with materiality and affect. Communicative care uses all available semiotic resources and must therefore be documented through close attention to all levels of linguistic structure and the deployment of these features in the design and production of social action; in addition, analysis must attend to embodied forms of semiosis and social action, as well as larger structures of discourse organization such as genre.

My approach to communicative care is inspired by scholarship in feminist conversation analysis and interactional family studies that examines how emotion work is carried out in interaction. Drawing on Hochschild's (1983) formulation of emotional labor as work done to manage emotions, both one's own and those of others, this research argues that insights into interpersonal emotional labor are best gleaned through analysis of social actors' actual emotion work practices, rather than simply relying on reports of such practices (Frith and Kitzinger 1998; Staske 1998; Wingard n.d.). Following this approach, research has

demonstrated that affective work performed in interaction does not necessarily involve explicit talk about emotions, as demonstrated in Kitzinger and Toerian's examinations of interactions between beauticians and their customers. Their analyses reveal that emotion work pervades such encounters, not only in maintaining conversational small talk and managing shifts from off-topic conversation to a focus on the task at hand (Toerien and Kitzinger 2007), but also in discussing the task and the performance of the beauty procedure itself (Kitzinger and Toerien 2007). Emotion work, then, is often accomplished through social actions that have other, more explicit goals, illustrating the multifunctionality that is so characteristic of affect in language.

Furthermore, Toerien and Kitzinger's (2007) research also documents the embodied performance of emotion work through carefully timed gestures that manage the multiple involvements of beauty sessions. Although not explicitly drawn out in their discussion, this analysis implicitly points out the materiality of emotion work, a connection that is illustrated in Cameron's (2000a) research on the commodification of affective language in call centers. Here, embodied actions such as smiling while talking and linguistic resources such as emotion terms and uptalk are conceptualized as valuable commodities and imposed on workers in a form of communicative control that is increasingly common under globalization (Cameron 2000b; Czerniawska 1997; Du Gay 1996). This research thus provides intriguing insights into the connections between materiality and affect, although these connections have yet to be explicitly theorized.

The concept of communicative care aims to make such interconnections a more explicit focus of research on language in social life by bringing the affective and the material together in a unified analytic framework. Materiality of all kinds, from embodied gestures

and smiles to political-economic systems such as capitalism, is crucial to the ways in which affect is produced and made to mean through language. At the same time, affect is woven into material facets of everyday life and through language gives affective significance to the material. The conceptualization of communicative care draws out the multidirectional ways in which the material and the affective domains of social life are woven together through language; unlike previous research which tends to begin with an a priori valorization of one domain over the other, a communicative care framework encourages scholars of language to consider materiality and affect as always simultaneously implicated in the production of social life. Language-based forms of care mobilize both emotional and material resources as they work to sustain both the material and affective aspects of social life. This sort of carework is fundamental to the continuation of social life and social relations, the domains within which linguistic anthropologists and sociolinguists work. Care, and its role in social life, must thus be taken seriously as a crucial aspect of communicative practice. This dissertation seeks to demonstrate the insights that are to be gained from such an approach.

Moreover, research on how emotions are constructed and managed in interaction highlights the processual nature of emotional labor, demonstrating that immediate, past, and future emotions can be constituted and worked out through talk (Wingard n.d.). This chronological unfolding can be seen in communicative care as well, which has a clear temporal quality, deriving from its orientation to the maintenance of social life. These cross-temporal orientations and consequences are perhaps the clearest means of identifying the care functions of language, as is demonstrated in the analyses presented in the following chapters. I argue that communicative care produces the continuation of social life across three layered temporal dimensions. In the *enchronic time* of interaction, communication carries out

carework in the moment-by-moment unfolding of sequential actions that maintain and build social relations; in turn, these conversations facilitate the accomplishment of daily survival by allowing individuals to coordinate their actions with one another, in what can be called *synchronic time*. Communication also performs care in *diachronic time*, allowing for the socialization of new generations and other novices into the caring practices that sustain belonging in a given community. Communicative care is thus the cross-temporal building block through which all other forms of care are made possible.

Communicative care also productively elucidates the broader conceptualization of care, contributing insights that speak to major theoretical debates within the research on care. Firstly, a communicative perspective helps to ground discussions about the connections between caring practices and gender. Rather than considering care an essential quality of women's morality or as a fundamentally gendered way of approaching the world, a communicative approach provides a means of exploring how differential engagements in caring practices may be connected to a range of social categories, including, but not limited to, gender. Ideologies that normatively connect femininity to care may well result in women's pursuing different caring practices than men, and a focus on communicative care can help to trace these distinctions. At the same time, gender is not assumed to be the only social category that matters for discussions of care. Rather, analyzing language as a lens for seeing care helps reveal how a range of other social categories are mobilized and often layered upon one another in ways that matter to the production of care; the analysis presented in this dissertation illustrates the complexities of such interconnections.

A communicative care framework also addresses concerns raised in critiques of care coming from disability rights' perspectives, which emphasize relationality and argue that

power imbalances and inequality are inescapable aspects of care. Some scholars have suggested that a reciprocal approach to care relieves these tensions (Rummery and Fine 2012; Williams 2001) by moving beyond an emphasis on particular 'needy people' which take the autonomous individual as the normative default (Green and Lawson 2011). A communicative approach takes reciprocity as a fundamental component of care; seeing care as a form of communication emphasizes that everyone participates in care practices as both caregiver and care receiver. Just as the communicative roles of speaker and hearer move back and forth in conversational time, so to do the roles of carer and cared-for within communicative care; who is caring and who is being cared for shifts moment by moment as conversations unfold, and both roles may even be held simultaneously. Without such intersubjective reciprocity, there is no possibility for language in action, and thus no possibility for communicative care. Of course, reciprocity need not be symmetrical, and in fact asymmetrical reciprocity is a crucial characteristic particularly of kin relationships, as is demonstrated throughout the dissertation. A communicative framework for care also complicates assumptions about the relationship between care and power, revealing how inequality is produced through talk, building on existing structures and ideologies and at the same time reshaping and sustaining them. Thus, communicative care reveals how caring practices become relational in particular settings, rather than assuming that either hierarchy or reciprocity, dependency or autonomy, is the necessary and singular outcome of care.

Finally, a focus on communicative care enriches scholars' understanding of how caring practices are intertwined with global mobility and neoliberal capitalism. For communities caught up in transnational migration, pressures towards mobility as well as legal constraints on movement result in the cross-border expansion of social life. Sustaining

relational ties across distance places increased weight on communication, which becomes the primary, and sometimes the only, means of enacting care. Communicative care is therefore in a very real sense a survival strategy for those who have been pushed to the margins of the global neoliberal regime. Analyzing how these communities enact care in their everyday conversations thus highlights the agency of those who are often portrayed solely as victims. At the same time, however, examining the ends of communicative care reveals how these practices may also further incorporate these communities into neoliberal regimes.

Thus, the concept of communicative care highlights the ways in which fine-grained semiotic resources, both linguistic and embodied, are deployed to maintain the social world in all its complex materiality, affectivity, and relationality. While such communicative carework may be accomplished indirectly, through multifunctional practices with other, more explicit goals, its consequences are nevertheless far-reaching, producing social life across enchronic, synchronic, and diachronic timescales. Moreover, this communicative approach to care highlights the intersubjective reciprocity of care as a social phenomenon in which all humans are both caregivers and care receivers; at the same time, close attention to communicative detail reveals the ways in which differential engagements in care are connected to a range of social categories. Particularly within late-capitalist globalization, conceptualizing care as communication further reveals the ways in which care may simultaneously consolidate and resist regimes of neoliberal mobility. The analysis presented in this dissertation explores the complex functions of communicative care as it plays out in the lives of transnational Salvadoran families.

Chapter 2 introduces the ethnographic setting of the research, discussing the history and current reality of migration as a strategy for family care in El Salvador. I examine

poverty and violence as drivers of Salvadoran emigration, drawing attention to the role of U.S. policy in exacerbating these conditions, while simultaneously Salvadoran migrants at the margins of U.S. society. Within the context of such long-standing drivers of migration, ideologies of family care operate in conjunction with neoliberal economic policies driving the domestication of care, together producing a situation in which transnational migration is widely conceptualized in El Salvador as the only option for family survival. Thus, migration and care have long been intertwined for Salvadorans. However, the current increase in access to digital communication technologies in rural El Salvador has engendered new possibilities for transnational conversations, the implications of which are examined in this dissertation.

Chapter 3 describes the specific details of this research project, introducing participants, fieldsites, and methodologies. Cantón El Río, the small village that was originally home to all study participants, is discussed as a microcosm of Salvadoran national experiences with migration, and the three locations where research was conducted in the U.S. are also introduced: Los Angeles (California), Elizabeth (New Jersey), and a small town in Pennsylvania with the pseudonym of Marshall. Before providing a description of data collection and analysis procedures, I discuss the ways in which I was differentially positioned at each of the fieldsites in order to explore how the intersection of the social categories of language, race, class, and gender was differently inflected in terms of power. This focus on the ethics of fieldwork echoes the extensive introductory anecdotes that recount how I became incorporated into the two families who are the focal participants in my research. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the implications of the methodological approach taken in this study, emphasizing the insights to be gleaned from examinations of transnational communication itself, rather than simply reports or observations of such conversations.

Chapter 4 begins the analytical portion of the dissertation with an examination of greeting practices, specifically highly formulaic video greetings performed by kin in El Salvador for their migrant relatives. The analysis is framed through the lens of classic linguistic-anthropological scholarship on ritual, and on greetings as a form of ritual that manages the movements of bodies in space while also working and re-working the relational structures of social life. Face-to-face greetings in rural El Salvador function in the same way, and I suggest that the video greetings examined in this chapter constitute a technologically adapted form of this same small ritual. Through an analysis of examples of such video greetings, I demonstrate that this everyday ritual sustains cross-border kin ties, valorizing particular kin-based affective connections and thereby shaping the material well-being of family members who are dependent on migrant remittances for their survival. An examination of how children and young people participate in video greetings reveals how subsequent generations are socialized into this communicative care practice. Ultimately, my analysis works to explain the unidirectional nature of video greetings (from El Salvador to the United States, but not vice versa), suggesting that this form of communicative care constructs a transnational space in which non-migrants can remind migrant kin of their affective and material obligations.

Chapter 5 explores how requests for material goods or economic assistance are made and responded to in transnational phone conversations. I bring interactional scholarship on deonticity into conversation with proposed frameworks for understanding care in transnational families, suggesting that attention to language is crucial in understanding how entitlement and obligation are produced and negotiated. Comparing practices used by migrants to those used by non-migrants, the chapter illustrates the importance of these social

categories in shaping the radically different communicative care practices used to negotiate such material decision-making. Specifically, my analysis demonstrates that while migrants make very direct and on-record requests, non-migrant kin rely on reported complaints as a means of indirectly putting family needs on the table. This practice has become codified as a means of constructing obligation, as revealed by the fact that migrants regularly respond to such reported complaints as requests for remittances. I suggest that both direct and indirect forms of requesting constitute strategies of material care through which family members, from their differential positions, manage the profound economic inequalities that characterize their cross-border lives.

The final analytic chapter, Chapter 6, analyzes how remembering and imagining perform important communicative carework in cross-border conversations. Drawing on the concept of the chronotope, I discuss the presence of a widespread expectation that migration will result in familial disintegration, with migrants inevitably forgetting their left-behind kin. The ideological weighting of this chronotopic representation is demonstrated through an analysis of its mobilization in interviews with non-migrants; in this context, conversational remembering across borders has powerful repercussions. In particular, my analysis suggests that this communicative care practice is crucial in allowing recent migrants to push back against assumptions of abandonment, demonstrating their continued affective engagement with relatives in El Salvador.

Chapter 7 then concludes the dissertation, discussing the implications of my analysis for both theoretical projects and for policy. Theoretically, I suggest that my analysis shows the conceptual power of communicative care as a framework for understanding how semiotic processes produce and continually mediate the interrelationships between the material and

the affective in social life. Through specific communicative care strategies such as those examined in the dissertation, kin construct and attend to the economic and emotional aspects of their cross-border lives. Communicative care is thus an interactional strategy that manages large-scale concerns, serving as a resource for those at the margins of global neoliberalism at the same time as it works to consolidate their precarious position within such regimes. Ultimately, the study of communicative care within these families produces insights into differentiated experiences of mobility and immobility through careful attention to language practices. In addition to these theoretical implications, this dissertation also has consequences for policy, which are discussed in terms of a framework of sociolinguistic justice. I suggest the importance of policies that guarantee equitable access to linguistic and technological resources, while also highlighting the ways in which this research calls for new conceptualizations of immigration in order to create just policy that responds to the needs of transnational families. However, the significance of communicative care as a framework extends far beyond the cross-border immigrant families studied here; in concluding the dissertation, I suggest that this concept has the potential to productively illuminate how relationships of all kinds are negotiated and sustained in an era of mobility.

CHAPTER 2
Migration and Family Care in El Salvador

I had just graduated from high school and was working my first job as a kindergarten classroom aide when I first heard about El Salvador. The father of one of my students was Salvadoran, and when I began babysitting regularly for their family, I learned more about the history of U.S. involvement in this Central American nation. The family proudly displayed photo albums that documented the parents' participation in the movement protesting U.S. military aid sent to El Salvador during the civil war. They recounted their efforts to protect the rights of refugees fleeing the violence and told me about the work they had done to help rebuild the country after the signing of the peace accords. I was stunned that I had never heard of El Salvador before and knew nothing of how my country's policies had impacted the lives of so many Salvadorans. Feeling a sense of responsibility and inspired by this personal connection, I was on my way to El Salvador just over a year later, with the goal of learning more about its remarkable history of U.S. intervention and resistance.

During the first four months I spent in El Salvador, I volunteered teaching English classes at a rural high school. Most of the students were my age, having lost a year or two of school due to the disruption caused by the civil war. Realizing that we were all children of the 1980's, I undertook an oral history project to learn more about what it was like to grow up in a civil war. I was shocked to learn that, while I was enjoying a safe and protected childhood, they were forced to abandon their homes, many fleeing to refugee camps in neighboring Honduras, while others spent the war moving from place to place within the country seeking refuge. Their daily lives were characterized by insecurity: worry about where the next meal was coming from and fear about whether the next battle would catch them in crossfire. Almost all of them lost relatives in the war: fathers or mothers,

grandparents, uncles and aunts, and even siblings. The devastation was prolonged and its reach extended, due to military aid sent by the U.S. government using the taxes paid by my parents, grandparents, aunts and uncles. This experience profoundly shaped my life course: I felt a responsibility to share what I had learned about Salvadoran history with others. And as my connections with the country and its people grew and deepened, I felt a compunction to continue to learn and raise awareness about the ongoing relationship between the country of my birth and my adopted home.

Migration is one of the most important current areas of connection, and in this chapter I explore the history of Salvadoran migration to the United States. Specifically, I discuss how migration has figured into caring practices within rural Salvadoran families, both in the distant and more immediate past, as well as in the current moment. This historical perspective is crucial to understanding the current care practices and norms that have given rise to the communicative care that is the focus of this dissertation.

Migration and Family in Salvadoran History

Migration has long been an important means of care provision and survival for poor families in rural El Salvador, due to social structures and economic policies that have emphasized the profits of the wealthy few over the well-being of the majority. During colonization, the Spanish crown granted large landed estates to colonizers, founding the wealthy oligarchy (often referred to as *Las 14 Familias* 'The 14 Families') who to this day control much of the power in El Salvador (Velasquez Carillo 2010; 2011). At the same time, however, royal decrees were issued to protect communally held indigenous *ejidos* ('common lands') from encroachment by private ownership, and most rural communities sustained themselves through subsistence agriculture on these lands, a system that continued after the

formation of the Federal Republic of Central America in 1841 and eventual sovereignty under the name of El Salvador twenty years later (Haggarty 1988). However, the government of the new country was controlled by wealthy landowners, who promptly passed laws dissolving the *ejidos* and recognizing private title as the only form of land ownership (Browning 1971).

These decrees, which threw indigenous forms of family survival into crisis, were in part a response to the development of the coffee economy in the nineteenth century. The climate and soil quality of much Central American land were well suited to coffee cultivation, and with global demand for coffee booming, landowners saw an opportunity for profit (Hamilton and Chinchilla 1991). As the primary source of worldwide coffee production, the region was drawn into the global economy for the first time (Santana Cardoso 1975), leading to a massive growth in the consolidation of large privately owned *fincas* (coffee-producing estates) (Browning 1971). As a result, the rural poor were increasingly pushed off their lands and into peonage and underpaid wage labor for survival. Many came to depend on seasonal labor in *fincas*, migrating to highland regions both within El Salvador and in Guatemala to harvest coffee before returning home. Other seasonal labor could be found in the coastal lowlands harvesting cotton or sugar or working in Honduran banana plantations (Landolt, Autler, and Baires 1999). Still others traveled as far south as Panama, where they became part of the workforce constructing the Panama canal during the early 1900s (Menjívar 2000).

Migration during this era thus generally involved short-term separation from kin, an experience that the families in this study shared. One 38-year-old participant, Sara Martínez,[2] remembers being sent with her father and older brother to pick coffee in western El Salvador

[2] The names of all families and individuals have been changed to protect their confidentiality.

when she was just six years old in the early 1980s. In addition to helping with this work, she was responsible for making tortillas for her father and older brother, taking on such gendered carework because her mother remained at home caring for the younger children. Sara's father Davíd was also recruited in the mid-1970s, along with other young men from the village, to go harvest cotton in Guatemala; they were only paid at the end of the season, and some of Davíd's friends decided to use these funds to make their way to the United States in search of work. As Davíd tells the story now, many years later, he went along with them, getting as far as the border between Guatemala and Mexico before deciding that he preferred to stay with his wife and child in El Salvador instead. For many transnational Salvadoran families, then, their current cross-border lives are not their first experience of physical separation, but rather emerge from a long personal and national history of economically motivated migration.

However, the most dynamic increase in Salvadoran migration came as the result of the civil war that broke out in the late 1970s in response to decades of oligarchic rule, military dictatorship, and violent repression (Mahler 1999; Miyares et al. 2003). Justifying its actions with alarmist cold-war rhetoric, the U.S. government backed the Salvadoran military against a guerrilla force made up of landless peasants (the Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacionál, or FMLN), sending six billion dollars in military aid over the course of the ensuing twelve years (Carothers 1991; LeoGrande 1998). U.S. involvement undoubtedly prolonged the war, and the scorched-earth tactics promulgated by U.S. military advisors greatly increased the suffering of the civilian population, particularly the rural poor, who were uprooted by the destruction of their homes and livelihoods (Wood 2003). To escape the violence, many Salvadorans fled to the United States: over the course of the civil war, the Salvadoran population in the United States more than quintupled, growing from 94,447 in

1980 to 565,081 in 1990 (Menjivar 2000). Due to exclusionary policies influenced by political alliances, most refugees from El Salvador were not granted political asylum: between 1983 and 1986, only 2.6 percent of Salvadorans applying for asylum were approved, as compared to 60.4 percent of Iranians and 37.7 percent of Afghans (Smith 1996). U.S. policy, both foreign and domestic, was thus a key driver in initiating the large-scale unauthorized migration of Salvadorans to the United States (1998; Coutin 2007), which continues to this day.

In addition to those who fled to the United States, the civil war caused many Salvadorans to seek safety elsewhere in the region. Many families, particularly from the regions of heaviest fighting, in Chalatenango and Morazán, fled to refugee camps in neighboring Honduras (Todd 2010), where children were often left in the care of relatives as parents returned to El Salvador to support the efforts of the FMLN (Gettleman 1987; Sundarum 1991). Such was the experience of the Portillo family, one of the families participating in this study; they were forced to flee their home in Morazán after the army destroyed their crops and killed their farm animals. They joined others fleeing on *guindas* (forced marches) across the border into Honduras. Once they found shelter at the Mesa Grande refugee camp, Olivia Portillo left her three young children in the care of her parents and returned with her husband to support the efforts of the guerrillas. He was killed in the war and she was wounded, experiences shared by many families. For most of the generation born and raised in the 1980s, who are now raising their own children in an era of transnational migration, family separation was part of Salvadoran childhood. As this generation has moved into adulthood and started families of their own, socioeconomic

inequality has once again made family separation the only option for the survival of many families.

Poverty and Violence: Drivers of Current Salvadoran Emigration

The Chapultepec Peace accords, signed in 1992, brought an end to the Salvadoran civil war, bringing hopes for better lives for the country's rural poor by implementing the redistribution of land holdings larger than 245 hectares and by incorporating the FMLN as a political party (El Acuerdo de Paz de El Salvador 1992). However, these hopes were quickly dashed by economic and social devastation and continued violence (Moodie 2011), once again influenced by U.S. intervention. Under the 1996 U.S. Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act, a zero-tolerance gang policy resulted in increasing rates of deportation of those suspected of gang membership (Zilberg 2007); on these grounds, many youth of Salvadoran descent were deported from urban centers such as Los Angeles (Zilberg 2004). They arrived in a country they barely knew, a heavily armed society that had never been truly demilitarized after the civil war, and whose political institutions and civil society were in shreds (Lopez, Connell, and Kraul 2004; Montaigne 1999).

In subsequent years, gang violence soared and organized crime exploded (Cruz and Portillo Peña 1998; Smutt and Miranda 1998), fueling daily death rates higher than those of the civil war (McDermott 2012). Harsh enforcement and policing strategies in the "war on drugs" and after 2001, the "war on terror", promoted and often funded by the United States, have counterproductively extended gang violence and organized crime within El Salvador and transnationally (Johnson 2014; Zilberg 2011). Today, more than twenty years since the end of the civil war, many Salvadorans continue to emigrate in order to escape pervasive violence (United Nations Development Program 2013; U.S. Committee for Refugees and

Immigrants 2013). Most recently, this dynamic was reflected by media reports in the spring and summer of 2014 about the "surge" in the number of unaccompanied minors migrating from Central America to the United States; in 2014, over 17,000 unaccompanied Salvadoran children and youth were apprehended at the U.S.-Mexico border, representing more than a two fold increase from the previous year (U.S. Government Accountability Office 2015).Youth emigration from the region has in fact been increasing for some time, a dynamic that is once again deeply rooted in the history of U.S. intervention in the region (Martínez 2014; Varela 2014). For example, two of the recent migrants in my study had to leave El Salvador in 2013 due to violence, fleeing the country overnight to escape being forcibly recruited into gangs. As a result of this situation, unauthorized migration from Central America to the United States is once again on the rise: 2014 marked the first year in history that the U.S. Border Patrol apprehended more Central Americans than Mexicans (Customs and Border Patrol 2014).

However, in most discussions about Salvadoran migration, poverty has received more attention than violence as a driver of emigration (Abrego 2014). Economically, the country struggled to regain its feet in the postwar period, and poverty has continued unabated. Today, 30% of the population nationwide lives below the poverty line (World Bank 2015) and the situation is worse in rural areas, where close to 50% of the population fall into this category (International Fund for Agricultural Development 2015). Fully 66% of Salvadorans are employed in the informal sector of the economy, a number that has remained constant for the past twenty years. These individuals work selling vegetables, clothing, or pirated movies in the local street market; their labor rights are not protected by law, nor are they eligible for social security or retirement benefits (Fernández 2013). Moreover, increasing violence is

making these forms of employment less tenable; gangs extort *renta* (rent money) from informal businesses and the continuous increases of these protection quotas often put people out of business altogether (Vásquez 2013). Pervasive and persistent poverty, which both feeds into and is exacerbated by violence, thus continues to drive Salvadorans to migrate in search of work.

Moreover, attempts to stimulate economic growth in El Salvador through participation in a series of neoliberal policies promoted by the United States have only made the situation worse. These policies have included the dollarization of the economy in 2001, the Central American Free Trade Agreement (2004), and the ongoing Mesoamerica Project (formerly known as the Puebla-Panama Plan), a massive infrastructure project that builds highways, dams, and facilitates the exploration and extraction of minerals (Archila 2014; Moreno 2004). Emphasizing the corporate bottom line over the well-being of the populace, such policies have lined the pockets of the already wealthy, flooded markets with subsidized U.S.-grown corn, and contributed to environmental degradation that further undercuts the livelihoods of rural families and continues to fuel emigration (Paris 2002; Velasquez Carillo 2010; Wade 2008). For the young men in the Portillo family, these policies translated into a sudden decline in the availability of the part-time agricultural labor through which they had generated cash to supplement the corn they grew and the cattle they raised to provide for their family. As a result, they migrated, one after the other, to the United States, leaving behind their mother, sisters, wives, and children.

In addition to exacerbating widespread poverty, neoliberal policies have also shaped the Salvadoran welfare regime, placing the primary burden of care on families in ways that continue to encourage migration as the primary solution to family care needs. One clear

example of this situation can be seen in health care: due to high percentages of informal employment, only 20% of Salvadorans have access to state-sponsored health care (Martínez Franzoni 2008).[3] And although the FMLN-controlled executive branch of government has made basic medical services available free of charge since 2009 (Jiménez and Solórzano 2009), significant limitations on the quality and availability of public medical services due to overcrowding push people to turn to expensive private clinics for health care (Molina 2013). This is particularly true in the case of the chronic illnesses associated with aging; fully 50% of Salvadorans over the age of 60 receive no support from the state (Guzmán 2002). Martínez Franzoni (2008) therefore classifies the welfare regime in El Salvador as an "informal-familialist system", in which families carry the burden of care but also function as production units and social protection networks due to the weakness of the formal labor market and the absence of state-provided care. These dynamics can be seen in the two families who are the central focus of this study, as a significant portion of the monies sent home by migrants go to cover the health care expenses of the older generation.

Family Practices and Ideologies in Rural El Salvador: Their Impact on Migration

The political-economic structures of the welfare regime are shored up by ideologies that naturalize the family as the primordial site of care. Research has demonstrated that *familism* – an ideology involving a strong commitment to family cohesion through cooperation, obligation, and reciprocity – is prevalent among Latin American families (Halgunseth, Ispa, and Rudy 2006; Cortes 1995; Ingoldsby 1991). Within El Salvador, more specifically, there is a widespread generational contract that assumes that as children move into adulthood, they are responsible for supporting their parents, thus reciprocating the care

[3] Migrants themselves are not much better off: recent research shows that 52% of Central American migrants in the U.S. are uninsured, as compared to 32% of all foreign born, and 12% of all native born (Zong and Batalova 2015).

they received when younger (Benavides et al. 2004; Merla 2012b). And indeed, fully 30% of households in the country are composed of multigenerational extended families (Martínez 2006), made up of elderly parents, their adult children, and their offspring. In rural areas, these multigenerational families sometimes share a single small living space when resources are tight; however, there are strong ideologies that a young woman who becomes pregnant and remains at home rather than establishing a separate household with her partner brings shame to the family. The norm is thus for multigenerational families to be made up of distinct households, with the homes often built right next to each other on the same plot of land. These nuclear households have some level of economic autonomy but pool resources as well. For example, my participant Sara Martínez lived in her own house with her two children and was responsible for providing most of their food; however, she got tortillas for every meal from her parents and also routed electricity to her house from theirs by means of a long extension cord.

When multigenerational families become transnational, the distances between separate households is simply increased. Of course geographic distance impacts the easy sharing of resources like food and electricity, but more importantly, it results in a shift in the directionality of dependency: among copresent kin in El Salvador, the households of adult children remain to some extent dependent on the central household of the parents, but across borders, the parental household depends economically on the support of the migrant children, who by supporting their parents also support their siblings. Thus, normative ideologies of generational care within families are thus another factor motivating migration, as young adults seek to find resources to meet the burden of care that they are expected to assume under the asymmetrical reciprocity of material care (see Chapter 5).

Care within transnational families is also connected to normative gendered ideologies. Heteronormative ideologies of family strongly dominate understandings of kinship in El Salvador, particularly in rural areas of the country, which remain socially conservative (Abrego 2014).[4] Non-heteronormative sexuality is only mentioned in the context of disparaging remarks, and LGBT people's human rights continue to be violated; given this context, it is not surprising that the individuals in my study treated heterosexual partnerships as the entirely unmarked and normative basis of family life. Within this heteronormative framework, power is organized along the lines of patriarchal hierarchy, with the husband and father in charge while the wife and children are subordinate. Patriarchal dominance prescribes distinct gendered roles in which men are ideologically responsible for productive labor – involving agricultural work such as cultivating corn and raising cattle – while women are responsible for the carework of reproductive labor, including cooking, cleaning, and other labor-intensive household chores. This ideological distribution of gendered labor can often be seen in practice: men seldom enter the kitchen and never wash their own clothes, and male migrants often commented to me that learning to do such carework for themselves is one of the major challenges of migration.

These normative ideologies of gendered care strongly shape migration patterns. Families generally support the migration of the relative perceived to have the highest employment potential; in most of the cases I have come across in my research, such migrants were young adult men whose migration was validated by ideologies of men as economic providers. Families facilitate a relative's migration by signing over agricultural land that they

[4]Although these family arrangements are often quite stable over time, marriage as such is rare and most partnerships – around 60% – are long-term common-law marriages with no official legal standing (Fussell and Palloni 2004). Despite legal status, cohabiting partners are granted a degree of social respect very similar to that granted married couples. Those involved in such unions are refered to as *compañeros de vida* ('life partners').

own (often thanks to land redistribution at the end of the civil war) as collateral for loans taken out to cover the expenses of the unauthorized journey. This risky investment, which can leave the family derelict if it fails, is premised on the expectation that the migrant child will then support his or her parents and dependent siblings who remain at home in El Salvador. Another major driver of migration is parenthood: it is quite common for young Salvadoran men to migrate as soon as they become fathers. In fact, this practice is often ideologically valorized as demonstrating fathers' commitment to caring for their children, seeking to provide a better life by improving their ability to economically support them.

However, gendered labor norms within families do not capture the complex reality of life in many households. Women in rural Salvadoran families are in fact quite involved in productive labor: without exception they raise small animals like chickens and pigs and cultivate gardens. This work produces eggs, meat, vegetables, and fruit that enrich the family diet, with the surplus often sold to others in the village; in addition, many women earn money by baking bread to sell or working as seamstresses from home. In addition, although women are normatively expected to provide affective and hands-on care, norms for motherhood have been modified to include work outside of the home, in part due to the fact that El Salvador has the highest rate of female-headed households (31%) in the region (Kampwirth 2002). For Salvadorans of any gender, migration represents the surest source of employment, and indeed, Salvadoran women have migrated at higher rates than women from Mexico since before the civil war (Andrade-Eekhoff 2006; Zentgraf 2002); women now constitute 47.3% of all Salvadoran immigrants in the United States (Dockterman 2011).

Despite this modification of practice, however, copresent care remains an ideologically important practice for normative motherhood in El Salvador (Abrego 2014); the

assumption that mothers will personally raise their children presents particular challenges to many migrant women. In her interviews with Salvadoran transnational families, Abrego (2009; 2014) found that these ideological assumptions shaped cross-border caring practices. Although male Salvadoran migrants on average earned $6,000 per year more than their female counterparts ($22,600 versus $16,000), women nevertheless sent larger and more consistent remittances; female migrants are understood to have transgressed the norms of copresent motherhood by migrating, and this additional ideological pressure causes women to be more likely to accept labor exploitation and poor working conditions as part of the expected sacrifice of being a mother. At the same time, transnational care may be shifting some of the caring expectations for migrant men: Merla's research on Salvadoran migrants in Australia (2012a; 2012b) shows male migrants playing a very active role from afar in coordinating elder care, work that often has significant affective components. Despite these recent changes, the historical, ideological, and political-economic forces that structure Salvadoran migration are fundamentally informed by gendered norms of care and familial responsibilities.

Salvadoran emigration thus emerges from particular political-economic, practice-based and ideological structures of care; as families seek to sustain themselves in a context where indigenous forms of subsistence have been undermined, where stable wage-labor is almost impossible to find, where state-sponsored care is lacking and ideologies of family care provision are strong, migration emerges as the only viable option. The results of the material, affective, and ideological pressures to migrate are clear: today, the Salvadoran Ministry of External Relations (2010) estimates that approximately 2.8 million Salvadorans, close to one-fourth of the total population, live outside the country. In some parts of the country,

particularly rural areas where over 40% of households have a migrant relative (Andrade-Eekhoff 2003), 16 to 40% of children grow up without parents due to migration (Abrego 2014). These migrants play a crucial role in keeping the nation's economy afloat. In 2013, Salvadoran migrants sent home $4.2 billion (Banco Central de Reserva de El Salvador 2014), accounting for 16% percent of the country's GDP and making the national economy one of the most dependent on remittances in the world (Migration Policy Institute 2014). About 60% of rural households reported receiving remittances in 2000, on average receiving an annual total of $842 designated for everyday expenses and $723 designated for special expenses, mostly for health care and home repair costs. Nuclear kin sent more money more often than non-nuclear kin, and these remittances helped households move out of poverty: 60% of remittance-receiving rural households lived above the poverty line, as compared to only 40% of households that did not receive remittances (Andrade-Eekhoff 2003). These statistics reveal the extent to which migration, and remittances sent by migrants, have become a widespread attempt to resolve the crisis of material care faced by Salvadoran families.

Illegality and Family in the Salvadoran Diaspora

Fully 90% of Salvadoran migrants reside in the United States, where Salvadorans now make up the fourth-largest population of Latinos but the second-largest group of undocumented migrants (U.S. Census Bureau 2012), due to low immigration quotas and visa policies that require proof of substantial wealth. It is unclear how many Salvadoran immigrants in the United States are undocumented, although estimates suggest that the number is between 30 and 52 percent, with this proportion increasing sharply in recent years. The separation between documented and undocumented immigrants is not a static fact;

rather, immigrant "illegality" is produced by shifting policies and enforcement practices (De Genova 2002; 2004) and individuals often experience changes in their immigration status. These dynamics are particularly salient for the Salvadoran immigrant population, which has often had to rely on temporary statuses as the only means of accessing any sort of legal protection. Since 1991, some Salvadoran immigrants have been eligible for Temporary Protected Status (TPS), which allows them to remain in the country and work legally (Martin 1991); the annual renewal of this status, however, is costly and functions to keep TPS recipients permanently in limbo (Hallett 2014; Mountz et al. 2002), a process Menjívar (2006) calls "liminal legality". Such temporary statuses have expanded in recent years with the executive actions taken by the Obama administration. The Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals program currently benefits about 10,000 youth of Salvadoran descent who were brought into the country as children (Migration Policy Institute 2014), while the Deferred Action for Parents of Americans and Lawful Permanent Residents (DAPA) program, if it goes into effect, is expected to benefit two-thirds of Salvadoran immigrants, a higher rate than for any other immigrant community (Constable 2014a).

The legal status of Salvadoran immigrants impacts family members in both countries. Temporary statuses are not well understood in El Salvador, where legality is largely conceptualized within a binary framework of *tener papeles* or *no tener papeles* ('to have papers' or 'to not have papers'). The non-migrant children of parents with TPS think of them as "having papers" because they have work permits and do not understand why their parents don't seek family reunification for them as they see other parents doing (Abrego 2014). For children of immigrants in the United States, parental legal status has a range of finely graded developmental effects that vary depending on the exact nature of their status (Suárez-Orozco

et al. 2011). A recent study found that, holding factors such as socioeconomic status and parental education level constant, children of undocumented immigrants have higher risks for internalizing and externalizing behavioral issues than children with naturalized or citizen parents, due to higher levels of stress (Landale et al. 2015). Research has demonstrated that even small children are aware of their parents' immigration status, so the internalization of insecurity due to "illegality" begins at a very young age (Dreby 2012); at the same time, the consequences of these early childhood experiences of marginalization perdure, significantly shaping possibilities over the lifetime (Alexander, Entwisle, and Olson 2014). The negative effects of undocumented or temporary legal statuses are felt with particular pain by children whose parents are deported. In the past two years, deportations have been at an all-time high; last year the Obama administration passed the mark of more than two million deportations, leading some immigrant rights' organizations to dub the President the "Deporter-in-Chief" (Lin 2014). Human Rights Watch (2015) estimates that more than 15% of those deported were the parent of a minor who is a U.S. citizen, collectively leaving about 202,000 American children without a parent. In addition, those deported likely left behind many minor children who themselves lacked legal status, though these numbers are impossible to document; due to their immigration status, these children are ineligible for many government services, leaving them extremely vulnerable to predators and others who seek to take advantage of them (Dreby 2012).

In addition, migrants without documentation or with only temporary statuses have no legal options for visits home (Constable 2014b). Although they can purchase a plane ticket to see loved ones in their country of origin, in order to return to family and work in the United States, they must risk increasingly dangerous and costly unauthorized journeys as their only

option for cross-border travel. Moreover, because migrants lack legal status, their non-migrant relatives in El Salvador are not eligible for family reunification travel visas or for participation in other recent initiatives that provide authorized migration options for the non-migrant children of documented Salvadoran migrants (Ross 2014). The participants in my study consistently stated that forced long-term separation was one of the most difficult aspects of the migration experience. This immobility was felt particularly strongly by those with spouses and young children or elderly relatives in El Salvador; migrants often wondered if they would be able to see their parents before they died. Indeed, earlier this year, the grandfather of the Portillo family passed away, leaving behind five migrant grandchildren, now adults, whom he had raised during the civil war; they had not seen their surrogate father figure in over ten years, nor had they been able to talk to him on the phone due to his hearing loss.

In some cases, migrants felt the pull of family so strongly that they risk the journey home, although the increasing militarization of the U.S.-Mexico border has greatly reduced such circular migration. In my fieldwork, I knew of only three return migrants, all men who returned to El Salvador due to pressing family circumstances: one to manage an unruly teenage daughter who was in the care of his parents, another to marry the mother of his two children after becoming a member of an evangelical church, and a third to pass along the legal ownership of his land and house in El Salvador to his adult children residing there. Today, all three men have returned to the United States after spending less than two years in El Salvador; each recounted experiencing a much more hazardous journey the second time around and none expects to return to El Salvador anytime soon. Undocumented Salvadoran migrants such as those in my study therefore tend to remain in the United States for years at a

time, and the current era of family separation is thus characterized by greater geographical distances and much longer time spans than other periods in the long history of Salvadoran family separation.

Digital Communication Technologies in Transnational Salvadoran Families

The most significant change that makes today's family separation distinct from that of previous eras in Salvadoran history is the development and spread of digital communication technologies. New digital media make cross-border communication increasingly accessible and affordable, allowing Salvadoran families to stay in touch in a way that was not possible before their advent (Benítez 2012). In particular, the introduction of the cellphone led to major changes for transnational family communication, particularly in rural areas where phone lines were never installed. In the era before cellular technology, transnational phone conversations were extremely rare for rural families; family members would have to walk or take sporadic public transportation to the public telephone office in the nearest sizeable town in order to receive phone calls that had been planned months in advance via letters (Mahler 2001). So when cellphone technology arrived, it quickly took off: from 2000 to 2005, El Salvador numbered among the ten fastest-growing cellphone markets in the world, and mobile phones have outnumbered landlines in the country since 2002 (Ros et al. 2007). In 2012, 88% of all Salvadoran households had at least one cellphone, while only 25% had a landline; internet access was even more restricted, being available in only 11% of households (International Telecommunication Union 2014).

This pattern of dependency on cellular technology and lack of internet access has also characterized the Salvadoran diaspora in the United States; in his study of Salvadoran immigrants in the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area, Benítez (2006) found that very few

households owned computers, although families with children or young people in school were more likely to have access. And indeed, Latinos are the racial/ethnic group with the least access and lowest rates of internet usage in the United States (U.S. Department of Commerce 2004). In recent years, however, the rise of the smartphone has dramatically changed this picture, with Latinos being more likely than other ethnoracial groups to access the internet through mobile devices (Lopez, Gonzalez-Barrera, and Patten 2013). Indeed, when I first began my preliminary dissertation fieldwork in the summer of 2009, none of my participants had internet access; however, in the intervening six years the picture has changed dramatically. A quick survey of the start dates of my participants' Facebook accounts is quite revealing in this regard: by the end of 2009, three migrants, all male, had opened accounts, and about the same number have continued to open accounts each year since then.

Increasingly, the internet is also becoming more accessible to rural areas of El Salvador through cellular networks; again, based on an informal survey of Facebook accounts, the earliest accounts opened by participants in the study began in late 2010, with a larger group adding accounts in 2011 and 2012. Today, most of my participants between the ages of 15 and 40 have Facebook profiles, although women with children in El Salvador, whatever their age, are less likely to have accounts. These ethnographic insights resonate with a formal interview-based study (Benítez 2012) conducted in El Salvador with 167 respondents who had relatives living in the United States.[5] He found that 70% of his respondents used cellphones to make transnational calls, 22% used landlines, and 20% used internet calls. These cross-border communications formed an important part of everyday life for many of his respondents: 45% reported speaking on the phone at least weekly with their

[5] Unfortunately, Benítez does not specify whether his respondents in El Salvador lived in rural or urban areas, which has important implications for access to technological infrastructure.

migrant relatives. In such transnational phone calls, 66% of those interviewed said they talked mostly about "everyday-life activities" and a further 15% mentioned providing and receiving emotional support; however, as Benítez himself points out, it is not clear exactly what is meant by "everyday-life activities," thus leaving the actual purpose of cross-border phone calls in these families unclear. Nevertheless, fully 63% of those participating in the study stated that the greater frequency of communication facilitated by digital technologies led to a heightened sense of closeness with their distant kin.

The increasing use of digital technologies to facilitate long-distance communication clearly has important implications for the care practices by which transnational families sustain connection over increased distance and time. It is these consequences that my dissertation explores through an analysis of everyday cross-border communication among transnational Salvadoran families.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have explored the historical and current processes that shape caring practices within rural Salvadoran families, highlighting the ways in which migration has long served as a strategy for meeting survival needs that cannot be filled given locally available resources. Familial separation due to migration is thus not a new experience in El Salvador, and many of today's transnational families constitute the third or fourth generation to live at least part of the time apart from their loved ones. Examining the history of migration as a strategy for familial survival, I have demonstrated how Salvadoran emigration emerges from political-economic conditions of sustained poverty and ongoing violence, which have been exacerbated by U.S. foreign policy in the region. Moreover, neoliberal welfare regimes place the burden of care on families, a dynamic that is reinforced by strong gendered and

generational ideologies of care provision under which migration emerges as the only viable option for meeting family care needs. In addition to shaping the causes of migration, U.S. policies also influence families' experience of such transnational separation by denying many Salvadoran migrants access to long-term legal status. This enforced illegality causes familial instability while also jeopardizing cross-border ties by not allowing for the possibility of visits.

Given these historical forces and current dynamics, transnational Salvadoran families must navigate a contradictory form of mobility that is at once necessitated and constrained by the neoliberal regime, a mobility that is thoroughly interwoven with experiences of immobility. In this dissertation, I suggest that families manage the consequences of these tensions for their cross-border relationships through their everyday communicative practices. In an era of increasing access to digital communication technologies, such transnational conversations are becoming ever more widespread and carrying increasing weight in sustaining cross-border ties. My focus on technologically mediated transnational communication explores a crucial, yet to date quite understudied, aspect of the ways in which migration and family care needs are managed in El Salvador under conditions of conflicted global mobility. In the following chapter, I describe the participants and fieldsites of my research in greater detail, while also providing a discussion of the methodological decisions involved in this multi-sited ethnographic study.

CHAPTER 3
Studying Cross-Border Communicative Care

Becoming Family

As we drove across the new Lempa River Bridge, past the remains of the old bridge that had been destroyed in the recent civil war, the sky opened up and rain began to pour down. By the time we arrived in Cantón El Río, my suitcase and my new canvas cot in the back of the pickup truck were both drenched. But I didn't mind: I was excited to begin what I hoped would be several years of voluntary service in this small rural village in eastern El Salvador, a goal I had been working towards for months, although it had seemed like an eternity to my barely twenty-year-old mind.[6] One of the first people to befriend me in Cantón El Río was Sara, a petite young woman whose shy demeanor hid a warm heart and a tenacious spirit. A few years older than me, she was one of a small group of young women in the village who had remained single past their twentieth birthday, pursuing educational opportunities rather than taking the expected path of starting a family. Some of these young women, Sara among them, participated in the small choir that led songs at masses, anniversary celebrations, and other community events. I joined the choir and soon began to socialize with these young women, inviting them over to my house for rehearsals, going with them to swim in the river on summer weekends, and accompanying them to dances in neighboring villages. Through these group activities, my friendship with Sara began to deepen; she introduced me to her parents and siblings and often visited me in the evenings, when we would sit in the hammock on my front porch, talking about our romantic involvements and the challenges we faced with our families as we struggled to become independent women in nontraditional ways.

[6] The name of the village has been changed to protect participant confidentiality.

As a result of this developing closeness, I began to address Sara using *vos*, the second-person informal form used in El Salvador. However, she did not reciprocate and continued to use the formal *usted* with me. I found this asymmetry troubling, as I had noticed such asymmetrical forms of address being used in hierarchical parent-child and teacher-student relationships, so I talked to Sara about it. She used *vos* with the other young women in the choir, I pointed out, so why not with me? Did she not recognize the closeness of our friendship? She responded that she used *usted* to emphasize the respect she felt for me as part of our close friendship, but I insisted that equality was more important. Although she initially resisted, Sara eventually acquiesced, with the power differentials that I had wanted to erase ultimately allowing me to impose symmetrical terms of address on our relationship. Despite this imposition, Sara continued to trust me as her friend. When she became pregnant several years later, I was one of the first people she told; she asked me to be *madrina* ('godmother') to her unborn child, to which I readily agreed. Her daughter Verónica, who is now ten, was born just before I left El Salvador to return to the United States, which didn't leave enough time to arrange the formal baptism ceremony at which I would have served as *madrina*. Instead, Sara arranged for a traditional ceremony to *echarle agua bendita,* in which holy water is sprinkled on the baby while candles are lit and prayers said; participating in this ceremony made me Verónica's godmother as well as Sara's *comadre* ('co-mother').

This formalized relationship also clarified my connection to the rest of Sara's family. In particular, it eased my cross-gender relationships with Sara's brothers, who migrated without authorization to the United States in the same year that I left El Salvador, throwing us together as part of a transnational communication network that carried out crucial care work. When Verónica's father abandoned the little girl soon after she was born, her migrant

uncles and I stepped in to meet her material needs, talking to one another on the phone to coordinate who would send money for medicine or milk or, later, for school expenses. When heavy rains flooded Cantón El Río or when an outbreak of violence threatened the village, we shared updates with one another that we had gleaned from conversations in El Salvador. Over holidays, when the absence of loved ones was particularly strongly felt, we commiserated with one another: on one occasion I called Sara's brother Patricio to sing him the traditional birthday song "Las Mañanitas". As the only member of the transnational network with the privilege of cross-border mobility, I took letters and photos back and forth between family members during my annual visits to El Salvador. These years of caring together across borders expanded our formalized relationship, and Sara's brothers now regularly tell me, "Te sentimos como parte de la familia" ('We feel like you are part of the family'). In Sara I thus gained not only a friend, but also a family; when I embarked upon my dissertation research, the members of her family (see Martínez family tree at the end of this chapter) readily agreed to participate. They characterized their agreement as a means of helping me to succeed with my studies; thus, their participation itself constituted a form of care that enacted the ongoing reciprocal support through which I continue to be incorporated into the family.

My connection with the second family in this study, the Portillo family (see Portillo family tree at the end of this chapter), emerged in a slightly different way. While I had known members of the family during the time that I lived in Cantón El Río, we had not become close until I relocated to Santa Barbara, California, to begin my graduate studies. When I told Sara about my move, she told me that her former co-worker Magdalena and her husband Francisco Portillo, who had migrated without authorization several years earlier,

were living close to me in Los Angeles. During my next visit to El Salvador, when I mentioned this fact to the Portillo family in the village, I soon found myself enmeshed in a transnational exchange network, taking items of food, clothing, or other small gifts between El Salvador and Los Angeles on each of my annual trips. Through this role, I contacted Magda and Francisco, and we began to visit back and forth between Los Angeles and Santa Barbara as regularly as we could. I connected almost immediately with Magda, whose inquisitive mind and wide-ranging interests made her a lively conversational partner. Initially, we spent most of our time reminiscing about Cantón El Río and gossiping about those who still lived there, but we soon moved on to more personal topics, finding common ground in the challenges we were both facing in balancing familial gender expectations with our desire for autonomy and independence. During one visit, as we were waiting to pick up her children from school, Magda brought up the issue of terms of address. She said it felt strange to her that we were using *usted* forms and asked if we could instead use *tú* (the second-person informal form commonly used in the Spanish as it is spoken in the United States). Of course I readily assented.

However, my status in the Portillo family remained unclear for quite some time. Initially, Francisco and Magda asked me to be godmother to their daughter Alma, who was three at the time. Although I agreed enthusiastically, four years have passed and the little girl remains unbaptized, likely due to the family's overall lack of involvement with church life in the United States. I thus remained a family friend who visited regularly and often for extensive periods of time. Magda's children have known me most of their lives: I am always willing to play games with them, to listen to them, and to give them hugs, and I often bring them presents (always books!) for birthdays and Christmas. On the basis of this ongoing

relationship, Magda's son Nicolás independently decided that I was a member of the family, telling his cousin from across the street that I was his "aunty". On my next visit, he repeated the story to me, saying he was excited to have an aunty who was a teacher (his understanding of my attempts to explain graduate school). Later that same day, when Magda got home from work, she told me the story herself, continuing to use the English word *aunty* although she was narrating the story in Spanish.

Once again I became part of a family as my initial friendship with a female family member was interpreted and signified through kinship terms. And once again, members of this extended family in both countries readily agreed to participate in my dissertation research as part of our ongoing care responsibilities to one another. My gender therefore proved to greatly facilitate this family-based research, allowing for the development of close relationships with women and children, which then framed my connection to their male relatives along the lines of kinship. Thus, kin-based norms of reciprocal care made my research possible. In addition, broader notions of solidarity-based care also worked in my favor. All of the participants in my study had first met me, not as a researcher, but as a volunteer living and working in their village; they knew me, then, as someone who was dedicated to social justice and equality. Even after I had returned to the United States, I continued to support the village by collecting donations to support several initiatives at the village school and child-care center. On my visits to El Salvador, I talked openly about my participation in immigrant rights struggles in the United States and made no secret of the fact that I found current U.S. immigration policy unjust in the extreme. This ongoing engagement in solidarity and social justice work became another factor motivating participation in my study. Because the participants knew me as an ally for migrants in the United States who

spoke openly about the injustice of current immigration policy and worked to have it changed, some of them also chose to join my study as a way of raising awareness among U.S. citizens about the difficult realities of migrants' lives.

The research presented in this dissertation would not have been possible without my longstanding personal relationships with members of the Martínez and Portillo families, as well as with other individuals from Cantón El Río, some of whom remain there and others who have migrated. The experience of becoming part of these families and participating in their cross-border lives, as the only adult with citizenship privilege and thus access to cross-border mobility, in many ways motivated this study. Over a decade-long history of activist engagement, I saw up close the serious challenges they faced due to the restrictive immigration policies that force poor Salvadorans to migrate without authorization, as well as the economic inequalities that trap them in low-paying work, but I also saw the creative everyday strategies they adapted to maintain connection despite long-term physical separation. I have worried about loved ones making the hazardous unauthorized trip from El Salvador to the United States, I have struggled to free those caught and detained by immigration, and I have scrimped and saved money for associated legal costs. As aunty, godmother, and *comadre*, I have worked through challenges and celebrated successes with these families.

My political and emotional entanglements with the participants in this study run deep and must be acknowledged; making these connections apparent is necessary for critical reflexivity about the research process (Gray 2008; Markussen 2006). As Gray notes, ultimately, "the technical business of research cannot be separated from economies of emotion and the associated political project of why knowledge is being produced"

(2008:949). Affective connections thus shape the goals of any project of knowledge production (Haraway 1997). For me, my emotional engagement with the participants in this project has resulted in a desire to highlight the agency of transnational families' responses to increasing inequality (Fog Olwig 2014), while at the same time drawing attention to the harsh realities experienced by those living at the margins of the global system (Abrego 2014). Foregrounding my close relationships with these families responds to the trust they have given me, which is both a privilege and a responsibility that has informed every decision I have made in conducting this research, from the early stages of how I focused my participant-observation and conducted interviews, to later choices about what data to record and how to make the recordings, and finally to the selection of topical foci for each chapter of the dissertation. The analytical narrative presented in this dissertation is thus shaped, not only by theoretical frameworks and insights from previous scholarship, but also by my very personal connections to the cross-border families and my involvement with their struggles. In this chapter, I provide an in-depth discussion of the methodological choices that underpin my research, but first set the stage by providing an overview of the specific geographic locales in which my fieldwork was conducted.

Research Fieldsites

As this introduction suggests, examining cross-border communication in transnational families requires a multisited research design (Coleman and Von Hellermann 2011; Falzon 2009; Hannerz 2003; Marcus 1995; 2005), one that attends to the full circuit of family members' cross-border lives (Amelina 2012; Fitzgerald 2006; Levitt and Glick-Schiller 2004; Wimmer and Schiller 2002). Multisited methods are a particularly useful tool for research on language and mobile communities (Dick and Arnold in preparation): using

multisited methods allows researchers to "follow" language, tracking practices in a range of connected contexts to examine how language not only manages but also constitutes the spatialized nature of cross-border lives. Recent research has called for the expansion of multisited approaches to include digital spaces as well as geographic places, investigating how language-in-use connects virtual and analog sites (Akkaya 2014; Androutsopoulos and Juffermans 2014; Bonilla and Rosa 2015; Postill and Pink 2012; Juris 2012). This dissertation takes up just such an approach, not only incorporating several distinct geographic locations in different countries, but also recording and analyzing digitally mediated interactions that crossed between and linked these sites. In this section, I introduce and provide some background information on each of the geographic fieldsites; the specifics of the digital research is explained in the following section on research methodologies.

Cantón El Río, El Salvador

The families participating in this study are all originally from Cantón El Río, which in many ways represents a microcosm of the national history of family and migration. The village is a recent settlement, formed 20 years ago at the end of the civil war by *campesinos* ('peasants') from the department of Morazán. This mountainous and remote region of the country formed a crucial hub of guerrilla organizing during the civil war, and the founders of Cantón El Río were all former FMLN combatants or civilian supporters and their families. Towards the end of the civil war, to support the goal of more equitable land distribution in the country, the FMLN began to encourage civilian populations to return from refugee camps and settle on desirable new lands, thus laying claim to them for *campesinos* (De Bremond 2007). The coastal area where Cantón El Río is situated was one such area; located alongside the largest river in the country, these low-lying floodplains were rich and could support a

variety of subsistence and cash crops. The land had formerly been part of large estates growing cotton and sugar cane, but had been abandoned during the civil war due to its proximity to zones of intensive conflict. Groups of displaced *campesinos* from other parts of the country began settling in the area as early as 1989 (Barba, Martínez, and Morales 1996); in November of 1991, the group that would go on to found Cantón El Río first arrived. They traveled further down towards the mouth of the river than earlier groups had, attempting to lay claim to more land. However, military forces appeared and surrounded them, and for the next two weeks they were driven from one area to another, yet refused to leave. In early December they were given temporary permission to stay, but the military forces remained and kept them surrounded for the next month, until the Peace Accords that ended the civil war were signed in January of 1992 (Quintana 2007). Formal title to the lands was eventually granted to the community as part of the Programa de Transferencia de Tierras, the land transfer program mandated as part of the Peace Accords. Over the next ten years, this program would transfer 10% of the agricultural land in the country to ex-combatants on both sides, as well as to civilian supporters of the FMLN (De Bremond 2007).

In Cantón El Río, the land was divided up into individual parcels, with all adults in 1992 receiving two plots of land, one for agricultural production – including the subsistence crop of corn as well as pasture for milk cows – and the other a smaller plot in the residential area of the village on which to build a house. These plots were large enough to allow for the planting of fruit trees and gardens, as well as the maintenance of small animals such as chickens and pigs. These new villages received significant international support (Quintana 2007), which enabled one-room cinderblock houses and outhouses to be built for each family; these projects also helped install basic electricity in most homes, and later, to bring

chlorinated drinking water to each home. On communally held lands, the village was able to build a *centro de desarollo infantil* ('early childhood development center'), a school that offered classes up to the ninth grade, a small library, a clinic, and later, an elevated *casa comunal* ('community center') to be used as a refuge in case of flooding, which often occurred in the area during the rainy season.

For a time, it seemed that with these resources, the rural families of Cantón El Río would finally be able to sustain their existence in a single location, without the need to turn to seasonal or long-term migration for survival. However, by the early 2000s, as the first generation of children reached adulthood and began to start their own families, it became evident that the redistributed land was not sufficient to sustain multiple families. By 2014, the village had grown from the original 100 founders to a population of about 460, about 150 of whom are children (Universidad Centroamericana 2014). Emigration to the United States was already widespread at the national level, and most families in El Río had some distant relative – a cousin, an uncle, a godparent – who had previously migrated and could be called upon to support new migrants. In the early 2000s, migrants began to leave the village bound for *el norte* ('the north'); at first the flow was a small trickle, with the migration of the first individuals to leave the community garnering significant commentary from everyone in the village. But with the implementation of neoliberal policies making rural livelihoods harder to sustain, emigration rates began to increase; the first migrants of the Martínez and Portillo families migrated in 2003 and 2004 respectively.

Today, a decade later, almost all families in the village have at least one close relative living in the United States. Unlike the national pattern in which women make up a significant portion of the migration stream, most of the migrants from El Río are men who left behind

young families. Such is the case of Luís Martínez, who left behind his partner Griselda with three sons, aged ten, eight, and four. Some women and children did migrate, following in the footsteps of migrant husbands and fathers; Francisco Portillo, for example, migrated in 2004, leaving behind his pregnant partner Magda, who followed him two years later with their young son, Nicolás. All of these individuals migrated without authorization, using connections to migrant kin, no matter how distant, to launch their new lives in the United States. Individually owned agricultural lands were often signed over as collateral for loans sold to finance these journeys, resulting in a village-wide shift away from subsistence agriculture to increasing dependence on remittances for survival.

Recent developments have increased these trends in migration patterns and in the shift in the economic basis of life in the village. Although a March 2012 truce between the two major rival gangs, apparently brokered by religious leaders, reduced nationwide murder rates from 12 to 5 per day (Renteria 2012), at the same time violence in fact increased in some areas of the country. Formerly peaceful rural areas, including the coastal zone in which Cantón El Río is located, suddenly became hotspots of violence (Valencia 2015). Beginning in 2013, Cantón El Río and the surrounding villages suffered a steep increase in murders; many of the victims of these killings were young men who were reportedly affiliated with gangs. However, non-gang members were also killed, including adolescents and their adult guardians, who were apparently murdered for refusing to join local gangs. The most shocking case was the atrocious rape and murder of a thirteen-year-old girl, and the assasination, in September 2014, of a police chief who lived in the village. Since then, entire families have fled the village, generally those with the most resources to relocate, leaving the community increasingly impoverished and vulnerable. The causes of this violence are not

clear; understandably, community members are reluctant to talk about what lies behind these deaths, and for my own safety as well as for theirs, I do not ask questions. However, the increase in violence occurred just after completion of a road through the area that connected a major highway with this part of the coast for the first time; this timing, taken together with increased drug trafficking through Central America (Lohmuller 2014), suggests a possible explanation. If drugs and weapons trafficking is moving into the area, bloody territorial conflicts between existing gangs and the newly arrived cartels extending their reach into this part of country could explain much about the increasingly dangerous situation.

While the causes of this violence remain shadowy, its consequences are clear. Since 2013, large numbers of young people between the ages of twelve and twenty have fled the village. Many of them have migrated to the United States, as is the case with the most recent migrants in the Martínez and Portillo families, three young people who were all under the age of eighteen when they migrated. On my last visit to the village in June 2014, the missing generation that has resulted from this emigration was palpable: teachers at the local school reported decreased enrollments, especially in the higher grades. The clinic and library had closed. The soccer team was even forced to stop playing for the first time in community history, as not enough players could be found. In addition to young people, many community leaders have also fled the village after being targeted by gangs for their efforts to increase security by installing streetlights and traffic gates along the main streets. Rather than the vibrant community that I encountered when I first arrived in Cantón El Río, the village now is struggling to stay alive. There are entire swaths of the village where all the houses have been abandoned; the streets are virtually empty during the day, and by six p.m., most people have locked themselves in their own houses for safety. This lack of security has impacted the

organization of economic life in the village as well: it is more and more common to see families growing corn on the plots of land surrounding their houses rather than in dedicated agricultural plots. Getting to their agricultural lands requires walking along an isolated dirt road that weapons traffickers have recently started to use to transport their goods, so many families feel that this journey is too dangerous to risk. For the same reason, most families no longer maintain livestock, since cows were being stolen from pasture, and again, taking the animals to pasture in the morning and back each evening was felt to be too dangerous. Thus, increasing violence in the village has increased both emigration to the United States and dependency on migrant remittances by those left behind.

Fieldsites in the United States

In the United States, migrants from Cantón El Río are scattered from coast to coast, having settled wherever they had relatives or friends to receive them. The fieldwork for this dissertation was conducted in three main locations. On the West Coast, I conducted fieldwork in Los Angeles, a city with a well-established Salvadoran community (Gill 2010; Zuniga and Hernandez-Leon 2005). While Los Angeles has long received Salvadoran immigrants, those numbers remained fairly low until the 1970s, when increasing unrest leading up to the civil war drove many Salvadorans to flee the country. The 1970 census showed only 22,400 foreign-born Central Americans residing in Los Angeles, a number that had jumped to 125,200 by 1980, the year in which the civil war began. This rapid increase did not slow in the following decade, and by 1990, the Central American population had increased to 456,146 (Hamilton and Chinchilla 2001). Since the end of the war, the rate of new arrivals from Central America in Los Angeles has slowed, although Salvadoran migration has increased nationwide, and Salvadorans are projected to become the third-

largest Latino immigrant community in the United States (Lopez and Gonzalez-Barrera 2013). The 2010 census reported an increase of about 100,000 to 575,200 total Central Americans living in the city (Stoney and Batalova 2013).

Los Angeles, which has the single largest concentration of Salvadorans in the United States, is home to 247,765 Salvadoran migrants, or about 15% of the total Salvadoran immigrant population (Perla 2013). In comparison to other ethnoracial groups in the city, Salvadorans come in a distant second among Latinos, accounting for 8% of the city's Latino population after Mexicans, who make up 78% (Pew Hispanic Research Center 2011). Among the children of immigrants, the picture becomes more complex, with many raised in dual-heritage Salvadoran and Mexican families (Villanueva 2014). Despite the large size of the Salvadoran population in Los Angeles, until very recently it went largely unrecognized, assumed by many outsiders to simply be Mexican. In 2012, the city inaugurated an El Salvador Community Corridor along Vermont Avenue, a part of the city that has traditionally been home to many Salvadoran businesses (Shyong 2012). The heart of this official Salvadoran neighborhood is the Óscar A. Romero Square, opened in 2010 and named in honor of the Salvadoran archbishop who was murdered at the outset of the civil war (El Salvador Community Corridor 2013). One goal in officially recognizing the Salvadoran community by establishing this corridor is to encourage more civic engagement on the part of Salvadorans (Warner 2012), who remain woefully underrepresented among city officials (Jiménez 2013).

The Salvadoran population is largely concentrated within the city limits, and fully 50% remain in the neighborhoods in South Central Los Angeles where the first Salvadoran immigrants settled, although 35% have moved east to the San Fernando Valley (Perla 2013).

The influx of immigrants from Latin America led to a major demographic shift within South Central Los Angeles: in 1965, African Americans made up 81% of the population in these neighborhoods, but by 1990, the percentage had reduced by half, with Latinos now accounting for 50% of residents (Bhimji 2005). This trend has continued, with Latino immigrant communities moving into former African American areas throughout South Central Los Angeles, although in recent years, gentrification – and the concomitant influx of white residents – has begun to change the face of some neighborhoods (Khouri 2014).

The South Central neighborhood where I conducted the fieldwork for this dissertation is not among such gentrifying areas; it was common for me to be the only white person in sight, and my presence garnered a great deal of attention. The population in this district of the city was 70% Latino and 28% African American. Median household income, at $29,447, was among the lowest in the city, and 66% of adults over the age of 25 had less than a high school education. These educational levels may in part be due to high levels of immigration: 41% of the residents in the neighborhood were foreign-born, 76% from Mexico, followed by 12% from El Salvador (Mapping L.A. Neighborhoods 2015). The demographics of the neighborhood could be seen in its linguistic and semiotic landscape. Signs for businesses and restaurants were predominantly in Spanish, stores advertised the sale of telephone calling cards to Mexico and Central America, and images of the Virgin of Guadalupe adorned restaurants and street corners alike. *Masa* ('corn dough') for making tortillas could be bought at local shops, and on weekend mornings, several tamale sellers passed through the neighborhood crying their wares. Cheese, dried beans, and other food items from El Salvador were available at the corner store two blocks from the Portillo family house, materially signifying the strength of ties to the home country. The corner store also sold the

international calling cards that the family used to call El Salvador, and their eight-year old son was regularly sent out to the store to purchase a calling card or nostalgic food items; despite the neighborhood's being ranked as a high crime area (Violent Crime 2015) the streets were generally calm during the day.

On weekends, the neighborhood was full of the sounds of children playing and riding their bikes. Indeed, the neighborhood was quite young, with a median age of 23 and the percentage of residents under 18 among the highest in Los Angeles County (Mapping L.A. Neighborhoods 2015). New schools were being built in the area to accommodate this population: the elementary school attended by the Portillo children had been built two years earlier, and a new middle school was under construction in the neighborhood during my time there. The continuing demographic shift in the neighborhood was reflected by an elementary school population that was 90% Hispanic and 9% African American (School Enrollments by Ethnicity 2015), as compared to rates of 73% Hispanic students for the overall Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD Fingertip Facts 2014). Relationships across ethnoracial lines were generally quite amicable: the children in my study were part of a mixed-race friendship group, and the adults engaged in friendly interaction with their African American neighbors on a daily basis.

However, racial tensions did not lie far below the surface: my participants knew whether the families living in each house were *hispanos* ('hispanics') or *morenos* (African Americans, literally "blacks") (with no attention to the possibility of biracial families or *morenos hispanos*). Sometimes racial tensions emerged more explicitly, as when on Halloween a group of ten-year-old African American children taunted members of the Portillo family, repeatedly shouting, "Tienes tu culo?" ('Do you have ass?') at them as they

walked by. And despite the large percentage of immigrant residents, the neighborhood was not always welcoming to undocumented migrants like those in my study: every weekend, *retenes* ('police checkpoints') were set up at the freeway off-ramps, and whenever I drove around with my participants, locating and avoiding *retenes* was a major source of concern. Thus, although in many ways the neighborhood and the city had adapted to the presence of the Salvadoran immigrant community, at the same time their marginalized status was continually reenacted.

In addition to Los Angeles, I also conducted fieldwork for the dissertation in two locations on the East Coast: Elizabeth, New Jersey, and a small town in Pennsylvania with the pseudonym of Marshall.[7] Much like Los Angeles, Elizabeth is home to a large and well-established Salvadoran community, part of a diverse and growing Latino population. This city, situated in the large metropolitan area surrounding New York City, reflects a state-wide increase in the Latino population, which, since 1970, has grown 439% (Wu 2011b). From 2000 to 2010, Elizabeth saw the largest growth in the percentage of Latino residents of any municipality in the state, and the city is now "majority minority": fully 60% of city residents are Latino (Wu 2011a). Moreover, almost half (47%) of those currently residing in Elizabeth are foreign-born (U.S. Census Bureau 2015), a figure that represents a vibrant immigrant community (Elizabeth Historical Society 2014) hailing from a number of countries. Cuban immigrants historically constituted a significant portion of the Latino immigrant community (Lucas 1999), although in recent years, increasing migration from South America has led to large populations of Colombians (10,700 total residents), as well as Ecuadorans and

[7] The decision to give pseudonyms to some fieldsites and not others is based on their relative size. When the Salvadoran community at a given fieldsite was large enough, as in the case of Los Angeles and Elizabeth, I felt that participant confidentiality could be maintained without using a pseudonym. However, I have not provided the name of the specific neighborhood in Los Angeles where I conducted fieldwork in order to protect participants' confidentiality.

Peruvians (each have about 5,500 members). Salvadorans are the largest Central American immigrant group in Elizabeth, accounting for about 7,400 residents; moreover, the Salvadoran population is growing rapidly, having doubled in size between 2000 and 2010 (Wu 2011b).

The presence of Salvadoran immigrants can be clearly felt in Elizabeth. The city is home to one of sixteen Salvadoran consulates in the United States. Every September for the past ten years, to commemorate Salvadoran independence, Elizabeth has hosted a Salvadoran food festival (Comite Solidario de New Jersey 2014);[8] the official event has given rise to a weekend-long street fair, with vendors selling Salvadoran-themed goods of all kinds. My participants enthusiastically attended this festival every year, with out-of-town relatives coming to visit in order to participate in the event. They proudly told me about the festival and posted pictures of their attendance on Facebook; having a city-wide event focused on Salvadorans helped them to feel welcomed and recognized in their new home. In addition, the city has several Salvadoran cultural groups that work with the children of Salvadoran immigrants; I spent a Saturday afternoon with one group, the Asociación Cultural Salvadoreña, observing classes in which teenagers rehearsed traditional Salvadoran dances. The association also sponsored an annual beauty pageant, which they used as a vehicle for promoting Spanish-language public speaking skills, while also assisting with college preparation and participating in the state Hispanic Parade every year. In addition to such special events, the Salvadoran influence can be felt in everyday life as well: many restaurants sell traditional Salvadoran food such as *pupusas*, and among the city's many travel agencies

[8] The food festival is sponsored by the Comité Solidario, a nonprofit organization that uses the funds raised to support the care of El Salvador's elderly population. This organization reflects a long history of activist involvement between New Jersey and El Salvador, including the Central American Refugee Center that was active during the 1980s and early 1990s.

are those that specialize in arranging trips or shipping items to and from El Salvador. My participants lived above a Salvadoran restaurant, which they patronized regularly; the store directly across the street from their apartment sold the international calling cards they used to communicate with their family back home in El Salvador. Thus, the Salvadoran community was a visible part of Elizabeth's diverse Latino population, and like Los Angeles, it shared strong material links that incorporated the town into the wider Salvadoran diaspora.

Unlike Elizabeth and Los Angeles, the final field site for this project, Marshall, Pennsylvania, did not have a sizable Salvadoran population. The town is part of the New Latino Diaspora, regions of the country that have not traditionally had a significant Latino community but that have seen an increase in this population in the past fifteen to twenty years (Gill 2010; Murillo 2002; Murillo and Villenas 1997; Villenas 2002). The drastic demographic changes experienced by Marshall, a suburban community of about 34,000 located outside of a major metropolitan area in Pennsylvania, are characteristic of many New Latino Diaspora locations. In 1990, the residents of the town were 70% white and 26% African American, with Latinos making up only 3% of the population (Wortham et al. 2011); today, the town is only 35% white, with the other two-thirds being fairly evenly distributed between African Americans (32%) and Latinos (28%) (Advameg Inc. 2015). Most of the increase in the Latino population has occurred since 2000, which has led to a rise in racial tension and anti-immigrant sentiment (Matza 2012). Latino residents often complained to me and on social media about experiences of racial profiling during police checkpoints; my participants expressed frustration at the frequency of these traffic stops, which often led to deportation, and they developed a texting network to share alerts about checkpoint locations among members of the undocumented community. However, based on long-term

ethnographic fieldwork, scholars have found Marshall to be more welcoming than other New Latino Diaspora locations (Wortham, Mortimer, and Allard 2009), some of which have passed strict anti-immigrant ordinances (Powell and Garcia 2006).

The majority of the Latino residents of Marshall, about 68%, are of Mexican descent (The Gonzales Group 2011); Salvadorans in this town, like their compatriots in Los Angeles, are often assumed to be Mexican. However, perhaps due to the small size of the Salvadoran community, my participants in Marshall complained much more vociferously than those in Los Angeles about this misidentification. They resented being connected to the negative stereotypes they felt were associated with Mexican identity (contra the findings by Wortham, Mortimer, and Allard 2009), and instead emphasized their hard-working and honest qualities as Salvadorans. There are no official records of how many Salvadorans reside in Marshall, but during my fieldwork there, my participants made a concerted effort to introduce me to all the Salvadorans they knew. Altogether, I met perhaps 20 people, most of whom were men who had arrived in Marshall in the last 10 years. Unlike their compatriots in Los Angeles or Elizabeth, Salvadorans in Marshall did not have access to Salvadoran restaurants or stores selling Salvadoran goods. During fieldwork, my participants proudly took me on a half-hour drive to a large supermarket where they could purchase frozen *pupusas* imported from El Salvador. This lack of readily available material goods from the home country signified the position of Marshall on the periphery of the Salvadoran diaspora.

Without exception, Salvadorans in Marshall lived in what residents described as the poor part of town: poverty could be seen in the dilapidated state of the houses, which often had boarded-up windows and overgrown yards, and in the detritus of broken bottles and discarded baggies on the sidewalks that pointed to drug and alcohol abuse. Fully 20% of the

town's residents lived below the poverty line, although this statistic did not include the undocumented community and so the actual numbers were likely to be much higher; in addition, the town suffered from high crime rates and low educational achievement (Wortham et al. 2011). My participants would not let me go out alone at night and were even concerned about me riding my bike through town during the day, telling me to avoid certain areas. Although there were many Latino-owned stores and restaurants, some of which were quite successful, my participants seemed to assume that all Latinos in the town lived in the same conditions they did; they were surprised when they found out that my landlady, who lived "donde la gente con dinero vive" ('where the people with money live'), was Mexican.

Despite the varying histories and current realities of Salvadoran immigration at these different sites within the United States, the daily lives of my participants were often quite similar. Without exception, the older teens and adults worked long hours at physically demanding jobs in harsh environments, a pattern that reflects national statistics; despite some shifts towards more white-collar employment, 62% of undocumented immigrants hold blue-collar jobs in service, construction, and production, twice the share of U.S.-born workers working in these industries (Passel and Cohn 2015). The men in my study worked lifting boxes in shipping warehouses, shaping and polishing marble countertops, or labored at an outdoor tire repair shop where they endured rain, sleet, freezing cold, and snow. During fieldwork, two of my male participants took me to their places of work, proudly showing me the machines they used and the finished products of their hard labor, but as soon as their bosses got wind of my presence, I was quickly asked to leave for my own safety. All the men worked six days a week, often beginning in the wee hours of the morning; they never took vacation and had no health insurance or retirement benefits. When one participant lost part of

a finger due to a work accident, he had to pay for medical care at a private clinic out of his own pocket and lost two weeks' worth of wages while he waited for his injury to heal, throwing him and his family back home into financial crisis. Because of their undocumented status, these workers were treated as less eligible for state- or employer-provided care, jeopardizing the continued well-being of extended kin networks in both countries, which depended on migrants' earnings to meet members' care needs.

But at least the male participants in my study could rest when they got home: most of them had enough free time to play in informal soccer leagues. Women, on the other hand, faced the inevitable double shift of housework and paid employment (Hochschild and Machung 2003). For example, one of my participants, Magda Portillo, got up at 4:30 every morning to prepare breakfast for her children and lunches for her partner and herself before her work shift started at six a.m. She worked in a food-processing plant in a refrigerated room kept at 40 degrees Fahrenheit. She told me that she worked in an assembly line where she counted out frozen fish and packed it into boxes weighing 25 pounds. She had to fill a box every 10 seconds and then carry it over to the scale to be weighed. Her workday officially ended at 2:30 pm, but during busy times, she was pressured into working overtime for the same minimum wage, and was told she would lose her job if she refused. When she got home, she was responsible for home-based care work that spanned borders: not only cooking dinner and helping her children with their homework, but calling relatives in El Salvador and making arrangements to send them money. On her day off, she went grocery shopping and did laundry, stuffing a five-foot-tall sack full of clothes, towels, and sheets to take to the laundromat. She had to clean constantly to keep their one-bedroom apartment neat: six people (four adults and two children) shared this small space.

Such crowded living conditions were typical for all the participants in my study: to make ends meet and be able to send money back home to El Salvador on these low wages, they resided in the poorest parts of town where rent was the most affordable. They lived crowded together in small apartments, generally with other relatives. In one case a migrant couple and their two children lived with the husband's sister, while another migrant lived with his current wife and young daughter, his wife's brother, and his two teenage sons from a previous marriage. These arrangements allowed cost-sharing for the expenses of daily life such as rent, utilities, and food; at the same time, by extending the size of the household, they facilitated family responsibilities such as childcare. Adults carefully staggered their work schedules, for example by taking different days off or working differently timed shifts so that there would always be an adult present to take young children to and from school and be home with them in the afternoons and evenings. Despite the many economic pressures on their lives, parents still managed to find resources, energy, and time to celebrate special days like birthdays or holidays, or to take their children to the park, the library, or to breakfast on the weekends – in short, to live lives much like those of other families.

Methodological Framework

Doing Fieldwork: Being in and out of Place

Critiques of traditional frameworks that valorize objective research, emerging from feminist studies (Anderson and Jack 1991; Bell 1993) and critical race studies (Jacobs-Huey 2002; Twine and Warren 2000), have drawn attention to the ways in which the social positioning of researcher and researched within relations of power shape the research process as well as its outcome. However, such critical reflexivity has been slower to gain traction within sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology (Bucholtz 2011; Mendoza-Denton

2008a); for this reason, it is crucial to highlight the role of researcher positionality in shaping research within these fields, and it is to such an undertaking that I turn in this section. Despite the close ties that I developed with the individuals and families who participated in this research, my social positioning with respect to race, citizenship status, and class afforded me greater physical and socioeconomic and geographic mobility than any of my participants. Throughout my fieldwork, I was constantly aware of the privilege of my own mobility: I could travel between El Salvador and the United States in a five-hour plane ride instead of scaling mountains, wading rivers, walking through deserts, and facing down drug cartels as my participants had to do. I could drive freely around Los Angeles without worrying about roadblocks and without keeping a constant eye out for police. I could visit local libraries to talk to researchers or walk around university campuses without anyone checking to be sure I belonged. This privileged social positioning clearly impacted my relationships with the participants, remaining an inescapable fact of difference despite our close emotional ties. And although I made conscious methodological choices that attempted to remediate some of these power differentials, as discussed below, ultimately, my greatest strides in this direction were made by following the lead of the participants themselves.

Rather than treating my privileges as simply an individual characteristic, my participants oriented to them as resources that could be mobilized for the good of the family. My physical mobility was utilized to facilitate the cross-border exchange of material goods, and I still regularly serve as a courier during my annual trips to El Salvador. My socioeconomic mobility and language skills were also treated as resources: families often turned to me as a means of getting information that they would otherwise struggle to access. Migrant participants asked me for help navigating the U.S. school system, or communicating

with English-speaking landlords, or translating English-language documents; participants in El Salvador saw me as a source of information on current U.S. immigration policy and practice, and at times I helped participants locate detained family members and find and contract legal services. Thus, my physical, socioeconomic, and linguistic mobility were incorporated over the years as family resources, often in ways that resonated with the language and cultural brokering often performed by the children of immigrants (Morales and Hanson 2005; Orellana 2001; Orellana, Dorner, and Pulido 2003; Reynolds and Orellana 2009). And while relying on such brokering did of course highlight the differences between myself and my participants, at the same time it deployed those differences in ways that benefited the group, thus incorporating me into their families and emphasizing connection despite difference. While longstanding relationships with my participants created meaning and utility from my privileged social positioning, my fieldwork continually brought me into social and geographic locations where I was perceived as an outsider. Examining how my outsider status was read and marked differentially at each site can shed light on the categories considered relevant for social difference at each of these locations. I thus turn here to an exploration of these experiences, seeking to take a reflexive stance towards my own positioning in order to better understand the dynamics of inequality at work in these interrelated fieldwork settings.

In El Salvador, I was marked as a foreigner in a myriad of ways: my light skin and blue eyes, my clothes and my glasses, and most prominently at first, my lack of linguistic and communicative competencies. Over time as my Spanish approved, I began to be read as a foreigner from Spain rather than from the United States; eventually, I was sometimes identified as Salvadoran, although always from the department of Chalatenango, a highland

area that was a hub of Spanish settlement and whose residents, to this day, are reputed to have lighter skin and eyes than their compatriots. Thus my phenotypic features continued to be recognized as non-normative, while at the same time they could be reconciled with the Salvadoran linguistic style I had adopted by the end of four years of living there. Nevertheless, I was generally identified as a foreigner and was assumed to have access to economic resources, leading to frequent requests for money or other forms of material support. Managing such requests as a chronically broke volunteer, development worker, and later student, led to challenges in managing ongoing relationships, sometimes causing burnout. Moreover, my foreigner status was also crucially gendered, both with respect to beauty norms that valorized lighter skin and resulted in my constantly being the target of catcalls, and with respect to ideologies of sexuality in which women from the United States were assumed to be "fáciles" ('easy') and sexually promiscuous. Over the course of my fieldwork, I fended off multiple sexual and marital proposals by men as well as approaches from women trying to set me up with their sons; I often responded to such experiences by claiming a nonexistent boyfriend, simply for the male protection it provided. In this context, the kinship ties that I developed with the Martínez and Portillo families offered a great deal of safety given my raced and gendered positioning, a dynamic noted by other female ethnographers as well (Macintyre 1993; Powdermaker 1966).

Being marked as an outsider was not an experience I faced only in El Salvador. In my U.S. fieldsites too, I regularly encountered such readings of my whiteness, bringing me face-to-face with stratification and segregation along lines of race, language, and class that permeate life in cities across the United States. In one telling incident, when I caught a taxi one night at the metro station in South Central Los Angeles, the Latino taxi driver initially

greeted me in halting English, reading me as white and therefore not a speaker of Spanish. When I answered him in Spanish, he immediately responded, "Qué bien que hablas español" ('How great that you speak Spanish'). This comment marked my rarity as a Spanish-speaking white person, revealing pervasive ideologies about connections between race and linguistic capabilities. A similar incident occurred several months earlier, when I was attending a birthday party in the yard of a Salvadoran family's home in South Central Los Angeles. Their next-door neighbor, an English-speaking African American man, stopped by to exchange greetings with the English-speaking children, a not unusual occurrence, as I later observed. However, on this occasion, he noticed that I was new to the scene and asked me if I was the children's "aunty". When I responded that I was just a family friend, his next question was whether I spoke Spanish. I answered in the affirmative and he looked incredulous. "But you're white!" he exclaimed. "A white person who speaks Spanish! Are you a missionary or something?" My presence as a white Spanish speaker drew such attention due to the existence of sharp lines of race and language that segregated the geographic space of the city as well as the social space of people's friendships. In this system, my path as a white person should have taken me around this neighborhood on the freeway, rather than bringing me by public transportation and taxi to its heart at a child's birthday party.

However, I was not understood in the same way at all of my U.S. fieldsites. In Elizabeth, the combination of my linguistic skills and phenotypic characteristics did not attract such concern. Instead, taxi drivers and other community members often assumed that I was Argentinean, an explanation that made sense in a town with a significant South American population. Much as when Salvadorans thought that I was from Chalatenango, this reading of my body and speech highlighted the locally salient categories through which

physical and linguistic characteristics were interpellated. In Marshall, however, my class status was the primary marker of difference. On one occasion, I had spent the day in a low-income neighborhood with white residents who had become connected to the Salvadoran community through marriage; I played with their children and joined them sitting on the porch to escape the oppressive summer heat. Later that day, I was told that my visit had caused some concern to those who did not know me, since they had assumed I was from Child Protective Services. My appearance (short hair, glasses, with khaki shorts, sandals, and button-up blouse) had marked me as middle-class, as did my particular variety of English, which lacked the local accent and vocabulary that characterized the neighborhood; in this low-income neighborhood, the only explanation for the sustained presence of such a clearly middle-class outsider was as a professional government worker.

These anecdotes reflect how the lines of power and inequality were understood in complex and varied ways at my different fieldsites. Inequalities were often traced through material features such as phenotype, clothing, and hairstyle, which were made to signify in ways that marked my outsider status. Linguistic characteristics, including languages as well as dialectal variants, were made to matter as well (cf. Alim 2004), being read in conjunction with material signs to produce a particular understanding of who I was. In marking me as an outsider, however, these readings also signaled who belonged, naturalizing brown bodies as Spanish speakers, or casting low-income residents as normative in particular neighborhoods. Ultimately, these lines of inequality were not characterized by a single feature but rather by a complex calculus of intersectionality in which differences were read in conjunction with one another, assembled together in a process of bricolage (Lévi-Strauss 1962; cf. Coupland 2007; Eckert 2008; Hebdige 1984). Meaning is made through an assemblage of different features,

and while many of these features seem to play a consistent role in the construction of inequality, the particular ways in which they are put together as meaningful is responsive to the specificities of particular local settings. The social positioning of researchers during fieldwork is thus a complex and often unpredictable process (Wertheim 2009), particularly in multi-sited fieldwork such as mine. Moreover, the power dynamics obtaining between researchers and those they study introduce further complexity to such positioning (Altork 2007; Riley 2009); the following section addresses this issue.

Power and Ethics in Fieldwork

The complex relational dynamics that hold between researchers and their participants introduce serious ethical quandaries into the process of conducting ethnographic fieldwork. Scholars working in a range of contexts have critiqued the ability of institutionally required ethical procedures to adequately resolve such issues. The institutional "doctrine of informed consent" (Thorne 1980:284) takes a one-size-fits-all approach (Shannon 2007) that ignores the nuances of local contexts, making the informed consent model fundamentally incompatible with ethnographic research (Bell 2014). Ultimately, following an informed consent model of ethics may end up reproducing power inequalities in problematic ways (Mortensen 2015).

To resolve this situation, researchers have proposed many responses. On the one hand, some advocate working within informed consent models, developing processes of community consultation to adapt consent forms in ways that make them more locally intelligible (Knight et al. 2004). Others advocate greater attention to local ethics, rather than relying on the colonialist model of informed consent (Shannon 2007; Whiteman 2012). Some go so far as to jettison traditional informed consent practices in their research (Metro 2014),

suggesting that this provides a first step towards a more nuanced and grounded approach to fieldwork ethics (Bell 2014). Perhaps the most radical stance is taken by Hodge (2013), who suggests that the only ethical research is engaged research that benefits the community more than it benefits the researcher, a perspective that resonates with recent discussions about sociolinguistic justice as a crucial goal for researchers who study language (Bucholtz et al. 2014).

In my own research, such ethical dynamics were complicated by my close connections to the participants: the process of obtaining informed consent made no sense in the context of the reciprocal obligations of our ongoing relationships. In such situations, a localized ethical approach often involves a subtle and sustained process of vetting the researcher (Metro 2014); forms mean less than the cumulative experience of how the researcher has responded to different situations over the years. Given my funding and my junior academic standing, I felt compelled to obtain informed consent for my research and explained the need to do so in terms of a university requirement, as something that was imposed on me as well as on my participants. This framing worked to create distance from the awkwardness generated by the unfamiliar process of filling out forms, setting it outside the scope of our personal connections.

To address these ethical issues in language-based research, Cameron and her colleagues suggest moving beyond a model of informed consent or "research on" to a framework of "research with" (1993:87); indeed, participatory research methods are becoming more widespread throughout the social sciences and humanities (Chevalier and Buckles 2013; Reason and Bradbury 2001; Whyte 1991). Cooperative methods are particularly powerful tools for research on sensitive topics and for research with marginalized

communities (Bergen 1993; Dodson and Schmalzbauer 2005; Krueger and King 1999). Researching "with" rather than "on" introduces the perspectives of community members into the knowledge-production process (Park 2001). The topic of my research, the dynamics of everyday communication, was certainly quite sensitive, involving me in intimate aspects of family life. I wanted to be sure that in conducting this study, I was not relying on the power I brought into the research encounters in ways that coerced individuals into participating. I thus made conscious methodological decisions that emphasized participants' agency, respected their privacy, and honored their trust; to this end, I worked to implement collaborative engagement whenever possible, particularly during the final stage of most intensive (and most invasive) fieldwork. In the following sections, I lay out the specific methods of data collection and analysis utilized in this project, before concluding with a discussion of the implications of my methodological choices for the understanding of communication in cross-border family life developed in this research.

Data Collection Process

My data collection was carried out from 2009 to 2014 as I built the ethnographic foundation for my research; this long-term engagement allowed me to slowly and naturally forge the close relationships necessary for research on everyday family communication. From 2009 to 2011, I made three annual fieldtrips of three to six weeks to El Salvador, where I conducted participant-observation, living in the homes of transnational families. I joined in many aspects of their everyday lives – at least those that were considered gender-appropriate – including food preparation, housework, and childcare. The richest moments for participant observation often came in the evenings, when these multigenerational families would gather together to chat and watch TV; during this time, relatives regularly recounted phone calls

from migrant kin or planned future transnational calls, including what needed to be communicated and who should make the call. Through attending carefully to such conversations, I began to understand the complex roles of cross-border communication in these families' lives. In addition to participant observation, I also recorded ethnographic interviews with families of migrants or sometimes with returned migrants themselves, asking about their experiences of communication during periods of transnational family separation. While most of the interviews were individual, a smaller subset involved conversations with two closely related participants (parents and adult children or spouses); all of the interviews were audio- and video-recorded. From 2011 to 2013, I conducted ongoing research at the U.S. fieldsites, following the same model of participant observation and interviews. Due to the crowded conditions in which migrants lived, I was unable to live with them in their homes and instead found accommodation in rented rooms in their neighborhoods; I thus had to be more purposeful about my participation, but made a point of observing everyday family activities such as meal times, homework sessions, and other childcare routines, as well as activities outside the home such as grocery shopping and leisure-time trips to the park and soccer games. Over the course of five years of fieldwork in both countries, I produced about 200 pages of fieldnotes, some written by hand and some typed. In addition, I conducted 24 interviews, ranging in length from an hour to over two hours, for a total of 45 hours of video-recorded interview data.

During this extended fieldwork, I built particularly strong relationships with two multi-generational extended families, each made up of about twenty-five individuals, the Martínez and Portillo families. I dedicated the final period of intensive data collection, from September 2013 to February 2014, to working solely with these two networks to record both

face-to-face and long-distance interactions between family members. Taking a collaborative approach, I trained and hired research assistants in each family – young people between the ages of 17 and 20 – to help with the recording of both copresent and non-copresent conversations. Although these young adults often held down full-time jobs, they generally had less extensive family responsibilities than older adults, leaving them more free time for this work; their greater technological literacy also allowed them to more easily learn to operate the audio and video recording equipment utilized in the research. This collaborative model of working had its challenges: some data was inevitably lost during the learning process. At the same time, working closely with these young people was crucial to the success of the project, as they were able to mediate more readily between the research goals and the privacy concerns of their family, choosing when and what to record. Moreover, through this collaborative data collection process, I worked to implement a "research with" approach, bringing participants' perspectives into the project at several stages. Once the recordings were made, my collaborators proved to be vital sources of knowledge in contextualizing the conversations, providing feedback during regular face-to-face meetings or through social-media instant messaging conversations. Family research assistants were paid a stipend of $100 per month as a means of recognizing their invaluable contribution to the research process. In addition, I attempted to provide them with mentoring, including taking them to visit local universities and libraries; I also helped them master the use of their local public transportation systems, which gave them greater freedom of movement for work and social purposes.

The family research assistants and I, over the course of the fieldwork, collected 87 video recordings of spontaneous face-to-face interaction, 54 from the Martínez family and 33

from the Portillo family, totaling about 50 hours of video data. The recordings include everyday activities such as sharing meals, cooking, doing homework, and playing games, as well as special activities such as birthday celebrations. The research assistants also helped me to record non-copresent communication between relatives in El Salvador and the United States, focusing on long-distance phone calls, which constituted both families' main form of transnational communication. The calls were made using international calling cards, and during the time of the study, each family was provided with $50 each month to cover these costs, a sum based on the average amount that interviewees had reported spending on long-distance communication. The families chose how to distribute the money and which calls (or parts of calls) to record, with the family research assistants taking responsibility for utilizing the equipment and maintaining charged batteries. To record these phone calls, I utilized a simple and non-invasive recording technology that participants were readily able to manage themselves. The Olympus TP-8 consists of an earpiece with a microphone mounted on the back. Participants would wear this earpiece in their ear and connect it to a simple MP3 recorder; the phone was then held up to the ear with the earpiece so that phone calls could easily be recorded. Small digital recorders were placed in carrying cases with carabiner clips, thus allowing the user to be as mobile as usual while making recordings of cellphone conversations. Using this methodology, 67 transnational phone calls were recorded over the course of four months, 40 from the Martínez family and 27 from the Portillo family. The calls range in length from 2 minutes to 2 hours, most averaging about 20 to 30 minutes, for a total of 25 hours of recordings. The impossibility of conference calls with the international calling cards the families relied upon resulted in primarily dyadic transnational communication, although most calls consisted of a series of sequential conversations in

which multiple relatives in each country spoke to one another. Family research assistants were shown how to delete recorded data, so that any sensitive conversations that had been recorded could be removed after the fact if anyone in the family had any concerns. I also reviewed all recordings before beginning analysis to identify any sensitive segments that needed to be removed from the analytical process. In addition, data are always anonymized before I share them with a broader audience: image filters are used to obscure the identity of participants in video data, and names of individuals and locations are eliminated from audio recordings.

Data Analysis Procedures

The large corpus of 120 hours of recordings that was produced during this fieldwork represents more data than can be productively analyzed in a single dissertation. For this reason, my analysis focuses primarily on interaction that is explicitly transnationally oriented, in order to better understand the cross-border practice of communicative care; this material includes all recorded phone calls and a small portion of the video and interview data. The analysis is of course informed by insights gained through my ongoing engagement in the lives of the participating families. In many cases, it was through observing similar situations happening repeatedly that I first became aware of a particular dynamic in transnational conversations; in other cases, repeated mention of a particular issue in interviews alerted me to salient understandings of cross-border kin ties and the role of communication. This analysis thus takes up a broad sociocultural-linguistic lens (Bucholtz and Hall 2008), incorporating a variety of methodological approaches to produce an ethnographically rich and empirically grounded framework (Bucholtz 2011; Chun 2007; Mendoza-Denton 2008a; Reyes 2007). My analysis also draws on the fine-grained tools for interactional analysis that

have been developed by practitioners of conversation analysis and interactional sociolinguistics (Fitch and Sanders 2005; Ochs, Schegloff, and Thompson 1996; Schegloff 2007; Schiffrin 1987; Tannen 2005). Some interactional approaches have been critiqued for emphasizing universality over variability or for artificially narrowing the scope of analysis in ways that exclude crucial contextual information (Billig 1999a; 1999b; Stokoe and Smithson 2001; Wetherell 1998). However, in this dissertation, interactional analysis is employed as an empirical tool rather than as an epistemological framework; thus, the analysis of particular interactions is informed by and subsequently situated within the rich ethnographic setting of ongoing relationships which give rise to the recorded data.

Combining these analytic approaches requires an understanding of common discourse patterns among participants as well as detailed transcription of specific examples for close analysis. To begin to reveal patterns in the data, I first indexed the recordings, creating a time-stamped summary for each that included aspects of the content of the conversation as well as salient linguistic forms; the indexes averaged a new line of notation for every 30 seconds of conversation. The indexes were then coded using themes that emerged inductively during the data collection and processing; the preliminary list of codes emerged from re-readings of my fieldnotes and was then expanded and structured as I indexed more recordings. Table 3.1 shows a complete list of the codes used in this research; while not all the codes were equally central to the analysis presented here, together they cover the topical content of the phone calls, while also highlighting key issues of linguistic form. From the coded indexes, informed by repeated reviewing of the original recordings, I selected key segments for detailed discourse transcription, using the system developed by Du Bois and colleagues at Santa Barbara (1993).

Table 3.1: List of Codes for Analyzing Phone Call Data

abbreviation	category	subcategory
AC	affect	consejos (advice)
AJ	affect	joking
AS	affect	saludos (greetings)
AM	affect	sympathy
AW	affect	worry
CC	care	child care
CE	care	elder care
CN	care	care of others - non relatives
CR	care	care of others - relatives
ERN	evaluation	negative evaluation of relatives
ERP	evaluation	positive evaluation of relatives
FE$	family economy	money
FEA	family economy	agriculture
FEH	family economy	housing
FEM	family economy	material goods
FER	family economy	return
K-	knowledge	expressing lack of knowledge of something
K-Q	knowledge	expressing lack of knowledge with question
K+	knowledge	expressing knowledge of something
KA	knowledge	alignment
KC	knowledge	comparisons, establishing common ground
KM	knowledge	memories
KD	knowledge	disalignment
KE	knowledge	evidentiality
MI	mediation	across interlocutors
MM	mediation	across modalities
MT	mediation	across time
NC	negotiations (resource sharing)	complaints
NCR	negotiations (resource sharing)	responses to complaints
NI	negotiations (resource sharing)	informings of items sent
NIR	negotiations (resource sharing)	responses to informings of items sent
NO	negotiations (resource sharing)	offers
NOR	negotiations (resource sharing)	responses to offers
NR	negotiations (resource sharing)	requests
NRR	negotiations (resource sharing)	responses to requests
RA	reports	everyday activities
RC	reports	conversations
RH	reports	health
RK	reports	children
RL	reports	living conditions (housing)
RN	reports	non-relatives
RR	reports	relatives
RS	reports	safety

Over the course of the research, seven bilingual research assistants assisted with the indexing and transcription.[9] The research assistants were all UCSB undergraduate linguistics students, and all but one were of Salvadoran descent and thus were familiar with the specific variety of Spanish spoken by my research participants. Undergraduate research assistants were generally compensated with course credit and, where funding made this possible, with an hourly salary. This form of collaboration was also a mentoring relationship; I used this opportunity to help my assistants develop technical and analytical skills while also

[9] All the work of the research assistants was carefully reviewed and revised by me before being incorporated in the analysis. I analyzed the data closely using the original Spanish-language transcriptions to avoid any translation bias; data excerpts were translated only for inclusion in research presentations, publications, and this dissertation.

supporting their academic and career goals through conversations about employment options, provision of letters of recommendation, and other forms of encouragement. As with my engagement with family research assistants, through mentoring I sought to facilitate a research process that empowered Salvadoran-descent youth, providing them with training and experiences that would be useful in their pursuit of further education and careers. Through such collaborations, I attended to issues of power, not only in the data collection process, but also in the stage of data analysis (Mauthner and Doucet 2003).

Implications of Methodologies: Reports vs. Practices

The methodological approaches taken in this dissertation present an innovative approach to the study of transnational family communication. My study is by no means the first to note the important role that long-distance communication plays in sustaining cross-border family ties (Farr 2006; M. Madianou and Miller 2012; Miles 2004; Sandel et al. 2006; Schmalzbauer 2005; Wilding 2006). For example, Mahler's (2001) early research on transnational Salvadoran families includes ethnographic reports on changes in cross-border communication, with subsequent research highlighting in particular the advent of cheap international calls (Vertovec 2004) and later email and cellphone technology (Mirca Madianou and Miller 2011; Wilding 2006). Indeed, there has been increasing scholarly attention to how transnational families are taking up digital communication technologies (Bacigalupe and Cámara 2012; Benítez 2012; Madianou 2012; Mirca Madianou and Miller 2012; 2011; Nedelcu 2012; Oiarzabal and Reips 2012). Such research has demonstrated the importance of digitally mediated communication for managing the practicalities of cross-border lives and for sustaining connections between loved ones separated across distance.

However, previous research on transnational family communication has faced significant methodological limitations. The vast majority of this scholarship utilizes only surveys or interviews, relying on participants' reports rather than gaining access to communicative practices themselves. Such reports can be invaluable in revealing how people understand their communication and its importance for their cross-border family lives. However, reports of talk are often treated as if they are directly reflective of communicative practices: for example, if a participant reports speaking to their distant family members every week, researchers tend to assume that they in fact do so. Collapsing the distinction between practices and reports of practices is problematic for several reasons. First, it is well known that interviewees may misrepresent their actions, often to give the answers they think the researcher wants (Briggs 1986); second, even when participants are doing their best to accurately describe their communication, they may not be cognizant of many significant aspects of their communicative practices, which fall below the threshold of conscious awareness (Silverstein 1981).

More recently, scholars have begun to pay greater attention to these issues, and there has been a move towards ethnography as a means of supplementing report-based methods (Farr 2006; Mirca Madianou and Miller 2012; Miles 2004; Schmalzbauer 2005); such scholarship sometimes highlights the importance of multi-sited ethnography that includes mediated social environments (Nedelcu 2012). Participant observation has helped move this area of research towards an examination of everyday communicative practices, allowing for a comparison of participants' reports with researcher observations. However, participant observation alone limits analyzable data to what the researcher is able to observe, remember, and document; in many cases, researchers may not be privy to the cross-border

communication that occurs in families, and even if they are, the technologically mediated nature of these conversations often makes it difficult for a single researcher to simultaneously observe both sides of the talk. Thus, while ethnographic approaches are an improvement over sole reliance on surveys or interviews, both methodologies limit the extent to which researchers are able to study the actual communication of transnational families.

Due to such limitations, the specific communicative practices used by transnational families to virtually sustain connection remain largely unexamined, despite their oft-cited significance to long-distance care. My research addresses this lacuna, using video and audio recordings to capture both sides of spontaneous communication in transnational families as it unfolds; the use of such recordings makes possible the analysis of cross-border communication itself. This approach revisits the methodology of the very first study of transnational families (Thomas and Znaniecki 1958), which analyzed letters exchanged by Polish migrants to the United States and their families in Poland in the early 20th century. This groundbreaking research, which is often credited with founding the field of migration studies (Stanley 2010), developed a radically grounded analysis that emerged inductively from the collection and analysis of "concrete materials" (Thomas and Znaniecki 1958:76): the letters themselves. However, this communication-based methodology was abandoned and is now long overdue to be brought into the digital age.[10]

It might be expected that language-based fields such as sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology would be able to provide insights into cross-border communicative practices, but to date, research on everyday language use within transnational families has been extremely limited. In his exploration of issues of language, mobility, and place, Pennycook

[10] Some current researchers also collect transnational correspondence (Madianou and Miller 2012), but these materials are not formally analyzed nor do they feature prominently in the analysis presented by the authors.

(2012) includes discusses the practice of "epistolary parenting," analyzing letters gathered from his own family, exchanged between parents living in colonial India and children sent back to England for their schooling. With the advent of World War II, transnational visits between these parents and children became impossible; in such conditions of constrained physical movement "the moving back and forth of the written word became the central act of mobility" (Pennycook 2012:65), with such correspondences constituting the main means of sustaining family ties. Bringing such an approach into the digital era, Inoue (2012) examines webcam conversations between the families of Japanese graduate students in the United States and their parents back home in Japan. Her research demonstrates how webcam interactions function as new shared living spaces for the creation and management of multigenerational kin ties; in these cross-border conversations, adults perform transnational kin identities and children are socialized into participation in a mediated form of family. Moreover, the adult children in such families perform "media care practices" (2012: 131) for their elderly parents, helping them set up computers and video chat technology and, through such engagement, gaining insight into their parents' needs for care as well as how to accommodate to them. This research demonstrates how communicative technology in transnational families functions not only as another care need that must be met, but also itself as a means of furthering care. These two studies provide intriguing glimpses into the insights that studies of actual transnational communication are able to produce; my dissertation seeks to further this project and inspire future research that takes up such a methodological approach.

Other insights into communication in family life can be gleaned from research on copresent families (Arnold et al. 2012; Marjorie Harness Goodwin 2007; Ochs and Kremer-

Sadlik 2013; Ochs et al. 2010; Tannen and Goodwin 2006). Many of these studies were produced by the large-scale interdisciplinary research endeavors of the UCLA Center on the Everyday Lives of Families (CELF); over the course of three years, researchers investigated the backstage lives of 32 families, video-recording over 1,500 hours of spontaneous interaction in these family settings. This research produced detailed insights into how middle-class families with two employed parents balance the demands of their careers with the needs of young children and their ongoing couple relationships. The CELF research illustrates the insights to be gained through the documentation and analysis of specific communicative practices in family life; not only does such research enable better understanding of how families construct and manage their relationships in real everyday time, but it also sheds light on the strategies by which families manage the challenges of modern life. While of course the transnational Salvadoran families in my study face different challenges than the middle-class U.S. families studied by CELF (see section on Salvadoran family in Chapter 2), documenting and analyzing their everyday interactions can shed important light on the strategies by which they meet such challenges. Moreover, this dissertation builds on the methods of the CELF study by bringing in long-term ethnographic engagement with the families in my study, which allows me to place the insight gleaned from recordings into the context of continuing family dynamics and an understanding of the ongoing issues that they must confront.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed the methodological frameworks that guide this study, as well as the specifics of my research process. Taking a multi-sited approach, this dissertation traces everyday language use in the full circuit of transnational family life,

including a rural Salvadoran village, several urban locations in the U.S. where migrants have settled, and the technologically mediated space of cross-border conversation. A reflexive examination of my own position within these different spaces reveals the intersectional nature of power and inequality as they are variably produced at each of these sites, incorporating not only material markers of race, ethnicity, and class, but also linguistic resources. Transnational families work out the material, affective, and relational needs of everyday life within and across such contexts; this chapter has discussed the particular challenges of poverty, violence, discrimination, and marginalization that they face. The dissertation examines the ways in which mundane communicative practices manage these complex realities, taking an innovative methodological approach that focuses on a close analysis of cross-border communication itself.

The following chapters illustrate the power of this methodological approach, developing analyses of three specific communicative practices that play a crucial role in the cross-border lives of the families in my study. Each chapter presents a close analysis of language data, but each draws on different analytical approaches and frameworks. The first analytical chapter (Chapter 4) builds on classic linguistic-anthropological scholarship on ritual in general and greetings specifically, demonstrating how such a framework can be usefully adapted to understand digitally mediated communication. Chapter 5 draws on more interactional scholarship, including emerging work around deonticity that focuses on how issues of entitlement and obligation are managed in interaction; the chapter demonstrates that a more ethnographically attuned approach can shed important light on deonticity by considering the range of very indirect ways of managing entitlement and obligation that can spring up and become codified within particular communities of practice. Chapter 6 draws on

frameworks from semiotic linguistic anthropology, demonstrating that the concept of the chronotope, often used in a macro-level and top-down way, is perhaps more productively utilized with greater empirical grounding. Overall, bringing together such diverse analytical frameworks embodies a sociocultural linguistic approach (Bucholtz and Hall 2008), demonstrating the productive insights into the role of language in social life that can be produced through such multi-faceted analyses.

Figure 3.1: Martínez Family Tree[11]

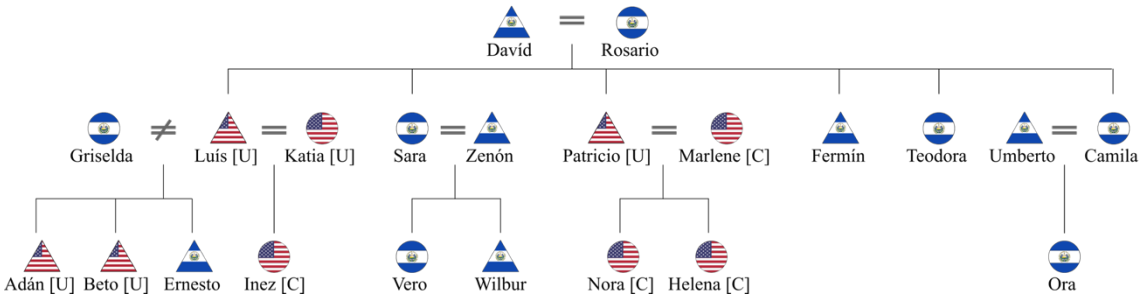
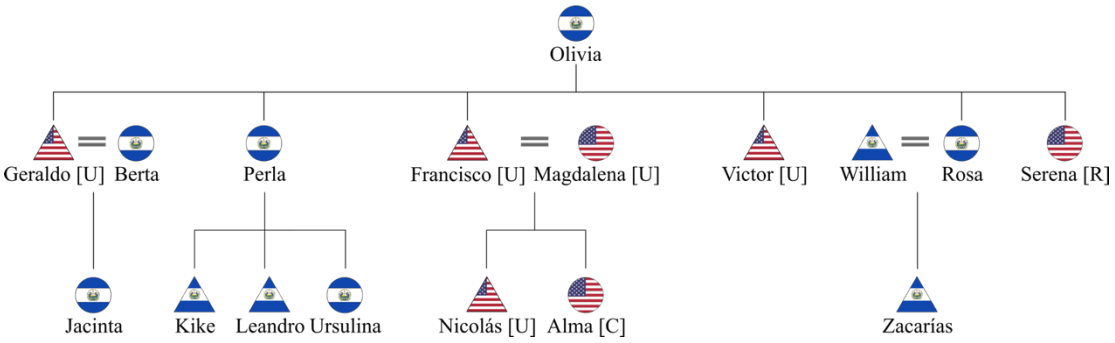


Figure 3.2: Portillo Family Tree[12]



Key

	female relative living in El Salvador
	male relative living in El Salvador
	female relative living in the United States
	male relative living in the United States
[C]	U.S. citizen
[R]	U.S. resident
[U]	undocumented

[11] Note that former partners who are not involved in the family life in any way have been left off the trees. Here, the biological fathers of Vero and Nora are not represented (neither has ever been part of either girl's life; the stepfathers shown in the diagram, however, are fulfilling father roles to these children).

[12] Note that former partners who are not involved in the family life in any way have been left off the trees. Here, this includes several men who were the biological fathers of Olivia's children, as well as others who were the fathers of Perla's children. The absence of these men from family life is reflected in the fact that I do not even know their identities.

CHAPTER 4
Creating and Maintaining Transnational Ties through Technologically Mediated Greeting Rituals

"Reciban un Cordial Saludo"

Checking my Facebook page one morning, I saw a status update from Cantón El Río, a very new profile that was opened just two months earlier and was maintained by a member of the community's elected leadership council. The post began, "Amigos y amigos reciban un cordial saludo; de parte de la asociación de desarrollo comuna de Cantón el Río y al mismo tiempo deseamos éxitos en este nuevo año" ('Friends, please accept a courteous greeting from the Cantón el Río community development association and at the same time we wish you much success in this new year'). The lengthy post of over 700 words then went on to provide a report of how the village had celebrated the 23rd anniversary of its founding, detailing which musical groups had played and what food had been provided as part of the *refrigerio* ('snack') at each event; the update also included plans for the new year, including the number of students enrolled at the village school, and lamented the death of an elderly community member. The report concluded with the words, "Nos despedimos, no sin antes agradecerles por ese apoyo que han brindado a la comunidad y siguen brindando lo que permite seguir trabajando en la búsqueda del desarrollo" ('We say farewell, but not without first thanking you for this support you have provided and continue to provide to the community which permits continued work towards development'). These formal statements of greeting and farewell, or greetings, used ritualized language not only to demarcate the report itself, but also to constitute its addressivity to friends of the community, while also connecting it to an expression of thanks.

Within a few hours, this status update had garnered three responses, all from former residents of the village now living abroad as migrants. These individuals, it seems, were the friends of the village who had been so addressed. One responder wrote, "estoy muy contento de leer este tipo de informes de nuestra comunidad al leer esto siento como que nunca e salido de la comunidad" ('I am very happy to read this type of reports of our community, on reading this I feel as if I never left the community'); a second stated, "me siento orgulloso" ('I feel proud') upon reading the report and sent "bendisiones a la comunidad" ('blessings to the community'). Such responses suggest that the technologically mediated cross-border communication initiated by the status update constitutes an important venue for constructing transnational belonging, as migrants refer to the village as 'ours' (or, in another case, as "mi comunidad" – 'my community'). Sustaining community ties across borders is accomplished in part through affective work, the pride and happiness that make a migrant feel he has never left.

In this chapter, I explore how transnational belonging is sustained in cross-border families through the use of affectively attuned ritual language practices mediated through digital technology. The analysis focuses on video greetings sent from El Salvador to migrant relatives in the United States, in order to understand the unidirectional nature of this flow through a close examination of how such greetings are performed, and how younger generations are socialized into this practice. Ultimately, the analysis suggests that greetings, as a crucial practice of communicative care, are a key resource by which transnational families sustain belonging and construct kinship across borders. Paying attention to this practice of communicative care, moreover, reveals how transnational families produce

relatedness through everyday practices that both constitute and respond to a range of interconnected material and affective factors.

Ritual and Social Life

The study of ritual has long been a key means by which anthropologists have sought to understand the organization of social life in the communities they study. While traditional research tended to focus on formal religious rites and other events marked as culturally "special", recent scholarship within linguistic anthropology has urged an expansion of this approach (Senft and Basso 2009). Inspired by Goffman's work on "interaction ritual" (1963; 1967), this framework conceptualizes ritual practices as constituting a continuum, ranging from marked special events on one end to the ritualized aspects of all semiotic practices on the other (N. J. Enfield 2009); such an approach allows for an analysis of how the "little rituals" of everyday life may strategically index more formalized ritual practices (Haviland 2009), and thus for a greater understanding of how ritual spaces are demarcated in the ongoing flow of everyday interaction.

Moreover, ritual is a fundamentally multimodal semiotic practice; in addition to speech, ritual practices involve the strategic use of material artifacts and embodied actions to construct affectively laden symbolic meaning (Basso and Senft 2009; Du Bois 1986). The meaning created by ritual has important temporal dimensions; in ritual practices, "participants use local, inherited understandings and experience, both collective and personal, to create new events and prospective selves and to project these forward" (Basso and Senft 2009:1). Because of the simultaneously retrospective and prospective nature of ritual symbolism, such practices are a crucial resource for facilitating cultural recontextualization, in which existing meanings and practices are reconfigured into new

forms (Gnerre 2009). Similarly, ritual can function to uphold cultural norms and inherited social hierarchies (Basso 1984; Du Bois 1986; 2009), but it may also constitute a resource for challenging such inequalities (Briggs 1992). Thus, ritual is a powerful mechanism for the creation and maintenance of communities, functioning to sustain belonging across the changing realities of everyday life (Durkheim 1912; Geertz 1957).

In this chapter, I examine the role of ritual in transnational families that maintain cross-border connection for years at a time. Existing research on this issue has emphasized the importance of such practices for understanding dimensions of cross-border family life that go beyond the much-studied economic domain (Gardner and Grillo 2002). In this work, some scholars have implicitly linked ritual to caring practices through which transnational families work to build and sustain cross-border ties (Mand 2006; Zontini 2004; Zontini 2006). Ethnographic studies of ritual in transnational families around the globe have emphasized the gendered nature of such practices; as with care-work more broadly, women often bear a greater responsibility for organizing and facilitating transnational rituals than their male relatives (Al-Ali 2002; Gardner 2002; Mand 2002). The use of ritual in transnational families demonstrates the flexibility of such cultural routines, which often function as "detachable bundles of practices" that can be readily adapted to manage the cross-border separation of transnational family life (Gardner and Grillo 2002:187). As a social practice, therefore, ritual provides continuity for existing social relations, while also allowing families to adapt to shifting cross-border experiences.

Moreover, ritual is a key resource for constituting membership in cross-border families, allowing distant kin to continue to claim belonging to their home communities (Salih 2002). Crucially, the ritual construction of such membership is fundamentally both

material and affective, often involving the exchange of mobile objects, which are imbued with affective meaning that is sustained and passed on to other family members (Vomvyla 2013). Although the relational ties constituted through such ritual practices may project an image of idealized family connection (Gardner and Grillo 2002), in many cases, close attention to ritual function reveals how such practices are used to police claims to membership, constructing complex familial networks in which individuals are differentially incorporated and tied to one another with varying degrees of strength (Fog Olwig 2002; 2009). A focus on ritual therefore allows scholars to "question and explore unexpected connections and disconnections" in the lives of cross-border families (Fog Olwig 2009:534). Although most scholarship on ritual in transnational families focuses on large-scale events such as weddings or funerals, Gardner and Grillo (2002) call for increased study of more everyday rituals. Existing scholarship on small rituals in transnational families suggests the power of this approach, demonstrating that the ritual performance of mundane practices such as drinking coffee or removing shoes upon entering an apartment functions to manage resentments and responsibilities in transnational family ties (Al-Ali 2002). These examples illustrate another key function of rituals, which are often used as a key resource for managing the rupture of co-presence and the social uncertainty that may ensue from such separation; for example, among the Apache, ritual silence is employed in conditions where social relations are uncertain, as in families reuniting after a time of separation in which children have been away at boarding school (Basso 1970).

Building on the foundations of such scholarship, this chapter examines a particular "little ritual" of cross-border family life: technologically mediated transnational greetings. As a mundane ritual, greetings mobilize a rich variety of linguistic, material, and affective

resources to index and construct engagement across borders. Since such greeting rituals are self-consciously transnational in their orientation, they provide a useful starting point for understanding the organization of transnational family life as it is constituted and sustained by practices of communicative care. My analysis suggests that greeting rituals constitute a crucial form of communicative care: if the ultimate goal of care is to "maintain, continue and repair our 'world' so that we can live in it as well as possible" (Tronto 1993:103), then greeting rituals constitute a key communicative practice whereby the affective and material worlds of transnational families can be continually constituted, restored, and upheld in the face of physical separation. Moreover, examining communicative practices provides a more comprehensive lens for analyzing rituals of care within transnational families; such a perspective reveals the important communicative care roles of men and children, as well as women, thus complicating overly simplistic conceptualizations of the relationship between gender, generation, and care.

Everyday Ritual in Greeting Practices

A wealth of classic anthropological research has produced detailed ethnographic accounts of greeting practices in cultures around the world, from the Maori (Salmond 1974) to the Wolof (Irvine 1975) to the Tuareg (Youssouf, Grimshaw, and Bird 1976), from Kenya (Milton 1982) to Yemen (Caton 1986) and Samoa (Duranti 1992). Drawing on foundational understandings of greetings as creating "ties of union" (Malinowski 1923:315) and social continuity (Goffman 1967; van Gennep 1961), this scholarship has suggested that greeting rituals have several crucial social functions. Most fundamentally, greetings acknowledge the interlocutor to be worthy of social recognition (Firth 1972); this recognition tends to be connected to status, with children, servants, or other low-status individuals often being

excluded from greeting rituals (Duranti 1992; Irvine 1975). Studying greetings can thus reveal crucial details about the organization of hierarchy within a community. Moreover, greeting practices facilitate the ongoing negotiation of status, allowing for the development of strategies by which individuals manage social inequality and manipulate status for a range of purposes (Duranti 1992; Goody 1972; Irvine 1975). More specifically, as a form of access ritual, greetings also set the tone for the immediately following interactional engagement (Schegloff 1986). Therefore, although they often occur in fleeting moments, greetings, like other types of ritual, are nevertheless both responsive and projective, creating social relations as well as continually weaving them together to form communities.

Reviewing this anthropological literature, as well as studies of greetings in speech act theory, conversation analysis, and ethological research, Duranti suggests that the study of greetings ultimately reveals that the "the encounter is taking place under particular sociohistorical conditions and the parties are relating to one another as particular types of social personae" (1997a:89). Thus, greetings are fundamentally shaped by the cultural context within which they emerge, while also providing insight into the everyday contextualization practices by which social life is constituted and organized. Moreover, research on greetings has demonstrated both the affective and the material features of such rituals. Greetings are often explicitly affective in their linguistic design, making use of affect-increasing devices such as intensifiers (Duranti 1997a) and discursive practices that engage affect such as questioning and thanking routines (Ameka 2009; Irvine 1975). Furthermore, greetings function as a means of linguistically managing bodies entering a social space (Duranti 1992), and as such, they often draw upon and imbue aspects of the material world, particularly embodied actions and spatial configurations, with symbolic meaning (Eibl-

Eibesfeldt 1972; N. J. Enfield 2009; Frake 1975; Haviland 2009; Kendon and Feber 1973). Although this point is rarely made explicit, such scholarship can be read as suggesting that greetings are a key resource by which social relationships are re-established and re-engaged following times of physical separation.

To a large extent, the traditional linguistic-anthropological research focuses on greeting exchanges in public places and between non-kin. More recently, however, more interactionally oriented research has begun to examine the role of greeting rituals in family life, illustrating more clearly how greeting rituals function as a practice of communicative care. This scholarship focuses on middle-class nuclear families in the United States in which both parents work outside the home (Tannen and Goodwin 2006). Examining how family members exchange greetings during the moments in which they reunite at the end of the day, such research demonstrates that greetings are a significant means of re-establishing family connection after temporary separation (Kendall 2006; Ochs and Capps 2002), re-cementing family ties and moving them forward into the future. Greetings provide an opportunity for family members to confirm bonds as a form of communicative care, beginning with positive acknowledgement of and engagement with one another, and often progressing to brief news reports to update one another on the day's activities (Campos et al. 2009). Greeting exchanges at the end of the day thus serve as a "ritual gateway to connecting family members" (Ochs and Campos 2013:18).

However, examining how greetings are made and responded to indicates that familial reconnection is not easy: kin often come home to find their spouses and children engaged with other concerns, too distracted to respond wholeheartedly to proffered greetings (Campos et al. 2009; Ochs and Campos 2013). In such asymmetrical situations, the care and attention

offered to the greeted individual are not reciprocated, leading to an affective imbalance that can produce familial tension (Ochs and Campos 2013). Thus, even in cases where family separation is of short duration and across small geographic distances, greeting rituals play an important role in re-establishing the ground of familial belonging, and the achievement of this reconnection through the communicative care of greetings cannot be taken for granted. Moreover, for the transnational families studied here, separation is by no means temporary: members do not see one another for years at a time and are separated by thousands of miles. In such a context, the communicative care accomplished by greetings is likely to play an even more significant role in sustaining family ties.

Greeting Rituals in Transnational Salvadoran Families

In Cantón El Río, greetings are a pervasive part of everyday social life that transnational families have been flexibly adapted to the non-copresent reality of cross-border life. In traditional village norms, reciprocal greetings are expected when an individual arrives at a location, whether a private home or a meeting in a public space. The expectation is strong enough that it justifies and even mandates interrupting the flow of ongoing interaction: individuals arriving late at meetings (a quite common occurrence) offer greetings as they enter the space, and everyone present at the meeting stops their ongoing conversation to return these greetings. In addition, brief greetings are also mandatory when people cross paths while walking in the village or surrounding fields. Greeting rituals thus carry significant normative power, which is strengthened due to the regularity of their performance (Irvine 1975). The normative expectation of greetings is so strong that their absence signals relational trouble between the two parties or their families. Indeed, the absence of greetings is a notable topic of gossip, and a common phrase, *no se hablan* ('they don't speak to each

other'), stands as shorthand for the loss of social cohesion indexed by the absence of greetings. In small rural villages like Cantón El Río, the continual exchange of greetings on an everyday basis is thus an important means of cementing social relations.

Technologically Mediated Greetings

In transnational family life, face-to-face greeting rituals have been adapted to manage non-copresent social relations via technological mediation. Within the communicative practices of the transnational families in this study, greetings can be found at the beginning of phone calls and emails, as well as in instant messaging conversations and even in abbreviated form in text messages; moreover, families sometimes make video recordings of greetings to send to their distant kin, utilizing modern digital technology in ways that parallel the letters and tape-recordings sent by earlier generations of transnational families around the world (Mirca Madianou and Miller 2011; Siems 1992; Thomas and Znaniecki 1958).

The technological adaptation of face-to-face greeting practices has been documented in previous research. Brody (2000) examines indirect greetings, *spatilab'il sk'ujol*, a speech genre used in Tojolab'al Mayan communities in Chiapas; her research documents how this ritual practice has been adapted and taken up in radio greetings. In their original form, such indirect greetings were sent by person A to person B by way of a traveling person C; now radio stations have become the means of delivering indirect greetings, with DJs reading out greeting messages that have been delivered to the station, often by hand (cf. Arps 2003; Gwyn 1983). Such radio greetings are also widespread in El Salvador, particularly in community radio stations, where they function as a form of mediatized participation in local communal organization (Agosta 2007). In Cantón El Río, many individuals of all ages listen to and participate in radio greetings with the local community radio station, and indeed,

discussions about who greeted whom provide continual grist for the gossip mill. A similar practice of radio shout-outs has been noted in Spanish-language radio stations within the Latin American diaspora in the United States (De Fina 2013), often with individuals calling the station, sometimes even transnationally, to deliver their greetings on air. In my fieldwork with migrants from El Río in the United States, I consistently heard such greetings on the stations they regularly tuned in to. The continuing relevance of greeting rituals in a digitized world, demonstrated in this chapter through their technological mobilization, indicates the social significance of greetings as a resource for managing relationships across space and time.

This chapter focuses specifically on greetings performed in video recordings made by family in El Salvador to send to their migrant kin. My analysis of video greetings was inspired by my ethnographic observation of the Portillo family in El Salvador using a digital camera sent by migrant kin in the United States to record video greetings for their relatives. The camera, sent via *viajero* in 2010 and with a traveling researcher (myself) in 2011, contained photos and videos of life in the United States.[13] After everyone in El Salvador had seen the photos, they were erased, new videos and photos were taken, and the camera was sent back. Here, the camera itself takes on the role of mediating greetings across space and time, much like the role of radio technology in Brody's research. This small technological device thus constituted a material object for capturing affective social relations that could cross borders, even when people themselves could not. Of course, this technological mediation was contingent upon human actions, which could cause tension. For example, although the camera was officially sent to the mother of the family, it was the oldest child

[13] A *viajero/a* is someone who travels between El Salvador and the United States, carrying material goods back and forth in their baggage. They charge by the pound and make a living through this sort of informal work (Gammage 2003).

remaining at home, in this case an adult daughter, who was expected to operate the camera to display and record new media. When she accidentally erased a video, this caused no end of criticism; later on, the migrants also complained about the quality of the video she had recorded. Nevertheless, they saved these recordings, and were able to show me past video greetings they had been sent when I inquired into this practice.

Even though I observed digital media flowing both ways, video greetings were only sent from El Salvador, never from the United States; instead, migrant kin recorded casual videos of children playing and footage of the urban environments in which they lived. Although some relatives in El Salvador complained about this footage, saying it was boring and only showed *"calle y más calle"* ('street after street'), no one remarked on the absence of greetings. Thus, despite the two-way exchange of digital media within these families, video greetings constituted a singularly unidirectional form of cross-border communication. Such unidirectionality was also seen in the use of greetings in phone conversations. Although both migrants and non-migrants engaged in brief routinized greetings at the beginning of phone conversations, relatives in El Salvador often spent a good deal of time passing along greetings to their migrant kin from others, including relatives, godparents, and others in the community (former girlfriends, co-workers, and classmates). Migrant kin never engaged in this practice of mediating greetings; although of course the pool of commonly-known individuals in the United States was smaller, in both families there were enough other migrant relatives to have justified this practice in theory. In this chapter, I seek to explain the unidirectionality of such elaborated greeting practices through a close analysis of the structure and function of transnational video greetings; I suggest that video greetings carry

out important communicative care labor that works to cement the cross-border ties that non-migrant kin rely on for survival.

The examples analyzed in this chapter were recorded when families in El Salvador took advantage of my presence as a researcher with a video camera and asked me to record video greetings for their migrant kin. This dynamic emerged from the long standing role I have had in the village as a photographer, as one of few people who owns a digital camera. Families regularly asked me to take photos of their children or of other special events, and my willingness to agree to such requests was well known. As the operator of the camera, I no doubt influenced the performance of the greetings analyzed here. This was particularly evident in the case of young children who did not understand how the video camera worked and were told to address me rather than the video camera. However, although the participants knew I would include the recordings as part of the material I was gathering for my study, the primary audience of these video greetings was their migrant kin. Moreover, comparing the greetings I recorded with other greeting videos in whose production I was not involved revealed remarkably similar performances of the greeting ritual; thus, despite my presence, the examples analyzed here are representative of the broader use of video greetings by transnational Salvadoran families.

As with greeting rituals in general (Duranti 1997a; Goffman 1967; Irvine 1975; Schegloff 1972), the video greetings in my data set are communicative performances that are quasi-formulaic in content and form. In form, video greetings are characterized by primarily monologic performance in which one individual, speaking directly to the camera, delivers a greeting to their distant kin. The greetings make use of repeated prosodic contours and draw on recurring grammatical constructions. They invariably begin either with a direct salutation

or with the phrase *yo le mando saludos a…* ('I send greetings to…'); this performative utterance demarcates the beginning of the greeting ritual. This opening is then followed by a listing of individuals to whom the greeting is addressed, and then by formulaic well-wishing, which can be optionally expanded into more extended well-wishing. In video greetings, this structure undergoes recursion and can be repeated separately for different individuals or groups of individuals. The greetings generally end quite abruptly, with the speaker simply indicating that they are finished speaking, most canonically by saying *solamente* ('that's all') to signal the end of their performance both to the camera operator and to their audience of distant kin. The clear opening and closing structure functions to bracket off the greeting, setting it as a distinct communicative undertaking and building a separate ritual space in the flow of everyday life.

The nature of greetings as a special kind of social performance was underscored by the embodied preparation often engaged in prior to recording them; I was often asked to wait until people had changed into nicer clothes and combed their hair before making recordings. Both copresent and distant kin commented on one another's sartorial preparation, with a mother scolding her daughter for not wearing shoes, a younger brother teasing his older brother for wearing a shirt that was too small, and a migrant daughter noting that her mother hadn't bothered to put on a bra before recording her greeting. Clothing choices were therefore an important part of greeting performance, as was attention to positioning within the material environment. One mother spent all morning weeding the *milpa* (cornfield) so that when I arrived with the video camera to record the prearranged greeting, she could deliver it in front of this potent Mesoamerican symbol of material sustenance and familial survival. Video greetings thus mobilized a range of semiotic resources, including linguistic

features and genre conventions as well as material components such as clothing and landscape, to construct powerful ritual performances of communicative care.

I turn now to an analysis of video greetings, examining how the particular form of this everyday ritual facilitates the organization of transnational family life and constitutes cross-border connection. In order to explore the enchronic characteristics and synchronic function of greetings, I begin with examples of adults performing greetings and then to cases in which children are socialized into the giving of greetings, revealing the diachronic implications of this ritual practice. Through my analysis, I demonstrate that video greetings, like greeting rituals more generally, manage bodies entering social space; however, in technologically mediated greetings, both the space and the bodies are constituted through the ritual itself. For cross-border families, the practice of greetings construct a transnational family space within which the greeter locates herself, drawing in her distant kin and positioning them within the space as she greets them. Through an examination of the linguistic, material, and affective features of video greetings, I argue that this "little ritual" constitutes a crucial means of communicative care whereby family members in El Salvador construct transnational ties by reminding their distant kin of their connections and obligations; it is only by linguistically sustaining such cross-border affective relationships that families in El Salvador have access to the greater material resources available in the United States. Thus, through this ritual practice of communicative care, cross-border families manage the material inequalities of global capitalism and affirm their affective connections despite the physical separation necessitated by a neoliberal regime.

Performing Video Greetings

The formulaic structure of greetings as well as their material-affective function can be seen in the first example, which I recorded during a fieldwork trip in 2011. The Martínez family had just finished building two additional rooms onto their house with the financial help of their migrant sons Patricio and Luís. Towards the end of my time in the village, Davíd, the patriarch of the family, approached me and asked if I would be able to record a video of these new rooms to send to his sons. I of course agreed; when I arrived at the Martínez home with my camera to make the recording, Davíd led me into one of the new rooms. As soon as I turned the camera on, he immediately launched into a description of the building materials used in construction and their costs. The addressivity of this recording is quite complex: at times Davíd speaks directly to me in answer to questions I have posed, and refers to his sons in the third person. However, most of the recording involves a detailed report of exactly how much money was spent on which building materials; this information was clearly intended primarily not for me but rather for Davíd's migrant sons who had funded the project, although they were never directly addressed. As I was completing the recording of the second room, Davíd shifted from reporting to thanking, expressing how grateful he and the whole family were for the financial support that had allowed them to undertake this construction: "nosotros estamos muy agradecidos con Patricio y con Luís, porque Luís nos ha ayudado también con una parte y Patricio puso lo demás" ('we are very thankful to Patricio and to Luís, because Luís also helped us with part of it and Patricio sent the rest'). He then launched spontaneously into the greeting shown in Example 4.1, greeting his sons and their wives. This embedding of a greeting in the midst of another communicative project is quite unusual; generally, greetings are produced at the beginning of

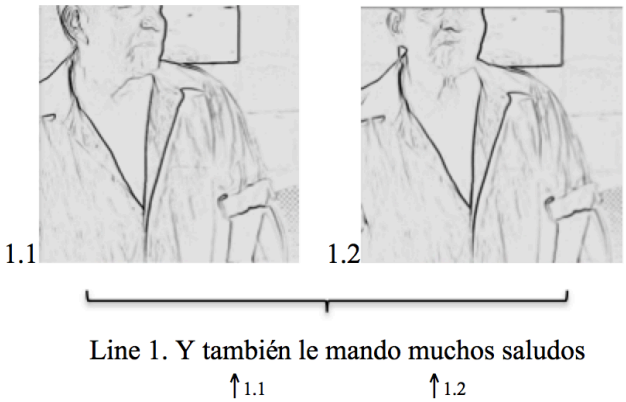
interactions, and video greetings tend to be produced as stand-alone performances. The embedding of Davíd's greeting at this particular point in the ongoing report thus suggests a strong connection between greeting rituals and the expression of thanks, a linkage that is also reflected in the vignette that opens this chapter.

Example 4.1[14]

1.	Davíd:	Y también le mando muchos saludos,	*I also send many greetings,*
2.		(0.5)	
3.		a:,	*to,*
4.		(.) a Patricio,	*to Patricio,*
5.		(0.7)	
6.		y a Luís.	*and to Luís.*
7.		(0.5)	
8.		Y la esposa de Patricio,	*And to the wife of Patricio,*
9.		y la esposa de,	*and to the wife of,*
10.		(0.7)	
11.		Luís también.	*Luís as well.*
12.		(1.3)	
13.		Porque siempre se acuerdan de nosotros.	*Because they/you all always remember us.*
14.		(2.1)	
15.		Espero que,	*I hope that,*
16.		(.) siempre se encuentren alentados,	*they/you all are always in good health,*
17.		(0.2)	
18.		trabajando.	*working.*
19.		(1.4)	
20.		Sí.	*Yes.*

[14] The correct translation of the pronominal forms used in lines 13 and 16 is not entirely clear. In Latin American Spanish, which lacks a distinct second-person plural verbal paradigm, the same verbal conjugations and pronominal clitics can refer to both second- and third-person plural referents. In translating these instances as third person, I have relied on larger patterns of address in the recording; however, it is quite possible that these forms strategically blend a second-person and third-person form of reference.

Figure 4.1: Nonverbal Actions in Example 4.1



This example illustrates the basic generic structure of video greetings: it begins with the traditional performative opening statement of sending greetings (line 1), during which Davíd turns his gaze directly to the camera, as indicated in Figures 1.1 and 1.2. The greeting then continues with a list of relatives to whom the greeting is sent (lines 3 to 11), followed by formulaic well-wishing (lines 13-18). Each of these components is produced in fairly quick succession, with the identification of individuals using a listing intonation. At the end of the greeting, Davíd steps away from the camera and nods his head while producing a summative "sí" at much lower volume. Through this conjunction of verbal and nonverbal actions at the beginning and end of the video greeting, he brackets off his performance of this greeting ritual from the surrounding talk; linguistic and embodied resources here work in conjunction to construct an interactional space oriented to transnational family ties.

In greeting rituals, address terms or other context-dependent signs such as pronouns or kin terms are used to identify individuals and indicate that they belong to the community (Duranti 1997a). The identification of individuals assumes even greater importance in non-copresent greetings. Unlike face-to-face greetings where speakers can visually identify their interlocutors in shared physical space, in video greetings, the greeting itself establishes a

transnational family space through clear interactional delimitation that sets this ritual apart from other communicative practices. Naming migrant relatives then peoples this transnational space with distant kin who are positioned in relationship to the greeter. Thus, who is named, and in what order individuals are identified, becomes crucially important. In this example, Davíd begins by naming his two sons and then moves on to their wives, who are referred to not by name but by their relationship to the sons.

This identification of individuals creates an ordered list in which Davíd's sons are designated as the primary recipients of his greeting, whereas his daughters-in-law are secondary recipients. This list constitutes, at the micro level, a transnational family network in which certain relatives are more closely connected, while others are more distant. In the case of Davíd's sons versus his daughters-in-law, this organization corresponds to blood ties, mapping onto the biological structure of the family. At the same time, the ordering positions the migrants who send remittances (Davíd's two sons) as more central to the transnational family network. The import of economic practices in shaping the network organization is reflected in Davíd's identification of his two sons: he lists them not in the biologically oriented birth order, but rather in migration order. This order also corresponds more immediately to the interactional project from which Davíd's greeting emerged: Patricio was the son who provided more financial support for the recently completed construction on the family home. He had also been sending remittances far more regularly than his older brother and these were the resources the family in El Salvador used to purchase food. Thus, the construction of familial relatedness through communicative care involves orientation not only, and perhaps even not primarily, towards biological factors. Rather, the ordered transnational network that is constituted highlights the importance of practice-based criteria

for relatedness, with migration order and relative economic support being granted central significance.

Affect also plays a crucial role in these greetings, as seen in the well-wishing that follows the identification of migrant kin and articulates affective involvement in their lives. Not only does Davíd send good wishes from El Salvador to those in the United States (line 16), he also states that this involvement flows from the United States to El Salvador, as the migrant kin remember their family back home (line 13). This mention of remembering, particularly in the context of thanking migrant relatives for the money they sent home, constitutes a coded reference to material support; within transnational families, remittances sent home by migrant kin are often talked about as an expression of cross-border emotion that creates affective ties (McKay 2007). Thus, in stating that his geographically distant kin always remember their family back home, Davíd ties the transnational well-wishing of his greeting to the explicit expression of gratitude that immediately preceded it. The greeting thus constructs cross-border connections in much the same way as in the Facebook example at the beginning of the chapter: the greeting thanks migrants for their material support, reminds them of their continued ties, and works to ensure continued economic assistance. Notably, despite previous research suggesting that women in transnational families bear a greater responsibility for organizing cross-border rituals and for care work more broadly (Al-Ali 2002; Gardner 2002; Mand 2002), here the patriarch of the family engages in communicative care, suggesting the need for a more nuanced account of gendered divisions for this form of care work.

Other video greetings show a similar structure and function. The next two examples were recorded on the same day, after Davíd finished his report of the construction project and

encouraged other members of the family to record greetings to send to their migrant relatives. Here, the matriarch of the family, Rosario, sends a greeting to her migrant sons and their families.

Example 4.2

1.	ROSARIO;	Yo les mando,	*I send,*
2.		(.) saludos,	*..greetings*
3.		(0.3)	
4.		para Patricio,	*to Patricio,*
5.		para (.) la muchacha Marlene,	*to (.) the young woman Marlene,*
6.		y las nietas,	*and the granddaughters,*
7.		las dos niñas que tienen allí.	*the two girls they have there.*
8.		(0.2)	
9.		Les mando muchos saludos.	*I send them all many greetings.*
10.		Les quiero mucho a ellos.	*I love them all a lot.*
11.		(H) Y:,	*And,*
12.		(.) también:,	*also,*
13.		(0.7)	
14.		le mando saludos a --	*I send greetings to --*
15.		(0.3)	
16.		a Luís,	*to Luís,*
17.		la otra nieta,	*to the other granddaughter,*
18.		la Inéz,	*Inéz,*
19.		y la,	*and to,*
20.		(0.7)	
21.		y la:,	*and to,*
22.		(0.5)	
23.		la- --	*to- --*
24.		como se llama esta muchacha?	*what is the name of this young woman?*

This greeting is structurally very similar to the previous example. Once again, the greeting constructs a transnational family space in which individuals are positioned in a particular order relative to one another, and Rosario's greeting uses the same order of identification for her sons as Davíd's greeting, beginning with Patricio, the younger son whose regular remittances in the past months had been physically sustaining the family. However, here she greets each son and his wife and child (or children) in turn, mentioning young family members who had not been included in Davíd's greeting. Rosario's greeting

identifies these children, one of whom is Patricio's step-daughter, using the kin-term *las nietas* ('the granddaughters'). With this referential choice, Rosario positions the girls generationally within the transnational kin space; through avoidance of the possessive form *mis nietas* ('my granddaughters'), this generational positioning is extended beyond the girls' relationship to Rosario alone, instead constituting a broader fact of the transnational family structure. This generational ordering is also highlighted in Rosario's identification of her daughters-in-law, which combines their names (or attempts to remember their names) with the non-familial reference term *muchacha* ('young woman').[15] Thus, Rosario's greeting constructs a differently organized family network than that constituted by Davíd: here, the transnational family is structured primarily in generational terms, with new nuclear families in the U.S. forming embedded groupings characterized by their own internal structure. Nevertheless, the ordering of this identification again positions spouses and children residing in the United States as secondary to the remittance-sending migrants upon whom the greeters in El Salvador depend for survival.

In consolidating these transnational ties through well-wishing, Rosario foregrounds affect much more explicitly than Davíd did in his greeting. She clearly articulates her emotional stance towards the individuals in each nuclear family, stating *les quiero mucho a ellos* ('I love them a lot') (line 10). The object of the affective stance is explicitly situated as a third-person referent through the pronominal phrase *a ellos* ('to them'), highlighting the mediated nature of her greeting, which is performed first for the camera (and to some extent the camera operator) and only through this performance reaches her distant kin. This emotional stancetaking thus indexes a complex sense of close affective involvement that is

[15] This term is often translated as 'girl' in other varieties of Spanish, but Salvadoran Spanish uses the terms *niña* or *cipota* to mean 'girl'; *muchacha* is reserved to refer to a young woman who has passed through puberty (as in the common phrase *ya se hizo muchacha* 'she is now a young woman').

nevertheless kept at a remove, reflecting the reality of cross-border life. A similar affective tension emerges at the end of Rosario's greeting (not included in Example 2): after completing her greeting of Luís' nuclear family, she pauses and then states *de allí a saber para cuando nos vamos a ver otra vez* ('from there who knows when we will see each other again'). Although she smiles as she speaks, her eyes fill with tears in an embodied manifestation of the pain of separation from loved ones and the longing to be physically reunited. Thus, not only do greetings constitute communicative care as a form of affective work by which transnational families manage the material inequalities of neoliberal capitalism, but they also connect the affective and the material at the micro level of the embodied experience of emotion.

The similarities in these two examples highlight the shared norms that undergird the ritual practice of greetings. The next example illustrates the existence of such shared norms more explicitly. After her parents had recorded their greetings, Camila, the youngest daughter and their only child at home that afternoon, sent a greeting to her brothers in the United States, continuing the prioritization of the primary remitter: her greeting involves an extended one-minute greeting of Patricio with a brief fifteen-second greeting for Luís almost as an afterthought (not included in Example 4.3). This example comes from the first part of the recording and involves unsolicited participation from Camila's mother, Rosario, who is sitting with her on the patio.

Example 4.3

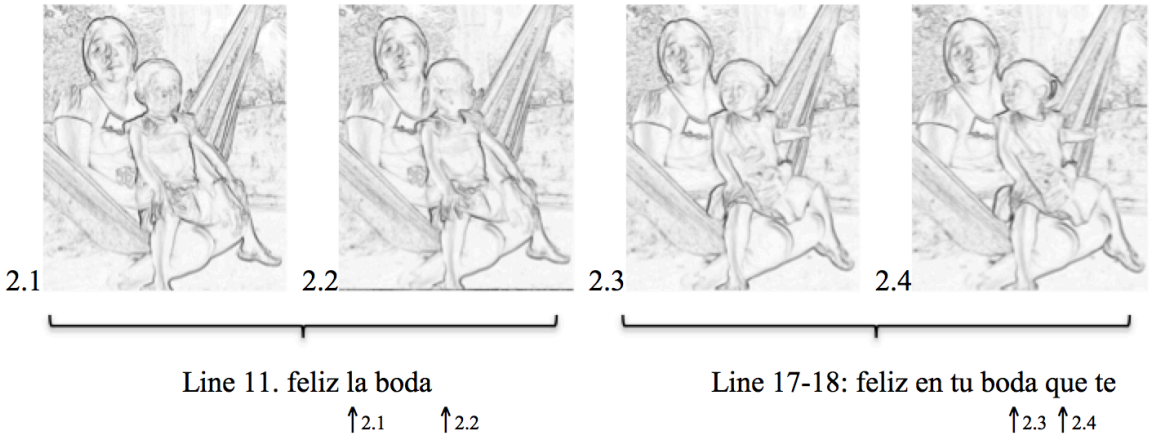
1.	Camila:	Hola Patricio.	*Hello Patricio.*
2.		(0.3)	
3.		Espero te encuentres bien.	*I hope that you are well.*
4.		(1.3)	
5.		Y:,	*And,*
6.		(0.5)	
7.		deseándote que estés	*hoping that you are in good health,*

		alenta:do,	
8.		(1.1)	
9.		esté alentado la niña,	*that the girl is in good health,*
10.		(0.5)	
11.	Rosario:	Feliz la boda.	*Happy wedding.*
12.		(0.5)	
13.	Camila:	Y Marlene también.	*Marlene as well.*
14.		(1.9)	
15.		Y: que:,	*And that,*
16.		(0.7)	
17.		seas feliz en tu bo:da,	*you are happy in your wedding,*
18.		que te (.) salga todo bien,	*that everything turns out well,*
19.		así como (.) lo esperas,	*just like you want it to,*

Camila's greeting follows norms of intra-generational solidarity among siblings, beginning with a colloquial *hola* ('hello') and using the informal second-person form of address. As in Rosario's greeting, Camila here constructs a transnational family space that is organized along the lines of nuclear family, starting with her remittance-sending migrant brother and then his daughter and his partner. While Camila's well-wishing begins as very formulaic, making use of the same *estar alentado* construction (lines 7 and 9) seen in Example 4.1, it is then extended to include specific reference to an important current event in her brother's life: his upcoming wedding to Marlene, the mother of his daughter. Notably, the mention of the wedding here is co-constructed, as Rosario prompts her daughter to mention this event (line 11). The timing of Rosario's unsolicited participation is crucial, coming just as Camila seems to have completed the conventional 'good health' well-wishing; this sequential organization demonstrates a shared intersubjective understanding of the canonical organization of greetings, in which optional extensions are placed after formulaic well-wishing has been completed. Rosario's prompt may also have reminded Camila to include her soon-to-be sister-in-law Marlene in her greeting (line 13). Both Rosario's interjection and Camila's later uptake of her suggestion are explicitly affective statements (line 11 and line

17), wishing Patricio happiness in his upcoming nuptials. The co-constructed nature of this expanded well-wishing emphasizes the importance of cross-border affective engagements as a key function of greetings.

Figure 4.2: Nonverbal Actions in Example 4.3



Despite its generally monologic production, then, the ritual of greetings is underpinned by shared norms that shape how this practice of communicative care constructs and sustains transnational family belonging. Moreover, such shared norms emerge over time and are intergenerationally transmitted, as can be seen through a close analysis of the nonverbal behavior of the silent third participant in this example, Camila's three-year-old daughter Ora. While Ora's default gaze position, at the camera, mirrors her mother's, she uses visual tracking to monitor the unfolding ritual greeting, carefully attending to this performance. Hence, when Rosario makes her contribution to Camila's greeting, the child immediately turns to look at her grandmother, even though Camila's gaze remains steadfastly on the camera (Figures 2.1 and 2.2). Moreover, as soon as Camila takes up and incorporates Rosario's mention of the wedding, Ora looks up at her mother (Figures 2.3 and 2.4). The timing of these shifts in gaze direction suggests that Ora is tracking not only the participants in the greeting, but also its content: the second gaze shift up at her mother comes after

intervening speech by her mother, responding to the content of her mother's utterance. Thus, here, Ora learns the norms of this ritual performance of communicative care as she watches and listens. Such observational learning of greetings is often accompanied by instances of very overt and direct socialization in which children are instructed to greet distant relatives whom they have often never met. It is to such examples that my analysis now turns.

Socializing Video Greetings

If video greetings are understood as a ritual whereby distant kin sustain their connection to one another across borders, then socialization practices are key to maintaining these transnational ties over time. It is only by transmitting communicative care practices to new generations that the transnational family can be continued through the years. In this section, I turn to an analysis of how children are explicitly socialized into the practice of video greetings, arguing that this practice simultaneously recognizes and models existing kin relations while teaching children to identify and display care for distant relatives whom they have never met. In analyzing socialization practices, I pay close attention to the embodied aspects of these interactions; my goal is to demonstrate the crucial function of embodiment in this form of affective labor, illustrating the relevance of materiality to communicative care practices not just at the level of global economic systems, but also at the scale of the individual body. To illustrate this point, I turn to examples from the Portillo family, which were recorded in June 2014.

In Example 4.4, 17-year-old Kique has just come home from school to find the family gathered at his grandmother Olivia's house. Olivia had asked me to bring the video camera over so she could send a greeting to her four migrant children; when Kique arrived, she had just finished recording her greeting and had been trying unsuccessfully to get her daughter

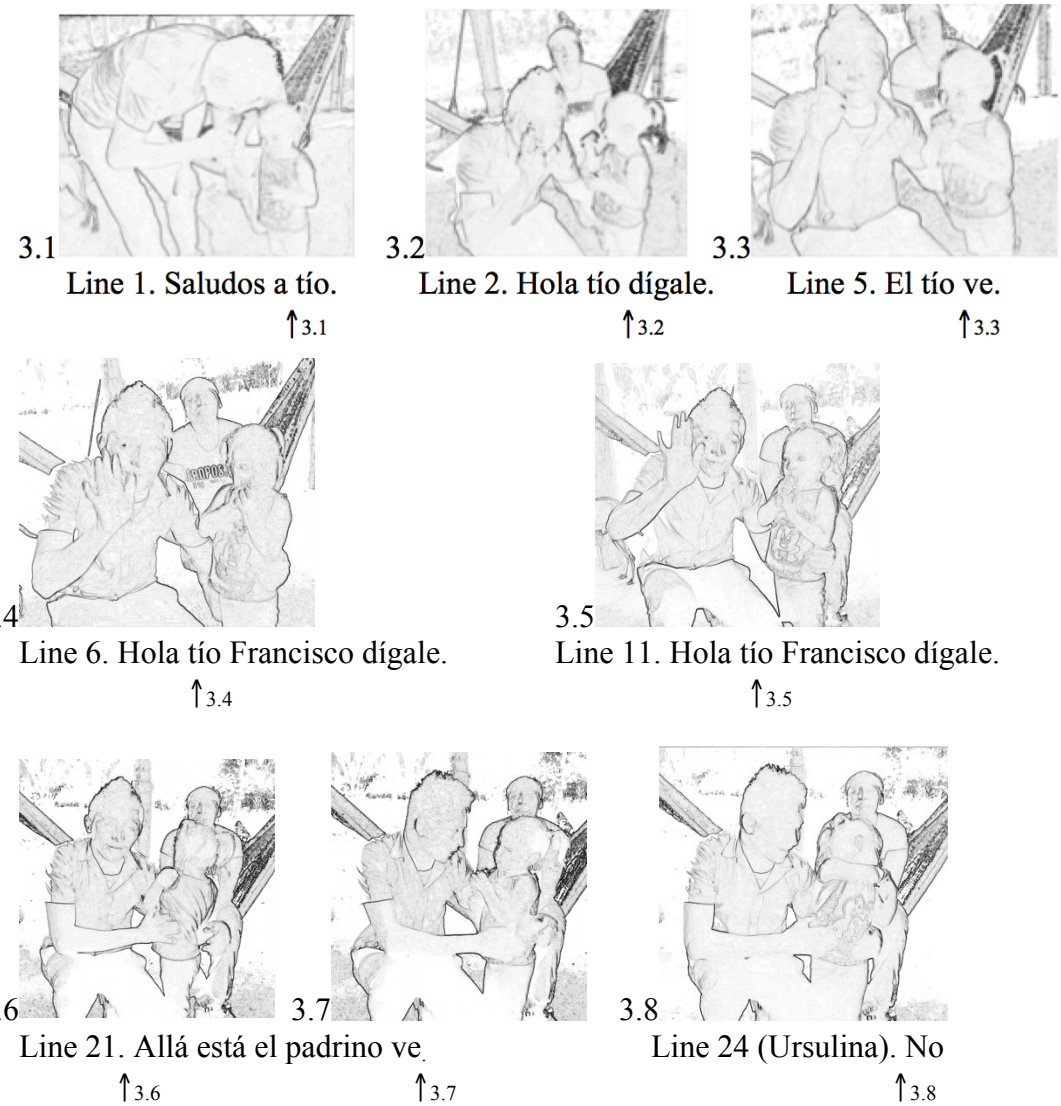
Perla and her two-year-old granddaughter Ursulina to record greetings as well. Kique jumped right into this interactional project, working insistently to convince his younger sister to perform a greeting, a situation that once again demonstrates the crucial involvement of male as well as female family members in everyday practices of communicative care. Moreover, by focusing on socialization within the same generation, this example highlights the important role of older siblings in passing along culturally specific ways of speaking and acting to younger children.

Example 4.4[16]

1.	KIQUE;	Saludos a tío.	*Greetings to uncle.*
2.		Hola tío dígale.	*Hello uncle tell him.*
3.		Dígale.	*Tell him.*
4.		Mire,	*Look,*
5.		El tío ve.	*Uncle's there.*
6.		Hola tío Francisco dígale.	*Hello uncle Francisco tell him.*
7.		(0.9)	
8.	KIQUE;	Dígale.	*Tell him.*
9.	OLIVIA;	Decile.	*Tell him.*
10.		(0.5)	
11.	KIQUE;	Hola tío Francisco dígale.	*Hello uncle Francisco tell him.*
12.		(0.6)	
13.	OLIVIA;	Y a [tía Serena decile].	*And to aunt Serena tell her.*
14.	KIQUE;	[Sáquese sus manos].	*Take your hands out.*
15.	OLIVIA;	[Y a tío #- --	*And to uncle #- --*
16.		Mira ve],	*Look there,*
17.	KIQUE;	[Dígale allá ve.	*Tell him there see.*
18.		Mira].	*Look.*
19.	OLIVIA;	Y a tu padrino Gerardo.	*And your godfather Gerardo.*
20.		(0.4)	
21.	KIQUE;	[Allá está el padrino ve].	*There is the godfather see.*
22.	OLIVIA;	[Al tío Gerardo,]	*To uncle Gerardo,*
23.	OLIVIA;	que hab[laste aquel] día con él.	*you spoke with him the other day.*
24.	URSULINA;	[No].	*No.*
25.	KIQUE;	@@	@@

[16] The imperative forms direct to Ursulina in this example involve variation between the *vos* forms used by Olivia (lines 9 and 13) and the *usted* forms used by Kique throughout. While *vos* is the default form of address towards young children, I have noted a pattern in which the *usted* forms are occasionally used when a child is being scolded or praised. In both cases the child's responsibility is emphasized through this marked form of address, as perhaps Kique attempts to do here by getting his little sister to perform a ritual greeting.

Figure 4.3: Nonverbal Actions in Example 4.4



In this example, Kique attempts persistently but unsuccessfully to elicit a greeting from Ursulina to migrant kin whom she has never met. She is provided with a list of the distant relatives whom she should greet; this listing socializes her into the production of a particular form of kinship structure, a transnational family space in which some people occupy more central roles than others. The primary focus of the greeting is Francisco, Kique and Ursulina's uncle, and the first member of the family to migrate. Olivia contributes other names of migrant kin to be greeted: Serena, the relative who migrated most recently (line

13), and Gerardo, Ursulina's uncle, who is also her godfather (lines 15, 19, 22). Although Gerardo had not been physically present to fulfill the role of godfather at Ursulina's baptism, his wife Berta (the godmother) had been, and he most likely sent money to cover baptism expenses, thus fulfilling the financial component of the traditional godparent role. Godparents would traditionally have been non-kin and this relationship would have functioned to strengthen community ties, but affinal kin practices seem to be shifting in Canton El Río, with relatives more commonly being asked to take on such roles; for cross-border families such as Ursulina's, selecting a migrant as a godparent may function to reinforce transnational links by adding the strength of affinal connections to existing consanguineal ties. Here, Olivia references Gerardo's role as godfather (line 19) and as uncle (line 22), and reminds Ursulina that she had previously spoken to him on the phone (line 23), thereby helping the little girl to contextualize these relationships and the position of distant kin relative to her in the transnational family space of the greeting. Crucially, this list excludes one migrant relative, Victor, who is also Ursulina's uncle and a sibling of the other migrants listed; however, unlike the other migrants, Victor had stopped sending money home to El Salvador, drawing condemnation from migrants and non-migrants alike and perhaps resulting in his exclusion from the greeting, a point I return to later. Once again, therefore, material practices emerge as central to the construction of transnational family networks in this communicative care.

In addition to socializing Ursulina into the construction of a transnational family space by naming relatives for her to greet, Kique also models how to perform the greeting, providing Ursulina with a repeated construction (lines 2, 6, 11) made up of a salutation (*hola* 'hello') followed by terms of reference (*tío Francisco* 'uncle Francisco') and concluded with

an imperative quotative (*dígale* 'tell him/her'). This utterance is designed for dialogic uptake whereby Ursulina can simply repeat the greeting Kique has modeled for her. The use of such verbal routines in socialization practices has been documented in a range of cultural settings (Schieffelin and Ochs 1986). Moreover, each time he repeats this linguistic construction, it is accompanied by specific nonverbal actions in which Kique looks directly at the camera and raises his hand in a wave (Figures 3.2, 3.4, 3.5). Through this repetitive embodied action, Kique models the ritual of video greetings not only as a linguistic performance but also as a material practice requiring particular kinds of bodily comportment, thereby teaching his younger sister the practices through which the transnational family space of cross-border greetings is constituted.

In addition to modeling nonverbal behavior for his sister, Kique also attempts to directly socialize her into this embodied comportment in several other ways. Most overtly, he calls her attention to the camera through the use of imperatives (lines 4, 18) as well as with pointing gestures (Figures 3.1, 3.3) which, by occurring in overlap with the term *tío*, implicitly link Ursulina's uncle to the camera. Moreover, Kique positions himself close to Ursulina, crouching down on the ground next to her and putting a hand around her waist (Figure 3.2); this proximity allows him to direct her physical movement. In his first attempt, this positioning, along with a pointing gesture, is sufficient to direct her gaze at the camera (Figure 3.3); however, Ursulina later resists forming this aligned orientation, turning her back to the camera (Figure 3.6). Kique uses his close proximity to physically turn her body around (Figure 3.7), but she leans away from him and the camera (Figure 3.8), uttering an emphatic refusal to comply. At this point Kique laughs and gives up his attempt, releasing his hold on Ursulina, who goes to her mother for comfort. In this example, the child is not only

socialized into the linguistic construction of a transnational family space via greetings, but also into the embodied aspects of this ritual practice of communicative care. In short, the affective labor of greetings in sustaining the cross-border ties that give access to material resources is enacted through particular nonverbal orientations that are themselves embedded in the material world through the body.

Example 4.5 shows similarly explicit and persistent socialization of a child into the ritual of video greetings, once again revealing the importance of embodied materiality for the performance of communicative care. In this instance, at the request of Francisco, the first of the Portillo sons to migrate, I had gone to record footage of the village house he had inherited from his grandfather, which is currently inhabited by his younger sister Rosa. In this example, I had just finished shooting footage of the outside of the house and the surrounding property; as I returned to the house to ask whether Rosa wanted me to film the inside as well, she was talking to her five-year-old son Zacarias. He asked her whether he could go to see his uncle Francisco, whom he had never met, and his aunt Serena, whom he knew before she migrated two years earlier. Rosa answered negatively and he complained disappointedly, to which she responded by suggesting that he send a greeting to these distant kin instead. Zacarias asked where they were and I explained that I would take the video of him to them in the United States. Rosa then continued her efforts to get him to perform a greeting as follows.

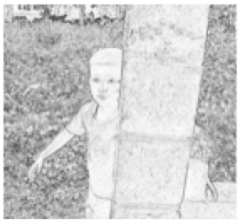
Example 4.5

1.	Rosa:	Hola tía Serena decile.	*Hello aunt Serena tell her.*
2.		(0.6)	*(0.6)*
3.	Zacarias:	Hola.	*Hello.*
4.		(0.4)	*(0.4)*
5.	Rosa:	Hola tía Serena decile.	*Hello aunt Serena tell her.*
6.		(0.6)	*(0.6)*
7.	Rosa:	Dígale pues.	*Tell her then.*
8.		(1.3)	*(1.3)*
9.	Rosa:	Hablale.	*Talk to her.*

10.		(.) Allá te va a ver ella.	*(.) She will see you there.*
11.		(1.7)	*(1.7)*
12.	Rosa:	Decile,	*Tell her,*
13.		(.) Hola tía Sere.	*(.) Hello aunt Sere.*
14.		(0.7)	*(0.7)*
15.	Zacarias:	No.	*No.*
16.		(0.3)	*(0.3)*
17.	Rosa:	Hablale.	*Talk to her.*
18.		(4.0)	*(4.0)*
19.	Rosa:	No le gusta hablar mucho.	*He doesn't like to talk much.*
20.		(0.3)	*(0.3)*
21.	Linet:	Ya no.	*Not at the moment.*
22.		(6.6)	*(6.6)*
23.	Rosa:	Mandale un saludo a tu tía Sere.	*Send a greeting to your aunt Sere.*
24.		(3.0)	*(3.0)*
25.	Rosa:	Sí papá.	*Yes sweetie.*
26.		(1.8)	*(1.8)*
27.	Rosa:	Hablale.	*Talk to her.*
28.		(1.4)	*(1.4)*
29.	Rosa:	Hola tía Sere decile.	*Hello aunt Sere tell her.*
30.		(1.6)	*(1.6)*
31.	Rosa:	Te mando un saludo decile.	*I send you a greeting tell her.*
32.		(1.4)	*(1.4)*
33.	Rosa:	Decile pues.	*Tell her then.*
34.		(1.2)	*(1.2)*
35.	Rosa:	Si no,	*If not,*
36.		ya no te va a volver a hablar.	*she won't call you anymore.*
37.		(2.1)	*(2.1)*
38.	Rosa:	No te va a hablar por teléfono.	*She won't call you on the phone.*
39.		(0.9)	*(0.9)*
40.	Rosa:	A ella decile allí.	*To her tell her there.*
41.		(1.1)	*(1.1)*
42.	Rosa:	Hola tía Sere decile.	*Hello aunt Sere tell her.*
43.	Zacarias:	(.) Hola tía Sere.	*(.) Hello aunt Sere.*
44.	Rosa:	Le mando un saludo decile.	*I send you a greeting tell her.*
45.	Zacarias:	(.) Le mando un saludo.	*(.) I send you a greeting.*
46.	Rosa:	(.) La quiero mucho.	*(.) I love you a lot.*
47.		(0.3)	*(0.3)*
48.	Zacarias:	La quiero mucho.	*I love you a lot.*
49.		(0.4)	*(0.4)*
50.	Rosa:	Y cuídese.	*And take care.*
51.		(0.4)	*(0.4)*
52.	Zacarias:	Y cuídese.	*And take care.*
53.		(0.2)	*(0.2)*
54.	Rosa:	Pórtese bien dígale.	*Behave well tell her.*
55.	Zacarias:	(.) Pórtese bien.	*(.) Behave well.*

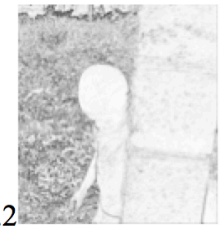
56.		(0.2)	*(0.2)*
57.	Rosa:	Con mi tío.	*With my uncle.*
58.		(0.6)	*(0.6)*
59.	Zacarias:	Con mi tío.	*With my uncle.*
60.	Rosa:	(.) A ella allí ve.	*(.) To her there see.*

Figure 4.4: Nonverbal Actions in Example 4.5

4.1 

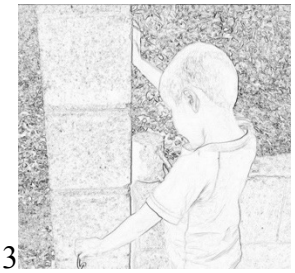
Line 1 (Z). Hola.

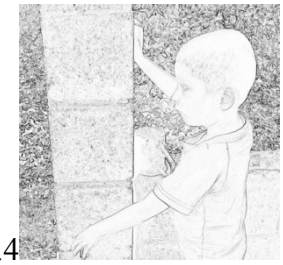
↑4.1

4.2 

Line 5 (R). Hola tía Serena decile.

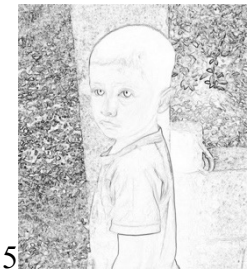
↑4.2

4.3 

4.4 

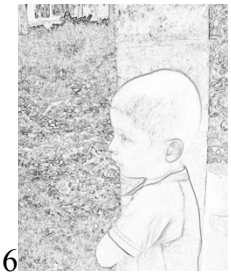
Lines 35-36 (R). Si no, ya no te va a volver a hablar.

↑4.3 ↑4.4

4.5 

Line 42 (R). Hola tía Sere decile.

↑4.5

4.6 

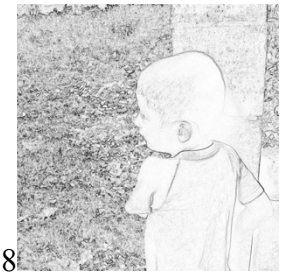
Line 50 (R). Y cuídese.

↑4.6

4.7 

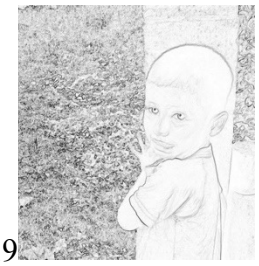
Line 52 (Z). Y cuídese.

↑4.7

4.8 

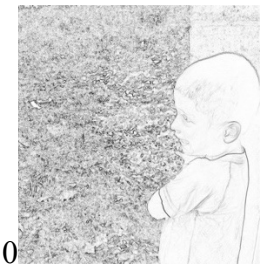
Line 54 (R). Pórtese bien dígale.

↑4.8

4.9 

Line 55 (Z). (.) Pórtese bien.

↑4.9

4.10 

Line 57 (R). Con mi tío.

↑4.10

4.11 

Line 58 (R). Con mi tío.

↑4.11

Here, Rosa models for her child the greeting she wants him to perform, utilizing the same construction as the one used by Kique in the previous example. She focuses on eliciting a greeting for her sister Serena, the most recent migrant and the only distant family member whom Zacarias knows. At first this strategy seems to succeed, garnering an immediate and enthusiastic hello from Zacarias, delivered with appropriate embodied orientation directly to the camera (line 3, Figure 4.1) that unproblematically constructs and enters into a transnational family space. However, when his mother continues to solicit a more elaborate greeting and a continuation of this cross-border engagement, Zacarias resists nonverbally, shaking his head and looking down (Figure 4.2) and then climbing up onto the porch of the house and walking its full length, away from his mother and the camera. Unlike Kique in the previous example, Rosa does not attempt to physically constrain her son's movement in order to orient him towards the camera. Instead, she addresses Zacarias' resistance by persisting in her elicitation and timing her directive statements with careful attention to his embodied actions. Thus, she does not address him while he walks away from the camera, but waits until he has walked back towards her before re-initiating her attempt to get him to produce a greeting (line 23).

When her persistent instructions continue to be met with nonverbal resistance (Figure 4.3), Rosa mobilizes Zacarias' connection to Serena, threatening that his aunt will no longer call him if he does not greet her (lines 36, 38). This threat immediately gets Zacarias' attention as he looks up at his mother (Figure 4.4), suggesting the importance of affective cross-border engagements for this little boy. The fact that his mother deploys Zacarias' connection to his distant aunt in this way hints at the salience of emotional ties, consolidated via phone conversation, for understanding the reality of cross-border family life, apart from

any material considerations. Communicative care, here in the form of regular transnational phone calls between aunt and nephew, thus emerges here as a salient factor in producing cross-border relatedness. However, it is important to note that another threat commonly used with children in these families is that the migrant relative will no longer send toys or other desired items, or for older teens, that a migrant relative will not send for them to come to the United States. (An example of this sort of threat is shown in Chapter 6). Here, once Rosa has gained her son's attention through this threat to affective connections, she points at the camera and indicates that he should orient himself in that direction (line 40). Zacarias quickly complies (Figure 4.5) and Rosa begins once more to linguistically model the greeting for him. As in the previous example, these modeled utterances are designed for repetitive dialogic uptake and identical repetition by Zacarias, making use of relational terms from his perspective rather than Rosa's. Thus, she refers to Serena as *tía* ('aunt') rather than *hermana* ('sister') (line 42) and uses formal verbal conjugations and terms of address (lines 44, 46, 50, 54) rather than the informal forms used between siblings. Through this use of indexical shifters (Jakobson 1957; Silverstein 1976), Rosa constitutes and constructs a position for her son to inhabit in the transnational family space.

This time, Zacarias complies and performs the greeting, echoing his mother's statements word for word; this dialogic pattern breaks up the greeting into its component parts, including the salutation (lines 42 and 43), the performative statement of greeting (lines 44 and 45), and an explicit expression of affective stance (lines 46 and 48), followed by formulaic well-wishing (lines 50 and 52) and even *consejos* ('advice') (line 54-59). Through his nonverbal actions, Zacarias displays close attention to the dialogic nature of the greeting, particularly during the well-wishing, the most expandable portion. He consistently turns to

look at his mother during the statements she models (Figures 4.6, 4.8. 4.10) and then back at the camera when it is his turn to talk (Figures 4.7, 4.9). When this gaze tracking ends (Figure 4.11), Rosa attempts to re-orient Zacarias to the camera with a pointing gesture. Through this complex interactional engagement between mother and son, involving the careful calibration of verbal and nonverbal actions, Zacarias is socialized into the ritual performance of greetings, being introduced to the component parts of an appropriate greeting as well as the requisite embodied behavior. Ultimately, these fine-grained socialization practices are all in the service of teaching the child how to construct transnational family ties via communicative care practices that will carry forward affective connections, as well as the possibility of financial support, into future generations.

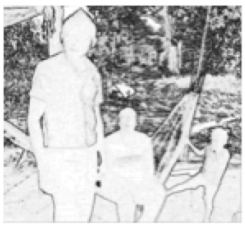
Although most such socialization is addressed towards young children such as Ursulina and Zacarias, it sometimes involves older youth as well. In this next example, which occurred less than 30 seconds after the end of example 4, the socializer becomes the socialized: after unsuccessfully attempting to get Ursulina to give a greeting, Kique himself is asked and agrees to send a greeting. After some discussion about where to record it and whether he should change out of his school uniform, he turns to his mother and asks for her help.

Example 4.6

58.	KIQUE;	Qúe- qúe le voy a decir pues mama.	*What- what am I going to say to him then mom.*
59.	PERLA;	@@@[@@@@]	*@@@@@@*
60.	KIQUE;	[Es que yo ahorita la,	*Because right now I,*
61.		traigo la],	*I have a,*
62.		la mente ocupada.	*a busy mind.*
63.		(0.7)	*(0.7)*
64.	OLIVIA;	Y como se hace un saludo.	*And how is a greeting done.*
65.	OLIVIA;	[Como haces los sa]ludos a las [cipotas].	*How do you greet the girls.*
66.	PERLA;	[Hola] --	*Hello --*

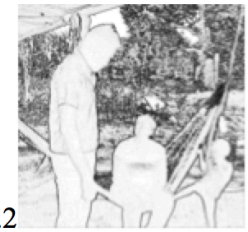
67.			*Hello uncle Francisco tell him.*
		[Hola] tío Francisco decile.	
68.		Espero que esté bien,	*I hope that you are well,*
69.		con sus ni[ños],	*with your children,*
70.	KIQUE;	[Ah] sí.	*Oh yes.*
71.		sí va.	*yes that's right.*
72.		Hola,	*Hello,*
73.		(0.6)	*(0.6)*
74.	KIQUE;	Ya?	*Now?*
75.		(0.3)	*(0.3)*
76.	LINET;	Mhm.	*Mhm.*
77.		(0.3)	*(0.3)*
78.	KIQUE;	Hola tío Francisco,	*Hello uncle Francisco,*
79.		(0.3)	*(0.3)*
80.	KIQUE;	E- espero que,	*I hope that,*
81.		esté bien.	*you are well.*
82.		Se encuentre bien con su familia.	*That you are well with your family.*
83.		(0.5)	*(0.5)*
84.	KIQUE;	Sus hijos.	*Your children.*
85.		(0.6)	*(0.6)*
86.	KIQUE;	Y:,	*And,*
87.		le mando saludos allí a todos.	*I send greetings there to everyone.*
88.		Que se cuiden.	*Take care.*
89.		Y que Dios los cuide.	*And may God take care of you.*
90.		(0.8)	*(0.8)*
91.	KIQUE;	Y que,	*And may,*
92.		sigan adelante y,	*you all continue forward and,*
93.		algun día,	*some day,*
94.		voy a llegar donde ustedes.	*I am going to come to where you are.*
95.		@@	*@@*

Figure 4.5: Nonverbal Actions in Example 4.6

5.1 

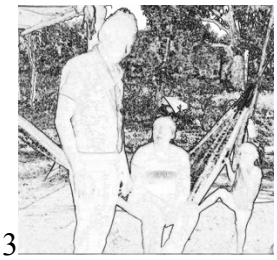
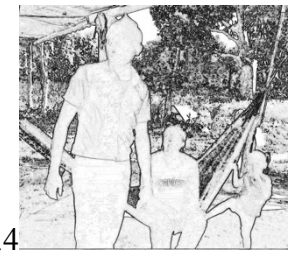
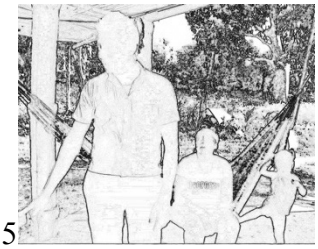
Line 64 (O). Y como se hace un saludo.

↑5.1

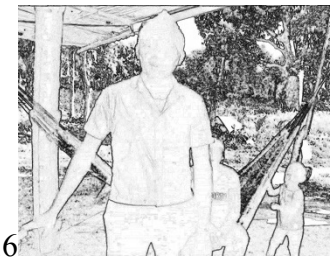
5.2 

Line 67 (P). [Hola] tío Francisco decile.

↑5.2

5.3  5.4  5.5 

Line 68-69 (P). Espero que esté bien, con sus ni[ños], ↑5.3 ↑5.4 Line 70 (K). [Ah] sí. ↑5.5

5.6  5.7 

Line 72 (K). Hola, ↑5.6 Line 74 (K). Ya? ↑5.7

In this example, rather than the persistent imposed socialization seen with younger children in Examples 4.4 and 4.5, no adults attempt to direct Kique in the performance of his greeting until he requests help (line 58). In fact, his mother Perla laughs at his request (line 59), prompting Kique to provide an account of why he needs her help (lines 60-62). His grandmother Olivia is the first to respond (lines 64 and 65), and her teasing response, suggesting that he knows how to perform greetings in the context of flirtation, also indicates incredulity that Kique would need assistance in formulating a greeting, especially as he had just modeled a greeting for his younger sister Ursulina. Taken together, these responses suggest that, by the age of 17, young people like Kique are expected to have learned the conventions for communicative care in the form of greeting rituals and not to require further socialization by adults.

Kique's mother eventually does provide a model greeting for him, using the same construction that Kique himself used with Ursulina just seconds before (line 67). Kique, who

has been looking at his grandmother Olivia (seated on the side of the porch by the camera) (Figure 5.1), turns his gaze towards his mother as soon as she begins modeling this construction (Figure 5.2). However, he begins to look back towards the camera while she is still speaking (Figure 5.3), turning his back to her (Figure 5.4) and stepping towards the camera (Figure 5.5) before she completes her utterance. This bodily orientation illustrates his readiness to continue with the next communicative endeavor (Schegloff 1998), in this case the greeting; his embodied preparation is then followed by a verbal receipt of his mother's utterances (lines 70 and 71), and then immediately afterward the salutation itself (line 72), delivered directly into the camera (Figure 5.6). After pausing and taking several steps closer to the camera (Figure 5.7), Kique checks with me to see whether I am ready for him to begin the greeting (line 74). (This question may have been prompted by the fact that I had at that point been moving around, trying to get a better angle for the shot.) Through this nonverbal orientation, Kique displays his mastery of the norms for the performance of ritual greetings and the construction of a transnational family space, maintaining his gaze directly on the camera for the remainder of the greeting.

Kique's linguistic performance of the greeting likewise demonstrates mastery of this form of communicative care: although he begins the greeting by repeating the statement his mother has modeled for him (lines 78, 81), he then includes additional well-wishing (line 82) which incorporates his mother's earlier mention of Francisco's children (line 84). He next expands his greeting, via a performative statement, to everyone who is there, potentially including his other migrant uncles and aunt (line 87), extending the well-wishing to them as well (lines 88-92). However, this extremely formulaic greeting is ended in an unorthodox manner, as Kique smiles and says that one day he himself will migrate (lines 93-94). He then

dismisses this statement with laughter, saying *"yo sólo estoy mintiendo"* ('I'm only joking/lying'), using humor to manage the interactional delicacy of this quite serious proposition. This conclusion to the greeting is indicative of the important work such ritual greetings accomplish. Not only does such communicative care sustain affective cross-border connections and work to maintain remittance flows, but this ritual practice may also be one of the means by which future migration is enabled and the transnationalization of family life is itself propagated.

Discussion

In this chapter, I have examined the linguistic, affective, and embodied features of technologically mediated greetings, arguing that such "little rituals" constitute a crucial form of communicative care in transnational families. Video greetings are canonically monologic, although my analysis has also illustrated the importance of co-construction, particularly in socialization, as a means of scaffolding young children's performance of this ritual genre. In addition, video greetings involve specific forms of embodied comportment, including orientation towards and consistent gaze at the camera, and for young children, the addition of a waving gesture. However, it is in their linguistic structure that video greetings show the most regularity, making use of repeated constructions, as shown in Table 4.1 below, which lays out all of the greetings included in this chapter, comparing their linguistic structure in terms of the different components used in these ritual greetings.

Table 4.1: Comparison of Linguistic Structure of Greeting

	Greeting component	Performative greeting (1)	Direct salutation (2)	Well wishing (3)	Statement of affect (4)	Commands (5)	Overall Order of Greeting
	Example	*"le/les mando saludos a X"*	*"hola X"*	*"espero que X" "deseándote que X"*	*"le/les quiero mucho"*	*"Cuídese" "Pórtese bien"*	
1.	Davíd	Line 1		Lines 15-18			1, 3, 3
2.	Rosario	Lines 1, 9, 14			Line 10		1, 1, 4, 1
3.	Camila		Line 1	Lines 3, 7, 9, 13, 17			2, 3, 3, 3
4.	Kique (to Ursulina)		Lines 2, 6, 11				2, 2, 2
5.	Rosa (to Zacarias)	Line 31	Lines 1, 5, 13, 29				2, 2, 2, 2, 1
6.	Zacarias (prompted by Rosa)	Line 45	Line 43		Line 48	Line 52	2, 1, 4, 5
7.	Perla (to Kique)		Line 67	Line 48			2, 3
8.	Kique (unprompted)	Line 87	Line 78	Line 80-82		Line 88	2, 3, 3, 1, 5

As the diagram shows, video greetings take one of two alternate openings, either a perfomative statement of greeting (1) or a direct salutation (2); the former is generally used by adults (see rows 1 and 2), with the latter being the domain of young people and children (see rows 3, 6-8), a generational divide that is highlighted in socialization practices which target this phrase above all others (see rows 4 and 5). A listing of those to whom the greeting is directed is followed by well-wishing (3), which makes the affective work of the video greeting explicit. This well-wishing is linguistically made up of a statement of desire (*espero que* 'I hope that') followed by a list of the items the greeter wishes; this listing makes use of the subjunctive mood to articulate these desires, unlike the remainder of the greeting, which uses simple indicative structures in the present tense. Most often, this well-wishing is entirely formulaic in nature, though it can be optionally expanded into more extended sequences that refer to specific circumstances the greeted person is experiencing. Alternately, the greeter may include a direct statement of affect (4), telling their distant kin that they love them; it is interesting to note that this alternative was not used by men spontaneously (see rows 1 and

8), though Rosa successfully prompted her young son Zacarías to use it (see row 6). Some greetings conclude with a shift from the indicative to the imperative mood to address commands to the greeted kin (5); most commonly this was a simple *cuídese* ('take care').

My analysis has demonstrated that these linguistic, material, and affective features of greetings work in concert to produce a powerful form of everyday ritual. The clear demarcation of greetings through simultaneous embodied and linguistic actions sets off this "little ritual" and produces a transnational family space that is interactionally instantiated, brought into being by particular forms of cross-border orientation. Through the greeting, the greeter creates and enters the space, drawing distant kin into the space as they are identified by name and/or kin relationship. I have argued that the order of such identification is not random, but rather constitutes a hierarchically ranked network of cross-border relationships. Although there was some variability in the organization of these kin networks within greetings, all showed a primary orientation to practice-based aspects of kin life, in particular remittance sending and migration order, rather than to biological factors such as birth order. Of course, these practices often mapped onto biological aspects of kinship: for example, consanguinal kin tended to be greeted before affinal kin, but these blood-relatives also tended to be those who sent regular remittances home. It is therefore difficult analytically to separate practice-based and biological aspects of kinship: in reality, they are inseparable. However, I would suggest that the case of Victor, mentioned in the discussion of Example 4.4, is quite revealing in this regard; despite his consanguinity, this migrant was not included in the list of relatives to be greeted, and I argued that this was because he had stopped sending remittances altogether. In this case, it seems that economic practices may trump biological kin relations in determining who is included and who is excluded from cross-border greetings. In other

words, relatedness has to be earned through engagement in concrete family practices. What my analysis suggests is that ultimately, the biological aspects of kinship become meaningful and are made to matter for families only through everyday practices such as the sending of remittances or through greeting rituals. Understanding how families are constructed and maintained thus necessitates careful attention to such practices.

The role of economic factors in the performance of cross-border greetings provides a possible explanation for the unidirectionality of this practice, helping to elucidate why video greetings always traveled from El Salvador to the United States and never vice versa. While migrant kin are of course concerned to maintain affective ties with their relatives back home and do so in many ways (as discussed further in Chapters 5 and 6), their material well-being is far less dependent on such connections. For those in El Salvador, however, their ability to access the greater material resources available in the United States is dependent upon sustaining affective ties with their migrant kin. Keeping such connections alive across both space and time preserves the possibility of continued economic support. Thus, in addition to their affective function, greetings work to assure the physical survival of transnational families, and the importance of economic factors in the performance of such cross-border greetings reveals an orientation to these material concerns.

Moreover, my analysis has explored how the practice of cross-border greetings is maintained across the generations through socialization. Analyzing instances of explicit socialization, I demonstrated how children are trained into appropriate use of the bodily, linguistic, and affective components of video greetings. Through such socialization, younger generations acquire the interactional tools needed for constructing a transnational family space, while simultaneously learning their position within the cross-border kin network.

Implicit in such socialization is attention to features of kinship, migration order, and remittance-sending status, and new generations thus absorb the orientations necessary to sustain cross-border connections into the future. Thus, greeting rituals are a strategy for sustaining affective ties, not only across the distance of transnational separation, but also across the time of generational change within the family.

Conclusion

Scholars of migration sometimes suggest that transnational family ties do not continue past the first generation (Kasinitz, Mollenkopf, and Waters 2009), a perspective which has been critiqued for eliding the experiences of second-generation children in such cross-border networks (Levitt 2009). Yet this scholarly skepticism regarding the sustainability of transnational kinship across time resonates with a concern often expressed by members of cross-border families themselves, who wonder whether and when migrants will forget them (see further discussion of this issue in Chapter 6). The transnational greetings examined here, however, indicate a different perspective, which highlights how this everyday practice works to propagate cross-border ties in several ways. In the immediate interaction within which they are produced, greetings involve an explicit orientation to transnational relatives, thus facilitating momentary affective engagements with distant kin on the part of the greeter. As for the greeted party, when such performances are recorded through video technology, they can be viewed multiple times, thus expanding the impact of each greeting beyond the brief time-span of interactional engagement. Moreover, the socialization of children into transnational greeting practices projects the relationship-constituting effects of greetings farther into the future, helping to guarantee the integrity of cross-border families across generations. Finally, the ties maintained by practices such as

greetings may facilitate the continued transnationalization of family life by maintaining the connections that allow new individuals to migrate, as shown in the final example.

Thus, the "little ritual" of cross-border greetings has far-reaching effects that function to maintain transnational kinship ties across several time-scales. Greetings are fundamentally a communicative care practice in which linguistic resources are mobilized in ways that carry forward family life into the future, in the immediate, middle, and longer term. Video greetings constitute a crucial form of communicative care, not only because they mobilize linguistic, material and affective resources, but more importantly because they work to sustain both the material and affective aspects of cross-border family life, thereby managing the strain that the neoliberal regime of globalized capital places on such relationships. Moreover, the emphasis on communicative care highlights the complex role of gender and generation in care practices, going beyond simplistic accounts of women as caregivers and children as recipients of care. This chapter has shown both male and female relatives, from ages two to seventy, participating in communicative care, thus allowing for a broader understanding of the different forms of care work that all family members engage in. Ultimately, then, this chapter demonstrates the power of small everyday rituals for working and re-working belonging in the face of changing social conditions, helping families and communities to manage exigencies such as long-term and long-distance physical separation.

CHAPTER 5
The Cross-Border Negotiation of Material Care: Creating Affective Meaning from *Riguas* and Remittances

A Birthday to Remember

It was January 2014 in Elizabeth, New Jersey. The polar vortex was in full swing with icy temperatures that were a shock to my Californian constitution. I was conducting fieldwork with Luís, his wife and young daughter, and his two teenage sons, recent migrants who were spending their first northern winter largely outdoors, replacing tires at a local garage. Davíd, the patriarch of the family in El Salvador, was about to turn 70. And although it was January and they had just spent a great deal of money on holiday celebrations in both countries, his migrant sons and grandsons wanted to make it a memorable birthday. After all, Davíd had been diagnosed with kidney failure earlier that year, and it wasn't clear whether he would make it to his next birthday. Davíd was a devout Catholic, and the plan was to send him on a birthday trip to Esquipulas in Guatemala, a popular destination for religious pilgrims in search of miraculous cures; the four migrants agreed to share the cost of the trip, and Luís asked his sisters in El Salvador to find out secretly how much this expense would amount to. But when they called him back a week before the birthday and quoted a price of $300, he said this was too much money: the other migrant brother, Patricio, was not going to be able to help out after all, Luís was trying to save up money to cover anticipated costs associated with the upcoming birth of his newest child, his two teenage sons were still paying back the *coyote* who had brought them to the United States, and with Davíd's ongoing medical expenses, they couldn't afford to spend so much money on the birthday celebrations.

After much negotiation and at times tense phone calls, it was finally decided that the family would host a *rezo* ('prayer vigil') for Davíd's birthday instead; Luís and his two sons,

Adán and Beto, would provide the resources necessary for refreshments (*tamales* and cake) and entertainment (*piñatas* and fireworks). This would be, in Luís' words, "un cumpleaños que tal vez no sea la gran cosa, pero para que sepa que siempre nos acordamos de él" ('a birthday that may not be the big thing, but so that he knows that we always remember him'). Planning for the birthday then shifted into high gear. Adán was particularly enthusiastic about these preparations and, in numerous phone calls with his aunts, emphasized that he was sending a specific amount of money to be spent solely on purchasing his grandfather's favorite *cohetes* ('fireworks'). He coordinated with his mother, a talented musician, to set up a secret morning serenade, arranging to pay a nominal sum to the other members of her musical group when she refused payment of any kind for what she saw as a favor for her son. When, on slightly warmer January evenings, I walked with Adán and his brother Beto to their evening English classes, he excitedly recounted the details of the plans to me, saying over and over again that his grandfather was going to be surprised and happy. On the day of Davíd's birthday, Adán anxiously awaited a call to hear how the festivities had unfolded, showing his father and brother photos of the morning's serenade that his mother had posted on Facebook; when the call finally came, his face lit up and he animatedly asked his grandfather if he had been surprised by everything they had planned. And even though it meant being late to their English class, he questioned Davíd about each part of the day, eliciting an elaborate response and then insisting that his younger brother Beto at least greet their grandfather before they left for class.

This narrative captures some of the complexity of material relationships in transnational families as they negotiate economic decisions across borders. Money earned through hard physical labor in the United States must be stretched to meet the material needs

of family members in both countries, necessitating a great deal of discussion and coordination between migrants and their non-migrant kin. However, as this story illustrates, the cross-border deployment of material resources not only meets survival needs, but also works to sustain transnational relationships between relatives. Through economic resources, migrants show that they remember their family back home, thus facilitating and sustaining emotional engagements by way of material ties. This chapter examines the negotiation of cross-border transfers of material and economic goods in transnational families, analyzing everyday conversations in which such decisions are worked out to better understand the consequences of such engagements for kin ties.

Introduction

Cross-border economic and material ties have been one of the most-studied aspects of transnational family life, with a particularly large body of research examining the practice of migrants remitting money to kin who remain in their home countries (Cohen 2001; 2011; Edwards and Ureta 2003; Funkhouser 1995; Gammage 2006; Massey and Parrado 1994; Menjivar et al. 1998; Orozco 2002; Stark and Lewis 1988; VanWey, Tucker, and McConnell 2005). While this emphasis can lead to an understanding of cross-border families as primarily economic entities (Arnold 2012a; 2012b), ethnographic research in particular has increasingly suggested that such economic exchanges are not just material transactions (Abrego 2009; Åkesson 2009; 2011; Burman 2002; Page and Mercer 2012; Schmalzbauer 2005; 2008); as McKay notes, for transnational families, "emotional nurturing and economic provision are not separable" (2007:191). A recent review of research on remittances draws on this ethnographic work to call for a conceptual shift in understanding cross-border economic transfers "as *compound* transactions with material, emotional and relational elements"

(Carling 2014:219; original emphasis), thus allowing scholars to "break up the aggregate remittance flows and examine micro-level decisions" (Carling 2014:250). Castañeda (2013) specifically emphasizes the importance of taking complex family ties into account in order to better understand how decisions about remittances are reached. My chapter answers this call, using the tools of linguistic-anthropological analysis to examine how cross-border material transfers simultaneously perform crucial affective work in sustaining kin ties.

Whereas existing scholarship on cross-border economic exchanges relies on surveys, interviews, and ethnographic observation, I take a novel methodological approach, analyzing recordings of transnational phone conversations in which families negotiate material exchanges. By paying close attention to how family members communicatively work out the distribution of resources across borders, I seek to generate new insights into the everyday processes by which the material and the affective are closely interwoven in this much-studied domain of transnational family life. My analysis explores the fine-grained linguistic strategies through which such cross-border economic decisions are negotiated, suggesting that these practices constitute a form of communicative care that sustains transnational family life in several ways. Firstly, I seek to demonstrate that communicative practices are fundamental for facilitating economic exchanges (Heath 2013; Heath and Luff 2007); without the use of the micro-level communicative resources such as those examined here, material care across borders would not be possible. Moreover, the chapter examines what such communicative care practices reveal about the meaning of economic and material support for members of transnational families themselves, tracing the role and function of material care such as remittances from the bottom up, rather than taking them for granted or relying on post-hoc accounts. Through this exploration, I demonstrate that communicative

care constitutes the principal way in which money and material goods are ascribed affective value and relational meaning. Crucially, in this meaning-making process, strategies of communicative care do important work in the immediate interaction to attend to familial relationships in ways that sustain them over time despite material inequality. This chapter thus elucidates how communicative care maintains cross-border family life, both in the interactional time of transnational phone calls and in the longer timescale in which ongoing material exchanges occur.

Furthermore, my analysis moves beyond existing scholarship on remittances by examining the complete circuit of transnational family economies, including not only monetary transfers from migrants to their relatives back home, but also material goods sent by non-migrants to their migrant kin. This comparative investigation demonstrates that these two forms of material care are negotiated through different communicative care strategies, providing greater insight into how transnational families understand cross-border material relations. Through my analysis, I demonstrate that material care in transnational families functions according to a principle of "generalized asymmetrical reciprocity" (Baldassar and Merla 2013:8) in which care given will eventually be reciprocated over the life course of the family. In anthropological work on gift economies (Malinowski 1922; Mauss 1925; Weiner 1992), reciprocity is understood as a resource for creating social relationships by indebting individuals to one another (Gregory 1982); such debts create a sense of ongoing dependence among individuals (Graeber 2011), with widespread generalized reciprocity being characteristic of close-knit kin groups in particular (Parry and Bloch 1989; Sahlins 1972). For the transnational families in my study, continued asymmetrical exchanges of material care functioned to maintain the family as a whole, constituting and structuring the individual

relationships that made up the kin network: by taking a leadership role in planning his grandfather's birthday, Adán emphasized his connection to his grandfather, not only to Davíd himself, but to other members of the family as well. Moreover, this generalized reciprocity provides a resource for families from the global south to manage their marginal position within global capitalism, serving as an alternate form of exchange through which they work to ensure material survival in the face of neoliberal inequality. At the same time, however, cross-border exchanges of material care participate in and further the neoliberal logic of the personalization of care (Harvey 2005b): migrant remittances to El Salvador and other poor countries take the place of state support for healthcare, education, food, and other basic necessities of human life.

To understand the ways in which material care in transnational families both subverts and reinforces neoliberal projects, this chapter provides a close analysis of the everyday conversations in which families negotiate cross-border flows of money and material goods. This examination of communicative care practices reveals how global economic inequality permeates even the smallest details of everyday life in transnational families, while also elucidating the creative linguistic strategies through which people manage the implications of this economic disparity for their ongoing relationships. The negotiated commitments of material care that families establish through their ongoing communicative care can thus reveal a great deal about how the exigencies of the neoliberal era are experienced and managed by those at the margins of this global system.

Negotiating Material Care Commitments

The importance of negotiated commitments in the provision of cross-border material care has been foregrounded in a model introduced by Baldassar, Baldock, and Wilding,

which has proven influential within transnational family studies (2007). Drawing on scholarship on copresent family care (Finch 1989; Finch and Mason 1991; 1993), this framework understands negotiated commitments as emerging from a history of family relationships that vary over the life course. Such shifting commitments emerge from but also shape obligations to provide material care; in this model, such obligations are conceptualized as emerging from cultural norms and expectations about care responsibilities that are shaped by normative ideologies of gender, generation, and birth order. Negotiated commitments are also influenced by issues of capacity, or the availability of resources – from money and time to individual physical ability – that make it possible for individuals to participate in transnational caregiving. Within this framework, commitments to provide cross-border material care are conceptualized as emerging from a dialectic between obligation and capacity, in which each of these two factors both influences and is shaped by the other in culturally specific ways. From this perspective, then, commitments to provide material care emerge from the family histories of transnational kinship networks as individuals manage their placement within particular economic systems, ideological structures, and cultural norms.

While this model productively highlights how normative ideologies and social structures shape practices of material care within families, missing from this discussion is an understanding of the process by which negotiated commitments are achieved. Working out the provision of material care in cross-border families is accomplished through everyday conversations, and thus a language-based approach has an important contribution to make in understanding material care. Recent interactional work on deonticity, or the linguistic expression of needs and obligations, is concerned precisely with this question of how people

work out commitments to one another in everyday conversations (Heritage 2012; Kent 2012; Stevanovic 2011; Stevanovic and Peräkylä 2012; 2014). Examining how people talk about what ought to be done reveals "participants' entitlements to impose actions on their co-participants" (Stevanovic and Peräkylä 2014:186), tracing how these rights and obligations emerge through the linguistic design of turns at talk. This language-based scholarship has demonstrated the importance of entitlement and contingency, essentially the converses of obligation and capacity, in managing deonticity (Curl and Drew 2008; Heinemann 2006; Kent 2012; Lindström 2005; Thompson, Fox, and Couper-Kuhlen 2015; Vinkuyzen and Szymanski 2004). In such research, entitlement is understood as "the extent to which the speaker displays a right to control the actions of the recipient and to expect compliance" (Kent 2012:712); as with obligation, the concept of entitlement describes the relationship between the two participants. Contingency, like capacity, is more concerned with the requested action itself, and "refers to the degree to which the speaker acknowledges potential barriers to compliance" with the request (Kent 2012:712). However, whereas in care scholarship, obligation and capacity are seen as emerging from families' positions within socioeconomic systems, language-based research conceptualizes entitlement and contingency as being "suggested, implied, negotiated and ultimately constituted through the way in which the participants format their contributions" (Heinemann 2006:1101). In other words, entitlement and contingency, and hence obligation and capacity, are constituted through interaction and displayed in the linguistic form of utterances.

This chapter brings together language-based and care-based approaches to the negotiation of material care, suggesting that both approaches are necessary to understand how families work out the provision of care across borders in the context of pronounced

economic inequality between migrant kin and their relatives back home. My analysis demonstrates that transnational negotiations of material care interactionally construct obligation and contingency in ways that respond to cultural care norms and work to sustain material-affective kin ties while managing the economic inequality of global neoliberalism in ways that nevertheless ultimately reinforce neoliberal principles. Negotiations of deontic relations, in which families work out the distribution of material resources across borders, are extremely complex; in the transnational phone calls in my data, protracted back-and-forth conversations about economic concerns regularly took up most of the time of half-hour phone calls, with the same issues being reworked over and over by different conversational dyads. To approach such complexity in a consistent and principled manner, in this chapter I analyze the utterances through which material care needs are initially brought into the conversation, or what might be glossed as "requests for material care". Requests have been the subject of substantial linguistic scholarship, which has highlighted the delicate and often implicit formulation of these social actions (Blum-Kulka 1987; Fox 2014; Gill, Halkowski, and Roberts 2001; Levinson 1983; Sacks 1995). This chapter focuses on the linguistic design of the requesting utterances through which family members put material care needs into the conversational record; the analysis investigates the implications of these designs for the ways in which such initiations are responded to and ultimately resolved.

In examining requests, the analysis builds on the significant interdisciplinary body of scholarship that has been conducted on directives (Brown and Levinson 1987; Craven and Potter 2010; Ervin-Tripp 1976; Goodwin 2006b; Goodwin and Cekaite 2013; Goodwin 1990b), that is "utterances designed to get someone else to do something" (Goodwin 2006b:515). While there is some research on directives in institutional contexts (Fox 2014;

Lee 2011; Merritt 1976), much of this scholarship has focused on family settings (Aronsson and Cekaite 2011; Blum-Kulka 1990; Relaño Pastor 2005; Goodwin 2006b; Goodwin and Cekaite 2013). As Goodwin and Cekaite argue, within families, "directives provide the means for accomplishing the activities that animate the very life of the social group" (2013:2); they are thus crucial for understanding the everyday functioning of kin networks. Many of the above studies of directives have examined interaction between parents and young children, in which parental authority tends to be overt and is displayed in directives that are generally very explicit and often quite forceful. However, although parents have strong deontic rights relative to their children, even very young children can and do resist such deontic asymmetries (Goodwin 2006b). Moreover, there is evidence for variation with respect to how emphatically parents make and enforce directives, with some studies demonstrating that Latino immigrant parents are more flexible and provide their children with greater autonomy than Anglo parents (Bhimji 2005; Garro 2011). Thus, the study of directives in families is a crucial site for elucidating the varying deontic relations that hold in different familial contexts; although directives might be expected to play a crucial role in requests for material care, my analysis demonstrates that, for the families in my study, obligations are worked out in much more subtle ways rather than through overt speech acts.

Negotiating Material Care in Transnational Salvadoran Families

In the transnational Salvadoran families in my study, remittances from the United States to El Salvador were the primary form of cross-border material care. Money was generally sent monthly via bank transfer or Western Union; the families reported receiving 100 to 300 dollars in monthly remittances, with extra funds sent in case of emergency or for special events such as birthdays or holidays. In addition to money, migrants also sent

material goods to their relatives in El Salvador. Sometimes they re-gifted lightly used hand-me-down clothes from their children, but more often, migrants sent new outfits and shoes. These items represented a significant investment, not only of economic resources, but also of migrants' scarce time to purchase and ship these goods; finding clothes and shoes in the right size and of the right style to fit individual tastes was a material manifestation of migrants' attention to their relatives back home. However, unlike remittances, material goods did not only flow one way; kin in El Salvador often sent nostalgic food items, natural remedies, clothing, and other items to their migrant relatives. Such items constituted affectively laden symbolic manifestations of familial ties. Most of these material goods were sent by *viajero*, though larger boxes from the United States were sometimes sent through shipping companies. The emergence of the *viajero* role and the fact that many individuals make a living by transporting items both to and from El Salvador is a testament to the consistent flow of material resources in both directions within the larger Salvadoran diaspora (cf. Gammage 2003).

In this chapter, I examine negotiations about material goods sent from El Salvador as well as discussions of remittances sent from the United States. (Material goods sent from the United States to El Salvador were generally sent as gifts, meaning that they were not negotiated up front in the same way as the other two forms of material exchange.) My analysis demonstrates that these two types of cross-border care were negotiated in different ways: while requests from migrants for material goods were performed quite directly, remittance requests from those in El Salvador were placed on the table in extremely delicate and subtle ways, and looked nothing at all like canonical requests, even of the most indirect variety. I suggest that these differences in linguistic design allow transnational families to

manage the consequences of sustained material inequality for their ongoing relationships, constructing affective meaning for material exchanges situated within a framework of generalized asymmetrical reciprocity.

Migrant Requests for Material Care

While requests for remittances from relatives in El Salvador occur in almost every phone call in my data set, migrant requests for material items from their kin back home are much more infrequent. A complete review of my data yielded only a handful of such examples, all of which were made by male migrants to their mothers or to surrogate mother figures. The lack of requests by female migrants may simply be an artifact of their relative underrepresentation in the phone calls in my corpus, but the consistent delivery of requests only to mother figures is striking given the range of other relatives participating in phone calls. Migrants did occasionally ask their siblings back home to complete some specific task for them; sometimes these tasks were primarily financial in nature, such as opening bank accounts and buying or selling property in El Salvador, but they also included help in sustaining affective connections – for example, asking a relative to track down an old friend's phone number or to put flowers on a former classmate's grave. However, requests for material goods were exclusively made to mother figures, in what seems to be a clear manifestation of a gendered cultural norm for material care. These infrequent requests were low-stakes with regard to material survival: none of the requested items were vital necessities. Rather, migrants requested nostalgic material goods laden with memories of home; these items allowed migrants to physically feel their connection to El Salvador and their kin back home through the comfort of familiar food, clothing, and other material artifacts. Moreover, negotiating these requests with others who understood the symbolic and

cultural value of such material goods provided a form of affective engagement and connection in the immediate interaction.

The affective weighting of these items can be seen in Example 5.1, which also illustrates how material care obligations and entitlements are negotiated through communicative care. Here, Francisco, a migrant son, has been talking to his mother Olivia; she mentioned that the *milpa* she had planted now has *jilotes* (baby ears of corn), which prompts Francisco to reminisce about a chicken and *jilote* soup his maternal grandmother used to make. Olivia starts to respond by saying she will not be able to make the soup because her chickens have all recently succumbed to a virus, when Francisco interrupts with a request for *riguas*, fire-roasted cakes made from fresh corn.

Example 5.1[17]

1.	OLIVIA;	hoy me he quedado sin pollos,	*today I have been left without chickens,*
2.		porque desde que el accidente [pasó)],	*because ever since the* accidente *[came through],*
3.	FRANCISCO;	[Oiga],	*[Listen],*
4.		oiga,	*listen,*
5.		Y- yo lo que,	*I- what I,*
6.		quiero que nos mande,	*I want you to send us,*
7.		es r:iguas,	*is riguas,*
8.		pero riguas de allá:.	*but riguas from there.*
9.		(0.9)	
10.	OLIVIA;	Ah:,	*Oh,*
11.		aha.	*uh-huh.*
12.		(0.7)	
13.	OLIVIA;	Vaya,	*Okay,*
14.		voy a ver si en diciembre te los mando,	*I will see if I send them to you in December,*
15.		cuando ya haiga elote,	*when there is fresh corn,*
16.		porque he sembrado un maíz amarillo,	*because I have planted yellow corn,*
17.		y he sembrado un maíz blanco.	*and I have planted white corn.*

[17] In line 2, when speaking of "el accidente", Olivia refers to Newcastle Disease, a highly contagious avian virus (http://www.thepoultrysite.com/diseaseinfo/111/newcastle-disease-paramyxovirus-1) known as "el accidente" in rural areas of Central America (http://www.biovet.com.gt/productos.html).

Here, a migrant son asks his mother to send him a traditional food item, a material reminder of the agricultural rhythms of home as well as a manifestation of the physical and affective care work through which such sustenance is produced. While it might be possible for Francisco to purchase *riguas* made in Los Angeles, given the city's large Salvadoran community, he emphasizes that he wants "riguas de allá" ('*riguas* from over there', line 8), highlighting the symbolic meaning of this food item as a stand-in for home and mothering. Francisco's request for this material care is very direct: in design, the request does not make use of any politeness formulas, but simply involves an overt statement of his desire for this particular item (lines 6-8). Although related to the topic of conversation, nostalgic food, the request is not designed to fit the ongoing course of action but rather interrupts Olivia midway through a report (lines 3-4). The directness of this request, as well as its placement, displays a strong entitlement on Francisco's part to request such material care from his mother. And indeed, Olivia's response accepts Francisco's entitlement and her own caring obligation unproblematically: she quickly acquiesces to her son's request (line 13), mentioning only the temporal contingency of needing to wait until the corn is harvested (lines 14-17). This resolution establishes an activity contract, a verbal agreement about future behavior in which one party agrees to do something that the other party has asked of her or him (Aronsson and Cekaite 2011), thus making the parties accountable for fulfilling the agreed-upon arrangement. This example demonstrates a strong assumption that left-behind family members, in particular mothers, will provide material care to their migrant relatives, especially their sons, when asked to do so.

This straightforward negotiation of obligation and entitlement clearly draws on gendered and generational norms of care provision. In rural El Salvador, mothers are

expected to cook food for their sons until they marry and their wives take over this feminine care work. Now that her son has migrated, however, Olivia is no longer able to provide this form of everyday material care. Thus, while Francisco's explicit request could perhaps be understood as the selfish and uncaring action of an entitled son, his overt display of entitlement should also be recognized as performing communicative care work: by requesting *riguas* from his mother, Francisco opens up a rare opportunity for her to provide a traditional form of mother-son care, thus affirming their relationship and sustaining the kinship bonds that are nurtured by preparing food.

Indeed, this understanding, which links material care provision to maternal love, is subsequently shown by Olivia herself. This can be seen in the next example, which occurs about one minute after the previous discussion. During the intervening time, Francisco and Olivia have discussed the logistics of getting the *riguas* to the United States, and here Olivia confirms their activity contract, before going on to describe the motivation for her agreement.

Example 5.2

1.	OLIVIA;	Entonces voy a ver si,	*So I will see if,*
2.		(0.2)	
3.		Solo le voy a preguntar al hombre,	*I'll just ask the man (the viajero),*
4.		como:,	*how,*
5.		(0.3)	
6.		cuando va a ir,	*when he is going to go,*
7.		(0.7)	
8.		para: ver que te mando.	*to see what I send you.*
9.		(0.6)	
10.	FRANCISCO;	Aha.	*Uh-huh.*
11.		(1.0)	
12.	OLIVIA;	Porque yo siempre me acuerdo,	*Because I always remember,*
13.		y yo digo,	*and I say,*
14.		Mis hijos por allá están,	*My children are way over there.*
15.		Y yo siempre siento ese amor,	*And I always feel this love,*
16.		para ustedes,	*for you all,*

Here, Olivia confirms the process by which she will fulfill her son's request (lines 1-8) and then links this material care to memory (line 12), a crucial form of care that is explored in greater detail in Chapter 6. She states that she remembers her distant children and loves them even though they are far away, using the direct quotation of her internal thoughts (line 13) to make her report more vivid. The repetition of *siempre* ('always', lines 12 and 15) emphasizes the ongoing nature of this remembering, which is connected to a continuous affective orientation towards her children. Crucially, this explicit articulation of memory and affect is connected to Olivia's material efforts to meet Francisco's request: she will make the arrangements to send *riguas* because she always remembers and loves her faraway children (line 12). By articulating affective ties at this particular conversational juncture, Olivia resignifies the material care that Francisco has requested. Sending the *riguas* is not just about fulfilling Francisco's request but emerges from her ongoing care of her distant children through her affective remembering. Olivia's acceptance of her son's entitlement and her own material care obligations are thereby framed as springing from motherly love and affection, which continues despite physical distance. Thus, the communicative care strategies through which this request is made and responded to imbue the negotiation of material care with deep affective meaning. Through such communicative care, Francisco and Olivia affectively engage with one another in the immediate interaction in ways that cement traditional mother-son relationships, while also organizing and facilitating the provision of material care so crucial to these bonds.

The next example includes what seems on the surface a less explicitly affective negotiation of material care. Here Adán, an 18-year-old recent migrant, talks to his aunt Sara. Adán's parents separated when he was quite young, and his father migrated to the United

States, leaving him and his younger brother to be raised largely by their grandparents and aunts. Sara, in particular took on a strong surrogate mother role with Adán, and as a young man, before Adán migrated, he spent each evening and night at Sara's house, providing the male presence presumed necessary to protect a single mother and her own two young children. This closeness is reflected in the data collected for my study: Adán placed phone calls to his aunt Sara more often than to his biological mother, and he made several requests to his aunt for material care, while making only one to his mother. In Example 5.3, Sara mentions that her mother (Adán's grandmother) is currently making arrangements to send birthday gifts to two relatives in the United States, and Adán takes this opportunity to make a request of his own.

Example 5.3

1.	SARA;	No,	*No,*
2.		mi mami es que l- quiere,	*it's that my mom wants,*
3.		(1.4)	
4.	SARA;	(Va a mandar) la viajera mañana dice.	*The viajera is going to send things tomorrow she says.*
5.		Quiere mandarle,	*She wants to send,*
6.		(1.2)	
7.	SARA;	el regalo de,	*the gift for,*
8.		tu hermana,	*your sister,*
9.		y de tu (.) tío.	*and for your (.) uncle.*
10.		(1.2)	
11.	ADÁN;	Hí:jole- --	*Oh man- --*
12.		Ah:,	*Um,*
13.		hablando de eso,	*speaking of that,*
14.		Mire ve,	*Look,*
15.		(0.8)	
16.	SARA;	Mm?	*Mm?*
17.	ADÁN;	No se si me puede conseguir,	*I don't know if you can get me,*
18.		una: aguja:,	*a hook,*
19.		(.) zero.	*(.) zero.*
20.		un numero zero.	*a number zero.*
21.		(.) de crochet.	*(.) for crochet.*
22.		(3.1)	
23.	SARA;	Aha?	*Uh-huh?*
24.		(1.9)	

25.	ADÁN;	Y lana,	*And yarn,*
26.		color negra,	*black,*
27.		morada,	*purple,*
28.		(1.5)	
29.	ADÁN;	Unos,	*Some,*
30.		unos dos rollos de,	*some two skeins of,*
31.		color negro.	*of black.*
32.		Y dos rollos de [morado].	*And two skeins of purple.*
33.	SARA;	[Es]te no --	*Um no --*
34.		Y si no hay negra?	*And if there is no black?*
35.		Ve- --	*I mean- --*
36.		(.) Este,	*(.) Um,*
37.		Y si no hay:,	*And if there is no,*
38.		aguja:,	*hook,*
39.		(0.5)	
40.		zero?	*zero?*
41.		(1.4)	
42.	ADÁN;	Ah:,	*Um,*
43.		Sí tiene que haber.	*There has to be.*
44.		(.) De zero.	*(.) Of zero.*
45.		(0.2)	
46.	ADÁN;	Talla zero.	*Number zero.*

Here, Adán requests that his aunt send him a crochet hook and yarn; later on in the call, it becomes clear that he wants these craft supplies in order to crochet hats for himself and his younger brother, also a recent migrant, to help keep them warm during their first cold northern winter. He reports having been unable to find a crochet hook or yarn in the United States. This request for cross-border material care is thus part of a concerted attempt to provide copresent material care in a surprisingly non-gender-stereotypical way. Adán was a young man who loved to work with his hands and took great pride in the variety of such skills he had been able to learn. In addition to proudly telling me about his crochet skills and plans to put them to use, when he lived in El Salvador Adán told me about his adventures in learning how to weave traditional straw mats (*petates*) and make reed furniture. I also saw him, under his own initiative, learn how to make organic fertilizer and then run a test on his

corn crop, comparing organic to synthetic fertilizer. Given this identity, his project of material care here represents an opportunity to display his talents while also engaging in a favored hobby, thus drawing comfort from familiar kinesthetic habits in his new surroundings.

With respect to its linguistic design, the deonticity of this utterance is quite clear, as in Francisco's request in Example 5.1. Here, however, Adán's request is closely fitted to the ongoing talk, portraying the request as opportunistic and non-urgent, such that it might have even been forgotten if Sara hadn't raised the topic of the items to be sent from El Salvador to the United States. This effect is produced by Adán's self-interruption (lines 11-12), as well as his use of the phrase *hablando de eso* ('speaking of that', line 13), a discourse device that functions to overtly link conversational topics. Through this topic linking, Adán works to make the request less conversationally intrusive. Moreover, the request makes use of a conventionalized politeness formula, *no se si me puede conseguir...* ('I don't know if you can get me...'). Thus, unlike Francisco's request, Adán's request is formatted in ways that carry out interactional facework, attending to the relational ties between himself and his aunt rather than taking these for granted. This request design can thus be more transparently seen as a form of communicative care that sustains relationship by managing the interactionally delicate act of requesting.

The conventional nature of Adán's politeness leaves the request easily identifiable, as demonstrated by Sara's unproblematic response. As soon as Adán finishes the request, she moves immediately to planning the logistics of fulfilling it, attempting to formulate a contingency plan in case the right size of crochet hook is not available (lines 33-40). In effect, this response simply assumes an activity contract between Sara and Adán, rather than

negotiating it explicitly. The fact that simple confirmation as such is never directly issued, but simply taken for granted, again reveals an entitlement to material care: all Adán needs to do is to make the request, and it is understood that his relatives back home, specifically his surrogate mother, will work to meet it. Thus, although his request utilizes more politeness strategies than the request in Example 5.1, both cases demonstrate fairly straightforward negotiations of material care that crucially draw on gendered and generational assumptions about obligation and entitlement. Moreover, in addition to attending to kin ties in the immediate interaction, such requests also facilitate the ongoing cross-border material care that sustains these relationships in the longer term.

These two examples are representative of the small sample of such migrant requests for material care that are found in my corpus. In requesting material items from El Salvador, male migrants consistently put their desires and needs on the table in fairly direct ways that are easily identified as requests by their linguistic format. Moreover, these utterances were always readily acquiesced to by the mother figures to whom such requests were made. However, despite the relatively straightforward negotiation of these requests, in fact kin in El Salvador struggled to fulfill them. As it turned out, Olivia never sent *riguas* to Francisco, and when I visited Adán and his family in January, he still had not received the crochet hook and yarn he had requested in October. This regular pattern of readily agreed to but unfulfilled requests is likely connected to the fact that the family in El Salvador is dependent on economic resources from the migrants themselves in order to purchase the requested items and pay the *viajero* to send the goods.

Although some individuals in El Salvador had small regular monthly incomes from work or pensions, remittances were the primary source of the funds by which both extended

families met their daily needs. For example, in the Martínez family, Sara earned $100 per month working at a local childcare center. Perla from the Portillo family worked at this same facility, and these two single mothers used their earnings to provide for their children. Olivia, also a member of the Portillo family, received $75 per month from a government pension for civil war veterans; young adults in both families sometimes earned a little money doing temporary work as day laborers, paid at a rate of $3 per day. These scarce economic resources were never enough to meet the families' daily subsistence needs: they bought food at the village store on credit, awaiting remittances at the end of each month to pay down their bill. Often, the funds sent would not be enough to make up the shortfall. In this context, migrant requests, which were non-urgent, were often left until last, and given the chronic scarcity of resources in these families, they tended to go unfulfilled.

The communicative practices by which such requests were negotiated reveal traces of the economic dependency of non-migrants on their migrant kin. For example, in response to another request from Adán, Sara negotiated the timing of sending the requested item, stating: "Pero allí sería al final del mes, entonces, que ahorita nadie, ni ruido." ('But that will be until the end of the month, then, because right now nobody, not even any sound [of change clinking together]'). Migrants also showed awareness of this dependency at times when making requests, as when Adán made a request of his mother Griselda, saying: "Yo le digo cuando lo mande, porque ahorita no tengo dinero" ('I will tell you when to send it, because right now I don't have any money'). On the other hand, many migrant requests, such as those analyzed above, do not involve any explicit orientation to the dynamics of economic dependency. However, this absence is itself revealing: the easy acquiescence to migrant requests for material care in these examples ultimately elides the economic dependence of

those in El Salvador on these same migrant kin. By masking such economic dependency, this facile negotiation constitutes a form of communicative care that prioritizes and foregrounds affective kin ties over economic relations. Thus, as migrant requests display entitlement and assume obligations to provide material care on the part of mother figures, they also provide non-migrants with rare opportunities to agree to provide cross-border material care and do so in ways that maintain traditional gendered kinship ties of mutual care in the face of actual economic dependence. The ready acquiescence to these requests by mother figures in El Salvador highlights assumptions of reciprocity despite significant disparities in the actual resources available. Therefore, negotiations of material care from El Salvador to migrants in the United States function to reinforce the normativity of generalized asymmetrical reciprocity in these families, helping to cement material-affective bonds both in the immediate interaction and across time.

Non-Migrant Requests for Remittances

I turn now to the much more frequent discussions about remittances, and the negotiated commitments through which obligation and entitlement were navigated as families worked out such cross-border economic transfers. Discussions of remittances were the main business of transnational phone calls in the families in this study, with respect to the time spent discussing the topic. Unlike migrant requests for material care, negotiations about remittances therefore had extremely high stakes: without such remittances, the physical survival of the family in El Salvador would be in jeopardy. Family members, whether in El Salvador or the United States, were well aware of the decade-long history of this dependence on remittances, as well as the projected future of this dependence, as illustrated above. The communicative practices through which remittances are negotiated are thus central to the

care work that sustains transnational family life. However, despite their importance, remittance negotiations in my data never included explicit requests such as those found when migrants asked their families back home for material goods. Instead, remittance obligations were brought into the conversational record in much more off-record ways, which, as my analysis demonstrates, were nevertheless still reliably treated as having deontic implications. I suggest that these indirect forms of requesting remittances not only attended to the material inequality between the U.S. and Salvadoran spheres of family life, but also worked to sustain affective kin ties in the face of economic dependency.

For the sake of clarity and in order to trace how one particular material concern is managed over time, I focus here on examples from the Martínez family, all of which are concerned with managing the costs of healthcare for Davíd, the patriarch of the family, who was suffering from kidney failure. This serious illness is unfortunately quite common, particularly among men, in the coastal area of El Salvador where the family lived. Although some medical researchers have suggested that this epidemic is a result of agricultural pesticides, particularly those used in the cotton and cane-sugar industries that historically dominated the rural economy in this coastal region (Ayala 2012; Morán 2013; Orantes et al. 2011), a recent study points to the strenuous labor of harvesting sugar cane as a cause of decline in kidney function (Laws et al. 2015). However, despite the frequency of this serious illness, the free national health system is not equipped to provide the necessary dialysis treatment, which must instead be pursued at expensive private hospitals, leaving families to bear significant health care costs. In this clear demonstration of the outcome of neoliberal policies, poverty and the lack of infrastructure in the global south have direct ramifications for people's health, as well as for the caring work that families must manage on their own

without support from the state. Thus, the examples analyzed in this section, in which the Martínez family struggles to cover the costs of Davíd's health care, are part of the everyday experience of neoliberalism for families from the global south. Migrant remittances, earned and sent at great cost to the migrants themselves, thus stand in for state care, reinforcing neoliberal tactics of the privatization of care work (Hernández Jovel and Huezo Sánchez 2004; Pineda and Huezo Sánchez 2006).

In Example 5.4, Rosario, Davíd's wife, and her migrant son Luís have been talking about Davíd's health and the fact that the doctor has ordered yet another round of expensive tests. Luís has responded to the palpable worry in her voice by attempting to comfort her, saying that the recently acquired specialist knowledge of his brother Fermín, who has returned from medical school in Cuba, has been helpful in navigating this medical crisis. Rosario agrees with him and then builds on the mention of Fermín to report a conversation she had with him.

Example 5.4

1.	LUÍS;	(H) y nos está ayudando con eso.	*and he is helping us with this.*
2.		(1.9)	
3.	ROSARIO;	Sí,	*Yes,*
4.		Le estaba diciendo yo a,	*I was saying to,*
5.		(0.6)	
6.		a este,	*to um,*
7.		a- a- a Fermín,	*t- t- to Fermín,*
8.		o aquí a las bichas que,	*or to the girls here that,*
9.		(0.4)	
10.		Le digo yo,	*I said to him/her,*
11.		Púchica ahorita,	*Darn it right now,*
12.		(0.3)	
13.		pues así estamos,	*well we are like this,*
14.		m: así sin pisto,	*m: like this without money,*
15.		no,	*no,*
16.		### (para el-)--	*### (for the) --*
17.		de los examen,	*for the tests,*
18.		Y,	*And,*
19.		.. hay que pagar,	*we need to pay,*

20.		recibos del a:gua,	*the water bill,*
21.		(0.4)	
22.		Ya- ya vino,	*It already came,*
23.		ya le vino el recibo del,	*the bill already came,*
24.		Tigo,	*the Tigo bill,*
25.		también a la Teresa,	*to Teresa too.*
26.	LUÍS;	..Mm-hm.	*Mm-hm.*
27.		Cuán[to es eso,	*How [much is that,*
28.		el recibo del agua],	*the water bill],*
29.	ROSARIO;	[Hay que pagar allí un],	*[We have to pay there],*
30.		[$_2$(unos cinco mandados)$_2$],	*[$_2$some five trips$_2$],*
31.	LUÍS;	[$_2$de Tigo,	*[$_2$the Tigo bill,*
32.		cuánto es$_2$]?	*how much is it$_2$]?*
33.	ROSARIO;	que me quedó de la tienda.	*that are left at the store.*
34.	LUÍS;	Cuánto es el recibo del agua?	*How much is the water bill?*
35.		(2.9)	
36.	ROSARIO;	Diez son.	*It's ten.*

In this example, Rosario issues a complaint about having no money and many expenses. This topic is linked to Luís' preceding talk by positioning Fermín as Rosario's interlocutor in a reported conversation (line 7). The first word of her reported talk, *púchica* ('darn it'), is an interjection commonly used by women in rural El Salvador as a means of signaling trouble of some kind. *Púchica* functions as a response cry, an exclamation that is assumed to be "a flooding up of previously constrained feeling" (Goffman 1978:800), a show of natural emotional expression of which much can be made socially (ibid: 807). Ultimately, as Goffman suggests, response cries are a ritualization of a particular kind of "self-other alignment, an interactional arrangement" (ibid: 811), in which the recipient is drawn in to the speaker's emotional experience, to which a verbal response is nevertheless optional. In the case of *púchica*, the emotion expressed is generally one of frustration, which is here combined with the temporal adverb *ahorita* ('right now') to signal the temporal immediacy of the problematic situation to which púchica responds. This trouble is subsequently made clear to be lack of money (lines 13-14) to cover a range of expenses: Davíd's medical tests

(line 17), the water bill (line 20), the phone bill, Tigo (lines 23-24), as well as money owed to the village store for food purchased on credit (lines 29-30). In all of this discussion, however, there is nothing that looks like a clear request for assistance with these expenses.

Crucially, Rosario's complaint is not made directly to Luís but is performed through reported speech, a linguistic device that has been shown to play an important role in forming complaints.[18] Here, Rosario's complaint is initially clearly marked as not being addressed to Luís, although the quotative quality of the talk fades out (Goffman 1978:800) over the course of the list of expenses. Notably, the identity of Rosario's original interlocutor remains vague (lines 7-8); what matters is the geographic location of her addressee as someone *aquí* ('here') in El Salvador. Coupled with the use of an exclusive first-person plural verb form (line 13), this design frames the complaint as reportable because it is salient to the current experience of family life in El Salvador, rather than because Luís is somehow to blame for the lack of money. This reported complaint registers the economic needs of the family in El Salvador and expresses Rosario's feelings about the situation without requiring her to directly ask her migrant relative for material assistance.

However, Luís' immediate response orients to the reported complaint as having deontic implications, as conveying obligations to him as the recipient of the report. This orientation can be seen in his response, as he tries to find out exactly how much the different expenses amount to; signaling the importance of this information, he pursues this line of questioning through extended overlap (lines 27-32). After he finally gets a third repetition of the question in the clear (line 34), Rosario responds (line 36), and they then discuss the

[18] I use the term *reported speech* since it is the most widely used term for this phenomenon; however, in understanding this linguistic practice, I draw on Tannen's conceptualization of this practice as "constructed dialogue", which highlights the fact that such reproductions are "primarily the creation of the speaker, rather than the party quoted" (1989:99).

amounts of each expense. Example 5.5 shows how this exchange is finalized, as Luís agrees to send money.

Example 5.5

85.	ROSARIO;	Ahorita ahorita,	*right now at this moment,*
86.		treinta (.) que hay.	*it's (.) thirty.*
87.	LUÍS;	(.) Aha,	*(.) Uh-huh.*
88.		Mire,	*Look,*
89.		yo voy a ver si este fin de semana,	*I'm going to see if this weekend,*
90.		puedo [pone]r algo de dinero,	*I can [send] some money,*
91.	ROSARIO;	[##]	*[##]*

As soon as Rosario reports the amount of the last expense, Luís responds with a simple acknowledgement token (line 87) and then makes an offer to send money that weekend (lines 88-90). This response makes clear his deontic interpretation of Rosario's reported complaint by taking on an activity contract to meet the obligations she has subtly invoked. Luis' offer to send help accepts Rosario's entitlement to place material care obligations on him. However, his response also leaves unspecified the contingencies of meeting this care need, and the offer remains vague as to the exact amount of money he will send. This fact is particularly noteworthy since Luís has just insisted on finding out exactly how much is needed for each expense; thus, although he now knows the exact amount of money needed to cover the expenses Rosario has listed, he only says he will send "algo de dinero" ('some money', line 90). Making the offer in this way asserts Luís' autonomy in the face of strong obligations to provide material care: he is the one who knows the contingencies he faces and decides what he is capable of sending. At the same time, his pursuit of information about exact costs implicitly suggests that he will attempt to cover these needs.

Thus, in this example, a reported complaint made by a mother back home is treated by her migrant son as deontic, as placing obligations for material care on him. The question then becomes how this deontic interpretation arises. While work on indirect speech acts (i.e., Austin 1956; Searle 1969; 1975) and the pragmatics of politeness (e.g.: Brown and Levinson 1987; Garcés-Conejos Blitvich 2013; Lempert 2012) have highlighted the centrality of off-record strategies, no interactional research to date has documented directives taking the form of reported complaints. Probably the closest researched format are what have been called *declarative requests* (Vinkuyzen and Szymanski 2004); like reported complaints, these function to put the speaker's needs on the table as relevant to the current interaction. Declarative requests are complex interactional devices: on the surface, they display little right to impose an action on the recipient, as they simply state information. However, their deontic interpretation requires that the recipient understand the speaker as entitled to place obligations on them (Stevanovic 2011); declarative directives such as these leave it "entirely up to the recipient to sort out the implications that the speaker's utterance has on the recipient's future actions" (Stevanovic and Peräkylä 2014:191). In other words, responding to a declarative statement as having deontic implications is premised on assumptions about obligations between the speaker and the recipient, which draw on existing norms of rights and responsibilities. For example, in a recent study of service encounters (Fox 2014), customers use declarative requests to ask for items out of reach behind the shop counter; due to the interactional context (service encounter) and its associated roles (customer, salesperson), these declarative statements of need are regularly treated as requests. Similarly, in family interaction, adults interpret small children's statements of need ("I need water") as requests because the child cannot fulfill this need herself. In both of these cases, physical

limitations and institutional or familial roles influence the deontic interpretation of declarative statements of need. This type of request thus indexes and constructs the norms and relationships of material exchange emerging within a system of generalized asymmetrical reciprocity.

I suggest that similar dynamics are at work in the above example, in which a reported complaint is taken to have deontic implications. Rosario and other kin in El Salvador could not cover day-to-day expenses (including water and food, phone service and health care) because they had no steady income flow. Moreover, migrant kin like Luís were expected to meet these care needs, with such an expectation having been the condition of their migration in the first place. So simply putting needs into the conversational record, as Rosario does here through her reported complaint, is sufficient for a deontic interpretation because of shared assumptions about responsibilities for material care. Within a model of generalized asymmetrical reciprocity, kin in El Salvador have pressing material care needs which migrants have a more ready ability to meet. Within cross-border families, then, the deontic function of reported complaints is shaped by the pre-existing obligations of transnational caregiving arrangements, and the communicative negotiation of these responsibilities interactionally constitutes the entitlement of the family back home to ask for material assistance.

Moreover, in addition to sustaining kin ties through the facilitation of remittance transfers, the use of reported speech as a communicative care strategy adds a layer of indirectness to reported complaints. In so doing, reported speech avoids direct production of the delicate action of complaining and attends to ongoing family relationships, bringing other voices into dyadic phone calls in ways that push back against the technological constraints of

cellphone technology. The continued economic dependency of kin in El Salvador on their migrant relatives places a strain on affective ties: migrants are constantly reminded of their material obligations, and their patience with this arrangement may begin to wear thin after a decade or more of such expectations. Similarly, those in El Salvador recognize that their survival depends on staying in the good graces of their migrant relatives, thus placing an important value on affective relational work. In such a context, the delicate linguistic strategies used to enact and respond to obligations function to safeguard and sustain affective kin ties. Through reported complaints, those in El Salvador subtly make their material needs known, while at the same time providing migrant kin with the opportunity to show communicative care by recognizing and responding to obligations that are invoked in very indirect ways, in a classic case of face-work (Brown and Levinson 1987; Goffman 1967). This strategy thereby demonstrates the interlocutors' attunement to familial rights and responsibilities in the management of care, and the expectation that migrants have the obligation to provide economically for their families is thus both indexed and performed in such examples of communicative care.

The next example includes another reported complaint, which is once again interpreted by the recipient as having deontic implications; however, in this instance, there is significant negotiation of the migrant's capacity to respond. Here, Luís is talking to his sister Sara about their father's illness and Sara has reported that their brother Fermín told her about a new treatment option. She then continues reporting her conversation with Fermín as follows.

Example 5.6

1.	SARA;	Que vale veinte,	*That it costs twenty,*
2.		cada inyecció:n,	*each injection,*
3.		me dice.	*he tells me.*

4.	Y,	*And,*
5.	y a la semana,	*and per week,*
6.	son cuarenta dó:lar,	*it's forty dollars,*
7.	me dice.	*he tells me.*
8.	Y dón:de,	*And where from,*
9.	me dice.	*he tells me.*
10.	(0.6)	
11.	Púchica,	*Darn it,*
12.	le digo yo,	*I tell him.*

Figure 5.1: Pitch Trace for Lines 1-3 of Example 5.6

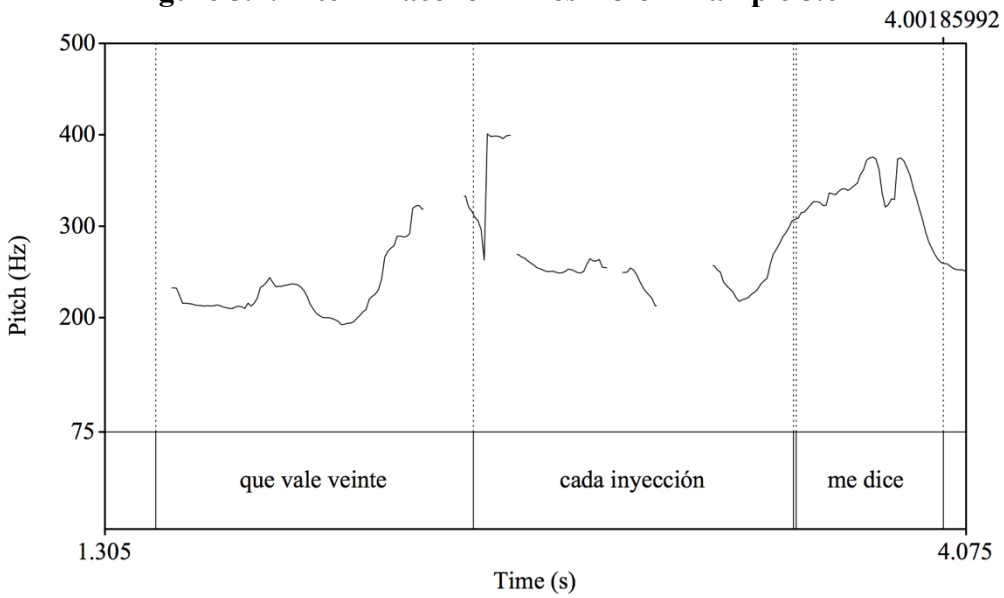


Figure 5.2: Pitch Trace for Lines 4-7 of Example 5.6

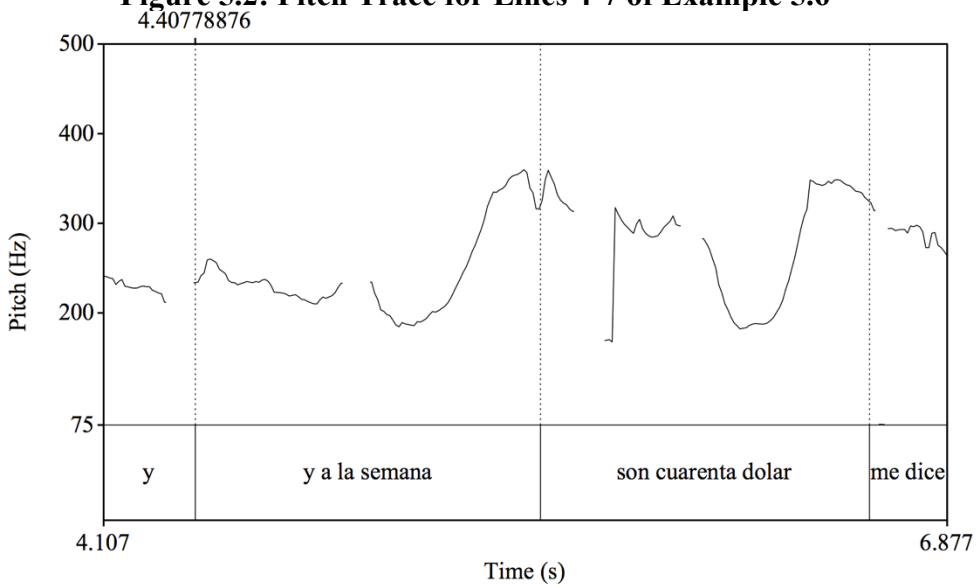
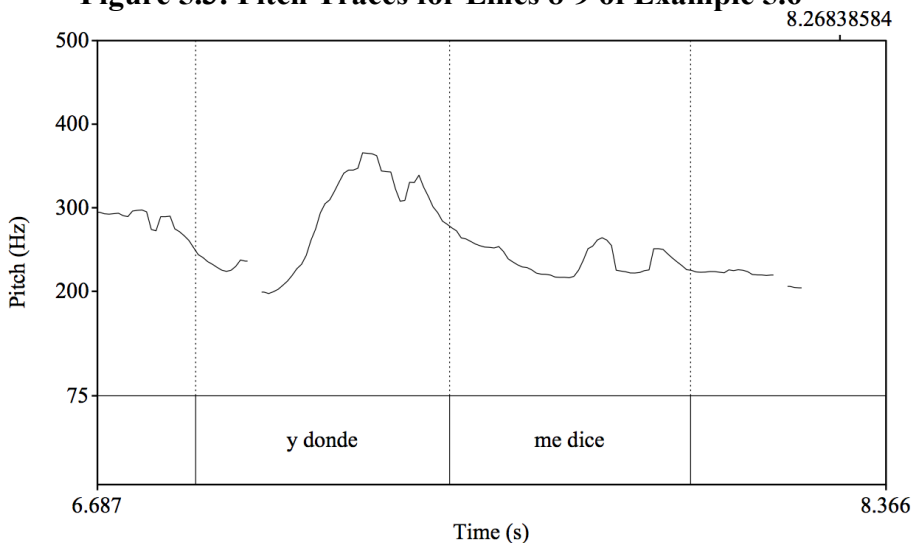


Figure 5.3: Pitch Traces for Lines 8-9 of Example 5.6



Like Rosario in the previous example, Sara here produces a report of a conversation made up of a complaint about an expense – in this case specifying the exact amount (lines 1 and 6) – and about not having the financial resources to cover this cost (line 8). Much like Rosario's reported complaint, Sara's reported complaint expresses frustration and registers family needs for material care, putting them on record the current interaction and subtly indexing Luis' obligation to provide material care. However, here the reported complaint is not presented as having been originally authored by the speaker herself. Rather, Sara positions herself as animating words that Fermín is reported to have authored; the social responsibility for the complaint is assigned to Fermín, the principal of the quoted utterances (Goffman 1981). The use of reported speech functions to distribute responsibility (Besnier 1992; Hill and Zepeda 1992) for the complaint to another family member who is not involved in the current dyadic phone call, in this case Fermín, the family member with the most medical expertise. Through this reporting strategy, Sara authorizes the complaint about a medical expense (Bucholtz and Hall 2005); presenting the reported complaint in Fermín's

voice grants it a level of epistemic authority it would not have carried coming from Sara herself.

However, reporting speech in the voice of another also distances the speaker from the claims of the utterance (Clayman 1988; Drew 1991; Pomerantz 1984); such a result would be problematic in this case, in which reported speech is being used to subtly index Luís' obligation to provide material support. To avoid this distancing implication, Sara additionally reports her own response to Fermín's complaint, in which she evaluates the expense and lack of funds as a problem, making use of the same response cry, *púchica*, that Rosario used in the previous example (line 11). In addition, the prosodic performance of the reported complaint itself indexes Sara's stance (Goodwin and Goodwin 2004): the utterances are broken up into short intonation units, produced with a repeating fall-rise-fall intonation contour and final lengthening that emphasizes their complaining quality (see Figures 5.1 – 5.3). Through this design, Sara manages to authorize the complaint, while also aligning herself with Fermín's reported evaluation of the situation as problematic, thus emphasizing the need for economic support from Luís.

After briefly discussing the relative merits of vitamin shot treatments and another possible treatment option, Luís responds to Sara's complaint by reporting a conversation that he himself has had with Fermín. This report focuses on his contingent capacity to respond to the obligation Sara has placed on him, and in so doing, draws on normative expectations about how such issues of capacity should be tracked and managed.

Example 5.7

37.	LUÍS;	Ahora yo,	*Now I,*
38.	SARA;	Sí[:]?	*Ye[s]?*
39.	LUÍS;	[Yo] como le [$_2$dije mira,	*[I] like I said [$_2$to him look,*
40.	SARA;	[$_2$No$_2$],	*[$_2$No$_2$],*
41.	LUÍS;	Yo estoy$_2$] ma- --	*I am$_2$] se- --*

42.		estoy ayudando un poco,	*I am helping a little,*
43.		pero no:,	*but no,*
44.		O sea,	*I mean,*
45.		No- no es que tengo dinero,	*It's not that I have money.*
46.		y,	*and,*
47.		estoy sacrificándome,	*I am sacrificing myself,*
48.		sabes?	*you know?*
49.		(1.0)	*(1.0)*
50.	SARA;	[Aha]--	*[Uh-huh] --*
51.		[$_2$Hoy$_2$],	*[$_2$Today$_2$],*
52.	LUÍS;	[Entonces] [$_2$yo le dije$_2$],	*[So] [$_2$I told him$_2$],*
53.		que hablar[$_3$a con Patricio también$_3$],	*that he should [$_3$talk with Patricio too$_3$],*
54.	SARA;	[$_3$#####$_3$]	*[$_3$#####$_3$]*
55.	LUÍS;	porque él tiene derecho a mandarle,	*because he has the right to send him,*
56.		a colaborar en algo.	*to collaborate in some way.*
57.		Y entre los dos,	*And between the two of us,*
58.		sale bien.	*it will turn out well.*

In this response, Luís clearly interprets Sara's reported complaint as attempting to place a material care obligation on him; here, he delicately side-steps this obligation through use of reported speech that repeats comments he has previously reportedly made to Fermín. These reported utterances first reaffirm that he has been sending money (line 42), confirming that he is fulfilling his overall obligation to provide material care to kin in El Salvador and affirming his ongoing participation in the generalized asymmetrical reciprocity that sustains this transnational family. The reported utterances then go on to emphasize the sacrifices Luís makes to meet these obligations (lines 45-48), orienting to issues of contingency by describing his capacity to provide material support as limited by a lack of money. Through this account, Luís indicates that he does not have the resources to cover the new expense Sara has brought up; the use of reported speech allows him to do so without overtly refusing her request. Thus, this careful response to Sara's off-record request saves face and maintains an amicable relationship between the siblings despite their unequal access to material resources.

Although Luís is not able to provide the requested material care, his use of this delicate response strategy is itself a form of interactional communicative care.

Moreover, Luís' report suggests an alternate source of economic support: their brother Patricio, who is also a migrant (line 53). The design here shifts from direct to indirect reported speech, a move that takes Luís' perspective as the reporter, rather than that of his reported interlocutor (Coulmas 1986). Ultimately, Luís describes Patricio's responsibility to support their father as a right rather than an obligation (line 55), perhaps granting him greater autonomy and attending to his negative face needs. However, the provision of material support, whether understood as a right or as a duty, is nevertheless conceptualized as part of the generalized asymmetrical reciprocity of the familial care system. It is only with this shared distribution of material care provision, Luís emphasizes, that things will *salir bien* ('turn out well', lines 57-58), that the family will be sustained. His response again accepts the family's entitlement to place obligations on their migrant kin and focuses on finding a solution to their economic needs given Luis' limited capacity to respond.

In addition, Luís' reported speech is carefully designed to reverse the epistemic alignments that Sara's reported speech has claimed. Using the preterite tense for the quotative verb (lines 39 and 52), Luís voices himself as having already spoken to Fermín at a specific point in the past, having thus already secured him as an ally who understands Luís' financial limitations and who has been instructed to approach another family member for help. This design treats these issues of contingency as already having been entered into the record of ongoing cross-border material care negotiations, and thus subtly rebukes Sara in two interconnected ways. Firstly, by choosing Fermín as the original recipient of his speech, Luís indirectly challenges Sara's right to claim Fermín's voice as a means for authorizing her

reported complaint. If Fermín had complained to Sara as her report suggested, he certainly would have mentioned to her the very relevant contingencies that Luís had explained to him. Thus, secondly, Luís' response also delicately rebukes Sara for having deontically implicated Luís when he had already specified to another relative in El Salvador that he currently lacked the economic capacity to help.

Sara's entitlement to place obligations on Luís here is linked to presumed knowledge on the part of the family in El Salvador about his capacity to respond affirmatively. The implication is that family back home should track the possible contingencies affecting migrants and share this information with one another in order to make informed decisions about how and when to invoke material care obligations. Thus, questions of contingency, while clearly oriented to material realities such as lack of money, are also interactionally constituted. Non-migrant kin can be held accountable for awareness of these contingencies in conversation, and their entitlement to place obligations on their migrant relatives is therefore premised on sensitivity to issues of capacity. The communicative care practices used in negotiating material care in these transnational families attend to existing obligations and capacities while simultaneously interactionally constituting entitlement and contingency. Moreover, the consistent use of reported speech to manage negotiations relies on shared assumptions about responsibilities for providing material care as well as about rights in determining capacity to respond to requests.

In fact, reported speech is such a normative resource for managing economic negotiations that its absence can be marked, as seen in the final set of examples. In Example 5.8, Davíd, whose illness had been the subject of the prior conversations, is talking to his grandson Beto, a new migrant who had only been in the United States for two months at the

time of the recording. In this example, Davíd tells Beto about his health problems, focusing on a specific test he needs to have done and what this test costs. Beto's responses to this account are of particular interest here, as they draw attention to the marked nature of requests unmarked by reported speech.

Example 5.8

1.	DAVÍD;	Está valiendo cuarenta dólares.	*It costs forty dollars.*
2.		(1.2)	
3.	DAVÍD;	el,	*the,*
4.		(1.8)	
5.	DAVÍD;	el examen.	*the test.*
6.		(0.8)	
7.	DAVÍD;	Así es que tengo que hacerlo.	*So I have to do it.*
8.		(0.5)	
9.	BETO;	A:.	*Mm.*
10.	DAVÍD;	Para ver como estoy quedando,	*To see how I am doing,*
11.		pero hasta adentro.	*but on the inside.*
12.		(1.3)	
13.	BETO;	[Mm-hm].	*Mm-hm.*
14.	DAVÍD;	[Así es] que,	*So that's,*
15.	DAVÍD;	en eso estamos.	*that's where we are.*
16.		(0.6)	
17.	BETO;	Y- y mi tío,	*And- and my uncle,*
18.		que le di[ce].	*what does he tell you.*
19.	DAVÍD;	[Esto] va a ir conmigo el lunes.	*Um he will go with me on Monday.*
20.		(1.0)	
21.	DAVÍD;	Pero estaba viendo,	*But I was thinking,*
22.		que no me encuentro con ningún dinero,	*that I don't have any money,*
23.		y como lo vamos a hacer.	*and what are we going to do.*
24.		(1.0)	
25.	BETO;	A:.	*Mm.*
26.		(0.6)	
27.	DAVÍD;	Así es que es la cosa.	*That's how things are.*
28.		(0.4)	
29.	BETO;	Aha.	*Uh-huh.*
30.		(0.7)	
31.	BETO;	Y,	*And,*
32.		(0.4)	
33.	DAVÍD;	[Así es].	*It's like that.*
34.	BETO;	[Y mi] tío qué le dice?	*And my uncle what does he tell you?*
35.		(1.2)	

36.	DAVÍD;	Mm?	*Mm?*
37.	BETO;	Qué le recomienda mi tío.	*What does my uncle recommend?*
38.		(1.8)	
39.	DAVÍD;	Sí.	*Yes.*
40.		Él anda conmigo,	*He goes with me,*
41.		para arriba y para abajo,	*all over the place.*

As with the other examples, Davíd here describes a new expense, listing the cost of a medical test (line 1) that he must have (line 7) as well as providing an account for why he needs to have the test done (lines 10-11). However, this declarative request directly states his material needs rather than using the more off-record strategy of reported speech. Beto responds by asking what his uncle Fermín, the family medical expert, has to say (lines 17-18). This response requests a report of a past conversation, actively pursuing a common strategy for invoking economic obligations. This question prompts Davíd to change tactics, producing a complaint designed as a report of something he had thought to himself (line 21); this complaint emphasizes that Davíd does not enough money (line 22) and poses a plaintive question (line 23) that articulates his frustration and works to invoke an empathetic response, while also implicating others, possibly including Beto himself, in coming up with a solution (line 23). Thus, while it is Davíd who is without money, this material scarcity is represented as a problem for the larger kin network. However, Beto still continues with the same interactional project, repeating his question that seeks to elicit a report of Fermín's expert opinion (line 34 and 37).

Beto's persistence pursues the kind of authorization that Sara performed in Example 5.6 in making her reported complaint in Fermín's voice; his pursuit is not concerned with what his grandmother (arguably the person closest to his grandfather) or other relatives might think, but is specifically focused on the family member with the most medical expertise. This insistence invokes and reconstitutes the unequal economic relationship between migrants in

the United States and their relatives back home in El Salvador, suggesting that remittance-sending migrant kin require adequate authorization in order to accept the obligations placed on them. Another form of authorization that is very common in these negotiations is pursuit by migrants of the exact amounts of the expenses, as shown in Example 5.1. Although Couper-Kuhlen (2012) suggests that asking these sorts of factual questions in response to a complaint constitutes a nonaffiliative response, in this context, if non-migrant relatives cannot provide a clear account of their costs, their requests tend to be treated as less legitimate. This dynamic often results in tension between migrants and their kin in El Salvador who feel pressured to give detailed accounts and stretch funds impossibly far. For example, in one phone call several months after the one shown in Example 5.1, Luís and his mother engaged in a fairly heated back-and-forth debate that lasted for twenty minutes about Luís' habit of asking for exact amounts of expenses; although he insisted that he needed the amounts to know how much money to send, she claimed that his insistence indicated a lack of trust in her. The tensions caused by such a desire for authorization emerge in this example as well, as Davíd does not comply with Beto's repeated requests. Although his responses go some way towards providing authorization by citing Fermín's presence (lines 19 and 40-41), he stops short of the more elaborated authorization of reported speech that Beto has explicitly requested. Davíd's resistance to Beto's questioning is persistent and is perhaps motivated by generational considerations. For a grandson to ask his grandfather for authorization of a request for material care goes against generational norms of *respeto* ('respect') under which a grandfather's word should be sufficient for his grandson.

Of the data presented in this chapter, this example involves the most explicit instance of interactional tension. Here, the normative practice of requesting remittances through

reported speech that distributes responsibility and provides authorization comes into conflict with intergenerational norms that assume older family members' default authorization and entitlement vis-à-vis their younger kin. The grandfather and his migrant grandson must work out conflicting power hierarchies, which have implications for who has the right to set the agenda, not only for their immediate interaction, but also for the more ongoing negotiation of cross-border material care. Beto asserts his right to request authorization due to his economic status as remittance provider, while Davíd, in refusing to provide the requested authorization, asserts his generational right to make requests without authorization. Such interactional tension, although it never comes to a head, is palpable in the interaction as participants pursue divergent interactional projects. This charged affective engagement is temporarily defused when Beto changes the topic immediately following Example 5.8; grandfather and grandson continue to discuss Fermín's career possibilities for another five minutes before Beto passes the phone to his father Luís, who continues to talk to Davíd.

As shown in Example 5.9, just one minute into this new conversation, the cost of the medical test resurfaces quickly. Luís interrupts Davíd's report about the test to explain that he has already committed to sending money for this expense, at which point Davíd repeats his previous complaint, reverting to the prevalent strategy of reported speech.

Example 5.9

1.	LUÍS;	Y [y y],	*And and and,*
2.	DAVÍD;	[Sí está bien].	*Yes that's fine.*
3.		Lo que estaba pensando yo,	*What I was thinking,*
4.		decía yo a los cipotes,	*I said to the boys,*
5.		l- a tus hijos,	*l- to your sons,*
6.	LUÍS;	Aha?	*Uh-huh?*
7.	DAVÍD;	Que yo no,	*That I don't,*
8.		no tengo pisto,	*I don't have money,*
9.		le digo yo.	*I told him.*
10.		Y a [saber cómo vamos a hacer con todo eso].	*And who knows what we are going to do about all this.*

11.	LUÍS;	[A quién le estaba diciendo].	*Who were you telling this to?*
12.		(1.0)	
13.	DAVÍD;	A Adán.	*To Adán.*
14.		(0.4)	
15.	LUÍS;	A quién más?	*To who else?*
16.	DAVÍD;	E- ese,	*T- to,*
17.		(0.9)	
18.	DAVÍD;	el Beto.	*to Beto.*
19.		(0.4)	
20.	LUÍS;	O:,	*Oh.*
21.		(0.2)	
22.	DAVÍD;	Beto.	*Beto.*
23.		Porque fijate le digo yo,	*Because look I told him,*
24.		Que me mandan para allá y,	*They send me there and,*
25.		cómo putas voy sin pisto,	*how the hell am I going without money,*
26.		yo sin pisto qué (hago allí).	*without money what would I do there.*

Since Luís has already stated that he will be sending money to cover the cost of the test, Davíd's reported complaint is not delicately putting new material care needs on the table. Careful attention to both the framing and design of his reported complaint provides the key to understanding its function. The complaint involves a lamination of something Davíd had thought to himself (line 3), which is reported as something he had previously been saying to his grandsons (line 4). This framing makes use of the imperfect past tense, representing the reported complaint as not having happened at a singular point in the past. Moreover, in identifying the original recipients of his complaint, Davíd first refers to them as *los cipotes* ('the boys', line 4), the unmarked way of referring to Beto and Adán within the family; however, he then goes on to emphasize that 'the boys' are Luís' sons (line 5), and thus his responsibility. The importance of clear identification of these original recipients is emphasized by Luís as well, when he asks which of the boys Davíd has been talking to (line 11), again using the imperfect past tense, which elicits from Davíd the names of both young men (lines 13, 18, and 22). The framing of this reported complaint thus emphasizes the

specificity of Davíd's original interlocutors but leaves the particular temporal realization of their conversations in vaguely unspecified past time.

In addition to framing, the design of the complaint itself is also relevant to understanding its function; this can best be seen by methods of dialogic syntax (Du Bois 2014) that compare it to the complaint Davíd made to Beto earlier in the call. The complaints begin with two very similar utterances aligned in the two diagraphs below. Diagraph 1 compares Davíd's two complaints about lacking money; the second complaint to Luís is more colloquial, both with regard to verb choice (*tener* vs. *encontrarse con*) and the lexical item for 'money' (*pisto* vs. *dinero*), while also adding an optional first-person singular pronoun for emphasis. The second diagraph compares Davíd's next statement, which in both cases wonders what 'we', a larger grouping that may well include his interlocutors, are going to do about the lack of funds. However, the repeated complaint is more emphatic, adding the phrase *a saber* ('who knows') and also upgrading representation of the problem to be solved from an object pronoun to an entire prepositional phrase.[19] Taken together, these subtle changes make the second complaint seem more pressing than the first, an urgency that is emphasized by the significant expansion of the reported complaint that Davíd provides to Luís (lines 23-25). This expansion makes use of profanity (line 25), which is quite unusual for Davíd, and stresses the importance of funds: without money, he will not be able to pursue his medical treatment. Thus, the reported complaint Davíd provides to Luís is an extreme-case formulation (Edwards 2000) that stresses the urgency of the need, reflected as well in the use of the present tense for the quotative verbs (lines 9 and 23).

[19] Curly brackets in the second diagraph indicate that the prepositional phrase has been moved from its original location at the end of the clause as a means of highlighting the structural alignments between the repeated utterances.

Table 5.1: Diagraph 1, Comparison of Examples 5.8 and 5.9

Example	Line	Speaker	Addressee	Aligned Utterances						
5.8	22	Davíd	Beto	que		no	me encuen -tro	con	ningún	dinero
5.9	7-8	Davíd	Luís	que	yo	no	tengo			pisto

Table 5.2: Diagraph 2, Comparison of Examples 5.8 and 5.9

Example	Line	Speaker	Addressee	Aligned Utterances					
5.8	23	Davíd	Beto	y		cómo	lo	vamos	a hacer
5.9	10	Davíd	Luís	y	a saber	cómo	{con todo esto}	vamos	a hacer

Taken together, the framing and design of the reported complaint provide cues as to its function in this case, where an offer to send money has already been made. Davíd represents himself as having made a very urgent request to his grandsons at some unspecified time in the past; they nevertheless did not interpret the request deontically, leaving Davíd to continue to worry about this lack of funds until Luís offered to provide material support. By representing the boys' egregious dereliction of their material care responsibilities to Luís, while also emphasizing that they are his sons and thus his responsibility, this reported complaint functions in large part to delicately hold Luís accountable for their behavior. Leaving the temporality of the previous conversations vague keeps Davíd from having to get into a back-and-forth discussion about when the requests were made, instead presenting a more generalized sense of his dissatisfaction with his grandsons' level of responsiveness. The subtle nature of his rebuke carefully attends to ongoing affective kin relationships on two levels: in the immediate interaction, the delicacy of this formulation saves face between Davíd and his son Luís, while in the context of the broader familial setting, it works to correct the imbalance that economic inequality brings into the relationship between a

grandfather and his grandsons. Thus, reported speech, the same interactional resource that elsewhere is used to manage and reinforce the material inequality between family in the United States and El Salvador, is here deployed to carefully challenge this material imbalance through the invocation of generational hierarchy. Thus, this subtle communicative care strategy can be used, not only to negotiate obligation and capacity, but also to reassert the expectations of cross-border material care that are assumed to hold within transnational families.

Discussion

This chapter has examined the communicative care practices through which transnational families managed the difficult economic conditions of their cross-border lives under neoliberal regimes. Focusing specifically on how migrant and non-migrant kin invoke obligations for material care provision, the analysis has demonstrated that requests for support were quite different depending on their cross-border directionality. Requests by migrants for material care from El Salvador were infrequent and involved items that were low-stakes with regard to physical survival but richly laden in affective and nostalgic value; moreover, these requests were always made by male migrants to mother figures. In linguistic design, such requests were direct, clearly displaying migrant entitlement to material care. These obligations were in turn readily agreed to by mother figures, who then nevertheless struggled to actually fulfill these requests with the scarce economic resources available to them. I have argued that mother figures' ready acquiescence accomplished important communicative care work, masking the ongoing economic dependency of kin in El Salvador on their migrant relatives. Similarly, the directness of migrants' requests and their consistent address to mother figures indexed traditional forms of mother-son care and offered non-

migrant women opportunities to interactionally engage in such relational work. Thus, these ways of requesting material goods and responding to such requests constituted forms of communicative care that, while putatively organizing material care, most importantly accomplished crucial interactional work to sustain affective kin ties across borders. The communicative care function of how requests are made and responded to emerges only through close attention to how communicative projects unfold over time; Goodwin's work (1990b) highlights the significance of tracking the temporal development of courses of action, a direction that would prove very fruitful for future analysis of requests both by migrants and non-migrants.

Requests for remittances produced by non-migrant kin in El Salvador were very different in form but perform similar affective and relational work. Invoking and responding to remittance-sending obligations was the most pervasive activity in the transnational phone calls in my data set; such requests were extremely high-stakes since these funds were necessary for family survival. In design, these invocations were not obviously formatted as requests but rather as reported complaints, yet they consistently functioned as requests in terms of the responses they garnered. These request for remittances thus constitute a sort of indirect directive, an unusual formulation whose structure therefore merits some close attention. Here, I synthesize the findings of the specific examples analyzed above, arguing that the indirect directives presented here share similarities in terms of their placement, internal structure, and sequence organization. Comparisons will be drawn with the more canonical directives included in the migrants' requests for material items.

In terms of placement, the direct requests made by migrants did not need to situated in any particular conversational location, as shown in Example 5.1 where the migrant

interrupts the ongoing talk to make his request. Topic tying could optionally be used, as shown in Example 5.2, but this optional placement became mandatory with the indirect directives appearing in non-migrant requests for remittances. All such indirect requests for help with health care costs were made when the issue of Davíd's health had already been topicalized and placed on the table as an issue for discussion. However, indirect requests were tied to the ongoing talk even more closely through shared reference to a particular person who had already been introduced as a conversational focus, what I call *shared referent tying*. So for instance, in Example 5.4, Luís had introduced his brother Fermín into the conversation, discussing his important role in managing Davíd's health; Rosario then built on this mention of Fermín, incorporating him as the recipient of the reported complaint by which she successfully requested remittances. Notably, the previously mentioned individual to whom the reported complaint is linked can be someone originally introduced either by the requestor or the requestee, as seen in Example 5.6, in which the requestor originally introduced Fermín into the discourse and then voiced him as authoring the reported complaint. The strength of the practice of shared referent tying in the emplacement of indirect directives is particularly clear in the case of a failed indirect request shown in example 5.8. Notably, the complaint made in this case does not involve reference to a previously introduced individual, even though the requestee, perhaps sensing where the conversation was going (see the discussion of structure below), had introduced Fermín into the discourse, providing the shared referent needed for this strategy. The avoidance of shared referent tying in this case may thus help to explain why this particular indirect request was unsuccessful in taking on a directive function. Thus, it would seem that careful emplacement

of indirect requests into ongoing talk, here by means of generalized topic tying and the very specific strategy of shared referent tying, are crucial to their directive function.

Similarly, the structure of the indirect request itself seems to serve as an important cue for its directive function. Unlike the migrant's request for material goods, which included a direct request followed by a list of items requested, the indirect requests for remittances had a much more complex structure. Each of these requests involved a quotative marker, the verb *decir* ('to say'), and identification of a speaker, who can either be the person reporting the complaint or a third party; the original recipient of the reported complaint seems less crucial, as shown in example 5.4, where it is ultimately not clear who the recipient was. The quotative marker tended to be repeated several times throughout the request, as if to remind the requestee that the complaint being made had been spatiotemporally displaced and was a report rather than a direct complaint. The quotative verb could take either the present tense (see example 5.6 and most of example 5.4) or the imperfect past (see example 5.9 and one clause in example 5.4). These indirect requests then of course also included the reported speech itself, which often involved a response cry (such as *púchica*) as a means of cuing the affective weighting of the complaint. However, mandatorily, the reported speech needed to include a mention of specific expenses and also of the lack of resources available to meet those needs. The ordering of these two components of the reported speech seems somewhat flexible, although there is a slight preference for elaborating the needs first and then following this with a lament as to the lack of money. Once again, to understand the relative importance of different aspects of this structure for the directive function of indirect requests, it can be useful to examine the unsuccessful case presented in example 5.8. Although this indirect request does include both a statement of needs and of lack of resources, it is missing

the all-important quotative marking and is presented as a direct, rather than as a reported complaint. Thus, it would seem that the quotative marking is the most crucial aspect of structure in such indirect requests.

Finally, in terms of sequence organization, the indirect requests for remittances tended to follow a sequence that was quite similar to that of the direct requests made by migrants. Both cases involve the request itself, whether direct or indirect, followed by a response. In the case of the migrant requests for material goods, this response was always affirmative, whereas in the case of remittance requests, this was not always the case (see example 5.7). However, the biggest difference in terms of sequence organization involved a possible insertion sequence, occurring between the request and the response, in which particular aspects of the request could be clarified. While such clarifying sequences were optional in the case of direct requests by migrants, in the indirect remittance requests, such clarifying sequences were much more common in remittance requests, involving discussion of the amount of funds requested (example 5.4) or the relative merits of different treatment options (example 5.6). The need for such insertion sequences may well be related to the indirectness with which remittance requests were made, which may have limited requestor's ability to include this specific information in their original request. Nevertheless, the similarity in sequence organization between the direct requests made by migrants and the reported complaints by which non-migrants requested remittances ultimately supports the directive interpretation of these indirect requests.

Thus, in in El Salvador regularly used reported complaints as a means of delicately putting material needs on the table, which nevertheless had reliably directive effects if the appropriate placement and structural cues were included. Such off-record formulations did

not display entitlement but relied on assumptions of migrant care obligations in order to function deontically. The fact that this delicate strategy was consistently used and treated as deontic – and oriented to as missing when it was not used – suggests the strength of these assumptions and the pervasiveness of generalized asymmetrical reciprocity in organizing the economy of transnational family life. In addition, the use of reported speech brought other voices into economic negotiations, pushing back against the dyadic limitations of cell-phone technology and distributing responsibility for high-stakes requests to a range of individual family members. Moreover, this communicative strategy facilitated the display of negative affect such as frustration, marking performances explicitly as not directly addressing the recipient, and thus safeguarding ongoing relationships between migrants and non-migrants. Additionally, this off-record strategy provided migrants with an opportunity to show attentiveness to their family's needs by responding affirmatively to obligations that had been very indirectly invoked. Therefore, these practices of communicative care stabilized and sustained continued remittances by managing the ongoing economic dependency in cross-border families in ways that carefully protected and nurtured affective kin relationships.

My analysis here has stepped back from work that takes cross-border economic exchanges for granted, instead examining the communicative care work that makes material care possible in the first place. By comparing invocations of obligations made both by migrants and by non-migrants, I have teased apart the ways in which such negotiations manage the everyday consequences of global capital and neoliberalism in transnational families' lives. I hope to have demonstrated that the linguistic strategies I have documented construct affective meanings for material goods, thereby sustaining not only the physical survival of such families but also the affective ties that hold them together over time.

Conclusion

This chapter's close analysis of how transnational families negotiate material care has demonstrated the crucial role of affective ties and values in a seemingly material domain of transnational family life. The examination has revealed how what Ahmed calls *affective economies* are at work in cross-border family life, showing that emotions "align individuals with communities…through the very intensity of their attachments" (2004c:119). For transnational families, the invocation and management of affect is a key part of sustaining kin ties through material care; in their everyday conversations, remittances and *riguas* are assigned affective values, coming to stand in for a son's attention or for motherly nurturance. Reflected in such significations is a *semiotic ideology* (Keane 2003) that parses these material goods and economic resources as signs, pulling remittances and riguas out of the surround of other objects as meaningful, and more specifically, as having a particularly affective significance. Thus, in addition to managing face and facilitating relationships in the enchronic timescale of the immediate interactional moment, the communicative care used in these negotiations also sustains affective connections across the longer timespan in which material exchanges occur.

For transnational families, the exchange of material and economic resources form part of a larger system of generalized asymmetrical reciprocity; complex webs of obligation and entitlement weave the individual members of the family together through the everyday practices that maintain kinship over time. Focusing on the workings of this alternate economic system in transnational family life more clearly elucidates the significance of their everyday survival strategies. Rather than seeing such families solely as victims of neoliberal economic policies or as co-opted by the neoliberal individualization of care, a framework of

generalized asymmetrical reciprocity reveals a more agentive understanding of their actions. While the remittances migrants send to their families take the place of state-sponsored care and thus reproduce neoliberal arrangements, these economic resources are also a sign of continued affective engagement, carrying kin ties forward into the future. Such non-capitalist economic systems, although of course not devoid of all exploitation, may nevertheless point the way forward away from neoliberal dominance, helping to reveal what Safri and Graham call "the possibility of a household-based politics of economic transformation" (2010:101). Close attention to everyday communicative practices is crucial for revealing how alternative economic understandings are created and sustained across time, providing clear insights into the creative agency of those who are pushed to the margins of the global neoliberal regime.

CHAPTER 6
Chronotopic Hegemony and Resistance: The Consequences of Conversational Space-Time Travel for Cross-border Families

"Gracias por acordarse de nosotros"

It has been ten years since I returned to the United States after four years spent living in the village of Cantón El Río in El Salvador. Each year since then, I have gone back to visit and sometimes to do fieldwork; I spend my days in the village stopping by the school and the childcare center, attending community events like soccer games, dances, and church services, and visiting people in their homes. I admire new babies, comment on how quickly children have grown in the intervening year, and discuss the weather and the corn harvest. More charged topics come up as well: we talk about political developments in El Salvador and people inevitably ask how undocumented migrants are faring in the United States and inquire about the possibilities for immigration reform. But perhaps the most consistent topic in all these many conversations is memory. Walking the streets of the village, I am greeted by community members who comment in surprise, "Siempre se acuerda de nosotros!" ('You always remember us'). At the end of a visit to someone's house, they express gratitude, saying, "Gracias por acordarse de nosotros" ('Thank you for remembering us'). These comments have always puzzled me. I wonder how I could ever possibly forget El Río: the years I spent living there were such formative ones and the sights, smells, and sounds of the daily rhythm of village life are indelibly inscribed in my memory. The smell of wood smoke, the roosters who all decide to crow in the middle of the night, the taste of salty *queso duro* ('sharp cheese') with a handmade tortilla fresh off the *comal* ('griddle'), the sensations of cool water, grainy soap, and smooth cement as I wash clothes by hand, and the brightness of

the stars at night. How could I ever forget the people of the village – their faces, their names, the sound of their voices, the experiences we have shared together?

The frequency of these comments is suggestive, revealing a shared expectation: inhabitants of Cantón El Río worry that those who leave the community and go to the United States will forget about them. This collective expectation of not being remembered, although it is articulated by individuals, is spoken on behalf of *nosotros* ('we'), the group. The fear is not, then, that those who leave El Río will forget a particular individual, but rather that they will forget a larger collective: the family or the village or perhaps even the nation as a whole. Moreover, comments such as these draw memory out from within the individual mind by ascribing meaning to actions: I travel to El Río and visit people's homes there because I remember them. Through these remarks, memory is made into a public and accountable part of social life, performing important work to reaffirm relational ties in the face of sustained separation. Thus, remembering is demonstrated through the performance of social obligations, as suggested in examples seen earlier in the dissertation. In Chapter 4, a father greets his migrant sons via video immediately after he has thanked them for their help in financing construction on the family home, stating that he is sending the *saludo* "porque siempre se acuerdan de nosotros" ('because you all always remember us'). Similarly, in Chapter 5, a mother readily agrees to send her migrant son the traditional food item he has requested, explaining that she will send these *riguas* "porque yo siempre me acuerdo" ('because I always remember').

In this chapter, I explore in greater detail the role of memory in transnational family life as a crucial means by which relatives construct meaning from their experiences and create belonging in their everyday cross-border communication. With this analysis, I trace

the communicative care work that is accomplished by remembering. Care involves all the social practices that sustain the well-being of groups through time; considering the discursive deployment of temporal framings is thus a crucial means for understanding how communicative practices importantly contribute to larger projects of care.

Joint Remembering and the Semiotics of Collective Memory

Research has demonstrated the importance of memory for the construction and maintenance of communities by mobile and cross-border populations (Bonnerjee 2012; Boym 2001; Fortier 2000; Goldring 1996; Halilovich 2013; Maj and Riha 2009; Nikunen 2013).[20] Discursively articulated forms of memory are particularly crucial for cross-border connections, and scholars have highlighted the importance of narrative specifically for creating such links (Bauer and Thompson 2004; Bletzer 2013; Eastmond 2007; Watkins 1999). For transnational families, oral histories have been shown to help kin networks manage the emotional challenges of physical separation and navigate the tensions of cross-border life (Chamberlain and Leydesdorff 2004). Building on this focus on the discursive construction of memory, this chapter turns to a less monologic genre of talk, analyzing how remembering is co-constructed in everyday cross-border conversations.

Scholarship on joint remembering (Bietti 2010; 2011; Edwards and Middleton 1986; Fivush and Hudson 1990; Middleton and Edwards 1990; Middleton 1997) examines the shared construction of memory in conversation, conceptualizing remembering as an organized social activity that emerges from and is structured by the needs and purposes of the ongoing talk. This perspective highlights how remembering the past is fundamentally connected to the concerns of the present moment. Conversational remembering therefore has

[20] However, some scholars have also argued that forgetting does important work for these groups as well (Carsten 1995; Connerton 2008).

important relational outcomes: “relationships can be defined, negotiated, redefined, consolidated, disputed, through conversations about the past” (Edwards and Middleton 1988:4). This process may involve the “subordination of remembering to the working out of relationships” (1988: 24); in other words, the relational work done by joint remembering in conversations is more fundamental than the factuality of the memories themselves. Relatedly, in shared remembering, affect plays a crucial role, with affectively motivated remembering being preferred over chronologically motivated remembering as a means of organizing the joint production of memory (Edwards and Middleton 1986). Conversational remembering thus mobilizes the past as a resource for building relationships in the present.

In research on the relational consequences of joint remembering, a key area of focus has been on memory within families (e.g., Bietti and Galiana Castello 2013; Brookfield, Brown, and Reavey 2008; Edwards and Middleton 1988; Hirst, Manier, and Apetroaia 1997). Such studies posit reminiscing as a crucial form of everyday family interaction within a range of cultural contexts (Fivush 2008), making it a primordial site for understanding the social dimensions of memory work. Moreover, remembering in families is often conceptualized as a form of distributed cognition (Hutchins 2006) that involves not only interaction between individuals but also engagement with material artifacts and symbolic systems that have a high degree of affective weighting (Bietti and Galiana Castello 2013). Discursive memory work here is understood as situated within the full extent of social life: the relational, the affective, and the material. Indeed, scholars suggest that families as a group share a sociocognitive memory system (e.g. Bietti 2010), in which remembering is made possible by sustained social interconnections.

Research on joint remembering thus highlights the fundamental interdependence of the individual and the social in processes of remembering, a conceptualization that is at the heart of work on collective memory (Assmann 2008; Erll 2008; Halbwachs 1980; 1992; Haye 2012; Nora 1989; Wertsch and Roediger 2008). Such scholarship examines "knowledge about the past that is shared, mutually acknowledged, and reinforced by a collectivity" (Savelsberg and King 2007:191). Collective memory has often served as a resource for subjugated groups to push back against marginalization by claiming a "right to historicity" (Trouillot 1991:19). Within Latin America, collective remembering tends to be articulated through *testimonio* that provides accounts of shared experiences to call attention to historical and ongoing forms of oppression (Arnold 2012a; Beverley 1989; 2005; Craft 1997; Gugelberger 1996; Mallon 2001) However, as illustrated by the case of *testimonio* (Lovell and Lutz 2001; Stoll 2008), collective memory involves not only shared but also contested interpretations of the past as different groups work to claim memory for varying ends. Collective memory thus calls attention to the sociopolitical consequences of remembering, elucidating how memory functions to construct and sustain larger collectivities than those traditionally studied in the more interactionally oriented research area of joint remembering.

A significant interdisciplinary body of scholarship has grown up around studies of collective memory, with the concept being expanded in so many directions that some scholars even suggest it has lost its meaning altogether (e.g. Berliner 2005). A recent review contends that, "in its pursuit of the ends of temporality, this literature often hurries past the discursive and semiotic means by which mnemonic acts and artifacts can be said to have 'uses' at all" (Lempert and Perrino 2007:205). However, promising new work within

anthropology has brought semiotic analysis to bear on collective memory (French 2012; Wertsch 2009), suggesting that such an approach "provides important tools for bringing order to the otherwise chaotic and fragmented field" (Wertsch 2009:246). Conceptualizing collective remembering from a semiotic perspective reveals how public signs, whether iconic, indexical, or symbolic, construct and sustain shared memory. For example, Mendoza-Denton (2008b) examines memorialization practices among gang-affiliated Latina/o youth, documenting the production of semiotic resources such as poems and drawings that reinterpret the present and which are then circulated through social networks in ways that constitute a shared past. Mendoza-Denton suggests that such semiotic practices, which work to stabilize a collective identity, are particularly important for marginalized groups whose right to belong in the polity is under attack. Semiotic approaches to collective memory thus empirically ground notions of imagined communities (Anderson 1991), not only revealing how shared remembering emerges but also elucidating the sociopolitical work that it accomplishes.

However, as French notes, within this emerging scholarship "less attention has been paid to the specific mechanisms by which these temporal links are actively made" (2012:346). Drawing on Bakhtin's notion of the "dialogic overtones" of language (1986:102), Wertsch (2009) suggests that dialogicality constitutes one productive focus for semiotic explorations of such temporal connections. Dialogic relationships between two or more distinct instances of language use have long been the site of significant theorization (Basso 1984; Bauman 2004; Becker 1979; Briggs and Bauman 1992; Voloshinov 1929). While the temporal scales examined in such scholarship range from the level of immediate interaction (Du Bois 2014; Du Bois and Giora 2014) up to larger cultural units such as

presidential registers and movie genres (Silverstein 2005), dialogic analysis is a crucial tool for understanding how discursive practices create links across time by highlighting similarities and deploying parallelisms, which simultaneously draw out differences. Because dialogic relationships productively illuminate the nuanced construction of temporal connections between the past, the present, and the future, they have a great deal to offer the linguistic operationalization of joint remembering and collective memory across time. However, while dialogicality facilitates the exploration of temporal interdiscursivity, it is less well-suited for managing the spatial aspects of memory across borders, and for this, I suggest turning to another semiotic tool, the chronotope.

Chronotopic Space-Time Travel

The chronotope has been put forward as another semiotic mechanism by which the temporal connections of collective memory are constituted (French 2012). In his original development of the concept, Bakhtin defined the chronotope as "a unit of analysis for studying texts according to the ratio and nature of the temporal and spatial categories represented" (1982:425). Moving beyond a singular focus on temporality, chronotopic analysis recognizes the fundamental imbrication of space and time, suggesting that the spatial is always temporally located, while the temporal is always positioned temporally. The spatiotemporal focus of the chronotope has provided a productive analytical framework for studies of language beyond the novelistic discourse for which it was originally developed. Within linguistic anthropology, Silverstein has conceptualized the chronotope as a "spatiotemporal envelope" (2005:6) that is peopled by particular social personae (Agha 2007; Dick 2010b). Chronotopic analysis thus elucidates the spatiotemporal dimensions of the voices that are the focus of linguistic anthropology.

Some scholars, however, have suggested that Silverstein's gloss of the chronotope elides the cultural ideologies that were a key component of Bakhtin's original formulation (Lempert and Perrino 2007). For Bakhtin himself, the chronotope served as "an optic for reading texts as x-rays of the forces at work in the culture system from which they spring" (1982:426); chronotopic analysis, from this perspective, is a tool for unpacking the ideologies that structure cultural systems and their discursive products. Such cultural ideologies are traceable in chronotopes due to their moral weighting: "temporal and spatial determinations are … always colored by emotions and values" (Bakhtin 1982:243). In other words, scholars might begin to unravel the ideological weft of social life by picking out the spatial and temporal threads saturated with the greatest normative valorization. Within this broader conceptualization, chronotopes productively link the materiality of space-time with the ideological and affective facets of social life.

One challenge in emphasizing the ideological components of the chronotope is that this necessitates the development of analytical tools that can bridge between large-scale chronotopic frameworks and a more bottom-up analysis of everyday communication. Several possibilities have been proposed, though several of these do not engage explicitly with the ideological aspects of the chronotope. For example, Silverstein (2005) deploys indexicality to argue for how chronotopes move across scales, while others argue that the concept of scale elucidates how chronotopic framings become accessible in particular contexts (Blommaert 2015; Divita 2014). Perhaps the most productive of these theoretical extensions is Agha's deployment of participation frameworks: for him, the "interpersonal relevance" of chronotopes "derives from the participation frameworks in which they are experienced, and through which they are maintained or transformed" (2007:324). Thus, the broad cultural

frameworks of chronotopes are only encountered by individuals within particular interactional frameworks – whether these are intimate face-to-face conversations, television shows with global reach, or technologically mediated cross-border communication. In chronotopic analysis, therefore, it is crucial to consider not only the spatiotemporal framings themselves, but also the particular settings within which they are invoked and which they ultimately work to reconstitute. Linguistic-anthropological scholarship that has explored the deployment of chronotopes in a range of communicative practices has suggested that "temporalization effects in real-time communicative events articulate with and help (re)produce or transform larger scale socio-historical formations" (Lempert and Perrino 2007:205). Chronotopic depictions are thus a key resource by which everyday semiotic activity constructs and maintains the broader social order: in chronotopic deployments, speakers make and remake their lifeworlds through language.

Therefore, although Bakhtin emphasizes the fact that widespread cultural chronotopes are created out of the aggregated experiences of everyday life, it is equally true that these ideologically weighted chronotopic framings inform how individuals make sense of their everyday lives within a given cultural context. Chronotopic representations circulate in what Agha reminds us is a fundamentally social process, as people calibrate their own semiotic activities to existing dominant chronotopes, "through forms of alignment to that model (or variant) to which participants orient in some modality of response" (Agha 2007: 322). The role of chronotopic representations is perhaps nowhere more salient than in memory work: the function of conversational remembering is to make past experiences meaningful in some way, and picking out times, spaces, and social personae are key components of this

interpretive work. Chronotopic frameworks, which package these three aspects together with ideological associations, offer a rich resource for memory-based semiotic work.

Chronotopic analysis of this sort is particularly useful for investigations of language and mobility (Dick 2011; Divita 2014; Eisenlohr 2004; Koven 2013; Stasch 2011); the production and circulation of images of a "life beyond" (Dick 2010b:276) through conversational "space-time travel" (Lempert and Perrino 2007:208) is a crucial part of discourses of migration. Chronotopes make discursive space-time recognizable and meaningful by connecting spatiotemporal framings to normative cultural ideologies. Through chronotopic deployment, "actors make available times/spaces that otherwise would not be phenomenologically available" (Dick 2010b:276). For cross-border communities, distant spaces and times are a key part of everyday life, and talking about other places and times allows transborder networks to conversationally grapple with the consequences of both mobility and immobility. Chronotopic representations thus constitute a crucial resource by which transnational communities imagine themselves into being. For this reason, Dick (2011) calls for a greater focus in research on language and migration on how chronotopes organize transnational communities, particularly on chronotopic depictions that are widespread in sending contexts. This chapter answers this call, focusing on a chronotopic representation of transnational family life that has immense ideological weighting in El Salvador. My analysis explores how both migrant and non-migrant kin take up this chronotope, both in alignment and in resistance, as they make meaning from their experiences in the past, present, and future.

Chronotopic Semiosis in Transnational Salvadoran Families

Cross-border family ties in El Salvador are understood by means of a widespread chronotope of familial disintegration, in which migration is seen as disrupting the family and migrants are widely expected to forget those they leave behind. This chronotope has been previously noted by scholars of Salvadoran migration, although it is conceptualized as a generic discourse, rather than as a chronotope (Andrade-Eekhoff 2003; 2006; Hammock et al. 2006; Menjivar 2000; Miyares et al. 2003). Abrego notes that this discourse circulates widely in media representations as well as in blogs, videos, and scholarly work on Salvadoran migration; the discourse of familial disintegration "maintains that migrant fathers 'say they're leaving for their kids, but as soon as they step on U.S. soil, they forget that they ever had a family'" (2014:134). In interviews with the left-behind children of migrants, she finds that, while this discourse reflects the experiences of some young people who have been abandoned by migrant parents, it also represents an oversimplification that elides the complexities of shifting relationships in cross-border families.

I would suggest that rather than simply constituting a general discourse of migration, this assumption of familial disintegration as an inevitable part of the migration experience constitutes a chronotope that mobilizes spatiotemporal characteristics in a particular way. Temporally, the chronotope of familial disintegration is located as a post-migration experience: transnational separation is represented as the cause of abandonment, which, in the extreme formulation cited by Abrego above, results as soon as the migrant sets foot in the United States. Thus, this temporal figuration is simultaneously spatial, depicting non-copresent families whose physical ties have been severed by migration. Within the spatiotemporal frame, particular social personae are positioned: the migrant and his family –

a gendered pronoun I choose deliberately. As the quote from Abrego makes clear, these personae are crucially gendered. The migrant who abandons his family is represented as male, despite longstanding and increasing female migration from El Salvador (Abrego 2009; 2014; Mahler 1999; Padilla 2012; Zentgraf 2002). The left-behind family is represented as being abandoned in abject poverty by the selfish migrant, with generational features often drawn on to depict the ultimate helpless victims: children.[21]

Of course, one dimension of what sets this chronotope of disintegration apart, giving it ideological weight as a representation of transnational family life, is a strong contrastive assumption about copresent families. The presumed post-migration dissolution of kin ties is only possible if pre-migration families are assumed to be fundamentally cohesive units made up of individuals with distinct gendered and generational roles who consistently and smoothly fulfill obligations of generalized asymmetrical reciprocity towards one another. This idealized understanding of family life glosses over the serious problems experienced by many copresent families in El Salvador, from domestic violence and child abuse to alcoholism and grinding poverty to the high percentage of households with absentee fathers that are headed by single mothers (Abrego 2014). But it is this idealized understanding of the family that gives the chronotope of familial disintegration such ideological force. There could be no expectation of abandonment if there were no expectation of togetherness in the first place. Thinking chronotopically thus provides greater analytical insights into how particular places, times, and social personae are brought together into coherent representational packages that then become powerful tools for constructing meaning out of everyday experience. In the following sections, I explore two ways in which the chronotope

[21] While the migrant is generally depicted as the main cause of familial disintegration, a less frequent discourse blames the left-behind wives of migrants for this loss of family unity, suggesting that women's sexual infidelity caused their migrant husbands to abandon them and their children.

of familial disintegration was used as a resource in the semiotic work done by transnational families: alignment with the chronotope and resisting its implications.

Aligning with the Chronotope of Familial Disintegration

Not surprisingly, given its prevalence in the Salvadoran imaginary about migration, the chronotope of familial disintegration was consistently present in my fieldwork. Often, when I told Salvadorans that I was planning to study communication in transnational families, they replied that I would be lucky to find such families, since most migrants quickly forget their relatives back home and stop calling. Such alignment with the chronotope of familial disintegration emerged in interviews with the relatives of migrants as well, as they spoke about the meaning of migration for those who remained in El Salvador. For example, a mother whose son had migrated several years earlier described transnational families as follows: "Es una familia desintegrada. Cuando la familia, alguien piensa irse, es una desintegración. Y aquí vamos a la realidad" ('It's a disintegrated family. When the family, someone thinks of going, it is disintegration. And here we are speaking about reality'). In this description, the chronotope of familial disintegration functions as a key resource in making meaning out of the experience of migration: the representation constructed by the participant is closely aligned with the large-scale chronotope. Crucially, although she herself formed part of a post-migration family, this woman never explicitly described her own kin network as disintegrated. Rather, she maintained some distance by referring to the 'reality' of generic and unspecified cross-border families who were 'disintegrated' by migration. Although she emphasized throughout the interview how much she missed her son and described the anxiety caused by not being able to imagine his life in the United States, she represented her

family as still constituting a unit, articulating affective engagements to present a strengthened representation of their cross-border ties.

The distanced alignment with the chronotope of familial disintegration can also be seen in another interview, with a mother and her adult son who had several migrant relatives in the United States. Here, the son deploys the chronotope, again in reference to other generic migrants rather than to his own kin.

> Mucha gente que se ha ido para allá, yo me he dado cuenta, no solamente en esta comunidad sino en muchas comunidades de acá, en muchas partes del país, que se van, y ya no le vuelven a hablar a la familia. Y después de que la familia los ha apoyado tal vez para que se vayan. Ya no les hablan, porque ya tienen dinero, por todo eso. Ya no les interesa la familia.
>
> 'Many people that have gone there, I've realized, not just in this community but in many communities here, in many parts of the country, that they go, and then they don't call their family anymore. And after the family has helped them maybe to go. They don't call them anymore, because now they have money, because of all this. They're no longer concerned for their family'.

His mother chimed in at the end, saying, "Ya lo toman como que no es nada la gente" ('They treat people as if they weren't anything any more'). Here, the personae associated with this spatio-temporal framework emerge quite clearly through this chronotopic calibration: a family supports one of its members to journey to the United States in a bid for an improved economic situation for all. This migrant is then depicted as betraying the family's trust: once he has money himself, the migrant loses concern for his family and treats them as if they no longer meant anything to him. Recurrent use of the temporal adverb *ya* (Butt and Benjamin 2011), used four times by the son and once by his mother, draws out the temporality of these processes: the migrant is represented as having changed due to migration and their improved financial prospects. Thus, in the chronotopic depiction constructed here, the migrant is represented as being easily distracted by material wealth, which leads him to neglect his

familial ties. Such representations are clearly shaped in part by discursive contrasts drawn between the United States and sending countries in discourses of migration: home countries are poor but characterized by moral superiority that emphasizes family connection, whereas the United States is a realm of economic advantage but moral corruption (Dick 2006; 2011). Migrants are expected to lose their moral compass in such an environment.

Perhaps the most poignant calibration to the chronotope of familial disintegration came in an interview with Berta, the wife of a migrant, who remained in El Salvador with their daughter, who is now a teenager. Remembering back to when her husband was first talking about migrating, she recalled:

> Mi mamá sí me decía, fíjese, mi mamá me decía, "No lo dejes ir. Porque si se va, se va a olvidar de ustedes," me decía. "Se casa por allá," me dice. "Se casa por allá, ya no va a volver"…Me decía mi mamá, "Muchos hombres se van y se acompañan por allá, y después pero ni cinco le mandan. Olvidan de la familia," me decía. Y eso a uno le da miedo usted.
>
> 'My mom would tell me, see, my mom would tell me, "Don't let him go. Because if he goes, he is going to forget you all", she would tell me. "He will get married there," she says to me. "He will get married there and then he won't come back"… My mom told me, "Many men go and they get a new partner there, and then they don't send even five dollars. They forget their family," she told me. And this makes one afraid, you know.

This example illustrates the ideological power of the chronotope of familial disintegration as it brings normative understandings of gender together with material care concerns. Just like the father who forgets his children as soon as he is in the United States, so too the husband is depicted as forgetting his wife when he finds a new partner. Here, non-migrant women and children are the victims of migrants who turn out to be irresponsible fathers and faithless husbands. The social personae of the chronotope of familial disintegration are thus clearly emergent from gender norms in El Salvador in which masculinity is ideologically connected not only to family breadwinning, but also to having multiple sexual partners (Abrego 2014).

These ideologies result in expectations that men's sexual drive will lead them to form new ties in the United States, which will then be prioritized over the forgotten wife and child back home.

Moreover, this chronotopic depiction is connected to negative material consequences for non-migrant kin: migrants who do not remember their family back home do not send them 'even five dollars'. Thus, the forgetting that causes familial disintegration is signaled not only by the absence of phone calls, but also by the lack of remittances. Migrants who have abandoned their material care obligations in an important sense are no longer family, as they have stopped participating in one of the key practices of transnational family belonging. In my study, such dire material consequences had an affective impact on the relatives of migrants, creating a constant state of worry as they waited for the seemingly inevitable abandonment that surely would come any day. This anxiety emerges clearly in Berta's citation of the chronotope of familial abandonment. Although she deploys reported speech in a distancing strategy that articulates the fear of abandonment in her mother's voice rather than her own, her own voice surfaces in her summary of this account as she says, "eso a uno le da miedo usted" ('this makes one afraid, you know'). Despite her use of the generic third-person pronoun which allows her to avoid explicitly claiming this as a personal fear, the prosody of her statement – characterized by rapid speech, higher pitch, and increasing volume – along with her use of the vocative *usted* ('you') highlights the immediacy of what is ultimately a very personal emotional experience. In constructing this representation, Berta aligns with the chronotope of familial disintegration, which, in addition to its ideological weight, also bears a significant affective burden; indeed, other analyses have demonstrated

that one of the key functions of chronotopes is the creation of a climate of fear (Riskedahl 2007).

Thus, the spatiotemporal and characterological specification of the chronotope of familial disintegration provided a ready framework by which non-migrant kin could create meaning from their situation of familial separation. Wives separated from their husbands and children separated from their parents feared the abandonment that this chronotopic representation predicted for all cross-border families. Such concerns were simultaneously both material and affective: non-migrant kin worried that migrants would forget them and no longer send the remittances they relied on for survival, with this anxiety figuring as a crucial part of the emotional experience of cross-border family life. At the same time, however, they feared a loss of intimacy and affective closeness with their migrant relatives. This fear was particularly prevalent for the left-behind wives of migrants; for example, in the preliminary phase of fieldwork for this study, a young wife of a migrant asked me to take some sexy photographs of her to send to her husband in the United States. She was worried that he would find another sexual partner there and thought these photos would help him remember her; now, greater access to smartphones and internet access even in rural El Salvador are likely facilitating this sort of exchange with greater privacy. The spatiotemporal specifications of the chronotope of familial disintegration thus mobilized ideologies, with both material and affective corollaries, as cross-border families sought to make meaning from and manage their experiences of the contradictions of neoliberal mobility.

Although this chronotope was deployed most often by non-migrant kin in El Salvador, migrants themselves felt the impact of the prevalent conceptualization of family disintegration and at times used it to make meaning from their experiences. A year after

speaking with Berta, I interviewed her husband Gerardo in the United States. The interview stands out in my mind as the most difficult and uncomfortable interview of the fieldwork process. We talked for almost two hours, and Gerardo used this time to express his sadness and frustration with his current situation, at several points coming close to tears in a complete breach of cultural norms for interactions between men and non-related women. Although he was proud of how hard he worked and the family construction projects he had been able to fund with his remittances, he was lonely. He missed his wife and daughter desperately, but felt they did not understand the sacrifices he was making: he worked extremely long hours at a physically exhausting warehouse job, coming home to a room the size of a closet, for which he paid $100 per month.

As he talked about his relationship with his family back home, the chronotope of familial disintegration shadowed his words. He said his wife often got upset with him for not calling her as frequently as he had previously, saying that he had changed:

> A veces me dice que yo he cambiado. "No," le digo yo, "a veces uno, no es que cambia," le dije, "sino que a veces, es el trabajo … Pues, o a veces, la misma gente lo hace cambiar a uno. Porque a veces se, pues por, a veces la gente habla cosas que no son."
>
> 'Sometimes she tells me that I have changed. "No," I tell her, "sometimes, it isn't that one changes," I told her, but rather that sometimes, it is one's work … Or, sometimes, people themselves make one change. Because sometimes, because, sometimes people say things that aren't true."'

Here, Gerardo expresses his frustration his wife's constant expectation that he has changed in some fundamental way, that migration will cause him to eventually forget his family back in El Salvador. Again, use of the generic *uno* ('one') maintains some distance between him and the experiences he describes, just as reported speech displaces the conversation in space and time. In these reported conversations, he positions himself as resisting expectations that he

has changed, insisting that his intensive work schedule interferes with more frequent calls. Moreover, he alludes to the effect of these expectations, suggesting that such complaints may ultimately push the generic migrant away and cause the change that was so feared.

The chronotope of familial disintegration, while serving as a ready semiotic resource that was often deployed by my participants, caused significant pain in their lives. Non-migrant kin, weighed down by the ideological signification of spatiotemporal separation, would imagine themselves in the roles of the social personae peopling this chronotope. Afraid that they would lose connection with their migrant relatives, along with the concomitant material support, they pressured migrant kin in ways that caused increasing frustration. Given the power of this dominant representation of cross-border families, remembering and forgetting become charged matters, carrying a great deal of significance for the ongoing sustainability of family ties. I turn now to an examination of instances of joint remembering in transnational family phone calls, analyzing the semiotic work accomplished by this interactional activity as kin engage with the chronotope of familial disintegration in a way that pushed back against its component assumptions, rather than aligning with them.

Joint Remembering: Resisting the Chronotope of Familial Disintegration

The chronotope of familial disintegration frames transnational connection as fragile and likely to be disrupted because memory cannot be sustained across borders and time. Within this context, joint remembering emerges in a charged conversational environment where memory stands in for family cohesion. Remembering together in conversation therefore constitutes a key form of communicative care through which transnational families challenge the pervasive chronotope of familial disintegration. In this section, I analyze instances of joint remembering in transnational phone calls, demonstrating that as they

remember together, kin highlight the continuity of family ties, simultaneously constructing togetherness in the immediate interactional moment. My analysis draws out the dialogic linguistic strategies through which material and affective connections are interwoven to construct transnational belonging spanning the past, present, and future, from El Salvador to the United States to the transnational phone calls that link these two places. This joint remembering thus engages with the chronotope of familial disintegration, but rather than aligning with its semiotic force, as shown in the previous examples, this communicative care practice resists the dominant chronotope by constructing close affiliations that challenge the representation of disintegration and hence reaffirming connection and closeness.

In these instances of joint remembering, migrant and non-migrant kin collaboratively construct depictions of the past, engaging in conversational space-time travel as they journey to moments in their family's copresent history. However, as the following examples illustrate, the temporal work that these constructions of shared memory accomplish extends well beyond the past, allowing cross-border kin to build connections from the past into the present and even into imagined scenes, whether projected futures or hypothetical scenarios. Moreover, as family members participate in joint remembering that projects forward to the present and the future, they also create engagements in the immediate interactional moment. The examples below illustrate that in these interactions, kin make use of linguistic dialogicality in ways that allow them to build close alignments. Familial togetherness is thus enacted in the interaction itself even as it is projected as a means of understanding the past, present, and future, of cross-border family relationships. Thus, as they remember together, cross-border kin reject the chronotope of familial disintegration as an adequate frame for understanding their lives.

The first example involves a fairly straightforward instance of joint remembering. Before Example 1, Adán, a recent migrant, made an early-morning phone call to his grandfather Davíd in El Salvador. The call had woken his grandfather up, and Adán teased him for still being in bed, to which Davíd protested that it was still only five o'clock in El Salvador. Following the topic of people not wanting to get up in the morning, Adán then brought up an incident that had happened before he and his younger brother Beto migrated, in which Davíd had thrown a bucket of water on Beto to wake him up.

Example 6.1

1.	ADÁN;	Se acuerda cuando levantó a Beto,	*Do you remember when you woke Beto up,*
2.		con un guacal de agua?	*with a bucket of water?*
3.		(1.5)	*(1.5)*
4.	DAVÍD;	@@@	*@@@*
5.	ADÁN;	@@ (H)	*@@ (H)*
6.		[Parece]- --	*[It seems]- --*
7.	DAVÍD;	[Pero el dice],	*[But he says],*
8.		que había mas gente,	*that there were other people,*
9.		que a veces que decían,	*that sometimes said,*
10.		que andaba ya,	*that he had gotten up already,*
11.		bañado en orin.	*covered in urine.*
12.		@@@[@@]	*@@@@[@@]*
13.	ADÁN;	[@@]@@@@@	*[@@]@@@@@*
14.	DAVÍD;	(.) @@[@@@]	*(.) @@[@@@]*
15.	ADÁN;	[@(Hx)]	*[@(Hx)]*
16.		(0.2)	*(0.2)*
17.	ADÁN;	Aq- aquí,	*He- here,*
18.		si no me levanto yo,	*if I don't get up,*
19.		no se [levanta] él tampoco.	*he doesn't [get up] either.*
20.	DAVÍD;	[@@]	*[@@]*
21.		(0.8)	*(0.8)*
22.	DAVÍD;	Sí vo@s.	*Yes you.*
23.		(Así es él),	*(He's like that),*
24.		@@@	*@@@*
25.	ADÁN;	(H) Sí.	*(H) Yes.*
26.		[Si-] --	*[If-] --*

27.	DAVÍD;	[(dur]miendo).	*[(slee]ping).*
28.		@@	@@
29.	ADÁN;	Es burro.	*He's lazy.*
30.	DAVÍD;	[Así es].	*[That's how he is].*
31.	ADÁN;	[@@@@]@	*[@@@@]@*
32.		(0.4)	*(0.4)*
33.	DAVÍD;	@@@@	@@@@
34.	ADÁN;	(H) Sí.	*(H) Yes.*

Davíd's first response to Adán's question regarding whether he remembers this incident (lines 1-2) is laughter (line 4), through which he takes a particular affective stance towards the event, one which Adán immediately aligns with (line 5). Davíd goes on to collaboratively expand the joint remembering, using indirect reported speech (line 7) to voice Beto telling him that those who saw him emerge from his room after having water thrown on him mistakenly assumed that he had wet the bed (lines 8-11). This expansion is designed to contribute to the laughability of the remembered incident, continuing to build on the affective stance previously taken, a strategy that succeeds, as seen in the subsequent uproarious laughter from both grandfather and grandson (lines 12-15). Adán then initiates another space-time conversational move, indexing a shift back to the present moment in early-morning Elizabeth, New Jersey through the deictic *aquí* ('here,' line 17). In their present reality, he states, Beto still has trouble getting up and won't do so unless his older brother does too (lines 18-19); this dynamic explains why Adán is awake at 6 a.m. on his day off, the one day of the week when he could sleep in. Through this spatiotemporal move, Adán sets up a comparison between the past and the present, suggesting that despite time and distance, Beto continues to be the same person he was before he migrated. Davíd confirms this comparison (line 22), affirming that, indeed, this sounds like the Beto he knows, who was never a morning person (line 23). The use of repetition and the present tense assert Davíd's knowledge of his grandson's personality as ongoing and still current. Grandfather and

grandson then continue in this vein, co-constructing Beto's unchanging laziness through shared laughter (lines 24, 28, 31, and 33) and evaluative commentary (lines 25, 29, 30, and 34). At the same time Adán portrays himself as unchanged, still the responsible older brother who doesn't need anyone else to wake him up.

In this short conversation, then, grandfather and grandson collaboratively engage in two shifts in time: back to the past and then forward to the present. This time travel is also spatial in nature: the remembered past is one of family co-presence in El Salvador while the present reality is one of cross-border separation. Through these co-constructed spatiotemporal moves, the interlocutors build connectivity between distinct places and times of family life, highlighting constancy rather than change. In so doing, their joint remembering resists the inevitable and harmful change depicted by the chronotope of familial disintegration, instead constituting a current state of affairs in which family members remain fundamentally the same despite migration. Moreover, the affiliative stance-taking permeating the interaction – seen in shared laughter (lines 4 and 5, 12-15, 31 and 34) and articulations of explicit agreement (lines 22, 23, 25, and 30) – function to construct connection in the immediate interaction as well. Thus, as grandfather and grandson joke about Beto's past and continued laziness, they simultaneously constitute their own ongoing relationship, affirming that this closeness also continues despite cross-border separation. Here, memory is deployed and co-constructed in ways that build continuities from the past into the present, while at the same time, this conversational engagement allows grandfather and grandson to interactionally shore up their own connection.

A second instance of joint remembering can be seen in Example 2, in which Serena, a fairly recent migrant, has been talking with her mother, Olivia, in El Salvador. Serena has

been asking about her nephew Zacarías, who was only two when she left El Salvador and is now four. Her questions have focused on his physical appearance: how tall he is, whether he is chubby or skinny, whether all his teeth have grown in. In connection to this last topic, she recalls an incident that happened when she lived in El Salvador in which Zacarías fell and hurt his lip. Much like the previous example, this memory is introduced with the question *se acuerda cuando* ('do you remember when').

Example 6.2

1.	SERENA;	Se acuerda cuando,	*Do you remember when,*
2.		se golpió el labio,	*he hit his lip,*
3.		y como se le veía.	*and how it looked.*
4.		@@@@@	*@@@@@*
5.	OLIVIA;	Ay sí.	*Oh yes.*
6.		Pobrecito [(nuestro) cipote].	*Our poor [little boy].*
7.	SERENA;	[@@@@ (H)]	*[@@@@ (H)]*
8.		[$_2$Me acuerdo @$_2$].	*[$_2$I remember @$_2$].*
9.	OLIVIA;	[$_2$(Te acuerdas que) #$_2$] [$_3$##$_3$]	*[$_2$(Do you remember that)#$_2$] [$_3$##$_3$]*
10.	SERENA;	[$_3$por jugar$_3$],	*[$_3$because he was playing$_3$],*
11.		(0.3)	*(0.3)*
12.	SERENA;	Me acuerdo cuando,	*I remember when,*
13.		(0.3)	*(0.3)*
14.	SERENA;	cuando le hizo el labio así,	*when his lip got like that,*
15.		que no nos dejaba dormir.	*that he didn't let us sleep.*
16.		(0.3)	*(0.3)*
17.	SERENA;	Ya llegaban las doce,	*Twelve o'clock would arrive,*
18.		la una de la mañana,	*one o'clock in the morning,*
19.		y el todavía llora@ndo @@.	*and he was still cry@ing @@.*
20.		(0.9)	*(0.9)*
21.	OLIVIA;	Como le lloró,	*How he cried about it,*
22.		le dolía.	*it hurt him.*
23.		Pero hoy ya no se cae,	*But now he doesn't fall down,*
24.		hoy anda tranquilo.	*now he walks without any trouble.*
25.		(0.3)	*(0.3)*
26.	SERENA;	@@[@@]	*@@[@@]*
27.	OLIVIA;	[Con la Ursu]linita pasa jugando en veces.	*[He some]times plays with little Ursulina.*
28.		(0.4)	*(0.4)*
29.	SERENA;	Cuando está grande,	*When he is big,*
30.		le voy a contar eso,	*I am going to tell him this,*
31.		a saber- --	*to see- --*

32.		a saber qué me di[ce él].	*to see what he [says].*
33.	OLIVIA;	[Ah]-ha.	*[Uh-huh].*
34.		(0.4)	*(0.4)*
35.	OLIVIA;	Y- y vos ya sabés,	*And- and do you know,*
36.		que le sacó el diente a William tambíen.	*that he knocked out William's tooth too?*

As in Example 1, here again the migrant initiates the joint remembering by asking her non-migrant relative if she recalls a particular incident of copresent family history (line 1). However, the interactional development of the joint remembering proceeds differently than in the previous example. Instead of significant co-construction, Serena herself does most of the remembering (lines 1-3, 8, 10, 13-19), with Olivia's contributions being limited to confirmations of her daughters' memories (lines 5 and 22).[22] Moreover, Olivia and Serena do not build the same kind of affective alignment shown in Example 1. Although early on Serena displays her affective stance towards the recalled incident through laughter (line 4) and continues this humorous keying throughout (lines 7-8, 20), Olivia produces no laughter at all. Instead, she takes a stance that is more sympathetic towards Zacarías (line 6), and evaluates his crying as justified rather than laughable (lines 21 and 22). In this stretch of the interaction, although mother and daughter agree on the past events being discussed, they maintain different affective stances to this shared memory. While Olivia's evaluations draw out the serious and painful qualities of the event, Serena's perspective emphasizes an idealized version of past co-presence by constructing the incident as non-serious. Doing so may emphasize her current distance from this past event; Serena is able to laugh about it because she is now physically and temporally separated from the experience of losing a night's sleep due to a crying child. Olivia's lack of alignment may be a way of signaling her

[22] Line 9 represents a possible exception to this general pattern, but it is difficult to interpret given the extensive overlap.

continued spatiotemporal closeness to Zacarías, and indeed, her next conversational move supports this interpretation.

Concluding the remembering, Olivia shifts the temporal reference point of the conversation forward to the present, drawing an implicit contrast between Zacarías' developmental stages then and now (lines 23 and 24). Although the little boy often tripped and fell when he was younger, now he has grown up and no longer suffers these accidental injuries. Olivia uses the co-constructed memory, contrasted with an account of the present, to highlight for her migrant daughter how her nephew has grown in the two years since she last saw him. Thus, this move forward in time is also a spatial shift for Serena; the same location, the family's home in El Salvador, has gone from being a place she inhabited to a distant space. Through this move, Olivia makes a different use of joint remembering than that seen in the previous example. Rather than using shared memory to highlight continuities from past into present, she deploys past history to draw out how people have changed. In this case, the change falls involves the expected development of a child, and highlighting this trajectory allows Olivia to keep her daughter up-to-date about Zacarías' growth. This move also highlights the importance of ongoing connection: migrants cannot assume that their relatives' lives in El Salvador will remain the same, and so they have to stay in touch.

Serena responds to this information with appreciative laughter (line 26) and then initiates yet another shift in temporal indexicality, projecting forward into an imagined future in which she envisions telling the story of this incident to a grownup Zacarías (lines 29 – 32). Here, Serena figures a future in which she talks to her nephew, although it is not clear whether this will happen in person or on the phone. In this imagined future, she projects herself as telling her adult nephew about the copresent family past, recounting memories of

the days she spent with him in his early childhood. She imagines herself recalling physical togetherness for future generations of the transnational family who will likely not remember this past history, thus emphasizing that she will continue to invest in the work of sustaining and building relational ties with her family back home. This construction of an imagined future again actively constructs belonging and projects it into the future in ways that defy the forgetting that is anticipated by the chronotope of familial disintegration. Although here joint remembering functions quite differently than in Example 1, nevertheless it is still utilized in ways that challenge understandings of cross-border families that assume disintegration by instead insisting on the continuity of connections across both space and time. In this case, mother and daughter take different affective stances to a past event, which nevertheless allow them both to project continued kin relationships with Zacarías across time. Notably, in both of these examples, such resistance to the ideology of disintegration is initiated and moved forward in large part by the migrants themselves, a point I discuss in greater depth at the end of this chapter.

In addition to drawing on the past to project familial togetherness into an imagined future, families constructed hypothetical scenarios of togetherness from past memories, as shown in Example 3. In this example, Serena is talking to her older sister, Perla, who remains in El Salvador. Perla has just been complaining about having spent all weekend washing her three children's clothes by hand, and Serena commiserates with her. Here, the temporal strands of historical and recent past are woven together both with the current reality of separation and with an imagined scenario of hypothetical co-presence.

Example 6.3

1.	SERENA;	Como ya ves,	*Because now you see,*
2.		que ya no estoy yo para ayudarte.	*that I am no longer there to help you out.*

3.		(H) @@@@@	*(H) @@@@@*
4.	PERLA;	(H) @@@@[@	*(H) @@@@[@*
5.	SERENA;	[@@] @@@	*[@@] @@@*
6.	PERLA;	As]í dije yo,	*That's] what I said,*
7.	SERENA;	[$_2$@@@ H$_2$]	*[$_2$@@@ H$_2$]*
8.	PERLA;	[$_2$hoy a mi ma$_2$]mi.	*[$_2$today to my mo$_2$]m.*
9.		(1.0)	*(1.0)*
10.	PERLA;	Estuviera la Serena,	*If Serena were here,*
11.		le digo yo,	*I tell her,*
12.		(0.5)	
13.	PERLA;	Sí,	*Yes,*
14.		aha,	*uh-huh,*
15.		So- sólo,	*Ju- just,*
16.		jugando con la Ursulina pasara.	*playing with Ursulina she would be.*
17.		le dije.	*I told her.*
18.	SERENA;	O sí.	*Oh yes.*
19.		(0.3)	
20.	SERENA;	[(con ell-)] --	*[(with her-)]*
21.	PERLA;	[Como ella] decía,	*[Because she] used to say,*
22.		le digo yo,	*I told her,*
23.		que si era niña,	*that if it was a girl,*
24.		la iba a cui@da@r,	*she would take c@are of he@r,*
25.		pe@ro si era niño no.	*bu@t if it was a boy she wouldn't.*
26.	SERENA;	Eso@ sí@.	*Tha@t's ri@ght.*
27.		(H) Solo [con e@lla pasara].	*(H) Just [with he@r I would be].*
28.	PERLA;	[Y- y de allí] mi mami,	*[And- and then] my mom,*
29.		Sí,	*Yes,*
30.		(0.2)	
31.		ella feliz pasara,	*she would be happy,*
32.		me dice ella,	*she tells me,*
33.		tirado hasta allí en el piso con ella.	*even down on the ground with her.*
34.		(0.4)	
35.	SERENA;	O sí,	*Oh yes,*
36.		solo jugando de seguro,	*just playing surely,*
37.		pasara con ella.	*I would be with her.*

Serena responds to Perla's complaint by comparing their present situation of separation to their past co-presence, suggesting that her sister is overwhelmed by the laundry because Serena is no longer there to help her (lines 1-2). Perla then builds on this comparison to create another parallel, this time constructing a hypothetical scenario in which Serena is

still in El Salvador and able to play with Perla's young daughter, Ursulina (lines 10-17). (Serena left El Salvador before Ursulina was born, and she had only seen her two-year-old niece in photos.) This hypothetical scenario is spatiotemporally grounded in the past in two ways. Firstly, Perla presents the scenario as a reported copresent conversation that had happened earlier that day between herself and their mother Olivia (lines 6 and 8). In this reported interaction, Perla and Olivia jointly imagine how Serena would play with her little niece. Thus, Perla does not take sole responsibility for constructing this hypothetical togetherness, but rather distributes this imaginative work through the use of reported speech. Through this discursive resource, Perla reinforces the hypothetical scenario she is constructing by voicing the alignment of other relatives outside of the immediate conversation; much as with the use of reported speech shown in Chapter 5, this strategy resists the technological imposition of dyadic conversation on transnational family interactions. In addition, this imagined togetherness is constructed as emerging from the sisters' shared experiences of past co-presence, as Perla cites Serena's expression of gender preference during Perla's pregnancy (lines 21-25). Although Perla did indeed give birth to the girl that Serena so desired, in the current situation of cross-border separation, Serena has not been able to play with her niece. By tying the memory of this more distant past conversation into the hypothetical scenario she is constructing, Perla extends the basis of this imagined togetherness back into the time when the family lived together.

Furthermore, the construction of imagined togetherness is not accomplished by Perla alone. Serena ratifies each of Perla's statements: that she would play with Ursulina (lines 18, 35) and that she had expressed a preference for a niece (line 26). The interaction is threaded through with markers of interactional alignment: shared laughter (lines 3-5 and 24-27) as

well as multiple agreement tokens (lines 6, 13, 18, 26, 29, and 35), evenly distributed between both speakers. In addition to such extensive affiliation, alignment also emerges through pervasive dialogicality, as participants take up and recycle each other's words in their own utterances. The diagraph (Du Bois 2007; 2014) shown in Table 1 illustrates the extent of dialogic repetition in the interaction. Perla's original formulation is taken up and reproduced almost exactly by Serena, who simply substitutes a pronoun for the name, in a standard topic-tracking strategy. Perla then voices their mother Olivia as contributing an utterance that aligns with but also upgrades this imagined form of togetherness, explicitly referencing affect (happiness) and embodied materiality (being down on the floor). Serena then sums up the interaction, returning to the original formulation and confirming this jointly constructed imagined togetherness (*de seguro* 'surely'). Each turn makes use of the imperfect subjunctive, through the form pasara, echoing Perla's use of this tense in line 10 (*estuviera*, 'if she were') to first introduce this scenario, thus emphasizing its hypothetical or imaginative nature. [23]

Table 6.1: Diagraph, Example 6.3

Line	Speaker	Aligned Utterances						
15-16	PERLA;		sólo	jugando	con	la Ursulina	pasara	
27	SERENA;		sólo		con	ella	pasara	
31, 33	OLIVIA; (voiced by Perla)	ella feliz		{(tirado hasta allí en el piso)}	{con	ella}	pasara	
36-37	SERENA;		sólo	jugando	{con	ella}	pasara	{de seguro

The intensive dialogicality seen in this example, in conjunction with the frequency of affiliative markers, exhibits a high degree of interactional alignment between the two sisters in building this hypothetical scenario. Through their conversational interaction they thus

[23] Curly brackets are used in the diagraph to mark off elements that have been moved into a different order than that in which they were originally spoken.

construct a vibrant affective engagement that constitutes sustained closeness despite physical separation, thereby disrupting the chronotope of familial disintegration. Moreover, the hypothetical scenario they constitute through this interaction draws on an idealized image of family life. This framing is predicated on physical copresence in which Serena can play with her niece and help her older sister with the carework of childcare and laundry. Furthermore, the imagined scenario is peopled by recognizable familial personae defined by intersecting gendered and generational roles: dependent children, caring mothers, and dutiful younger sisters. Through their joint imagining, Perla and Serena map their family into this idealizedframework; here, Serena's familial role is emphasized rather than her status as migrant, with her older sister and her mother collaboratively imagining an expanded role for her as Ursulina's aunt. By drawing on Serena's comments during her pregnancy, Perla brings her sister into this focus on her familial role, an incorporation which Serena acquiesces to and develops. As they talk, the sisters' interactional alignment allows them to build a scenario of hypothetical togetherness characterized by embodied co-presence and reciprocal care, with concomitant positive affect and closeness. They thus construct their family as able to live out the roles required by idealized family togetherness despite continued cross-border separation which is presumed, under the chronotope of familial disintegration, to lead to the dissolution of kinship ties.

So far, these examples of joint remembering have illustrated the construction of positive depictions of family togetherness continuing from past to present to imagined futures and hypothetical scenarios. While such idealized constructions of family belonging were the most common in my data, there were also instances in which migrants themselves invoked the chronotope of familial dissolution in cross-border conversations, as show in Example 4

below, where a migrant father (Luís), in conversation with his left-behind son (Ernesto), invokes a future of continued physical separation. Ernesto is Luís' only child remaining in El Salvador, and lives half the time at his paternal grandparents' house in El Río and the other half at his mother's home in a neighboring village; recently, both his mother and his grandparents complained that he was misbehaving. In phone calls with Ernesto's older brothers Adán and Beto, as well as with Luís, they expressed their worry about his going out alone in the evening or early morning while it is still dark, a concern that these distant kin took very seriously due to the recent steep increase in violence throughout this area. As a result of these reports, Adán and Beto both spoke to Ernesto, scolding their younger brother and exhorting him to behave for his own safety. A few days later, Luís spoke with Ernesto in the phone call in Example 6.4, the only conversation between them in my data. First, Luís teases Ernesto briefly about a dream he had apparently had, but then he quickly went on to scold him for acting out.

Example 6.4

1.	LUÍS;	Tu tienes que hacer caso,	*You have to listen,*
2.		tienes que estudiar,	*you have to study,*
3.		Si tu no haces caso,	*If you don't listen,*
4.		(0.3)	*(0.3)*
5.	LUÍS;	yo no te voy a ayudar,	*I am not going to help you,*
6.		ni te voy a- --	*nor will I a- --*
7.		ni te voy a mandar a traer.	*nor will I send to bring you here.*
8.		así como se vino Adán con Beto.	*like Adán and Beto came.*
9.		(1.2)	*(1.2)*
10.	ERNESTO;	Aha.	*Uh-huh.*
11.	LUÍS;	Aha.	*Uh-huh.*
12.		(0.8)	*(0.8)*
13.	ERNESTO;	Vay[a.	*Ok[ay.*
14.	LUÍS;	[Es en serio],	*[Seriously],*
15.	ERNESTO;	Sí: ya-] --	*Ye:s, now-] --*
16.	LUÍS;	no es en broma.	*it is not a joke.*
17.	ERNESTO;	Sí: hombre.	*Ye:s okay.*

Here, in an effort to get his recalcitrant teenage son to behave, Luís uses a projected future of familial disintegration as a threat: that is, the chronotope of familial disintegration here is oriented to, not as representing current reality, but rather as a possible future that will result from Ernesto's own actions. If Ernesto doesn't change his misbehaving ways, Luís says, he will stop sending him money (line 5); more significantly, he will not send for Ernesto to join him in the United States (line 7). Although Luís had already brought his other two sons to join him (line 8), he threatens to leave Ernesto alone as his sole child remaining in El Salvador. It was arguably this very physical separation that had been driving Ernesto to act out; it had only been four months since his two older brothers left suddenly for the United States, and this transition had no doubt been difficult for him. Here, rather than imagining a future of harmonious connection, a father instead invokes the chronotope of familial disintegration, threatening abandonment in order to gain compliance from his adolescent son. This example highlights the coercive effects of an imagined future; projecting certain kinds of actions in the future can be a means of gaining desired behavior in the present.

Joint remembering can also function as a resource for imposing future actions, as can be seen in the final example. Here, Serena and her mother Olivia are once again in conversation. Serena has been asking her mother about the family home in great detail: is the clothes-line still where it used to be, are the coconut and guava trees giving fruit, and what has her mother done with the few items that Serena left behind when she migrated? In this discussion, Serena draws upon a highly detailed memory of the physical space of home, including particular items and their location or status; through the interaction she seems to be trying to build a new representational model of what the family home looks like now, two years after she migrated. Right before Example 6.5, talk has turned to the furnishings of the

home, and Olivia has complained that she has very little in the way of furniture and that what she does have is not in good condition. In Example 6.5, the two women talk specifically about the state of her bed, whose legs are apparently about ready to break.

Example 6.5

1.	SERENA;	Ya no sirve?	*It doesn't work anymore?*
2.		(1.3)	
3.	OLIVIA;	No:,	*No,*
4.		pero allí duermo en ella.	*but I sleep there.*
5.		(0.7)	
6.	SERENA;	A@l r:ato va a amanecer al suelo.	*So@meday you're going to wake up on the ground.*
7.		@@@@@@@@@	@@@@@@@@@
8.	OLIVIA;	Pues sí,	*Well yes,*
((21 lines omitted in with Olivia provides more detail about the state of the bed))			
30.	OLIVIA:	(H) cuando uno se mueve,	*(H) when one moves,*
31.		siempre truena.	*it always creaks.*
32.		(0.2)	*(0.2)*
33.	SERENA;	Ya imagina si:,	*Imagine if now,*
34.		si las dos durmiéramos allí,	*if we both slept there,*
35.		ya nos hubiéramos caído.	*we would have fallen down already.*
36.		(0.9)	*(0.9)*
37.	OLIVIA;	Ya la hubiéramos quebrado [(fijate).	*We would have broken it already [(see).*
38.	SERENA;	[@@@@@@@]	*[@@@@@@@]*
39.	OLIVIA;	en el suelo durmiéramos].	*we would sleep on the ground].*
40.		(0.6)	*(0.6)*
41.	SERENA;	@[@]	*@[@]*
42.	OLIVIA	[@]@@[@@]	*[@]@@[@@]*
43.	SERENA;	[@@@]@	*[@@@]@*
44.		[Ya nos hubiera] --	*[We would already] --*
45.	OLIVIA;	[(Yo se que) cuando tra]bajes,	*[(I know that) when you] work,*
46.		vos me vas a mandar,	*you will send me {money},*
47.		para una cama.	*for a bed.*
48.	SERENA;	A:?	*Hu:h?*
49.		(1.2)	*(1.2)*
50.	OLIVIA;	Que cuando tr- --	*That when you wo- --*
51.		Yo tengo la esperanza,	*I have the hope,*
52.		que cuando vos trabajés,	*that when you work,*
53.		me vas a mandar para una cama.	*you will send me {money} for a bed.*
54.		(0.2)	*(0.2)*
55.	SERENA;	Sí.	*Yes.*
56.		(0.2)	*(0.2)*

57.	SERENA;	Para que ya no duerme [en el suelo].	*So that you don't have to sleep [on the ground].*
58.	OLIVIA;	[Para ya no dor]mir en el puro suelo.	*So as to not have to sleep right on the ground anymore.*

Here, Olivia complains that, although the bed is falling apart, she still sleeps there (line 4), for lack of other options. Serena responds by teasing her mother that the bed will break one night and she will wake up on the ground (line 6). She marks this imagined scenario as funny through extended laughter (line 7), but Olivia does not immediately align with her daughter's affective stance, instead launching into an explanation of exactly what is wrong with the bed. After providing clarifying questions and backchannels during this extended monologue, Serena launches another imagined scenario in which she returns to the theme of the broken bed falling down, this time switching to the imperfect subjunctive to posit a hypothetical case in which the bed would surely have already broken if she and her mother shared it (lines 33-35). As with the hypothetical scenario in Example 6.3, this imagined co-presence is anchored in the past, although this is not made explicit here: Serena and her mother did indeed share that same bed before she migrated, in the practice of bed sharing that is common among poor families the world over. At this point Olivia joins Serena in constructing the hypothetical scenario (line 37 and 39), affirming that if they had still been sharing the bed, the two of them would already have broken it. They thus collaboratively build a hypothetical scenario of close physical co-presence based on family history.

Table 6.2: Diagraph 1, Example 6.5

Line	**Speaker**	**Aligned Utterances**					
34.	SERENA;	si		las dos		durmiéramos	allí
35.	SERENA;		ya	nos		hubiéramos	caido
37.	OLIVIA:		ya		la	hubiéramos	quebrado

Table 6.3: Diagraph 2, Example 6.5

Line	Speaker	Aligned Utterances				
6.	SERENA;	al rato	va a amanecer	al		suelo
39.	OLIVIA;		{durmiéramos}	en		suelo
59.	SERENA;	para que	ya no duerme	en		suelo
60.	OLIVIA;	para	ya no dormir	en el	puro	suelo

Moreover, as shown in the other examples, mother and daughter also align affectively as they produce this joint imagining, sharing laughter at their hypothetical predicament (lines 38, 41-43). Again, dialogicality plays a significant role in building interactional alignment, as shown in the two diagraphs in Tables 2 and 3. Diagraph 1 illustrates the syntactic resonances that construct the hypothetical scenario through the use of the imperfect subjunctive tense; this verbal formulation is originally introduced by Serena as she begins to construct imagined co-presence, and it is then taken up by Olivia as she confirms the imagining. Diagraph 2 illustrates the recycling of the construction about sleeping on the ground due to the broken bed. Again, this idea is originally introduced by Serena, who uses the future tense to mark the suddenness of waking up as the bed gives way. This construction is then taken up by Olivia later in the example, marked by the imperfect subjunctive to connect this outcome to the hypothetical framework shown in Table 2. The final two instances of this construction are used at the end of the conversation, to wrap up an intervening interactional move in which Olivia shifts from constructing hypothetical togetherness to projecting a more concrete form of future connection: remittances.

Here, Olivia suggests that she knows (line 45) or at least hopes (line 51) that Serena will support her financially in the future so that she can buy a new bed and not have to risk sleeping on the ground. The affective alignments produced through the co-construction of

hypothetical co-presence are mobilized through these utterances to create an obligation for material care. Although it would seem that Olivia imposes this obligation, Sara accepts it (line 55) and is in fact the first to dialogically link the motivation for her acquiescence to the hypothetical scenario. She initiates the use of the sleeping-on-the-ground construction, which is then taken up by her mother before concluding this topic of conversation. In this instance, the joint constitution of a hypothetical scenario of co-presence is based on past memories but is used to project continued connection in the future through economic obligations. Affective alignments created in this collaborative imagining are put to material ends, in a synthesis of memory, emotion, and money. This example thus represents perhaps the most explicit instance of discursive resistance to the chronotope of familial disintegration: not only are continuing affective ties claimed and enacted here through joint remembering and imagining, but the material corollaries of these affective ties – in the form of future financial support – are also pledged.

Discussion

This chapter has examined how transnational families engage in virtual space-time travel through their cross-border conversations, tracing the meaning of joint remembering in the context of a dominant chronotopic framing which represents families as inevitably fragmented and disintegrated as a result of migration. This chronotopic framework was drawn on by both non-migrant and migrant relatives in interview discussions of transnational family life. The spatiotemporal envelope of the chronotope, involving the physical separation of post-migration family life, is peopled by a selfish migrant and their helpless left-behind relatives, who are often positioned along gendered and generational lines. Non-migrants, while using linguistic resources to distance their own families from these characterizations,

nevertheless habitually described migrants as being morally corrupted by money. This change, in such accounts, apparently caused migrants to forget their families back home, as manifested in the cessation of communication and the absence of remittances. The spatiotemporal and characterological specifications of this chronotope allowed it to function as a tool by which ideologies could be mobilized to make sense of cross-border family life: non-migrant kin projected their family into the personae of the chronotope, fearfully awaiting the coming abandonment. The affective consequences of this chronotopic depiction were felt by migrants as well, who resented the negative assumptions that were placed on them. The chronotope of familial disintegration thus had negative consequences for transnational families that were both material and affective.

However, cross-border families did not succumb to the chronotopic representation without resistance. My analysis has also examined instances of joint remembering, in which I argued that transnational kin engaged in conversational space-time travel that resisted the chronotope of familial disintegration. In these interactions, family members co-constructed memories of past co-presence, extending this togetherness forward into the present moment (Example 6.1), the imagined future (Example 6.2), or a hypothetical scenario (Example 6.3). Through these spatiotemporal moves, kin highlighted constancy rather than change, emphasizing the continuation of familial closeness despite cross-border separation. Although there were cases in which remembering highlighted change in the present (Example 6.2) or in which separated futures were imagined (Example 6.4), these instances served immediate interactional goals rather than being constituted as a generally relevant fact of cross-border family life. In addition to the construction of continued closeness through such shifts in spatiotemporal reference, joint remembering and shared imagining also facilitated the

creation of interactional alignment and affiliation that confirmed and reproduced affective cross-border engagements among separated kin. Thus, joint remembering constitutes a locus for the creation of transnational family connection, both by facilitating conversational space-time travel and by providing a vehicle for affective engagements in the immediate interactional moment.

The instances of joint remembering and shared imagining presented in this chapter are representative of the distribution of this practice in my larger corpus. As with the examples examined here, remembering and imagining in transnational families, although eliciting engagement from both parties in conversations, tended to be initiated at first by migrants (Examples 1, 2 and 5) rather than by non-migrant kin (Example 3). However, not all migrants engaged in this practice equally: recent migrants – those who had been in the United States for shorter periods of time – participated in shared remembering and imagining much more frequently than those who had migrated a decade or so earlier. In addition, in my data, Serena was the person responsible for initiating the most instances of joint remembering and imagining, indicating a possible gender influence which would need a larger study to confirm. However, another possible explanation for this pattern is the fact that Serena was the only recent migrant not working and thus not able to send remittances home to El Salvador. So perhaps in the face of this lack of material care, she resorted to this communicative care strategy as a means of showing continued involvement with her non-migrant kin in El Salvador. Ultimately, however, the work of virtual space-time travel is not evenly distributed among the members of transnational families, with recent migrants playing a much more significant role in initiating this communicative care practice. I would suggest that this is perhaps due to the influence of the chronotope of familial disintegration; within

this representation, migrants are expected to change upon their arrival in the United States, corrupted by the allure of easy money into forgetting their families. The actions of recent migrants are thus subject to the most scrutiny, with non-migrant relatives readily interpreting their actions in light of this chronotopic framework. Engaging in the practice of joint remembering may therefore constitute a primary means by which migrants resist such expectations, instead utilizing these conversational engagements to create interactionally emergent affective ties and to highlight continued kin ties across space and time.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the role of memory for transnational families, demonstrating that the maintenance of cross-border connections through remembering is not just a facet of extended reflexive narratives or a practice of oral history, but rather can emerge in everyday conversations among geographically distant kin. Research on joint remembering has suggested that this practice builds ties between past and present; my analysis has demonstrated that shared remembering can also extend forward into the future and even into the construction of hypothetical scenarios. Through such virtual space-time travel, cross-border families accomplish crucial relational work, building affective ties that span familial history and reach into the future as well as across the space of transnational separation. Thus, as scholarship on collective memory suggests, shared versions of the past are crucial for marginalized communities such as transnational families: through collective memory, these groups can claim a right to historicity, through which they contest historical and ongoing oppression. Collective memorialization is a practice whereby such families resist the forces, both material and ideological, that strain their cross-border ties; sustained economic inequality takes its toll, as does the anxiety produced by the ideological weight of

the chronotope of familial disintegration. In the face of these forces, joint remembering works to sustain belonging, thus constituting a key practice of communicative care for transnational families.

Moreover, this chapter has shown the importance of focusing on language in examining the role of memory in transnational family life. For such families, everyday conversations are a primary site in which memory is made publicly available as a resource for the maintenance of cross-border social ties. I have utilized chronotope analysis to elucidate how particular spatiotemporal envelopes are connected up to normative ideologies of family life, highlighting the power of such connections to produce affective responses as well as to coerce particular forms of current behavior or future action. Moreover, by pointing out dialogic connections and other forms of conversational alignment, my analysis grounds the study of chronotopes in the immediate interaction. Through this semiotic and interactional approach, I have worked to demonstrate the importance of chronotopes in shaping the experience of cross-border communities.

Returning finally to the vignette that opened this chapter, about my fieldwork experiences of being thanked for remembering, this chapter has revealed the origins of the collective expectation of being forgotten, as well as a crucial practice of communicative care that resists this assumption through joint remembering. In conclusion, I would like to consider briefly the role of memory in the experience of another form of family separation: when loved ones pass on. There is a belief that I have heard articulated many times by Salvadorans in different contexts, which maintains that, as long as those who have died are remembered, they will never fully be gone. Olivia articulated this sentiment to her son in a

phone call in which they discussed the importance going to put flowers on relatives' graves during the annual All Souls celebrations:

> Y ellos ya no están en esta tierra, pero, en la persona de uno, siempre vive. Porque en la mentalidad de uno, las personas nunca, durante uno esté vivo, siempre existe, vive. … Mi mamá siempre vive en el corazón de nosotros. Y en la presencia de la, de la memoria de nosotros, mi mamá siempre vive.
>
> 'They are no longer on this earth, but, in one's person, they are always alive. Because in one's mind, people never, as long as one is alive, they always exist, they live. … My mom always lives in our hearts. And in the presence of the, of our memory, my mom always lives.'

The Chilean American author Isabel Allende phrases this same sentiment in more poetic language: "La muerte no existe, la gente solo muere cuando la olvidan; si puedes recordarme, siempre estaré contigo" ('Death doesn't exist, people only die when they are forgotten; if you can remember me, I will always be with you'). In this popular perception, memory counteracts the permanent separation of death: *memoria histórica* ('historical memory') keeps alive those who have passed away and is a crucial practice for communities like the Salvadoran people, who have suffered so much violence and loss of life: in the 1932 *matanza* (massacre of over 30,000 indigenous peasants), during the civil war of the 1980s, and now in the face of today's gang- and drug-related violence. Thus, memory is crucial, since as long as people do not forget, loved ones are kept alive in some way. The separation faced by transnational families is of course different from the separation engendered by the death of a loved one, but for members of these cross-border families, the separation may feel quite similar. And memory surely plays a very similar role: as long as both migrants and non-migrants remember one another, then transnational families can be sustained and kept alive across space and time, in both material and affective ways.

CHAPTER 7
Conclusion: Theoretical and Practical Implications

"Es como un milagro"

During my most recent trip to El Salvador, in June 2014, the members of the Martínez family were extremely excited because the patriarch of the family, Davíd, had just been granted a visa to visit the United States. He showed me his new passport and the ten-year multiple entry visa he had been granted, joking, "La visa va a durar más que yo" ('The visa will last longer than I will'). The visa had been requested by his oldest child, a daughter from a previous marriage, who was a legal permanent resident in the United States. He had lost contact with her years before when she migrated – and in fact I had never even known of her existence until this point; however, Davíd's undocumented migrant son Luís had managed to track her down using Facebook. He had convinced her, as their only adult relative with legal status in the United States, to request that their father be granted a visa to come visit her; Luís, for his part, agreed to pay for all the expenses associated with the visa process and travel for a chance to see his ailing father. As soon as the visa was in hand, Luís bought Davíd a plane ticket for August, to the Newark airport, the one nearest to Luís' home. I spent hours talking with Davíd, his wife, and daughters about what flying was like, what to expect at the airport, and how best to navigate layovers as a monolingual Spanish speaker with no literacy skills. When August rolled around, the Facebook feeds of Luís and his brother Patricio were full of pictures of the two men with their father; they had not seen him in over ten years, and his diagnosis of kidney failure the year before had led them to fear that they might never see him again. When I called them to ask how the visit was going, Luís was almost in tears as he told me, "Es como un milagro" ('It's like a miracle') to be able to

physically see his father again and spend time together in the same space after such a long time apart.

The next year, Patricio and Luís paid for visa appointments for Davíd's wife Rosario and their adult daughter Teodora, and both were granted similar multiple entry visas linked to Davíd's original paperwork. Rosario was excited to see her sons after ten years apart and to get to spend time with her grandchildren who lived in the United States; Teodora looked forward to seeing her brothers, but was also preparing for her first in-person visit to her boyfriend, another undocumented migrant, after years of conducting the relationship long-distance. In April 2015, the three of them traveled to the United States again, just in time to celebrate the first birthday of Luís' citizen son, their youngest grandson and nephew. Patricio posted a picture on Facebook, a close-up of him and his mother, his arms around her shoulders, their faces so close they were almost touching. The image beautifully captured the materiality of their embodied togetherness after so many years apart, and the emotional results of this closeness were visible in Patricio's face, which radiated an unusual depth of contentment and joy. The photo garnered 25 comments, all excepting mine from other migrants originally from Cantón El Río, commenting on how wonderful it was to see mother and son together again. One poster asked Patricio if he was happy and he responded, "siii amiga nosabes cuanto ya eran barios años sin verla" ('Yeees friend you don't know how much it's been several years without seeing her').

Although this dissertation has focused on transnational communication and the ways in which it supports family togetherness despite physical separation, these examples suggest that even regular long-distance conversations are no replacement for the embodied and affective closeness that physical co-presence affords. The new possibility of safe and legal

cross-border mobility, afforded to at least some members of the Martínez family, has resulted in a dramatic change in their transnational status. Long-term physical separation can now be punctuated with regular visits, giving migrant sons the chance to see their aging parents and allowing grandparents to watch their U.S.-based grandchildren grow. Photos of visits and memories of time spent together will provide topics of conversation in El Salvador, the United States, and transnationally, helping to sustain family connection in the time between visits. But the fact that this kin network was able to sustain itself over ten years of physical separation, bringing it to the point where some copresence is once again possible, is ultimately a testament to the strength of the communicative care practices that the Martínez family developed during this time apart.

In the preceding chapters, I have paid close analytical attention to cross-border communication, a transnational social practice that is currently on the rise around the globe, due to both the increasing availability of digital technology and to the strength of neoliberal economic regimes that make it necessary for workers from the global south to leave home, while simultaneously restricting the mobility of their loved ones. Chapter 1 built the theoretical framework necessary for conceptualizing care as a communicative process, drawing on a wide array of interdisciplinary scholarship, not only from within language-based research, but also from feminist, disability, and transnational studies perspectives. I suggested that the concept of communicative care functions to maintain the material and affective aspects of transnational relationships, thus revealing how everyday language practices manage the challenges of constrained mobility while simultaneously consolidating the marginalized position of these cross-border families within the global neoliberal regime. Chapter 2 laid out the ethnographic context for this research, examining how migration as a

widespread national strategy for care emerges from a context of sustained poverty and violence, coupled with neoliberal welfare policies and pervasive ideologies that valorize familial care; however, at the same time as migration is necessitated by these circumstances, mobility is also constrained through restrictive immigration policies. Chapter 3 turned to the specific fieldsites for this research, exploring the intersectionality of power and inequality in these spaces, and then laying out the methodological approaches taken in this study to trace how such dynamics play out in everyday communication.

The analysis of communicative care practices spanned the following three chapters, each of which took up a separate conversational practice. Chapter 4 examined video greetings, demonstrating that this everyday ritual not only facilitates momentary affective engagements with physically distant kin, but also works to sustain cross-border ties on a longer timescale, through socializing children into this practice and its concomitant transnational orientation. I suggested that the unidirectionality of this communicative care practice, flowing from El Salvador to the U.S. but not vice versa, emerges from the economic dependence of non-migrant kin in El Salvador; through these cross-border greetings, non-migrants work to reinforce the affective relational ties upon which they depend for the continued flow of remittances. Turning more squarely to the economic dimensions of transnational family life, Chapter 5 examined the negotiation of material decisions, analyzing how obligation and entitlement are produced and worked out across borders. I documented two contrastive strategies for making requests – direct requests by migrants and extremely indirect requests by non-migrants; my analysis suggested that, in addition to managing face and attending to ongoing affective relationships, these patterns constituted two forms of communicative care by which families responded to the economic asymmetries structuring

their cross-border lives. The final analytical chapter, Chapter 6, investigated the phenomenon of joint remembering in conversation; in the face of a dominant cultural chronotope in El Salvador that assumes migration will result in familial disintegration, the practice of joint remembering mobilizes memory as a public resource through which separated kin can construct affective ties. My analysis demonstrated that recent migrants take the most active role in initiating this communicative care practice, thereby resisting the expectation that they would forget their families back home.

Overall, the analysis presented in this dissertation explored the implications of these communicative practices for families in which long-term transnational separation has become a normal part of everyday life. Diverging from the top-down approach often taken in studies of language and mobility, I have instead worked to build theory from the bottom up, grounding my conceptual tools in the lived realities of families' lives. Moreover, the methodological approach taken in this research offers a new perspective on the study of cross-border family life, focusing on the details of transnational social practices themselves, rather than solely on reports or observations of these practices. This theoretical and methodological framework has facilitated a close analysis of transnational family communication, which in turn has allowed me to suggest that such practices constitute forms of communicative care, through which kin are able to attend to and sustain both the material and affective aspects of relatedness. In this concluding chapter, I synthesize the outcomes of my analysis by laying out the theoretical contributions of my findings, before concluding with a discussion of the broader policy and practice implications of this work.

Theoretical Contributions

The analysis presented in this dissertation has implications for theoretical work in a range of interdisciplinary fields; here, I draw out the consequences of an intersectional exploration of language, mobility, and family. My discussion begins with the central theoretical concern of this dissertation, highlighting the crucial role of language in mediating the processual relationship between the material and the affective. Expanding from there, the following section discusses the ways in which a focus on everyday communication contributes to family studies. A language-based approach additionally benefits the study of mobility in today's neoliberal age: communicative care functions as an interactional resource that manages large-scale global concerns; thus, a focus on language can shed light on the differentiation and tension inherent in experiences of mobility in a neoliberal age.

Materiality and Affect in Communicative Care

As I defined communicative care in the introductory chapter, I use this term most broadly to refer to the use of language to sustain human existence. Specifically, as demonstrated in the analytical chapters of the dissertation, I have used the concept of communicative care to refer to a range of fine-grained interactional practices, involving both linguistic and embodied semiotic resources, which facilitate the continuation of social life. I suggested at the outset that this model of communicative care productively reveals how social life is produced through the intimate interweaving of the material and the affective.

Through careful attention to specific language practices, this dissertation has produced insights into how the material and affective are interwoven in the everyday lives of cross-border families. In some cases, the seemingly material is ascribed affective meanings, as with the remittances sent home by migrants; this material support is interpreted as a sign

of affection, of continued connection (Chapter 5), and the lack of remittances conversely stands in for a loss of love, the material signifier of affective abandonment (Chapter 6). The ascription of affective value to material objects is a result of a semiotic ideology (Keane 2003), in which particular material items are picked out from their surround as meaningful signs, in this case as signs with affective meanings. However, in other instances, participants asserted the materialization of their affect, as for example in the instance of the mother who stated that she would send her migrant son *riguas* (fresh corn cakes) because she loved him (Chapter 4). The directionality of this relationship seems to be the inverse of the remittances example: rather than beginning with material goods which are then ascribed an affective meaning, the physicality of the *riguas* is framed as the materialization of a mother's love for her son.

However, placing these exchanges in their relational context reveals that the putatively clear-cut directionality from material to affective or affective to material is not ultimately so straightforward. When non-migrant kin in El Salvador receive remittances and read them as signifying continued love (materiality becoming affective), they are in fact ascribing the converse relationship between materiality and affect to their migrant kin; that is, they envision the remittance sender as motivated by particular feelings, which then prompt the materialization of affect in the sending of money (the affective becoming materialized). Similarly, when the mother states she will send *riguas* to her son are because she loves him (the affective becoming materialized), she trusts that when he receives this food item and experiences it in an embodied way (through sight, scent, and taste), he will also be able to feel the emotion that produced this particular materialization (materiality becoming affective).

Thus, when particular utterances and linguistic practices are understood relationally, rather than removed from their context of occurrence, it becomes clear that both *riguas* and remittances are simultaneously materialized forms of affect and material objects that have been ascribed affective meaning. In looking carefully at specific communicative practices, scholars of language can begin to trace the semiotic processes by which, not only is the seemingly material ascribed affective meaning, but the materialization of pre-existing affective states is asserted as well. In other words, in studying social life, there can be no justification for starting either with the material or with the affective, considered as distinct domains. Rather, as the analysis presented in this dissertation makes clear, through everyday communication, the affective is made material in the same instant that the material is made affective in a multi-directional and never-ending cycle that weaves together the fabric of social life. Any scholar who wishes to produce a comprehensive account of social life must therefore start from a perspective that includes both material and affective considerations, and language-based studies have a great deal to contribute in revealing more precisely the ways in which these two facets are interwoven.

Perhaps one of the areas of greatest potential for advancing the understanding of the interconnection between the material, the affective, and the linguistic, is the study of technologically mediated communication. Global access to communication technology is of course fundamentally material, involving as it does questions of digital infrastructure as well as the educational skills upon which digital literacy is built. The distribution of these material resources has clear consequences for the affective aspects of social life; as illustrated in the discussion of greetings in Chapter 4, fundamentally affective communicative practices are often readily adapted from pre-existing face-to-face manifestations in to technologically

mediated forms. This finding raises rich questions for future exploration of digital communication. Firstly, might the material presence of digital technology produce new forms of affective labor, of communicative care work, that can be traced through linguistic analysis? Moreover, as new technology continues to develop, will affective communicative practices always necessarily be transferred to the newest platform that becomes accessible, or may users continue to rely on older technology? My sense from my research with Salvadoran families is that the material affordances provided by older technology may ultimately be more conducive to the affective needs of cross-border family life than those of some newer technologies. Even as internet access is becoming more widespread, both in rural El Salvador and in the diaspora, resources such as video calling do not seem to be taking off in the same way that cellphone technology did upon its introduction in the early 2000's. The affordances of phone calls may provide the perfect balance of intimacy and distance for transnational families to manage the affective aspects of their relationships; it is possible to hear the other's voice and gain access to the rich array of emotional information that is available auditorily, without having to be visually available as well. Visual availability requires more work, especially as members of cross-border families tend to be very careful about their visual self-representation (see Chapter 4 for the discussion of the work that went into preparing physically for the recording of video greetings). However, more investigation of this question would be a productive direction for future research that would demonstrate the importance of language-based approaches for understanding the interconnections between the material and the affective.

Constructing Kinship through Communicative Care

In its concern with communicative care in transnational families, the analysis presented in this dissertation has also made contributions to kinship studies in general, particularly for understanding how relatedness is produced and maintained in an era of increasing global mobility and digital communication. I have taken a perspective that emphasizes kinship as a process of building and maintaining relatedness, rather than as a simple biological fact or as a static predetermined structure of particular relationships. This approach emphasizes the everyday practices that individuals and groups engage in to construct their relationships to one another. My research has demonstrated that communication, which is often neglected in the study of family practices, is in fact a fundamental means by which kinship is built and sustained.

The role of language in constructing relatedness was most clearly demonstrated in my analysis of transnational video greetings in Chapter 4, which focused in part on the order in which relatives were named and identified in these *saludos*. I found a consistent pattern in which the ordering of greetings corresponded to practice-based aspects of family life, such as migration order and remittance sending. However, these sorts of practice-based orderings often tended to map onto the structure of biological relationships as well: remittance-sending migrants were also the closest blood relatives, with more distant consanguineal kin (grandchildren, nieces and nephews) being greeted secondarily, along with affinal kin. Thus, it might seem that the distinction between practice and structure is not so clear after all. However, another way to analyze this same situation is to suggest that, in fact, kin structure is built through practices, with remittance-sending, for example, being one way in which close ties of relatedness are constructed. The prioritization of practice over structure,

moreover, is further supported by an phenomenon documented in Chapter 4; in a series of *saludos*, Portillo family members in El Salvador sent greetings to their migrant relatives, except for one individual who had stopped sending remittances. Here, practices clearly trump biological kin structure: the un-greeted individual was the brother of the other migrants greeted and thus bore the same structural and biological relationship to his non-migrant kin. However, his lack of participation in the crucial family-building practice of remitting resulted in his exclusion from the ritual of greeting and thereby from the ways in which this practice maintained relatedness. Situations such as this one demonstrate the benefits of a practice-based approach to kinship.

Moreover, close attention to language as an everyday family practice sheds light on the role of normative ideologies within kinship. As suggested in the introduction to this dissertation, it is not the case that a practice-based approach necessarily ignores the role of ideologies in structuring family life; rather, these normative expectations exist alongside practices. Everyday practices within the family are shaped by hegemonic ideals and simultaneously feed back into ideological formations, reinforcing them or perhaps resisting them in ways that cause them to shift incrementally. Communicative care epitomizes this type of relationship. Although my research is focused on specific agentive and creative actions, my analysis demonstrates that these actions are not random but rather constitute an orderly set of regular practices that families have developed over time to meet the challenges of cross-border life. For example, my analysis in Chapter 5 demonstrated that requests for remittances by kin in El Salvador are canonically performed indirectly, as reports of conversations with others. I suggested that this particular communicative care practice emerges from the material dependency of non-migrants on their migrant kin and represents

an attempt to manage the affective toll that such asymmetries may have on ongoing relationships. Therefore, the communicative practices that families develop are shaped by the structural and ideological formations within which they emerge. Moreover, over time the practices themselves become normative, the expected way to carry out a particular action, and when these norms are violated, interactional trouble often results, as shown in my analysis of a remittance request that does not follow the indirect format. Thus, communicative care practices feed back into ideological systems, becoming the basis for future normative expectations.

In addition, attention to communicative care as a practice for producing kinship reveals how everyday family practices scale up over time to create and sustain relationships that often endure over a lifetime. My conceptualization of communicative care emphasizes the temporal dimensions of this practice, suggesting that it functions within and across three different timescales: the enchronic, the synchronic, and the diachronic. Thus, for example, my analysis of video greetings demonstrated that in the immediate interactional moment in which they were performed, *saludos* had a regular structure in which particular embodied and linguistic actions followed one upon the other in an orderly manner. At the same time, this practice also facilitated day-to-day survival of the family by working to maintain the affective relationships with migrant kin upon which non-migrant relatives depended for survival. In turn, the practice of cross-border greetings has developed over time through the adaptation of face-to-face rituals to a technologically mediated format, which is now being taught to children in an attempt to carry this communicative care strategy forward into the next generation. Thus, although communicative care practices operate within a momentary interactional time scale, they nevertheless have consequences that reach both the medium and

long-term time span of family life. Through this cross-temporal functioning, communicative care practices support family ties moment by moment, day to day, and ultimately generation to generation.

Communicative Care: An Interactional Strategy that Manages Global Concerns

The temporal linkages discussed in the section above are not the only way in which communicative care bridges across distinct scales or orders of social life. In fact, my analysis has demonstrated communicative care to be fundamentally a set of fine-grained interactional practices that successfully manage the large-scale challenges faced by cross-border families. Each of the practices analyzed in this dissertation illustrates such connections between momentary action and global issues. For example, video greetings travel unidirectionally from El Salvador to migrant kin in the United States and are not reciprocated by video-recorded greetings traveling in the opposite direction (Chapter 4). I argued that this pattern can be explained by the function of greeting practices, through which non-migrant kin work to reaffirm and sustain the affective ties to migrant relatives upon which they depend for survival. In the following chapter, I discussed how these families managed the distribution of material resources across borders, highlighting a series of communicative care practices that facilitated a system of generalized asymmetrical reciprocity (Chapter 5). This system, premised as it was on unequal exchanges and emphasizing as it did relationships and long-term timescales, can be considered an alternate economic system. Much as capitalism is upheld in part by particular ways of valuing and commodifying language (Besnier 2004; Bucholtz 2007; Cameron 2000a), so too the asymmetrical reciprocity of transnational families is at least partially sustained by communicative care practices such as those discussed in this dissertation. In Chapter 6, I discussed a dominant cultural understanding of

migration, the chronotope of familial disintegration, demonstrating how joint remembering resists this representation, instead emphasizing continued connection despite physical separation. As they remember the past and imagine the future, transnational kin rework their cross-border relationships across time as well. In each of these cases, then, the interactional practices of communicative care functioned to respond to the marginalization of these families within late neoliberal capitalism.

My analysis has tended to emphasize the ways in which communicative care functions as a strategy by which transnational families creatively manage their marginal placement within larger global systems. This emphasis has been deliberate, part of my commitment to highlighting the agency of those who are often only understood as victims; the relationships I have developed over fifteen years with my participants run deep, and highlighting their agency is one of the ways that I care for them. However, analytically, it is crucial to recognize that interactional strategies that respond to large-scale inequalities do not only have one type of consequence. Rather, they almost always have complex and contradictory effects, and the communicative care practices studied here are no exception. By reinforcing affective relationships and smoothing material negotiations, strategies of communicative care make it possible for families to sustain cross-border separation for years at a time, facilitating the flow of remittances from the global north to the global south. This dynamic thus reinforces such families' place within the neoliberal regime, making migration seem like a productive and feasible strategy for familial survival. And other families who see the success of one kin network are then encouraged to participate in migration themselves. Moreover, by making long-distance care within families possible, communicative care works as a tool for the neoliberal push to privatize and domesticate all caring responsibilities,

removing the burden from the state and placing it on the family. Thus, communicative care practices ultimately work in some ways to sustain the same oppressive system from which they emerge and which they seek to manage. Such a dynamic is likely to be revealed by any study of micro strategies and their macro-level effects. However, I do not mean to suggest that everyday communicative practices offer no possibilities for change in the status quo; rather, change through this means will always be partial, coming in the form of incremental shifts over time, rather than in drastic and sudden change.

Therefore, it would be overly simplistic to present communicative care solely as a theory of resistance and agency. It is also a theory of complicity and continued victimization. Communicative care perhaps offers an alternate moral framework, one that emphasizes humankind's fundamental interdependency and the importance of relationality for our survival as a species. But at the same time, it has within it the seeds of neoliberal ideologies, emphasizing individual actions as the starting point for analysis. I would suggest that this tension is inescapable for all linguistic work that takes seriously its commitments both to empirically grounded analysis and to social justice; if we work empirically, we begin with utterances or texts produced by individuals, and although we may highlight the co-production of such everyday discourse, or the ways in which it is fundamentally interconnected to texts that have come before and that will come after, this emphasis on individual action is ultimately inescapable. Given such disciplinary limitations, it is best to be transparent about the goals of research.

Understanding Differentiated Experiences of Mobility through Language

One of the stated goals of this dissertation has been to develop a more comprehensive understanding of human movement, using everyday language use as a perspicuous window

into the phenomenon of mobility. In particular, I suggested that close attention to language might help to elucidate the differentiation of experiences of mobility, shedding light on the ways in which the movement of social groups and of individuals is variably impacted by immobility. Everyday language practices are deployed in differentiated ways by individuals in particular social positions, and the role of mobility in these variations can be readily traced. Pulling apart the ways in which mobility is differentially experienced is a crucial theoretical endeavor; finding differences prompts exploration into their causes, producing an understanding of mobility grounded in the experiences of those whose lives are most caught up in this phenomenon.

My analysis of communicative care has demonstrated that, although these strategies constitute shared practices within transnational families, with generally common norms about how to use them and what they mean, the primary responsibility for deploying such strategies is differentially held among the family members. So, for example, video greetings were performed by non-migrants but not by their migrant kin. Similarly, non-migrants formatted their requests for material care in an extremely indirect way, a communicative care practice which migrants themselves did not follow, as their requests were generally quite direct. However, it was not the case that non-migrants unilaterally bore more responsibility for communicative care in general. In recognizing and responding to extremely indirect requests made by their non-migrant kin, migrants demonstrated communicative care. Moreover, although both migrants and non-migrants participated in joint remembering, migrants were much more likely than their non-migrant counterparts to initiate this communicative care practice, and this tendency was more pronounced for more recent migrants. Thus, the

responsibility for particular communicative care strategies was differentially distributed, without placing sole responsibility for all such care on one group.

In each case, I demonstrated that these differences were connected to the ways in which specific communicative care strategies managed the broader material and ideological conditions of transnational families' lives. My analysis thereby reveals the depth with which global conditions of mobility and immobility have permeated the lives of such kin networks. The initial physical separation of the family occurs through mobility, but it is a form of movement that is constrained by harsh immigration policies that make authorized travel inaccessible. These initial limitations have long-lasting consequences that echo throughout the families' experience of cross-border lives: due to their lack of legal status, migrants are unable to travel to visit their families back home. Non-migrant kin, on the other hand, are generally unable to visit their migrant relatives, since visas to the United States are only accessible to those with immediate relatives who have some legal status, as illustrated in the vignette that opens this chapter. Given this limited mobility and economic dependency, as well as ideologically based expectations of post-migration abandonment, family relations are strained. It is this strain, produced by the effects of both mobility and its concomitant immobility, that communicative care works to manage. Thus, the analysis of everyday language reveals the ways in which experiences of mobility are fundamentally also experiences of immobility, challenging scholars to produce a less unproblematically celebratory account of mobility as a social phenomenon. By prioritizing close analytical attention to the everyday communication of those whose lives are most impacted by global mobility, a language-based approach can help to build a more grounded account of the complexities and tensions of mobility.

Moreover, this research highlights the ways in which other social categories intersect with mobility in producing meaningfully differentiated experiences, a major theme in feminist research on migration. For example, most of the communicative care practices analyzed in this dissertation were primarily the purview of adults, although there were also examples involving older teens in both countries, some of whom used these practices quite skillfully, while others still required some interactional support from their interlocutors. The relevance of generation as a producer of difference is, however, most striking in the case of the children in this study. Second-generation children, the sons and daughters of migrants, were entirely absent in these communicative care practices, but their counterparts in El Salvador were being actively socialized in these strategies, starting at a very young age. This finding demonstrates that the experience of mobility/immobility is age-graded, shaped by expectations about responsibilities of individuals at different stages of the life course and varying with respect to access to mobility. Migrants' children were generally U.S. citizens and had future prospects of much greater ease of transnational mobility than their cousins in El Salvador; communicative care practices would be thus more central in the maintenance of cross-border kinship for this second group over the long term. However, the ways in which children and young people within cross-border families engage in communicative care work remains largely unexplored, and are a key subject for future investigations.

Another example of a social category that intersects with mobility in meaningful ways is gender, although the findings of the dissertation here are less clearly conclusive than those for generation. In some cases, communicative care practices seem to have an obviously gendered component, for example, as when migrants directed their requests for material care only to mother figures who remained in El Salvador. Here we see a three-way intersection of

mobility, gender, and generation that together worked to shape who was deemed an appropriate recipient of a particular communicative practice. It also seems possible that gender may have shaped the initiation of joint remembering, since a recent female migrant was the most frequent initiator of these sorts of interactions. However, with a sample size of one, there are many confounding factors, the most obvious of which is that this same young woman was the only recent migrant without a job; this situation made it impossible for her to send remittances home, possibly increasing the pressure on her to demonstrate her continued connection with family in El Salvador through some other means such as joint remembering. Ultimately, then, these findings suggest that gender is not a singular determiner of communicative care practices, but rather works together with and alongside other social categories in producing the patterned distribution of communicative care strategies among family members. Moreover, given the strongly intersectional way in which communicative care practices were distributed, it seems likely that the responsibility for this particular form of care is less monolithically determined by gender norms than other forms of care. However, an important question for future research is to explore how communicative care strategies interact with other more gendered care work, perhaps resisting or reinforcing these gendered ideologies.

Thus, everyday language practices, such as the strategies of communicative care examined here, provide a particularly perspicuous vantage point from which to develop a more clear understanding of mobility, in part because everyone participates in them. People of all ages and genders, with their many different relationships to mobility/immobility, engage in day-to-day talk with their loved ones; analyzing the ways in which this communication plays out, particularly in cross-border communities, is fundamental to our

understanding of mobility in an era of late capitalist neoliberalism. Communicative care, as a framework for studying language and mobility, sheds light on the interweaving of material, affective, and semiotic resources as individuals manage the contradictory effects of neoliberal mobility on their lives and those of their loved ones. Moreover, this analytical perspective can help to generate insights that can be used in the service of social justice initiatives dedicated to improving the life circumstances of those caught between mobility and immobility at the margins of global neoliberalism; in the following section, I therefore turn to the implications of the research presented in this dissertation for policy and practice.

Implications for Policy and Practice

As I began this research process, I consistently shared with participants the fact that my motivation stemmed in large part from a desire to effect change in unjust immigration laws. As I write now, several years later, this motivation has grown even stronger as I have learned more about the daily reality of these families' lives and the challenges they face as a result of restrictive policy, xenophobic discourses, and prejudicial policies. In this section, therefore, I outline the ways in which my research can shed new light on immigration policy and the practices necessary to make the lives of transnational families easier. I begin with more concrete and specific suggestions having to do with access to linguistic and technological resources, and then turn to more large-scale issues, emphasizing the importance of changing the way U.S. government and citizens alike think about immigration and migrants themselves in order to develop more just policies.

In thinking through the policy and practice implications of my research, I follow in a long tradition of sociolinguistic researchers who have aimed to use their research as a means of fostering social justice. As early as 1969, scholars such as Hymes were articulating calls

for a more reflexive approach to the study of language and social life that took up an explicitly political position (Hymes 1969). Labov, another founding figure in the field, put forward several principles for engaged sociolinguistic research (1982); his "principle of the debt incurred" emphasizes the importance of using the knowledge emerging from research for the good of the participating community. Following this model, subsequent scholars proposed other principles, including that of "linguistic gratuity" (Wolfram 1993; 1998), which involves returning linguistic favors to the community, and the broader notion of "service in return" (Rickford 1997), which encourages scholars to participate in nonlinguistic efforts to resolve the social problems affecting the communities in which we work. Perhaps most far-reaching is Zentella's (1995) call for an "anthropolitical linguistics," which aims explicitly to repudiate dominant stereotypes that diminish the complexity of language and culture within communities that speak subordinated varieties; Zentella urges scholars to go beyond grammatical form to listen to what speakers are saying, suggesting that through careful attention, we can learn how members of marginalized communities both accede to and resist normative ideologies. In the following section, I aim to trace such connections through an exploration of the broader implications of my dissertation research.

Sociolinguistic Justice Across Borders

In a recent revisitation of these roots of social justice work within sociolinguistics, Bucholtz and colleagues (2014) proposed *sociolinguistic justice* as a means of promoting such ends within educational and other contexts. Defined as "self-determination for linguistically subordinated individuals and groups in sociopolitical struggles over language" (Bucholtz et al. 2014:145), the idealized goal of sociolinguistic justice is nevertheless put into practice whenever speakers of subordinated linguistic varieties are able to exercise some

degree of control over their linguistic repertoires. This concept is thus fundamentally concerned with the goals of speaker-participants themselves, with researchers playing a supporting role and following the lead of the community. Bucholtz and colleagues outline five possible goals of sociolinguistic justice: (1) linguistic valorization, (2) linguistic legitimation, (3) linguistic inheritance, (4) linguistic access, and (5) linguistic expertise. In this section, I examine how such goals may productively be connected to efforts to facilitate cross-border communication, whose crucial role in sustaining transnational ties is a key finding of this dissertation.

As outlined above, communicative care has immense potential for sustaining cross-border families intergenerationally, since these practices can be readily taught to new generations. However, as my research demonstrates, children within these families are not equally socialized into communicative care practices: while the children of migrants in the United States are conspicuous in their absence in transnational phone calls, children in El Salvador participate in these cross-border practices from a very young age, often as legitimate peripheral participants (Lave and Wenger 1991) who are socialized into more active roles over time. I stated earlier that this pattern may in part be due to the drastically different possibilities of mobility that these two groups will have as adults. However, another reason for the lack of second-generation children's participation in communicative care may be linguistic in nature.

Although the children of migrants in this study are raised in Spanish-speaking homes, without exception they attend monolingual English-language schools and have grown up in an environment in which racism, classism, and anti-immigrant sentiment combine to make Spanish a highly-stigmatized language. As a result, although these second-generation

children all understand Spanish and can speak it if required, their actual use of the language on a day-to-day basis is quite varied. Following a pattern found in previous research with immigrant families (Keller, Troesch, and Grob 2015; Pease-Alvarez 1993; Shin 2002), the older children tend to be more fully bilingual, while their younger siblings are more English-dominant. As I have explored in previous research (Arnold 2013), within their copresent U.S.-based households, immigrant families have worked out ways of communicating across these partial linguistic barriers in which neither parents nor children are fully bilingual in each other's language. However, it is at the transnational level that these linguistic differences become more salient: on many occasions, the non-migrant relatives of these children remarked that they found it difficult or impossible to talk to them on the phone, with the often-repeated phrase "Empiezan hablando español y terminan hablando ingles" ('They start off speaking Spanish but they end up speaking English'). Those living in El Salvador had no familiarity with English, nor with the code-mixing and English-inflected Spanish of the U.S. context; thus, they found the linguistic variety spoken by their young relatives to be incomprehensible.

Addressing this linguistic barrier to the full participation of second-generation children in cross-border communication requires several of the goals of sociolinguistic justice. Most obviously, the goal of linguistic inheritance emphasizes learning "the languages, dialects, and styles associated with one's own background" (Bucholtz et al. 2014:147); the children of immigrants should therefore be able to learn to use the linguistic variety of their parents and families should they so desire. Although children can and do learn language in the home, achieving this goal requires support for use of this linguistic variety in educational settings as well. In other words, the home languages and dialects of

immigrant children need to be valorized and recognized as varieties that are legitimate for use in academic settings. Reaching this end thus draws on the goals of linguistic valorization and linguistic legitimation, in which the value of linguistic diversity is promoted and the use of subordinated varieties is encouraged in a full range of social spheres. Within transnational families, the goals of valorization and legitimation need to be pursued, not only within institutions, but within families themselves. In addition to dismissing the Spanish of second-generation children as unintelligible, adult relatives sometimes derided the Spanish-language utterances of these children, often with mocking and uproarious laughter, due to perceived grammatical or pronunciation errors. The linguistic self-confidence of the children of migrants would benefit greatly from pursuit of linguistic valorization and legitimation within the homes, educational institutions, and wider world within which they live.

In addition to linguistic barriers, there is another obstacle that impedes free-flowing cross-border communication: technology. As this dissertation has demonstrated, transnational families depend heavily on technologically mediated communication to sustain both the material and affective aspects of their lives and relationships. Although I have focused primarily on cell-phone conversations, I have attempted through the vignettes opening each chapter to give a sense of the way in which other technologies, primarily Facebook, supported the communicative work being done in phone calls; in fact, the intersection between different technologies, and the ways in which the affordances of each technology were used to support the affordances of others, is a hugely complex topic worthy of further research. For now, suffice it to say that cross-border communication depends on access to digital communication technologies as well as the digital literacy necessary to use these devices and platforms.

The question of technological access was salient in the way the families in my study communicated. Non-migrant kin in El Salvador lacked access to high-speed internet connections of the kind necessary to facilitate video chat, so even when migrant kin sent laptops to their relatives, as happened in both the Martínez and Portillo families during the course of my fieldwork, this new technology was primarily used for the posting and instant messaging functions of social media, rather than video chat. Here, digital literacy also becomes salient, and in fact the use of social media was limited to the middle generation of these families, who had the necessary technological skills. Even with cell phone calls, I noted that older individuals in El Salvador did not have their own phones; rather, they relied on the devices owned by their adult children, who would pass along incoming calls or make outgoing calls for them. Indeed, this task was not trivial: making transnational calls from El Salvador involves a great deal of savvy in using prepaid calling cards to take maximum advantage of time-limited special offers that offer double or even triple minutes.

Thus, one important means of facilitating cross-border communication involves improving access to both technology and digital literacy. Although technologically mediated communication is outside the scope of the sociolinguistic justice framework as originally proposed, I would suggest that the goal of linguistic access can be usefully adapted to address this issue within cross-border communication. This goal emphasizes learning about "the languages, dialects, and styles of sociopolitical power" (Bucholtz et al. 2014:148); certainly in today's world, it is very clear that technologically mediated communication is a resource for sociopolitical power, and one to which equal access must be guaranteed. The digital divide, therefore, is consequential not only for people as individuals, but also for their ability to sustain the long-distance networks of which they are a part.

Certainly, access to technology in El Salvador has been improving; when I first lived in Cantón El Río in 2001, there was only one radio phone for the entire village, to be used in case of emergencies. Today, almost every household can claim at least one cell phone, often more. Internet access, although slow, is now available through cell-phone signal, and smart phones and high-speed internet are sure to be close behind. Perhaps a more intransigent issue with regard to facilitating cross-border communication is the question of digital literacy. With the advancing pace of technologies, it is especially crucial that attention be given to ensuring that all family members have access to the necessary know-how to take advantage of these communication tools. In particular, training should be sure to include the elderly and those with lower literacy skills, perhaps in an intergenerational setting where younger people can learn how to more effectively scaffold the skills of their older relatives. In accomplishing this outcome, the goal of linguistic expertise becomes particularly relevant, in that all users of technology, regardless of age or capability, must be seen as capable of making contributions to the technologically mediated cross-border communication upon which their families depend. In fact, such universal participation is absolutely crucial to the smooth functioning of communicative care practices, since, as demonstrated in the analysis presented in the preceding chapters, the responsibilities for specific communicative care strategies are held by different people within the family.

Thus, the goals of sociolinguistic justice, understood within the context of transnational families, can serve as a guide for facilitating and improving the conditions of the cross-border communication upon which these kin networks depend for survival, with regards to both linguistic and technological resources. However, the implications of this

dissertation research go beyond the communicative domain, and in the following section, I discuss consequences of this study for immigration policy more broadly.

Changing Discourses of Immigration to Create Just Policy

One of the key insights of this dissertation has been to demonstrate the ways in which the everyday lives of migrants are fundamentally interwoven with those of non-migrant kin in their home country. This research thus sheds light on the human aspects of migration, emphasizing the impossibility of thinking about immigrants simply as workers or immigration as simply a process of flows of labor and money within the market. Against this purely economic view of migration processes, I have aimed to interpose a more integrated perspective that takes into consideration the ways in which the materiality of migration shapes and is shaped by affective and relational factors. This understanding, if fully taken on and absorbed, has the potential to radically change the ways in which migration is conceptualized, with concomitant impacts on discourses of immigration as well as immigration policy.

Dominant discourses of immigration within the United States are based on nativist perspectives in which immigrants are understood as presenting a danger to the nation; these discourses are clearly revealed through analyses that trace metaphors of immigration as a "flood" or "invasion" (Santa Ana 2002). Behind these discourses of immigration lie xenophobic perspectives, in which immigrants are understood as threatening precisely because of their presumed differences from the normative white, English-speaking U.S. citizen; in this view, immigrants are brown-skinned, non-English-speaking individuals, at worst criminals, and at best possessing alien cultural practices, whose constant influx and overwhelming fertility threaten to overrun the country. These discursive representations also

frame migrants as threatening in part due to cross-border ties to their home countries; new immigrants are perceived as are a danger because they are perceived as refusing to join the U.S. melting pot, holding on to the language and culture they bring with them from their home societies. Of course, this discourse elides the fact that language shift towards English is happening more rapidly now than ever, particularly in Latina/o communities, where it may only take one generation (Krogstad, Stepler, and Lopez 2015). Thus, in nativist discourses, cross-border ties are portrayed as limiting assimilation and as possibly being used for criminal ends, a representation that connects migrants to transnational gangs, drug cartels, and other forms of organized crime.

Responding to the dominant discourses of immigration, my research produces a more grounded and realistic perspective of cross-border ties. Rather than being a means for transnational crime or a source of anti-U.S. sentiment and practice, in fact these connections across borders are simply part of the fabric of people's lives, the bonds that connect them to their loved ones. Sustaining these ties eases the isolation and disconnection that are often associated with the experience of migration. Although ties across borders do often put pressure on migrants, these economic expectations tend to encourage migrants to work harder and to stay out of trouble so that they can send money home, thus steering them away from lives directed by *vicios* ('vices') or criminal enterprises. Ultimately, the research presented in this dissertation reveals that the cross-border connections of migrants are not so different from the ties to loved ones in broader non-migration contexts; the bonds between migrants and their families are simply stretched across greater distances for longer periods of time. This perspective, if disseminated and encountered widely enough, may help to shift dominant thinking on immigration, helping fearful U.S. citizens to see the similarities

between themselves and migrants, who share the fundamental human goal of maintaining connection with and caring for loved ones.

However, to make a meaningful difference, these ideological shifts must ultimately lead to a change in the policies that shape the lives of immigrants and their families. The family situation I have documented here calls for governmental policies that move away from a focus on individual immigrants as laborers (such as the historical Bracero program and current H2A visas for temporary agricultural workers) towards a recognition of the embedding of migrants' lives in transnational kin relationships and policy attempts to facilitate the maintenance of such ties. It may seem that recent executive actions by the Obama administration, as well as other policies both implemented and proposed, move in that direction. For example, Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) provides renewable work permits and exemption from deportation for children who were brought into the country before their sixteenth birthday (Department of Homeland Security 2015); this policy implicitly recognizes that migrants often do not arrive as single individuals, but often bring their families with them. A similar recognition is embedded in a related executive action announced in 2014, Deferred Action for Parents of Americans and Lawful Permanent Residents (DAPA), which aims to provide the same benefits to the undocumented parents of children who are U.S. citizens (U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services 2015a). Other policies that seem to respond to the relational aspects of migration and mobility include the Special Immigrant Juvenile Status, which grants a green card to minors who claim that they have been abandoned by their parents in their country of origin (U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services 2015b), and the Central American Minors Refugee Program, under which children with migrant parents with legal status may apply for refugee status from their

home countries (U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services 2015c), as well as recent shifts in asylum law, under which women from Central America are now being granted asylum due to being victims domestic violence (Preston 2014).

However, while all of these programs in one way or another recognize that migrants and asylum seekers have connections to others, in each case, certain types of relationships are prioritized and protected, while others are left out. For example, DAPA does not extend to undocumented parents whose children are not U.S. citizens or legal permanent residents, as if these children did not also need their parents to be protected from deportation. Furthermore, all of these policies are based on a valorization of the heterosexual nuclear family as the fundamental form of kinship, in direct contradiction to the crucial role of the multigenerational extended family in organizing survival and social life around the world. Thus, these policies focus on relationships between parents and (some) children, ignoring the many other forms that kinship may take. Transnational relationships, in particular, are ignored; many if not most undocumented migrants who are ineligible under DAPA are nevertheless parents of children who remain in their home countries. And, as the research presented here has demonstrated, migrants maintain a host of other transnational connections to relatives ranging from parents to siblings, from grandparents to nieces and nephews.

Thus, one clear implication of my research is that, while current policy may in some ways represent an attempt to recognize migrants as interconnected beings, in fact such approaches are piecemeal and insufficient to do justice to the complex relational webs of migrant communities. Instead, a holistic policy approach is required, the first step of which must necessarily be the legalization of all undocumented immigrants within the borders of the United States, allowing them to work without threat of retribution and to live without the

constant fear of deportations and worry about the consequences that this removal and loss of income would have on their loved ones, wherever they live. Legalization would strengthen family ties, allowing migrants to travel home to visit kin, to be able to say goodbye to elderly relatives before they pass on, and to celebrate in person milestones such as births, graduations, and weddings. In addition to legalization, another component of this holistic response would involve providing easier access to visas for non-migrant relatives, without prioritizing particular kinds of relationships over others. Such visits would allow non-migrant kin to have a better understanding of their families' lives in the United States: seeing firsthand how hard they work to send money home and the crowded conditions in which they must live. Facilitating travel and exchange may ultimately reduce family reunification as a driver for continued migration from Central America, providing kin networks with easier and safer ways to see one another. Ultimately, policies such as those suggested above would ease the tensions of family separation by allowing kin in each country to more accurately imagine, and thus more readily empathize with, the lives of their cross-border families. Although communicative care allows cross-border families to manage their separation, ultimately the solution required by a social justice perspective is to ease the necessity for long-term long-distance relationships through more inclusive immigration policies.

Conclusion

This dissertation has aimed to develop a more grounded understanding of language and mobility, and the communicative care approach provides a model that builds theory and practice on the basis of the experiences of those whose lives are most impacted by the tensions and contradictions of neoliberal mobility. The analysis presented here has demonstrated the ways in which communicative care functions as a series of interactional

practices that nonetheless manage the large-scale material and affective challenges these families face in navigating the impacts of constrained mobility on their lives.

Although I have focused on communicative care as it is deployed within transnational Salvadoran families, the dissertation potentially has a much larger reach. Communicative care is relevant far beyond the specific domain studied here: such strategies are widely used by all human beings as a means of maintaining and managing relationships with loved ones. This wide applicability opens up a broad domain of possible study that examines communicative care in a range of relational and cultural contexts. However, communicative care is perhaps most meaningful, and therefore perhaps best studied, under conditions of constrained mobility, within which other means of sustaining connection become less possible and everyday communication is made to carry more weight. In today's global era, many kin networks struggle, like the families in this study, to maintain connection despite physical separation caused by mobility: the families of middle-class workers whose jobs require greater travel, or the families of students who attend university on the other side of the country or spend a year studying abroad. Thus, the study of how families sustain relationships in the face of physical separation, and the crucial role of technologically mediated communication in this process, is relevant to the broader study of current family life and can offer insights into how family works in a mobile age.

Communicative care is ultimately a perspective that underscores the vital importance of language in social life. This concept highlights the fundamental interpenetration of the material and the affective, demonstrating the importance of linguistic resources for articulating and making explicit these interconnections. Moreover, through the lens of communicative care, it is possible to begin to pull apart some of the ways in which mundane

language practices are connected to large-scale ideologies and structures, by variously shoring them up or challenging them, often simultaneously. Thus, language is a crucial means by which the effects of late capitalist neoliberalism are managed. In today's era of growing global mobility coupled with increasingly dire inequality, the grounded study of language and mobility advanced has never been more important.

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