

**LANGUAGE USE AND SYMBOLIC TRANSNATIONAL PRACTICES:
EVIDENCE FROM 1.5 AND SECOND GENERATION CUBANS IN MIAMI**

by

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ABSTRACT

Today's highly globalized and mobile society can be characterized by constant interaction between dominant and minority groups in one space, where migrant communities manage multiple cultural and linguistic contexts, while remaining connected to their society of origin. While the field of transnationalism addresses both the behavioral (i.e., physical) and symbolic (i.e., emotional) ties to the origin community, the role that language plays in establishing and maintaining such transnational practices, and specifically symbolic transnationalism, is not well understood. Addressing this gap, the current project aims to investigate the interconnection between heritage language use and symbolic transnationalism through the analysis of 1.5 and 2nd generation Cubans in Miami.

The Cuban community in the US, and more specifically, in Miami-Dade County, Florida, represents a relevant case for in-depth investigation. While this population is comparable to other Hispanic groups in the US on many levels (Duany, 2011), the long-standing political opposition between the U.S. and Cuba have largely limited behavioral transnational practices (e.g., visits to the country of origin, sending goods and remittances) of the Cuban population. This broad lack of behavioral transnationalism in the Miami Cuban community provides a unique opportunity to examine symbolic transnational practices, effectively isolating two concepts that are traditionally combined in the literature (Duff, 2015; Reynolds, 2006).

To investigate the relations between language use and symbolic transnationalism, a mixed methods study was conducted with 75 young adults of Cuban origin (1.5 and 2nd generation), combining a quantitative questionnaire with face-to-face sociolinguistic interviews. Quantitatively, data analysis centered on the analysis of the degree of symbolic transnationalism and language use among 1.5 and 2nd generation groups, as well as statistical correlations between sub-components of

language use (history, proficiency, choice, and value) and symbolic transnationalism (ways of doing and ways of belonging). Qualitatively, a thematic analysis was conducted to distinguish the most prominent external factors in the process of symbolic transnationalism maintenance or development that surfaced in the discourse of the participants. Finally, discourse analysis was used to investigate how symbolic transnationalism was reflected in linguistic structures, such as deixis (i.e., terms indicating distance) and stance (i.e., expression of feelings, judgement, and appreciation).

The analysis of the data provides strong evidence for overarching links between the level of symbolic transnationalism and language, such that greater affiliation with the culture of origin is related to a greater use and importance of the heritage language. In addition, qualitative results show that the external factors of the family domain, the Miami environment and ethnic community, and the use of the Spanish language in Miami, are among the most important for the maintenance and development of symbolic transnationalism. Finally, discourse analysis revealed that both 1.5 and 2nd generation groups use deictic and stance markers to express personal and metaphorical proximity, as well as affect and appreciation of the ethnic community, Cuba as a land, Cuba of the past, and Cuban culture. In contrast, they express temporal and spatial distance as well as markers of judgement with respect to Cuba of the present and its current politics.

This study systematically isolates the concept of symbolic transnationalism via a quantitative approach and investigates its connection with language. Their direct correlation, confirmed by the results, highlights symbolic transnationalism as a significant variable to consider in sociolinguistic research with migrant communities, and thus provides a solid theoretical base for bridging the disciplines of linguistics and transnationalism. Moreover, this work employs a structural linguistic approach (i.e., deixis and stance) to demonstrate how transnational ties may be

represented through linguistic structures, and thus it provides new tools for understanding how minority communities express their transnational connections.

On a practical level, this work emphasizes the importance of the context and cross-cultural awareness in language pedagogy. For heritage language learners, it underlines the bi-directional relationship: language maintenance for sustaining transnational ties, as well as development of heritage culture appreciation for more effective heritage language development. Moreover, the findings with respect to the interconnection between symbolic transnationalism and heritage language use, emphasize the role of such aspects as sense of belonging, ethnic community, family history and attitudes towards the country of origin on the process of heritage language maintenance and self-identification with the country and culture of origin. Finally, the findings of this work may be applicable to second language students as well, emphasizing the importance of a context-based approach to language acquisition, which plays a significant role in developing productive cross-cultural communication.

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

In an increasingly global society, migrant communities tend to maintain physical and/or emotional connections and engagement with the country of origin. These connections have been well-studied within the framework of transnationalism, defined as the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement (Basch, Glick Schiller, & Szanton Blanc, 2000). Both behavioral (e.g., visits to the country of origin and sending remittances) and symbolic (e.g., emotional ties and sense of belonging) components of transnationalism have been analyzed in a number of contexts, including legal, economic, and psychological spheres (Guarnizo, 2003; Rumbaut, 2002). Although an analysis of language has been included in the body of transnationalism research on successive generations of migrants, it has been predominantly addressed in the following aspects: (1) general correlation between transnational practices and heritage language maintenance or attrition (e.g. Alba, Logan, Lutz, & Stults, 2002; Portes & Hao, 2002); (2) heritage language proficiency as a predictor of the level of behavioral transnationalism (e.g. Duff, 2015; Imbens-Bailey, 1996); (3) literacy/ -bilitery and education (e.g. de la Piedra, 2011; Sánchez, 2007). Based on the previous studies, the following specific gaps can be noted. First, the phenomenon of transnationalism with respect to heritage language has predominantly been considered as a single concept, where behavioral and symbolic transnational practices act in direct correlation, which is not always the case. Second, no systematic analysis has been provided detailing the interconnection of language use and specifically symbolic transnationalism among migrant populations, and especially 1.5 and 2nd generation where heritage language proficiency and use are considered to be crucial for identity construction (Alfaraz, 2002; Yakushkina & Olson, 2017). Finally, no detailed linguistic analysis

has investigated the reflection of symbolic transnationalism through linguistic structures in the oral discourse.

In this respect the Cuban community in the US, and more specifically, in Miami-Dade County, Florida, represents a relevant case for in-depth investigation. While the Miami Cuban community is comparable to other Hispanic groups in the US on many levels (Duany, 2011), the long-standing political divisions between the U.S. and Cuba have largely precluded behavioral transnationalism. Although behavioral transnational involvement of the Miami Cuban community now represents a continuum rather than a dichotomy, the broad lack of behavioral transnationalism among the participants of the study – representatives of the Miami Cuban community provides a unique opportunity to examine symbolic transnational practices, effectively isolating two concepts that are traditionally conflated in the literature (Duff, 2015; Reynolds, 2006). Worth noting, the current situation has not resulted in complete assimilation of the Cuban population into dominant American society, but allowed for the development of a strong ethnic community, effectively recreating many aspects of the society of origin in the foreign context. Moreover, the establishment of such a robust ethnic enclave (e.g., large size, strong socioeconomic and political vitality, high integrative and instrumental value of Spanish) has influenced patterns of heritage language use, which do not follow the generally accepted trend of gradual heritage language attrition (Carter & Lynch, 2015; Portes & Schauffler, 1994; Yakushkina & Olson, 2017). As such, the Miami Cuban population represents an ideal community to examine the interplay between symbolic transnationalism and language use.

Therefore, in order to address the gaps in the previous work, the following research questions are outlined: *(1a) To what degree is symbolic transnationalism present among 1.5 and 2nd generation Cubans in Miami? (1b) What are the characteristics of language use among 1.5 and*

2nd generation Cubans in Miami? (2) Is there a correlation between symbolic transnationalism and language use among 1.5 and 2nd generation Cubans in Miami? (3) What external factors influence the process of symbolic transnational involvement among 1.5 and 2nd generation Cubans in Miami, as represented in their discourse? (4) How is symbolic transnational involvement expressed through linguistic structures (i.e., deixis and stance) in the discourse of 1.5 and 2nd generation Miami Cubans?

To best address the above research questions and understand both retrospective, current trends and future directions, a mixed method study was conducted with 75 young adults of Cuban origin residing in Miami. A quantitative analysis of written questionnaires on symbolic transnational practices and language use patterns was used to investigate the level of symbolic transnationalism, language use, and interconnection between the two aspects. A qualitative thematic analysis of semi-structured sociolinguistic interviews was employed to distinguish external factors influential for symbolic transnationalism maintenance and development. Finally, a discourse analysis of such linguistic structures as deixis (i.e., terms indicating distance) and stance (expression of feelings and judgement) (Berman, 2004; Levinson, 2004) was applied to investigate how symbolic transnational practices are reflected in the discourse of the individuals.

This dissertation consists of the literature review (Chapter 2), methodology (Chapter 3), quantitative results (Chapter 4), qualitative results (Chapter 5), discourse analysis (Chapter 6), discussion (Chapter 7), and conclusion (Chapter 8).

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter will provide an overview of the theoretical background and highlight previous research in the fields of transnationalism (section 2.1), heritage language use (section 2.2), Cubans in the US (section 2.3), deixis and stance (section 2.4), as well as outline research questions and hypotheses of the study (section 2.5).

2.1 Transnationalism

The study of transnationalism is a relevant approach to investigate migration patterns in the present-day society due to the nature of current migration where individuals tend to maintain connections with their country of origin and regularly, or at least occasionally, engage in transnational activities (Guarnizo, Portes, & Haller, 2003; Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004). As defined by Basch, Schiller, and Szanton Blanc (2000), transnationalism involves processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement, with the main emphasis made on the *link* between the societies of the immigrant population (i.e., the aspect of transnational migration). According to Rumbaut (2002), transnationalism can be subdivided into objective/behavioral and subjective/attitudinal. Behavioral transnationalism includes visiting the country of origin and sending goods and remittances, whereas subjective/attitudinal (also referred to as “symbolic transnationalism”) involves emotional ties and connection with the country of origin, one’s sense of belonging, and one’s sense of “home.”

In most populations, both behavioral and symbolic transnationalism types play an important role in a number of spheres of the lives of migrants (e.g., political, economic, cultural, social, psychological). The impact of transnationalism on the political sphere can be seen when considering issues of citizenship, nationality, and changes in homeland policy (Labelle & Midy, 1999; Smith &

Guarnizo, 1998; Vertovec, 2001). The relationship to the economic domain relates most specifically to issues generated by the flow of remittances sent by migrants, which influence economies of both the home and host countries (Conway & Cohen, 1998; Guarnizo, 2003; Smith & Guarnizo, 1998). Effects of transnational practices can be noted at the macro-level as well as the micro- or individual level. This type of transnational involvement is connected to family dynamics and gender hierarchies, marriage alliances, as well as the development of a set of multiple, collective migrant identities (Glick Schiller, 1997; Guarnizo, 2003; Smith & Guarnizo, 1998; Vertovec, 2001).

The transnational activity of migrants leads to the formation of transnational communities (Vertovec, 2001) or networks (Portes, 1997), which allow individuals to sustain transnational ties and “live dual lives” (p. 812). According to Portes (1997), members of such networks are “often bilingual, move easily between different cultures, frequently maintain homes in two countries, and pursue economic, political, and cultural interests that require their presence in both” (p. 812). Transnational networks, in turn, organize the broader phenomenon of a transnational social field, which can be defined as the set of multiple interlocking networks of social relationships through which ideas, practices, and resources are (unequally) exchanged, organized, and transformed (Basch, Glick Schiller, & Szanton Blanc, 2000; Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004; Somerville, 2008). This approach questions the existence of such definite categorizations as local, national, transnational, and global, and presents the transnational social fields as “transcending the boundaries of nation-states” (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004, p. 1010).

Within transnational social fields, one key differentiation is made between two distinct, but interrelated concepts: ways of being and ways of belonging. According to Levitt and Glick-Schiller (2004), *ways of being* includes the actual social relations and practices of transmigrants, such as the participation in certain organizations or institutions, or religious affiliation according to the tradition

in the family. It represents actual engagement in a particular social activity rather than self-identification with this action. *Ways of belonging* involves emotional connections to the homeland through memory, nostalgia, and imagination. It also represents practices that indicate conscious involvement, affiliation with a particular group, enactment and awareness of particular ethnic identity, and “combines action and an awareness of the kind of identity that action signifies” (Levitt & Glick-Schiller, 2004). Representing two closely related types of transnationalism, these two concepts are not always found to be in direct correlation. For example, individuals having frequent communication with the country of origin (ways of being) might not identify with that specific culture and location, and thus lack a sense of belonging. In contrast, individuals with a lower degree of actual connection with the homeland (being) might demonstrate strong self-identification with the country of origin through memory, nostalgia or imagination (belonging) (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004; Somerville, 2008). Therefore, it should be emphasized that stronger actual connections with the country of origin do not necessarily lead to higher levels of transnational involvement, neither does it indicate that weaker social connections (or more indirect ties) are less involved in the processes within a particular transnational social field (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004). This idea, expressed by Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004), provides grounds for separating ways of being and belonging in research on transnationalism. Moreover, this distinction calls researchers to distinguish notions such as behavioral and symbolic transnationalism when investigating the degree and nature of the transnational involvement of migrants, and differentiate their possible consequences in the process of adaptation in the host society.

Although the concept of *ways of being* has generally been included in behavioral transnationalism as it represents a form of direct communication and physical connection with the country of origin, such form of connection can also exist among migrant communities inside the

host society (e.g., participation in the ethnic community events, membership in the organizations related to the country of origin, ethnic religious practices) without actual communication with the country of origin. As this work focuses on this particular situation where *ways of being* is considered from a different perspective and thus included in symbolic transnationalism, a new term *ways of doing* is coined in order to avoid confusion.

Previous research has indicated that although transnational practices are generally community-specific, a number of general factors that shape migrant communities' transnational practices have been identified (e.g., external, in-group, and individual). First, actions and attitudes of both sending and receiving countries represent a highly important external factor in the nature of transnationalism. State policies, immigration laws, citizenship (dual or not), and legal and physical borders, generally play an important role in promoting or yielding transnational activities among migrants. Considering in-group and individual factors, the following aspects have been shown to influence the development of transnational practices: class background of the family, parents' attitudes towards both sending and receiving countries, multinuclear households, and religious affiliation, among many. With respect to class background, while children of middle-class educated families may be more interested in maintaining transnational ties, culture, and language, children from lower socio-economic classes do not see the advantages of doing so. Also, as family domain is highly influential for successive generations of migrants, children's transnational ties considerably depend on their parents' activities, interests, and attitudes towards sustaining ties with the country of origin. Moreover, 'multinuclear households', nuclear families (e.g., siblings, close relatives) living in both countries, might promote transnational activities due to the constant communication by telephone, letters, Internet. Another important factor is one's family and individual religious affiliation, as religious institutions in the host country serve as organizations

that promote co-ethnic communication among parents, and consequently among the children. Finally, heritage language maintenance or attrition, as well as language attitudes, also plays a role in the degree of transnational involvement with the country of origin (for review of these factors see Arriaga, 2005; Haller & Landolt, 2005; Levitt, 2009; Menjívar, 2002; Reynolds, 2006; Rumbaut, 2002; Trieu, Vargas, & Gonzales, 2015; Vickerman, 2011). Taken as a whole, these factors serve to create patterns of transnational practices that influence the first generation as well as successive generations of minority communities.

2.1.1 Transnationalism and Generation

The 1.5 and second generations of migrants, while being broadly comparable populations, may present diverse patterns with respect to transnational practices. The “classic” 1.5 generation can be defined as individuals who arrived in the host country between the ages of 6 and 12, “pre-adolescent, primary-school-age children who have learned (or begun to learn) to read and write in the mother tongue at schools abroad, but whose education is largely completed [in the country of destination]” (Rumbaut, 2004, p. 1167). Although their main socialization process takes place in the host society and leads to integration outcomes, the research in the transnational field demonstrates that they are distinct from other generational cohorts with respect to language proficiency, linguistic assimilation, and ethnic self-identification (Rumbaut, 2004; Rumbaut & Ima, 1988). Moreover, Goldschmidt and Miller (2005) describe them as “living between two cultures,” where native culture and language involvement inside the family domain co-functions with the host society’s dominant language and culture in the societal domain.

The second generation can be defined as native-born children of foreign-born parents (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). Despite the fact that early works questioned the existence of transnationalism among the second generation, referring to the process as “ephemeral first-

generation phenomenon” (for review see Levitt & Schiller, 2004), more recent research addresses the second generation, and more specifically, the new second generation¹ as “transnational generation” (Levitt & Schiller, 2004, p. 1005; Levitt & Waters, 2002) and focuses on a variety of issues such as geographical mobility of youth, virtual and psychological connectedness, emotional well-being, multigenerational experiences in transnational spaces, and strategies of economic mobility (Duff, 2015; Fernández-Kelly & Konczal, 2007; Levitt and Waters, 2002; Reynolds, 2006; Vaquera & Aranda, 2011). This growing body of literature provides evidence and emphasizes the importance and involvement of the new second generation in transnational practices (Portes & Zhou, 1993; Levitt & Waters, 2002; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001), which directly coincides with the aspects of identity, heritage culture, and language.

2.2 Heritage Language Use

The area of heritage language use is a complex phenomenon that is simultaneously influenced by linguistic, social, educational, and sociolinguistic factors, all of which should be taken into consideration when addressing heritage speakers. Although a considerable body of research has begun to address heritage speakers and heritage language use, there remains a number of opinions on how to adequately define the notion of “heritage language.” Some scholars suggested alternative labels for this phenomenon, including “ancestral language” (Wharry, 1993), “Spanish for native speakers” (Villa & Villa, 1998), “immigrant minority language” (Broeder & Extra, 1999), among many. Rothman (2009), among other scholars, provided a definition that outlined major characteristics of a heritage language. For him, a language can be defined as heritage if “it is a language spoken at home or otherwise readily available to young children, and crucially this

¹ The new second generation represents children of the post-1965 wave of immigration (Portes & Zhou, 1993).

language is not a dominant language of the larger (national) society” (p. 156). In this project I chose to use the term “heritage language” as it is most commonly accepted and used in the field. Since the definition of the term “heritage language” remains under discussion, it is relevant to address the characteristics of a heritage speaker to fully understand the phenomenon.

2.2.1 Heritage Speaker

Broadly, a *heritage speaker* has been defined as “raised in a home where a non-English language is spoken, who speaks or at least understands the language, and who is to some degree bilingual in that language and in English” (Valdés, 2001, p.2). It also should be pointed out that these individuals usually have some ancestral or historical connections to the language and some degree of affective perception of it. Heritage speakers possess a number of skills in the heritage language which generally includes (monolingual) native-like pronunciation and fluency, extensive vocabulary, familiarity with implicit cultural norms essential for effective language use. On the other hand, heritage speakers often possess a number of gaps with respect to the heritage language, including literacy issues, an underdeveloped academic register, the predominant use of the informal register in oral and written communication, and a lack of awareness in dialectal variation (Cuza, 2012; Li & Duff, 2008). Due to the variable nature of the background and abilities of heritage speakers, both linguistic and sociolinguistic characteristics should be taken into consideration when analyzing potential trajectories of the heritage language maintenance or attrition.

2.2.2 Generation and Heritage Language Use

The factor of generation, and specifically generational change (Meyerhoff, 2011) and the impact of generation on psychological, sociological, and linguistic aspects of individual development, has been extensively studied and shown to be influential in a number of scientific

fields, including sociolinguistics. Most clearly the presence of generational differences is seen in the example of multilingual communities, and more specifically dominant–minority communities’ interaction, as more complex consequences for multilingual speakers can evolve in the context of multiple languages and cultures.

Based on the previous research conducted in multilingual communities, generational differences can be seen in the areas of language choice², language maintenance or shift, identity construction, as well as level and modes of transnationalism. Broadly, researchers tend to agree on the existence of a natural, gradual process of language shift towards dominant language in a given society, which advances in succeeding generations (Carter & Lynch, 2015; Gardner-Chloros, 1992; Porcel, 2006; Portes & Schauffler, 1994; Spence, Rojas, & Straubhaar, 2011). This pattern eventually results in the full adaptation or assimilation of the successive generations into the dominant society. For example, Gardner-Chloros (1992) conducted a study with a Greek-Cypriot community in London, and found a clear shift from the Greek-Cypriot dialect towards dominant English language, which is accompanied by the development of certain elements of a new London Greek Cypriot dialect.

Although intergenerational language shift towards dominant society has been indicated by a number of scholars, the process of linguistic adaptation, according to Portes and Hao (2002) does not represent a binary opposition, but rather a continuum from a minority-language monolingualism to a dominant-language monolingualism. In this case, according to Portes and Hao (2002), the most desirable outcome for family relations, cognitive development, and psycho-social adjustment, is fluent bilingualism. Also, the process of heritage language maintenance or shift, as well as more general process of full or partial cultural adaptation or assimilation, does not follow a universal

² Language choice, along with language value, can be characterized as language use in the context of multilingual communities (Coulmas, 1997).

pattern for all communities' and can be modulated by certain extralinguistic factors. Among the factors highlighted in the previous research (Coulmas, 2005; Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor, 1977; Guardado, 2011; Lynch, 2003) are family influence, ethnolinguistic vitality of a minority community, which includes size of the community, political and legal policies (e.g., citizenship), institutional support, in-group and out-group attitudes towards the community, integrative and instrumental value of the family language, as well as contact with heritage language monolinguals. The most salient factors are described in turn below.

Family influence: The family domain has been shown to be one of the most significant factors that influences heritage language maintenance or shift among successive generations (Lambert & Taylor, 1996; Portes & Hao, 2002; Wolf, 1997). Although society plays a very important role in determining individual language choice, patterns of language shift or maintenance, and identity construction³, it is the family domain that, being the narrowest circle in the person's life, predominantly triggers or yields the processes of maintenance or shift (Guardado, 2011). For example, Lambert and Taylor (1996) conducted a study focused on the connections between: (1) the modes of accommodation of Cuban families (working-class and middle-class) in Miami and mothers' attitudes and values toward heritage language and culture; and (2) mothers' and their children's fluency in English and Spanish. The results of their study indicate that mothers and their perspectives substantially influence the language use of their children. Worth noting, the family domain and family language proficiency have also been shown to be of principal importance in the aspect of the nature and degree of transnational practices.

Ethnolinguistic vitality: Another factor influencing heritage language use in subsequent generations in a non-native environment is the ethnolinguistic vitality of the local community. As

³ Previous research has shown that family is crucial in determining ethnic identity, even when family is seen as a controlling or limiting agent (Wolf, 1997; see also Manalansan, 2003).

first introduced by Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor in their seminal work (1977), ethnolinguistic vitality is an aggregate of sociocultural factors that determine a group's ability to function as a distinct collective entity and is composed of factors such as demography (size of the group, relative strength in the total population, and patterns of residence), institutional support (presence of language in education, media, government, and religion), and status (group's position in a social prestige hierarchy). All of these aspects determine the behavior of various generations, with a different degree of influence on each successive generation. According to previous research (Bouhris, Moise, Perreault, & Senecal, 1997; Ehala, 2010), while being constructed within the community, ethnolinguistic vitality is not a completely in-group phenomenon and is highly influenced by the dominant society. Negative attitudes of the dominant society towards the minority community, as well as a lack of institutional support, may lead to the process of Ethnic Ambivalence/ Evasion (Tse, 2000), which is characterized as lack of interest, general distancing, and rejection of ancestral (ethnic) culture. In this case heritage speakers will attempt to integrate into the mainstream society, which may hasten assimilation into the dominant society and attrition of their heritage culture and language. Conversely, positive attitudes towards the language variety of heritage speakers on the societal level might make the language a promoter and mediator of positive development and strengthen group identity, as can be seen in the Cuban population in the US (Lynch, 2000, Otheguy, García, & Roca, 2000).

Integrative and instrumental value: The ethnolinguistic vitality of a community is also tied to the notion of the value of a language, either integrative or instrumental, which also influences the process of language and identity shift or maintenance (e.g., Beckstead & Toribio, 2003). The *integrative value* of language corresponds to the use of heritage language for communication with family, friends, and monolingual speakers of the language. The *instrumental value* of a language

represents language use for practical purposes, academic and professional achievement, and social status (Beckstead & Toribio, 2003). Both components play an important role in promoting minority language maintenance or shift among the successive generations.

As an example of the role of language value, Spernes (2012) examined language values among students in rural Kenya. She found a high instrumental but low integrative value of Swahili and English, which were languages used at school, as well as low instrumentality but high integrative value of their native language Nandi, which was used with family and friends, but prohibited at school. As in Kenya, the language policy established by the state serves as a clear promoter of the gradual shift towards dominant languages as a consequence of their high instrumental value in the society. Spernes (2012) illustrates a common pattern where a minority language represents low instrumental but high integrative value, and a dominant language demonstrates high instrumental but low integrative value. This contrast usually leads to a shift towards dominant languages. However, it is worth noting that Spanish in Miami may represent an exceptional case of minority and dominant language interaction with respect to language value. For example, Roca (2005), in her qualitative study on raising a bilingual child in Miami, provides evidence of an opposite trend. The author demonstrates how high instrumentality of the Spanish language in Miami context affects both Spanish-speaking and English language monolingual families with children. By providing the example of choice that parents make with respect to Spanish and English languages, the author supports the idea of the instrumental value of Spanish, as well as benefits of the Spanish language proficiency in Miami context, all of which represents a distinct pattern of possible adaptation or assimilation processes of different generations in a non-dominant environment. Worth noting, and discussed further below, a number of authors have noticed the role that both integrative and instrumental value play a role in determining patterns of

language use among second and successive generations (Alba, Logan, Lutz, & Stults, 2002; Boswell, 2000; García & Diaz, 1992; Guardado, 2011; King, 2013; Portes & Hao, 2002; Portes & Schauffler, 1994; Pieras-Guasp, 2002; Ramírez, 2000).

As noted in previous research, generation represents a factor which plays an important role in the course of linguistic development of the members of multilingual and multicultural communities (e.g., language maintenance and shift), as well as language and level of involvement in transnational practices. However, it should be noted that the impact of generation is clearly seen in conjunction with a number of extralinguistic factors operating in the particular society.

2.2.3 Transnationalism, Generation and Heritage Language Use

Although the aspect of language has been included in the body of transnational research on the second generation, it has predominantly been addressed in the following aspects: (1) the general correlation between transnational practices and heritage language maintenance or attrition (Alba, Logan, Lutz, & Stults, 2002; Duff, 2015; King, 2013; Portes & Hao, 2002; Portes & Schauffler, 1994); (2) the use of heritage language proficiency as a predictor of the level of behavioral transnationalism (Duff, 2015; Imbens-Bailey, 1996; Menjívar, 2002; Trieu, Vargas, & Gonzales, 2015).

The general correlation between heritage language and transnationalism has been analyzed from a variety of perspectives, including patterns of heritage language maintenance or shift according to generations of migrants on various levels (Alba, Logan, Lutz, & Stults, 2002; Portes & Hao, 2002; Portes & Schauffler, 1994). Considering societal level, while Portes and Hao (2002) focused on 1.5 and second generation migrants, Alba, Logan, Lutz, and Stults (2002) investigated third generation participants and observed that familial and communal support (the case of Hispanics in the US as opposed to an Asian group) were important for heritage language

maintenance, whereas intermarriage was a factor that promoted heritage language attrition. Heritage language and its relation to transnationalism were also investigated inside the family domain. For example, King (2013) in her longitudinal study of three siblings in an Ecuadorian family in the US demonstrated how factors such as place of birth, age of arrival, and age of acquisition of both heritage and dominant languages, lead to divergent patterns of language use among siblings, and how family identities are (re)configured in a transnational space.

In research on the transnational practices of successive generations of migrants, the use of the heritage language, and more specifically, heritage language proficiency has been shown to influence the transnational involvement of 1.5 and second generation migrants. For example, Trieu, Vargas, and Gonzales (2015), in their study on transnational patterns among Asian American and Latina/o American children in South California, indicate the importance of, and reciprocal relationship between, heritage language proficiency and the level of transnationalism among the 1.5 and second generations. According to the results, higher language proficiency correlated with higher transnational involvement, and lower level of proficiency was perceived as one of the major barriers to maintaining ties with the ancestral homeland. Similar conclusions were made by Menjívar (2002), in research on Guatemalan-origin children in the US. In the context of rapid language shift towards dominant English language, transnational activity in the form of communication with the family in Guatemala was diminishing due to increasing language barrier. Therefore, in this line of research, heritage language proficiency has been shown to be a predictor of the nature of transnational practices among 1.5 and 2nd generation migrants.

However, no detailed linguistic analysis has been provided to the interconnection of language use and symbolic transnationalism among migrant populations, and especially the new second generation where heritage language proficiency and use are considered to be crucial for

identity construction (Alfaraz, 2002; Yakushkina & Olson, 2017). Moreover, the body of research on transnationalism and language has been constructing a direct correlation between both types of transnationalism (behavioral and symbolic) and heritage language use, with the higher use and proficiency in heritage language resulting in higher behavioral and symbolic transnational involvement together. However, no focus has been placed on the separation of two types of transnationalism with respect to language use despite the potential differentiation in the nature of these relations.

In this respect the Cuban community in the US, and more specifically, in Miami-Dade County, Florida, represents a relevant case for in-depth investigation for the following reasons. On the one hand, this community does not represent an exceptional case in the context of migration and transnationalism of Hispanic groups in the US. However, due to the historical background between Cuba and the US, there is a general lack of behavioral transnationalism (especially among successive generations of migrants), namely visits and constant communication with Cuba. On the other hand, strong ethnic community in Miami context as well as high instrumentality of the Spanish language have led to the development of positive attitudes towards Spanish, as well as distinct heritage language situation among the second generation, favorable for heritage language maintenance. Therefore, this community, and specifically its 1.5 and 2nd generation, represents a relevant case to examine the correlation between specifically symbolic transnationalism and heritage language use, and how this particular type of transnationalism is reflected in their discourse.

2.3 Cubans in the US

Currently, the Cuban/Cuban-American population represents the third-largest Hispanic group in the United States, with an approximate population of 2 million (United States Census Bureau, 2011), who primarily reside in Florida. The number of Cubans in the US, as well as

continuous nature of their influx to the US, is rooted in the historical background of immigration as well as demographic, geographic, economic, and sociocultural factors characteristic to the target community and to the US-Cuban relations. All of these factors have played a significant role in the pattern of Cuban immigration and led to the development of a distinctive case of dominant – minority community interaction and transnational practices.

2.3.1 Historical Background

As has already been mentioned, the history of Cuban migration has a significant impact on the initial mode of settlement, as well as current position of the Cuban community in the US, and especially in Miami-Dade County (Florida).

According to various sources (Cuza, 2017; García & Otheguy, 1988; Otheguy, García, & Roca, 2000; Pérez, 2001), three to four major waves of Cuban migration can be distinguished, all of which are predominantly rooted in political and ideological issues. While the earliest cases of immigration occurred in 1869, a large increase of the number of arrivals from Cuba to the United States occurred starting in 1959. During the first wave (1959–1962), the majority of people changed their place of residence for ideological reasons, and as such, this population consisted of predominantly white, well-educated, middle-aged Cubans. The US government granted refugee status and initiated a program to assist with the economic adjustment of the newcomers, thus providing conditions favorable for settlement. The second wave (1965–1973) was characterized by the reunification of families, which brought more diverse (in terms of class, education, and race) groups of Cubans to the US. The third wave (1980), also called “Mariel Boatlift,” represented an uncontrolled process for the US government and attracted predominantly non-white individuals of lower socioeconomic status, with a number of migrants being denied refugee status by the US government, as well as excluded from the already formed and well-developed Cuban community

of the previous waves (Otheguy, García, & Roca, 2000; Pérez, 2001; Torres, 1995). The fourth wave of migration, also known as the rafter crisis, took place in August 1994, as a result of which approximately 37,000 Cubans (known as *balseiros*) were rescued by the U.S. coast guards. This crisis led to the US – Cuba immigration policy, often called as ‘wet feet, dry feet’ (Henken, 2005; Pérez, 2001).

Stemming from the nature of the first two waves of immigration, a number of unique characteristics emerged that have shaped the US Cuban community. Firstly, Cuban population underwent a process of successful economic adjustment. Due to such characteristics as class, education, age, and consequently the presence of certain skills, aspirations, and experiences, the arrivals were able to undergo rapid process of economic integration and professional achievement relative to other immigrant groups (a process also known as “Golden Exile” (Pérez, 2001)). Moreover, a strong ethnic enclave was created in Miami environment, the situation that supported and reinforced the developed economic situation as well as promoted ethnic identity, culture, and language maintenance. Finally, as the arrivals, predominantly of the first waves of immigration, considered their US residence as temporary, special attention was given to the preservation of culture and Spanish language in order for the successive generation to be able to communicate in the native language and easily integrate in the Cuban society on their return (Lipski, 2008). These factors, relevant from the initial stage of the Cuban settlement in the US, contributed to the specific course of development of the Cuban community in the US (Miami-Dade County), with visible positive effects on the current position of the community.

2.3.2 Present Situation

The historical factors resulted in the current situation where the Cuban population in the US represents the third largest Hispanic group, following only Mexican and Puerto Rican communities,

and compose 54% of the population of Miami (Cuza, 2017; Carter & Lynch, 2015). The size and position of the Cuban community gradually transformed Miami into an important point of connection between Latin America and the US. For example, Miami serves as the headquarters of Latin American operation of major multinational companies, including Microsoft, Sony, Disney, Kraft Foods, and America Airlines, among many others. Moreover, a number of media sources (several TV-channels, radio-stations, magazines, and newspapers) operate in Spanish (Lynch, 2000).

Despite the evidence for Miami being a “Capital of Latin America” or “Gateway to Americas,” which is perceived as providing upward mobility to the Cuban population (Alberts, 2006), Miami cannot be discussed as a single uniform unit with similar conditions and living standards for the Cuban community. According to research by Alberts (2006), conducted in three areas of Miami (Little Havana, Coral Gables and Hialeah), the following differences can be noticed. Little Havana has served as a cultural nucleus of the Cuban community and a point of reception of Cuban newcomers. While this area was historically poor, it was developed by Cubans, currently the majority of businesses are run by Cubans and the majority of employees are of Cuban origin. Thus Little Havana can be characterized as an ethnic enclave economy. Hialeah is a working-class area with a large number of factories, construction firms, and other companies that require manual labor. As such, Hialeah provides jobs for recent immigrants who are predominantly Spanish language dominant with low English proficiency, and are willing to do more manual labor. The area also contains inexpensive housing, low-paid jobs, and an absence of immigrant aid agencies. Thus, the Cuban community in that area shows a somewhat lower living standard and socioeconomic status. Coral Gables, on the other hand, represents a distinct case. It can be described as a high level residential area where around 30% of the population is of Cuban origin, a part of

whom moved there once they regained their higher socioeconomic status. When the headquarters of a large number of multinational companies transferred to Coral Gables, it attracted established, highly skilled, bilingual Cubans, shaping an overall relatively high socioeconomic profile of the Cuban population in the area (Alberts, 2006).

Although these areas remain major residence locations for Cubans and Cuban-Americans in Miami-Dade County, the population is gradually spreading to neighboring areas and relocating, with one of the contributing factors being recent changes in the demographics profile of the county, including a significant influx of migrants from Venezuela, Argentina, and Colombia (Miami-Dade County Department of Planning and Zoning, 2011; United States Census Bureau, 2017).⁴ For example, while Little Havana is gradually transforming into a multiethnic area, hosting migrants from various Latin American countries (Vasilogambros, 2016), Hialeah still represents the area densely populated by Cubans. Moreover, areas such as Westchester, West Miami, Sweetwater, and Miami Lakes, have more recently become locations with a high percentage of Cuban-origin population (Cuban Research Institute, 2013; ePodunk, 2000). Miami hosts very distinct Cuban

⁴ These changes with respect to the migration patterns of Venezuelan populations have occurred since the last census, and have not yet been reflected in the new census.

groups, the characteristics of which can influence the level of transnational involvement, sense of belonging, sense of “home,” as well as attitudes towards Spanish language.

Overall, the characteristics of the community (namely large size of the Cuban community, its characteristics and strong nature, high integrative and instrumental value of the Spanish language, constant communication with compatriots, and proximity to Cuba) play an important role in the lives of Cuban (trans)migrants. These factors affect both the first generation of migrants, as well as successive generations of Cuban-Americans, most importantly with respect to heritage language maintenance or shift, ethnic identity formation and development⁵, and attitudes towards the country of origin and the host country. Along with the sense of in-group solidarity, according to Alfaraz (2002), the Spanish language can be seen as a marker of Cubans’ ethnic distinctiveness, predominantly from other Caribbean ethnicities and language varieties. Undoubtedly, perceptions of language and ethnic identity play an important role in general processes of self-identification, sense of being and belonging, and overall attitudes towards home and host countries.

2.3.3 Cubans in Miami and Transnational Practices

Based on the previous research on Cuban migration, the major factors influencing their transnational practices are the historical background of US-Cuban relations, and the past and current political situation between the two countries. The political factor played a role in the nature of transnationalism of the first vs second waves’ of immigration with respect to attitudes towards home country and refusal vs reestablishment of transnational ties (Eckstein & Barberia, 2002). This factor also influences the second generation in terms of the existing gap in behavioral transnationalism,

⁵ For example, according to the study on identity of Fernández-Kelly & Konczal (2007), middle-class second-generation Cubans express strong sense of national pride, self-identify not as Cuban-American but rather as fully Cubans and fully Americans, acknowledge and value their Cuban ancestry even in the situation of not being able to visit the country of origin. On the other hand, working-class Cubans reinforce their ‘Cubanness’ as an indicator of the reactive identity.

especially in the limited nature of physical visits to Cuba (Haller & Landolt, 2005). For example, only in 2014 the Obama Administration significantly eased restrictions of travels and remittances. In 2016 the embargo regulations were amended to ease the restrictions. Under the Trump Administration in 2017 there has been a partial rollback in the US–Cuba policies, and following restrictions were reinforced for the US citizens: elimination of people-to-people travel with the exception of 12 permissible categories (including official government visits, journalistic, educational, religious, and humanitarian activities, and family visits) as well as issuance of a travel warning (due to potential risk of being injured). Remittances to close relatives are allowed, however transactions with entities/companies controlled by the government and military are restricted (Congressional Research Service, 2018). Therefore, judging by the previous research and existing policy of restrictions on travelling and other types of actual contact with Cuba, the predominant form of transnationalism existing among the Cuban community in the US is symbolic (as opposed to the combination of both types among other Hispanic communities in the US). The symbolic transnationalism of the Cuban community in the US not only represents a personal sense of belonging, nostalgia, and definition of “home,” but is projected into the form of the strong ethnic enclave which serves as a “home” outside of “home.” This type of symbolic transnational involvement allows for the re-creation of Cuba in the foreign environment in the form of communication with compatriots, rituals, and access to media (Boswell, 1994; Duany, 201; López Morales, 2003; Lynch, 2003), which positively influences symbolic transnational maintenance.

2.3.4 Cubans in Miami, Generation and Language Use

The situation that has developed historically with respect to the position of the Cuban community in Miami has affected the second generation in terms of behavioral transnational activity as well as determined its distinct case of (heritage) language use. Despite the generally

accepted trend of a gradual, natural shift towards the dominant English language among second and successive generations (Carter & Lynch, 2015; Pérez, 2001; Portes & Schauffler, 1994), second generation Miami Cubans might undergo a distinct process with a slower shift towards the dominant English language and might result in the development of English–Spanish bilingualism rather than English monolingualism (Portes & Hao, 2002). This trajectory has developed due to co-operation of the following factors: strong ethnic enclave, constant influx of Spanish-speaking monolinguals, high integrative and instrumental value of Spanish, importance of bilingualism recognized by both Cubans and Anglo-monolinguals, as well as overall high economic and cultural importance of the Spanish language in Miami context (Alba, Logan, Lutz, & Stults, 2002; Carter & Lynch, 2015; García & Otheguy, 1985; López Morales, 2003; Lynch, 2000; Lynch, 2003; Roca, 2005).

Factors such as generation and language contact, among other extralinguistic factors, influence the language of Cubans in Miami, resulting in a divergence between Cuban Spanish and Miami-Cuban Spanish. This differentiation can be seen across various linguistic levels (i.e., phonetics, morphology, lexis, and syntax). In addition to the key factor of contact with English, self-identification, in-group solidarity, and a sense of belonging play an important role in the unique development of Miami-Cuban Spanish (Alfaraz, 2002; Alvord, 2010; Lynch, 2009).

Broadly, the Spanish of Cubans in Miami possesses certain features of Spanish in Cuba, such as segment deletion (*/ma/* - *más*), segment-internal changes (*/sekka/* - *cerca*), epenthesis (*/fuistes/* - *fuiste*), metathesis (*/delen/* - *denle*), strong */j/* acting as an affricate */dʒ/* phrase-initially, lenition of */x/* to */h/* or its deletion (e.g., */trabaho/* - *trabajo*, */hente/* - *gente*), velarization of word-, phrase-final */n/* to */ŋ/* (*/pan/* or */pã/* - *pan*), neutralization of word-, phrase-final */l/* and */r/* (*/pol favol/* - *por favor*), and deletion of intervocalic */d/* (*/pehkao/* - *pescado*) (Carlson, 2017; Carter & Lynch, 2015; Cuza, 2017; García & Otheguy, 1988; Lipski, 2008; Otheguy, García, & Roca, 2000). On the

other hand, a number of differences in the language of Miami Cubans, more specifically among the second generation, can be observed. On the phonetic level, the use of [v] as a variant of /b/ (predominantly in the words spelled with ‘v’, e.g., *vamos*) and a palatal articulation of /r/ and /rr/ (characteristic for English language) have been found (Otheguy, García, & Roca, 2000; Varela, 1992). Differences in morphosyntax can be seen in the use of indicative instead of subjunctive (*espero que vendrá hoy*) and different use of prepositions (*hay que buscar por las llaves*) (Antonyuk, 2014; Carter & Lynch, 2015; Otheguy, García, & Roca, 2000). On the lexical level such traits as loanwords, code-switching, and calques have been found (e.g., *tengo la oportunidad de hacer overtime [oβetain]*; *principal* (instead of director); *mayor* (instead of alcalde)) (Antonyuk, 2014; Lynch, 2017; Otheguy, García, & Roca, 2000). It also should be noted that a number of scholars have attributed language change to the issues of self-identification, in-group solidarity, and sense of belonging. For example, Lynch (2009) in his analysis of final /s/ in Miami Cuban Spanish, despite the accepted idea of an ongoing change towards sibilant weakening, observed higher rates of sibilant retention among the second generation. This finding was connected with the attempt of the second generation to differentiate themselves from such “low variety” characteristic as /s/-deletion. Alvord (2010) in his study on falling vs rising intonation in absolute interrogatives (yes/no questions) found that second generation favors rising pattern (characteristic for English language) while third generation chooses falling pattern (typical for Cuban variety). Again, the author connects his findings to the sense of belonging where third generation recognize the prestige of the Cuban variety of Spanish in Miami context and employ linguistic traits to demonstrate a sense of belonging to the Cuban community while differentiating themselves from other Hispanic groups.

Although Cuban Spanish in Miami retains typical Cuban Spanish variety features, it has undergone a process of change due to contact with the dominant English language and generational

shift, a process indicative of an overall language shift towards the majority language. However, the high instrumental value of Spanish in Miami context, as well as the role of Spanish in the sense of belonging and in-group identification (along with out-group differentiation) may serve to promote language maintenance among the successive generations of Cubans in Miami.

Therefore, it is possible that the second and successive generations of the Cuban community will undergo a process of linguistic and cultural assimilation (due to the natural character of the process), resulting in long-term Spanish–English bilingualism, rather than English monolingualism (due to the benefits associated with the Spanish language in Miami). Also, the influence of the family domain, which proved to be particularly important in the heritage language aspect, will play a significant role in slowing down the process of language shift. Since the concept of language is closely connected to the concept of identity construction, identity might undergo the same process, resulting in hyphenated (e.g., Cuban–American) identity. As was demonstrated by Trieu, Vargas, and Gonzales (2015), heritage language proficiency is directly correlated with the degree of transnational involvement, where higher proficiency results in a higher degree of transnationalism (e.g., facilitates homeland visits, strengthen connections with the family). Therefore, if the process of language shift results in bilingualism, which signifies proficiency in both English and Spanish languages, the level of transnational involvement may remain high among the Cubans in Miami.

As seen in the review of the literature on Cuban migration, the Cuban community in the US, and specifically in Miami-Dade County, represents a distinctive case of the minority group in the non-dominant environment. The key distinctions lie in the areas of current position of the community, transnational practices, identity construction, maintenance, and shift, language use and maintenance or attrition, all of which are predominantly rooted in the historical background of the US-Cuba relations. Such distinctions affect both first and second generation immigrants, who

receive influence of both the heritage culture and language through the family domain channel, as well as host dominant culture and language on the societal level.

2.4 Linguistic Representation of Transnational Practice

When conducting research on symbolic transnationalism, a sense of belonging, and a connection with the heritage language and culture, relevant data can be obtained by both analyzing the content of the interview as well as the linguistic means used by speakers to address target questions. Among the linguistic features that may reveal how symbolic transnational involvement is reflected in the discourse are: (1) *deixis* which expresses both literal and metaphoric distance between the speaker and place/time/idea, and can also be used as a marker of identity, means to state and emphasize one's social and ethnolinguistic identity, as well as indicate divergence from or affiliation with a certain group (Papapavlou & Sophocleous, 2009); and (2) *stance*, which represents a personal point of view, affect, and emotions, which can be seen through the use of specific adjectives, adverbs, emphatics, hedges, and mental verbs (Precht, 2008);

Therefore, taking into consideration deixis and stance markers, analysis will demonstrate if and how symbolic transnationalism is expressed and reflected in the discourse of individuals, which may provide additional evidence for the symbolic transnationalism and language use interconnection.

2.4.1 Deixis

Deixis includes all types of verbal and nonverbal choices that vary metaphorical distances between speakers and topics, topics and partners, and/or speakers and partners in discourse space or time (Caffi & Janney, 1994; Levinson, 1983; Levinson, 2004), where proximity is considered to be a subjectively experienced spatiotemporal dimension of linguistic emotive experience (Caffi &

Janney, 1994, p. 356). Analysis of deixis, according to Prasch (2016), “provide[s] tangible evidence for the historical events, social relationships, symbolic places, shared communities and dimensions of temporality that rhetor invokes through speech” (p. 169) through language use.

In the fields of pragmatics and rhetoric (e.g., Levinson; 2004; Prasch, 2016) several types of deixis have been distinguished: (1) spatial (*here/there, aquí/ahí/allí, este/ese/aquel*), (2) temporal (*now, yesterday, long time ago*), (3) personal (*I/we/they*), (4) social (honorifics), and (5) discourse (in written text), all of which represent both literal distances, as well as symbolic ideas and constructs of people’s attitudes and perceptions that help to navigate personal experiences;. All markers of deictic relations can be addressed in the scheme of *speaker “ground zero” (the moment at which utterance is issued)–object/addressee* (Bühler, 1934, as cited by Caffi & Janney, 1994; Levinson; 2004; Prasch, 2016). It should be pointed out that although deictic categories represent universal concepts , these ideas are still socially constructed, developed through a shared cultural knowledge, and thus their representation in grammar and lexicon vary cross-linguistically (Hanks, 2009) and should be analyzed taking into consideration the system of the studied language as well as cultural background and norms.

In the system of the Spanish language proximity or distance can be represented by the following markers: (1) personal deixis: personal pronouns (*nosotros–ustedes, ellos*), verb inflections (e.g., *1pl–3pl*), possessive adjectives (*mi(s), nuestro(s)–su(s)*); (2) spatial deixis: demonstrative adverbs (*aquí–ahí–allí*), demonstrative adjectives (*este–ese–aquel*), demonstrative pronouns (*este–ese–aquel*); (3) temporal deixis: demonstrative adjectives (*este–ese–aquel*), adverbs (e.g., *ahora–antes*), verbal tense (*Presente de Indicativo, Presente Progresivo–Pretérito, Pretérito Imperfecto*) (Blas Arroyo, 2000; Stradioto, 2018; Zulaica-Hernández, 2012). In addition, these the

types of deixis can be represented by lexical items or their combinations with the semantic meaning of proximity or distance.

In the current study, the focus will be placed on personal, temporal, and spatial deixis as, according to Manning (2001), “spatial opposition is deduced from the identity of the giver and the receiver, it is at once a social opposition, implying a membership grouping into which the speaker is or is not to be categorized”(p. 71). Therefore, in the present study, spatial deixis will provide evidence of the sense of belonging to the ‘place’ and sense of “home” of a person, identifying the ‘anchoring’ of an individual; personal deixis will demonstrate sense of belonging and self-identification with a community; and temporal deixis will provide perspective of the participants (past/present/future) with respect to their country of origin and residence.

2.4.2 Stancetaking

Another linguistic marker relevant for the discussion of the degree of transnational involvement is stance. The concept of stance has been widely addressed in psychology, linguistics, and discourse analysis to investigate speakers’ positionality towards a certain phenomenon. Depending on the focus of the research, scholars have provided multiple definitions and categorizations of stance. For example, stance can be referred to as the lexical and grammatical expression of attitudes, feelings, judgments, or commitment concerning the propositional content of a message (Biber & Finegan, 1988; Biber, 2004) and includes orientation (sender, text/idea, recipient), attitude, and generality (reference and quantification) (Berman, Ragnarsdóttir, & Strömqvist, 2002; Berman, 2004). According to these authors, the attitude component can be further subdivided into: (1) epistemic: the relation between a cognizing speaker and the possibility, certainty, or evidence for the individual’s belief about the truth of a given state of affairs; (2) deontic: a judgmental, prescriptive, or evaluative viewpoint in relation to the topic, and (3) affective: the

relation between a cognizing speaker and their emotions with respect to a given state of affairs. The linguistic means to express affective stance include adverbs (e.g., amazingly, importantly, surprisingly, happily, conveniently, luckily, alarmingly, disturbingly, sadly); stance complement clauses controlled by verbs (e.g., expect, hope, worry, enjoy, please, dread, embarrass, fear, feel, hope, wish, worry, hate, love); stance complement clauses controlled by adjectives (e.g., amazed/amazing, shocked, surprised, annoyed, nervous, fortunate, unnatural, afraid, disappointed, glad, happy, worried, relieved); and stance complement clauses controlled by nouns (e.g., hope, view, thought, view, grounds) (Biber & Finegan, 1988; Biber, 2004; Kockelman, 2004; Precht, 2003).

Another approach to stancetaking was proposed by Martin and White (2005) in the form of Appraisal theory. This framework focuses on resources that speakers or texts use to “negotiate emotions, judgements, and valuations, alongside resources for amplifying and engaging with these evaluations” (Martin, 2000, p. 145) and to position themselves individually and socially with respect to a certain phenomenon. In the frames of this theory, three subsystems can be distinguished: Attitude, Engagement, and Graduation. Attitude represents “meanings by which texts or speakers attach an intersubjective value or assessment to participants and processes by reference either to emotional responses or to systems of culturally-determined value systems” (Martin & White, 2005). Attitude can be further subdivided into: (1) Affect: “resource for construing emotions” (Martin, 2000, p. 149) (e.g., *happy/sad, to love. to adore*); (2) Judgement: “institutionalization of feeling in the context of proposals (norms about how people should and shouldn’t behave)” (Martin, 2000, p. 155) or evaluation of behavior according to social norms (e.g., *powerful, moral, dishonest, average*), and Appreciation: “institutionalization of feeling in the context of propositions (norms about how products, performances, and naturally occurring phenomena are valued” (Martin, 2000, p. 159) (e.g.,

fascinating, lovely, elegant, boring, original). Engagement represents the way “speakers/writers indicate greater or lesser degrees of personal investment in the proposition and mark it as more or as less contentious, agreed-upon, or otherwise dialogistically problematic” (White, 2015, p. 5) (e.g., *perhaps, I think, surely, of course*). Graduation includes “meanings by which propositions are strengthened or mitigated” (White, 2015, p. 4) (e.g. *slightly, very, absolutely*).

Although certain means of stancetaking include cross-linguistically and cross-culturally comparable markers, according to a number of scholars (e.g., Jisa & Tolchinsky, 2009; Ochs, 1990; Precht, 2003; Reilly, Zamora, & McGivern, 2004; Rosado, Salas, Aparici, & Tolchinsky, 2014), the expression of stance represents a ‘socially recognized’ concept that is shaped by the norms of a specific culture and language, and differ cross-culturally and cross-linguistically. Therefore, special attention should be given to stancetaking markers specific to the Spanish language and accepted in Spanish-speaking culture. For example, lexical items with a semantic meaning of affect and evaluation will be taken into consideration: nouns (e.g., *esperanza, miedo*), adjectives (e.g., *alegre, animado, confundido, contento, feliz, orgulloso, importante, inútil*), verbs (e.g., *apreciar, desear, gustar, criticar, interesar, molestar, importar*), adverbials (e.g., *felizmente, afortunadamente, curiosamente, desafortunadamente, tristemente, increíblemente*) (Gates Tapia & Biber, 2014). All these components of stancetaking present in the discourse of individuals reflect specific attitudes and emotions towards ideas and situations which constitute a significant component of the sense of belonging. Thus, analysis of stance markers will provide additional evidence in distinguishing level of symbolic transnational involvement, its connection with language and its representation in the individual language use.

Taking into consideration principal characteristics of deixis and stance markers, such as expressing evaluation, judgment, emotions, and attachment or detachment, as well as representing

spatial, temporal, and personal distance, the analysis of these particular linguistic concepts will more precisely describe symbolic transnationalism. Therefore, the analysis of deixis and stance markers in the discourse of individuals will provide evidence of how transnational ties may be represented through linguistic structures, and thus provide new tools for understanding how minority communities express their transnational connections.

2.5 Research Aims

In light of general lack of research separating the two types of transnationalism, particularly among 1.5 and 2nd generation, as well as general lack of research highlighting the link between symbolic transnationalism and heritage language use, the present study aims at analyzing: (1) the level of symbolic transnationalism among 1.5 and 2nd generation of Cubans in Miami-Dade County; (2) the characteristics of language use among 1.5 and 2nd generation Cubans; (3) the interrelation between the degree of symbolic transnationalism and heritage Spanish language use; (4) the external factors influential for symbolic transnational maintenance and development; and (5) reflection of symbolic transnational practices in the language use of 1.5 and 2nd generation of Miami Cubans, relying on deixis and stance. Potential differentiation between the two groups will also be considered in the analysis due to differences in the characteristics of the two generations.

The Cuban community in Miami-Dade County, Florida, represents a relevant case for this project for several reasons. While this community follows a trajectory comparable to that of other Hispanic groups in the US with respect to migration and transnationalism, it represents a distinct case with respect to transnationalism, namely through a lack of behavioral transnationalism due to the historical background and current political relations. However, strong ethnic community in Miami has led to the “re-creation of Cuba” in the foreign environment, which helps in maintaining Cuban lifestyle among migrants. Therefore, lack of behavioral transnationalism along with highly

prominent presence of Cuba in Miami effectively disentangles symbolic transnationalism from behavioral transnationalism. Moreover, high instrumentality of the Spanish language has led to the development of positive attitudes towards Spanish and a unique heritage language situation among 1.5 and 2nd generation, favorable to heritage language maintenance. Therefore, this community represents a relevant case to examine the correlation between specifically symbolic transnationalism and heritage language use among 1.5 and 2nd generation, and the ways this particular type of transnationalism is reflected in their discourse.

The following research questions and corresponding hypotheses for this study can be outlined:

(1a) To what degree is symbolic transnationalism present among 1.5 and 2nd generation Cubans in Miami?

Taking into consideration the nature, strength, and organization of the Cuban community in Miami area, which allows for re-creation of Cuba in the foreign environment in the form of communication with compatriots, rituals, access to media, in-group solidarity (Alberts, 2006; Duany, 2011; Lynch, 2000), it is hypothesized that 1.5 and 2nd generation Miami Cubans maintain sense of belonging and indicate high level of symbolic transnationalism involvement. To determine the level of symbolic transnationalism and potential differentiation between the two groups, this study takes a mixed methods approach, combining survey data on symbolic transnationalism with qualitative sociolinguistic interviews. The survey instrument assesses three main components of symbolic transnationalism: (a) family history of transnational practices; (b) ways of doing, and (c) ways of belonging (which includes sense of “home”).

(1b) What are the characteristics of language use among 1.5 and 2nd generation Cubans in Miami?

Considering previous research on heritage language proficiency and use, where the tendency of a gradual natural shift towards dominant language use is observed (e.g., Porcel, 2006; Portes & Schauffler, 1994; Spence, Rojas, & Straubhaar, 2011), as well as the favorable characteristics in Miami for heritage language maintenance (e.g., López Morales, 2003; Portes & Hao, 2002; Roca, 2005), it is hypothesized that 1.5 and 2nd generation Cubans demonstrate a certain degree of language shift but still show an extensive use of both Spanish and English languages. To address this question, the written questionnaire data will be examined. For the purpose of the current study, the language use survey instrument includes the following four components: (a) language history, (b) language proficiency, (c) language choice, and (d) value of language.

(2) Is there a correlation between symbolic transnationalism and language use among 1.5 and 2nd generation Cubans in Miami?

Previous research has indicated an interconnection between behavioral transnationalism and heritage language maintenance or shift among the successive generations of migrants, where higher proficiency in heritage language is correlated with higher involvement in behavioral transnational practices (King, 2013; Menjívar, 2002; Trieu, Vargas, & Gonzales, 2015). Thus, it is hypothesized that there is also a correlation between symbolic transnationalism, being a subtype of the general concept of transnationalism, and heritage language use. To address this research question, responses from two quantitative surveys are compared. The first survey specifically examines symbolic transnationalism, including family history of transnational practices and ways of doing and belonging. The second survey examines heritage language use, including language history, language proficiency, language choice, and language value.

(3) What external factors influence the process of symbolic transnational involvement among 1.5 and 2nd generation Cubans in Miami, as represented in their discourse?

To investigate this question, a qualitative approach is applied. Target data will be obtained through semi-structured interviews that include questions about personal life of participants as well as more general questions about Cuban/Cuban-American community and Miami context. The analysis will include broad thematic categorization followed by a detailed analysis of recurring themes in order to identify the most salient external factors that influence participants' symbolic transnational involvement. Based on the previous studies on the family and societal influence on language maintenance and identity construction among successive generations of migrants (Guardado, 2011; Lambert & Taylor, 1996; Portes & Hao, 2002), it is hypothesized that participants from both 1.5 and 2nd generation groups perceive family domain and Miami environment as factors influential for maintaining emotional connections with Cuba.

(4) How is symbolic transnational involvement expressed through linguistic structures (i.e., deixis and stance) in the discourse of 1.5 and 2nd generation Miami Cubans?

Since the principal characteristics of deixis and stance markers include expression of spatial, temporal and personal distance as well as evaluation, judgment, attachment or detachment, emotions and attitudes towards specific ideas (including literal and metaphorical locations and times, ideas and situations), they represent unique tools for the examination of symbolic transnationalism. The linguistic discourse analysis of these particular linguistic concepts will provide additional evidence for the level of symbolic transnational involvement among 1.5 and 2nd generation of Miami Cubans, as well as demonstrate how symbolic transnationalism is reflected in the discourse of the individuals. Therefore, the aim of the analysis does not center on the structure and use of deixis and stance per se, but how participants express symbolic transnationalism through

these structures. With respect to this research question, it is hypothesized that participants use these linguistic structures to express sense of belonging and level of emotional connection with Cuba and Cuban/ Cuban-American community, identify personal, spatial, temporal, and metaphorical distance to Cuba and community, as well as define and describe “home.” To examine deixis and stance markers, a discourse analysis will be applied. Target data, obtained through semi-structured interviews and the subsequent qualitative thematic analysis will be examined to identify the use of deixis and stance markers with relation to symbolic transnationalism.

Taking into consideration the aims of the study, the contributions of this project are threefold. First, while research on transnationalism has traditionally recognized the subcomponents of behavioral and symbolic transnationalism, this study represents the first to systematically isolate the concept of symbolic transnationalism via a quantitative approach. This work will significantly shape the discussion of transnationalism moving forward. Second, while many authors have noted the potential role of language in transnational practices, this study represents the first to consider the interconnection of symbolic transnationalism and language use, providing a solid theoretical base for future work bridging the disciplines of linguistics and transnationalism. Finally, this is the first work to employ a structural linguistic approach to demonstrate how transnational ties may be represented through linguistic structures in the discourse of participants, and thus provides new (linguistic) tools for understanding how minority communities express their transnational connections.

CHAPTER 3. METHODOLOGY

This chapter details the design of the research conducted and includes the following sections: participant population (3.1); quantitative materials, procedures, and analysis (3.2); and qualitative materials, procedures, and analysis (3.3).

3.1 Participants

The present study was conducted with 75 individuals⁶ of the Cuban population in Miami who broadly can be described as young adults (age: 18–35) of Cuban origin who were born in the US or arrived before or at the age of 12, with both parents born in Cuba. The participants recruited for the study represent two major groups: 1.5 and 2nd generation of migrants. Such distinction was established purposefully in order to trace the in-group relation between language and symbolic transnationalism, and more importantly, the strength of this correlation across generations.

The individuals included in the group can be described according to the following factors: age, gender, ethnic self-identification, age of arrival, marital status, educational level, occupation, as well as language chosen for survey and interview. According to the aims of the study, the principal overarching factor for participants' selection was generation of immigration. More specifically, the individuals representing 1.5 generation and “the new second generation” of the Cuban population in Miami were selected for this study. The “classic” 1.5 generation can be defined as individuals who were born in the foreign environment and arrived to the host society between the ages of 6 and 12 years old, “pre-adolescent, primary-school-age children who have learned (or

⁶ According to the studies conducted in the fields of sociolinguistics and transnationalism, the number of participants recruited for the current project ($n = 75$) represents a sufficient sample for both survey completion (Espiritu & Tran, 2002; Oh & Au, 2005; Rivera-Mills, 2000) and in-person interviews (Alfaraz, 2010; Fernández-Kelly & Konzal, 2007; Menjívar, 2002; Vickerman, 2002).

begun to learn) to read and write in the mother tongue at schools abroad, but whose education is largely completed here [in the country of destination]” (Rumbaut, 2004, p. 1167). Therefore, in this study, the 1.5 generation group was comprised of individuals who were born in Cuba, whose parents were both born in Cuba, and came to the US between 6 and 12 years old. Second generation can be defined as native-born children of foreign-born parents (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001), the first generation that is born in the host society whose parents were born in the country of origin. Furthermore, the “new second generation” as defined by Portes and Zhou (1993), are children of post-1960s migrants. In this study 2nd generation group was composed of individuals who were born in the US of both parents born in Cuba.

These two populations were selected for several reasons. Due to characteristics of 1.5 generation, analysis of this population provides insights about their language use and symbolic transnationalism trends, as well as contributes to investigating dynamics and progression in the strength of language and transnationalism interconnection across generations. Considering the second generation, this population does not follow a direct path of assimilation into dominant culture, but rather presents a variety of outcomes in the integration process, such as integration into middle class, assimilation into underclass and “rapid economic advancement with deliberate preservation of the immigrant community's values and tight solidarity” (p.82). The variety in outcomes may be closely related to aspects of transnational involvement and one’s connection with both the dominant and heritage culture and language. Also, the second generation generally represents a group that has already obtained a certain level of incorporation into the dominant society, with respect to culture and language (Carter & Lynch, 2015; Pérez, 2001; Portes & Schauffler, 1994), therefore it is relevant to observe the level of symbolic transnationalism and its interconnection with the heritage language use at this stage of the incorporation process. Finally,

according to Portes (1996), “the second generation is the key to establishing the long-term consequences of immigration” (p.3). Therefore, research conducted with this particular population will lead to a deeper understanding of the processes under analysis and serve as a basis for analyzing future trends in successive generations of migrants.

Several other inclusionary criteria were used in participant selection, including: place of birth (Cuba or the US), parents’ or caregivers’ place of birth (Cuba), age (18–35), and age of arrival (< 12 years). Considering place of birth, the first group was composed of individuals that were born in Cuba and arrived to the United States together with their immediate family at a young age (6–12 years old), and therefore represent 1.5 generation. The other group was comprised of individuals of the first generation to be born in the US in the families that arrived from Cuba, and thus represent the 2nd generation. Considering the birthplace of participants’ parents or caregivers, both primary caregivers must have been born in Cuba, as mixed family composition could potentially influence the degree of transnationalism. With respect to age, young adults (18–35 years old) were recruited for participation. According to several scholars (Bailey, 2007; Erickson, 1993; Phinney, 1990), by university age, the identity confusion of young adults is coming to an end and they proceed to a more stable stage where attitudes and identity become formed, and are less susceptible to general external factors’ (e.g., society, peers relations). Also, young adults respond to and reflect changes in the society, and also initiate them in all the spheres, including language (Coulmas, 2005). As such, observation of this particular age group will lead to better understanding of both current processes and future trends concerning transnationalism and language. Finally, all participants were residents of the Miami area, and more specifically, Miami-Dade County. Participants from a variety of municipalities were included to account for diverse socioeconomic statuses (indirectly related to the area of residence), an aspect that might be influential with respect to the level of transnational

involvement and emotions towards both dominant and heritage culture and language. Several areas of Miami-Dade County with distinct demographic compositions were included (i.e., Coral Gables, Hialeah, Kendall, Little Havana, Miami Beach, North Miami, and Westchester).

3.1.1 1.5 Generation Group

All participants completed a background questionnaire which included basic demographic information. Namely, the following aspects were self-reported: age, gender, place of birth, ethnic self-identification, highest level of formal education, occupation, place of birth of parents or caregivers, marital status, and presence of children.

The 1.5 generation group ($n = 27$, female = 17, male = 10) consisted of the young adults who were born in Cuba and arrived to the United States between the ages of 6 and 12. The mean age of the participants was 21.2 years ($SD = 4.2$), with a mean age of arrival of 9.6 years ($SD = 2.1$). With respect to their place of birth, the majority of this group came from Havana, but provinces such as Pinar del Río, Holguín, Villa Clara, Ciego de Ávila, Matanzas, and Santiago de Cuba were also represented in the participants' population. The maximum educational level of the respondents obtained at the period of the study predominantly represents "some college" (77.1%, $n = 21$), followed by "BA, BS" (11.1%, $n = 4$), "less than high school" (7.4%, $n = 1$), and "PhD/MD/JD" (3.7%, $n = 1$). The question about ethnic self-identification was open-ended, to restrict participants to specific categories, therefore, broad variation was expected. A high percentage of participants (48.1%, $n = 13$) self-identified as Hispanic, followed by Cuban (11.1%, $n = 3$), LatinX⁷ (7.4%, $n = 2$), Cuban-American (3.7%, $n = 1$), White (3.7%, $n = 1$), and Spaniard (3.7%, $n = 1$). A number of participants (14.8%, $n = 4$) provided two characteristics, i.e., Latin/Hispanic, Hispanic/Latin,

⁷ LatinX, as defined by Merriam-Webster Dictionary, refers to "of, relating to, or marked by Latin American heritage, used as a gender-neutral alternative for *Latino* or *Latina*."

Hispanic/White. With respect to current occupation, the majority of participants reported being students (74.1%, $n = 20$); other responses included: IT sphere (system analyst), office work (clerical staff, clerical aid), service sector (waiting staff), engineering (airplane mechanic), and freelance (artist). All the participants chose Spanish as the language for both written questionnaires and interviews.

3.1.2 Second Generation Group

Second generation group ($n = 48$, female = 28, male = 20) consisted of young adults of the Cuban origin who were born in the United States in the families that arrived from Cuba ($n = 34$).⁸ The mean age of the participants was 23.6 years ($SD = 5.3$). Taking into consideration the current maximum educational level of the respondents, 64.6% of the participants ($n = 31$) indicated “some college,” “BA, BS” (20.8%, $n = 10$), “some graduate school” (6.3%, $n = 3$), “MA, MS” (8.3%, $n = 4$). The majority of respondents self-identified as Hispanic (43.8%, $n = 21$), followed by Cuban (12.5%, $n = 6$), Cuban-American (12.5%, $n = 6$), White (12.5%, $n = 6$), and LatinX (4.2%, $n = 2$). A number of participants (12.5%, $n = 6$) specified their self-identification, placing second characteristic in parenthesis, i.e., Hispanic (Cuban), Hispanic (White), Cuban (Hispanic), Hispanic/Latina, White/Hispanic, and Cuban-American (Afro-Cuban). As for the current occupation, a range of responses was obtained, with the majority reported being students (64.6%, $n = 31$); other responses included: IT sphere (programmer, web developer, TV producer), construction (building department, engineer), office work (administrator, clerk, director’s assistant, personal assistant, receptionist), service sector (barista, hostess, babysitter), and freelance (writer,

⁸ For the purposes of the study individuals who were born in Cuba but arrived by the age of 5 were also considered second generation ($n = 14$) due to the fact that their primary socialization occurred in the host society in comparison with the characteristics of the “classic” 1.5 generation (Rumbaut, 2004).

magician, singer). Relevant specifically for the 2nd generation group, only 54% of participants reported having ever visited Cuba. Finally, the majority of respondents (87.5%, $n = 42$) chose to use Spanish for both survey and interview, while only 3 participants (6.25%) chose English as a language for both survey and interview. Three participants (6.25%) requested surveys in English but conducted interviews in Spanish.

3.2 Quantitative Materials, Procedures, and Analysis

A mixed method approach consisting of both quantitative and qualitative types of data collection is employed for the current study as it provides a well-rounded and in-depth investigation of the links between language use and symbolic transnationalism. The quantitative component includes three written questionnaires: (1) a background information questionnaire, which contains questions regarding the demographics of the participants; (2) a language use questionnaire, which elicits data on language history, language proficiency, language choice, and importance of language use; and (3) symbolic transnationalism questionnaire, which includes immediate social network, ways of doing (social and cultural activity), and ways of belonging.

3.2.1 Background Information

Materials. This questionnaire includes questions on the demographics of the participants (age, gender, place of birth, ethnicity, education, and occupation), family history (place of birth and age of arrival of parents, presence of family in the country of origin), as well as current family situation (marital status, children) (Alarcón, 2010; Birdsong, Gertken, & Amengual, 2012; Montrul, 2012; Porcel, 2006). Four questions in this section are binary (i.e., yes/no), indicating presence or absence of a particular characteristic or experience (visits to Cuba, relatives and friends in Cuba,

presence of a spouse and/or children). The remainder of the questions (10) are open-ended. The list of the questions for background questionnaire can be found in Appendix A.

Scoring procedure. Background information section aims at obtaining demographics of the two target groups. Therefore, descriptive statistics (mean scores and standard deviation) are generated and included in the description of the profile of the participants' population.

3.2.2 Language Use

Materials. This questionnaire focuses on the actual language use of the participants in their everyday life. This questionnaire is comprised of four subcomponents that collectively define a subject's language use, all of which will provide understanding of the relation of the participants with both heritage and dominant in the society languages: (a) language history, (b) language proficiency, (c) language choice, and (d) language value.

Language history questions (6 per language), drawing on the Bilingual Language Profile, (Birdsong, Gertken, & Amengual, 2012), elicit information on the age of acquisition, years of formal education and work, as well as duration of stay in the language environment for both Spanish and English languages. Responses were given on a scale from "since birth" to "20+ years."

The language proficiency section (4 questions per language) (Birdsong, Gertken, & Amengual, 2012) centers on self-rated language proficiency of the participants. This section asks participants to evaluate their skills in reading, writing, speaking, and understanding for both Spanish and English according to a 7-point Likert scale (0 = "not well at all"; 6 = "very well"). Language proficiency is elicited via self-assessment, which has been shown to be a reliable indicator of language ability and correlates highly with actual language performance for both monolinguals and bilinguals (Flege, Yeni-Komshian & Liu, 1999; Jia, Aaronson & Wu, 2002; Marian, Blumenfeld & Kaushanskaya, 2007).

The language choice subcomponent (survey questions adapted from Carreira, 2012; Lamboy, 2004; Montrul, 2012; Li, Sepanski, & Zhao, 2006; Torres, 2012) consists of 17 Likert scale questions and aims at eliciting data on language preferences according to domains of language use. It includes language choice inside the affective domain (parents or caregivers, grandparents, siblings, partners, children, and friends), as well as societal domain (work/school, social occasions, community). This section also includes language preference for media consumption (radio, TV, and printed media), as well as such mental activities as basic arithmetic, counting, and expression of anger and affection. All the questions consist of a 7-point Likert scales (0 = “only English”; 6 = “only Spanish”), eliciting data on both Spanish and English languages.

Finally, the language value section (survey questions adapted from Lamboy, 2004; Montrul, 2012; Qin, 2006) consists of 24 7-point Likert scale questions (0 = “strongly disagree”; 6 = “strongly agree”) and aims at obtaining data on the importance (value) of Spanish or English language in a particular context. The majority of questions mirror the structure of the language choice sections with respect to domain differentiation, however the focus of the questions is shifted from actual language preference to the value attributed to a particular language in a specific context. The list of the questions for the language use survey can be found in Appendix B.

Scoring procedure. This section details the scoring procedure for language use questionnaire, which follows that suggested by the Bilingual Language Profile questionnaire (Birdsong, Gertken, & Amengual, 2012). The survey instrument is comprised of four components (language history, language proficiency, language choice, and language value), each of which is sub-scored individually and then weighted to create a total language use score.

To calculate the sub-score for the language history component, each question ($n = 6$ per language) is worth 20 points, and each item is worth the numerical value in a participant’s response.

Such options as “since birth” and “20+” are worth 20 points, and “N/A” equals “0”. For the first two questions (“At what age did you start learning English/Spanish language?” and “At what age did you start feel comfortable in English/Spanish language?”), “since birth” is worth 0 points, and all values are reversed, such that “since birth” is scored as 20 points and “20+” is scored as 0 points. All values for English are calculated as negative integers and all values for Spanish are calculated as positive integers. As such, a participant whose language history reflects exposure and experience *only* to English would receive a language history score of -120. A participant whose language history reflects exposure and experience *only* to Spanish would receive a language history score of 120.

To calculate the sub-score for language proficiency, each question ($n = 4$ per language) is worth the numerical value of the response. Each question includes a 7-point Likert scale (0 = “not well at all,” 6 = “very well”). All values for English are calculated as negative integers and those for Spanish are calculated as positive integers. Across the four self-rated components of language proficiency, a participant who speaks, comprehends, reads, and writes *only* English would receive a language proficiency sub-score of -24. A participant who demonstrates proficiency *only* in Spanish would receive a language proficiency sub-score of 24. A participant equally proficient in both languages would receive a proficiency sub-score of 0.

To calculate the sub-score for language choice, each 7-point Likert scale response ($n = 17$) is converted to a range of -3 to 3, such that a response of 6 (“only Spanish”) is worth 3 points and 0 (“only English”) is worth -3 points. Responses of 3 (“both English and Spanish”) are scored as 0. Due to the potential absence of certain components included in the analysis (e.g., siblings, grandparents, or children) among the participants, the average (rather than sum) of responses is

calculated in order to receive a sub-score based only on the aspects present for a given participant.⁹ A participant who demonstrates English language preference in their daily life would receive a language choice sub-score of -3, a participant with Spanish language preference would receive a language choice sub-score of 3.

To calculate the score for the final subcomponent, language value, each item ($n = 24$) is worth the numerical value of a given response, where such response as “strongly agree” equals 6 points, “strongly disagree” is worth 0 points, and “neutral” is attributed 3 points. Again, responses to questions on the value of English are given negative values and those regarding the value of Spanish are given positive values. Across 12 (paired) questions for each language, the average for both English and Spanish languages is calculated due to the potential absence of certain components of the analysis. Therefore, a subject who only values English, to the exclusion of Spanish, would receive a language value subcomponent score of -6. A subject who only values Spanish would receive a language value subcomponent of 6. A participant who values both languages equally would receive a subcomponent value score of 0.

The total language use score is computed by calculating and summing each of the component sub-scores (i.e., language history, language proficiency, language choice, and language value). Following the model of the BLP (Birdsong, Gertken, & Amengual, 2012), to ensure that each subcomponent is given equal weight in the total language use score, each sub-score is multiplied by a constant. Table 1 illustrates the maximum possible points for each subcomponent of the language use score and the weighting factor. As such, a subject whose language use component reflects use of only English will receive a total language use score of -100. A subject

⁹ For example, as one of the questions referred to the language spoken with one’s children a participant without children would leave this category blank.

whose language use reflects use of only Spanish will receive a total score of 100. A subject with equal experience, proficiency, choice, and value for both languages will receive a total score of 0.

Table 1 Language Use Scoring Scheme

Subcomponent	Subcomponent Score Range	Weighting Factor	Weighted Score Range
Language History	-120–120	0.2083	-25–25
Language Proficiency	-24–24	1.0416	-25–25
Language Choice	-3–3	8.3333	-25–25
Language Value	-6–6	4.1666	-25–25

3.2.3 Symbolic Transnationalism

Materials. This part of questionnaire is focused on transnational practices of the participants and consists of the three main subcomponents: (a) immediate social network, (b) ways of doing (i.e., social and cultural activity), and (c) sense of belonging.

The section on immediate social network consists of 7 questions, 6 questions took the form of 7-point Likert scales (0 = “never”; 6 = “all the time”) whereas one question (means of communication with Cuba) employed a ‘check all that apply’ format. The section includes the frequency and manner (positive/negative) of conversations about Cuba with parents, frequency of communication with relatives and/or friends in Cuba, and the form or mode of communication. This part aims at eliciting parents’ influence on the attitudes of the participants, as well as possible connections with Cuba by means of interactions with relatives and/or friends there.

The ways of doing (cultural and social activity) section is represented by 14 7-points Likert scale questions (0 = “never,” 6 = “all the time”) and includes participation in ethnic organizations, church, festivals, engagement with Cuban food, literature, cinematography, music, athletes, and presence of symbolic artifacts at home. According to previous research (e.g., Levitt & Waters, 2002; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Vickerman, 2002), these aspects have been shown to be influential in promoting a sense of belonging and maintaining ethnic identity.

The ways of belonging section of the questionnaire consists of 5 7-point Likert scale questions (0 = “not at all”; 6 = “absolutely”) and elicits data on the notion of home, sense of belonging to Cuba (explicitly), and its importance in the lives of the participants.

In order to compose the symbolic transnationalism questionnaire, several sources were used (adapted for the purposes of the study or consulted): the Comparative Immigrant Entrepreneurship Project (CIEP) (1995), the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS) (1995), the Latino National Survey (LNS) (2006), theoretical works and studies (both qualitative and based on databases such as CILS) (e.g., edited volumes of Levitt & Waters, 2002; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Vaquera & Aranda, 2011), as well as dissertations on transnationalism and second generation (Orellana-Damacela, 2012; Smith, 2014). The majority of the questions for both language use and symbolic transnationalism questionnaires are designed in the form of 7-point Likert scales in order to apply quantitative analysis.¹⁰ The list of the questions for the symbolic transnationalism survey can be found in Appendix C.

Scoring procedure. The symbolic transnationalism survey instrument is comprised of three components: (a) immediate social network, (b) ways of doing (social and cultural activity), and (c) ways of belonging.

To calculate the sub-score for immediate social network, each Likert scale response ($n = 6$) is converted to a range of 0 to 6, such that responses of “only Spanish,” “only positive” and “all the time” are worth 6 points and “only English” “only negative” and “never” are worth 0 points. Responses of “both English and Spanish,” “neutral,” and “somewhat often” are scored as 3. Again, as some participants may have left specific questions blank, as they were not relevant to their given

¹⁰ Likert scales were created 7-point for the following advantages of higher granularity of the scale: more inclusive and exhaustive categories, more precise data, higher reliability and validity, more meaningful statistical results, fewer neutral and “uncertain” responses. Although, there exist a number of disadvantages of high granularity (i.e., more difficult to differentiate categories and to make a choice, cognitive ability of respondents may hinder the proper use of the scale, respondents may become impatient, more prone to the distortion effects of cognitive reference points), they are generally applied to the scales of more than 11 options (e.g., Nunnally & Bernstein, 1978; Pearse, 2011)

situation, an average score (rather than sum) is calculated for the 6 social network questions. Thus, respondents who indicate an absence of transnational involvement in the subcomponent of immediate social network will receive a score of 0, and those reporting the highest level of transnational involvement in this category will receive a score of 6. The final question (“What are the means of communication?”) in the section is created for descriptive purposes and not included in the quantitative analysis.

To calculate the score for ways of doing component, each item ($n = 14$) is worth the numerical value of a given response where “never,” “only US/non-Cuban,” and “none” are worth 0 points, and “all the time,” “only Cuban,” and “extreme amount” are worth 6 points. Responses of “somewhat often,” “both US and Cuban,” and “some” are scored as 3. Again, computing an average for the 14 questions in this section, respondents who indicate the highest level of social and cultural activity connected to Cuba will receive a score of 6, whereas respondents who indicate the opposite trend will receive a score of 0. Questions 56a, 61a, 63a, 68a, and 69a are added for descriptive purposes and are not included in the analysis.

To calculate the score for the final subcomponent, ways of belonging, the following scheme is applied. Each item ($n = 5$) is worth the numerical value of a given response, where “not at all” and “never” are given a score of 0 and “absolutely” and “all the time” are worth 6 points. Responses of “neutral” and “somewhat often” are given a score of 3. Worth noting, question 71 (“To what degree do you consider USA home?”) is reverse scored, where “not at all” is scored as 6 and “absolutely” is scored as 0. Again, respondents who demonstrate the highest level of sense of belonging to Cuba will receive 6 points whereas respondents who indicate absence of sense of belonging to Cuba will receive a score of 0.

The total symbolic transnationalism score is computed by calculating and summing each of the component sub-scores (i.e., immediate social network, ways of doing, and ways of belonging). To ensure that each subcomponent is given equal weight in the total symbolic transnationalism score, and to parallel the structure of the language use survey, each sub-score is multiplied by a constant. Table 2 illustrates the maximum possible points for each subcomponent of the symbolic transnationalism score and the weighting factor. As such, a subject who indicates the highest possible level of symbolic transnationalism will receive a total score of 75. A subject who demonstrates an absence of symbolic transnationalism will receive a total score of 0.

Table 2 Symbolic Transnationalism Scoring Scheme

Subcomponent		Subcomponent Score Range	Weighting Factor	Weighted Score Range
Immediate	Social Network	0–6	4.1666	-25–25
Ways of Doing		0–6	4.1666	-25–25
Ways of Belonging		0–6	4.1666	-25–25

3.2.4 Procedure

The survey was prepared in English and translated into Spanish by the author. Both variants were evaluated by two Spanish-English bilinguals to ensure accuracy of translation. The option for choosing the language was provided prior to the beginning of the survey so as not to trigger bias of the participants towards the language of the questionnaire presented to them. For convenience, two options for questionnaire completion were provided: (1) paper-based version administered in-person prior to the interview ($n = 69$), and (2) online version administered via Qualtrics software prior to the interview ($n = 6$).

All the participants were initially presented with the Recruitment Letter or Consent Form (if required by the institution) which stated the goals of the research, procedures, potential risks and benefits, and provided contact information of the investigator for further questions. After giving

their consent to complete the study, participants proceeded to the experiment (written survey followed by a sociolinguistic interview).

Prior to the survey completion, participants were provided with the explanation of the procedure and encouraged to ask clarification questions to ensure their full understanding of the material. Participants who used online version of the survey were introduced to Qualtrics system before the experiment. The time of completion of all three parts of the questionnaire was approximately 15 minutes.

3.2.5 Quantitative Statistical Analysis

In order to address the first research questions (1a and 1b) related to the degree of transnationalism and language use patterns evidenced by participants of the two groups, descriptive statistics were generated (mean score, standard deviation) for all subcomponents of symbolic transnationalism and language use for both 1.5 and 2nd generation. To further investigate the differences between generations, an independent-sample t-test was conducted between mean scores of each subcomponent of symbolic transnationalism and language use for both 1.5 and 2nd generation. To account for the sample size imbalance between 1.5 ($n = 27$) and 2nd generation ($n = 48$), the t-test was adjusted using the Satterthwaite approximation for the variance.

To address the second research question, investigating the potential correlation between symbolic transnationalism and language use, Bivariate Pearson correlations were conducted between all subcomponents of symbolic transnationalism and language use. Bivariate Pearson correlations were chosen as it reveals any linear relationship between two variables.

3.2.6 Instrument Reliability Testing

To provide a measure of reliability of the survey instrument, a test-retest procedure was conducted with a willing subset of the initial population. Following recommendations by Bell et al. (2009), the same survey instrument was administered a second time, after approximately 2 weeks, to a subset of 33% of participants ($n = 25$). Eliminating the need for a second in-person session, the retest procedure was conducted online via Qualtrics software. As symbolic transnationalism and language use are influenced by life events, participants selected for the retest portion were limited to those who did not undergo any significant life change between the test and retest procedures (e.g., changing residence, changing job, changing relationship status). The reliability testing procedure was performed by conducting Bivariate Pearson correlations for all subcomponents of symbolic transnationalism and language use between Time 1 (test) and Time 2 (retest). While the data demonstrate some degree of variation, given that both symbolic transnational practices and language use are inherently flexible constructs, a high degree of correlation between the test and retest can be noticed for the overall symbolic transnationalism and language use components as well as all subcomponents. These results can be taken as indicative of a reliable survey instrument.¹¹ The reliability testing correlations for symbolic transnationalism and language use can be seen in Table 3 and Table 4 respectively.

¹¹ Worth noting, as both surveys are comprised of single construct questions, measures of internal validity (i.e., factor analysis), are inappropriate for this type of instrument.

Table 3 Bivariate Pearson Correlation between Components of Symbolic Transnationalism (Time 1 and Time 2)

	Immediate network	social	Ways of doing	Ways of belonging	Overall symbolic transnationalism
Immediate network					
social	.837**				
Ways of doing			.836**		
Ways of belonging				.767**	
Overall symbolic transnationalism					.862**

Note. $n = 25$; *significant at $p < 0.05$; **significant at $p < 0.001$.

Table 4 Bivariate Pearson Correlation between Components of Language Use (Time 1 and Time 2)

	Language history	Language proficiency	Language choice	Language value	Overall language use
Language history					
Language proficiency	.887**				
Language choice		.964**			
Language value			.942**		
Overall language use				.695**	
					.974**

Note. $n = 25$; *significant at $p < 0.05$; **significant at $p < 0.001$.

3.3 Qualitative Materials, Procedures, and Analysis

3.3.1 Sociolinguistic Interviews

Semi-structured sociolinguistics interviews represent a qualitative part of the study and aim to elicit more in-depth information regarding the phenomenon of symbolic transnationalism, more specifically, external factors influential for symbolic transnationalism maintenance/development. Moreover, they aim to investigate how symbolic transnationalism is expressed and reflected in the discourse of the participants through the use of deixis and stance markers. Thematic analysis is applied to identify the external factors influential for symbolic transnationalism maintenance/development. Discourse analysis is employed to highlight the usage of deixis and stance as the means of expressing symbolic transnational involvement.

The semi-structured sociolinguistic conversations, with an approximate duration of 30-40 minutes, include two broad topics: (1) discussion of the participant and (2) discussion of Cuba in the Miami context. The first part of the interview involves questions on participants' experience and history of growing up in Miami being of Cuban origin, their ethnic self-identification, family history and traditions, presence of Cuba in their daily life, their sense of being and belonging to Cuba in general and in Miami context in particular, as well as their sense of "home." The second part of the interview covers broader societal topics and focuses on participants' feelings about Cuba, Miami, the presence of Cuba in Miami context, as well as attitudes towards the Cuban community in general and Cubans, Cuban-Americans in the US environment in particular.

Questions for the interview part were adapted from several scholarly works on emotional transnationalism and migration (Aranda, 2001), ethnic identity and transnational lives of immigrants in the US (Nukaga, 2008; Smith, 2014), and on heritage language speakers (Imbens-Bailey, 1996). A number of questions were reformulated from the quantitative surveys to elicit more elaborate responses from the participants, which provides data for more in-depth qualitative analysis. The interview questions were prepared in English and translated into Spanish by the author. Both variants were evaluated by two Spanish-English bilinguals to ensure accuracy of translation. The complete Interview Protocol in both Spanish in English can be found in the Appendix D.

3.3.2 Procedure

Following the completion of the questionnaire, the interviews were conducted in-person. Each interview lasted approximately 30-40 minutes. Due to the diversity and broad nature of the topics covered, interviews were conducted as semi-structured to allow the interviewer to elicit more in-depth information on the aspects that appeared to be more salient (Grindsted, 2005; Loosveldt & Beullens, 2003).

The conversations started with warm-up questions (e.g., “What are your days like in Miami?” “How/With whom do you spend weekdays/weekends/holidays?”). These questions aimed to establish a comfortable atmosphere and lessen the effect of the recording procedure. After the warm-up, interview proceeded to the questions about the participant and finished with the broader questions about Cuba and the community and Miami context in general. The participants were initially addressed in Spanish, unless they specifically indicated their English language preference prior to the experiment. If cases of code-switching occurred, it was supported by the interviewer so as not to lose the fluidity of the conversation. Spanish was chosen as the primary language of the interview in order to elicit the target markers of deixis and stance in the heritage language of the participants. After the interviews were finished, they were transcribed and checked for indirect identifiers which were removed.

3.3.3 Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis was chosen as a method to investigate the most prominent factors that influence the maintenance/development of symbolic transnational involvement among the participants. Thematic analysis is generally used for identifying, analyzing, and describing in detail patterns (themes) within data. Moreover, this method can be used to summarize the key features of a large set of data, as well as highlight similarities and differences across the data set. Finally, this method allows for a wide range of analytic options and thus can generate unanticipated patterns and results (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 97). Broadly, a grounded, cyclical approach was used to hierarchically organize data into the most salient themes and subthemes (Corbin & Strauss, 1990; Glaser & Strauss, 1967) and analyze them with respect to the research questions.

Based on the grounded cyclical approach to thematic analysis, the data were coded and organized into themes and subthemes using three levels of coding: open coding, axial coding, and

selective coding (Corbin & Strauss, 1990; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). According to Corbin and Strauss (1990), open coding can be defined as “the interpretive process by which data are broken down analytically” (p. 12). During axial coding “categories are related to their subcategories, and the relationships tested against data. Also, further development of categories takes place and one continues to look for indications of them” (p. 13). Selective coding was defined as “the process by which categories are unified around a “core” category, and categories that need further explication are filled-in with descriptive detail” (p. 14).

In this study open coding was performed following the overarching structure of the interview to become familiar with the data and conduct initial broad coding. During the axial coding the data were regrouped according to the most commonly recurring and most salient themes and subthemes. Finally, selective coding was conducted to distinguish the external factors that influence symbolic transnational maintenance/development as they surface in the discourse of participants. To ensure an objective perspective, counterexamples were also be identified and analyzed (de la Piedra, 2011).

3.3.4 Discourse Analysis

After the thematic investigation was complete, a more detailed discourse analysis was performed on the already-coded data. A discourse analysis approach, which examines language in use and considers the broader historical, political, and cultural context, allows for an examination of the expression of symbolic transnationalism through the use of deixis and stance markers (Gee, 2005; Trappes-Lomax, 2008; van Dijk, 1985). Therefore, this type of analysis represents a relevant approach to fulfill the aim of the study and observe deictic and stance markers in the broader context of transnationalism.

The analysis of deictic markers focused on personal, spatial, and temporal types of deixis, as they indicate both literal and metaphoric distance between the speaker and place, time, idea. Moreover, deictic makers are also used as a marker of identity and to state and emphasize one's social and ethnolinguistic identity, or indicate divergence from or affiliation with a certain group (Papapavlou & Sophocleous, 2009), and thus represent a relevant tool to investigate the concept of symbolic transnationalism. For the analysis of stance, an Appraisal framework (Martin & White, 2005) was chosen, as the categorization proposed by Martin and White (2005) was determined to be the most relevant for the current data. The analysis focused on the Attitude subsystem of the Appraisal framework. While many categorizations of stance include markers of Affect (expression of emotions and feeling) and Judgement (expression of evaluation) (e.g., Biber, 2004; Biber & Finegan, 1989; Ochs, 1990; Precht, 2003), the Appraisal framework is unique in that it includes the aspect of Appreciation (expression of aesthetic evaluation of phenomena), which was particularly appropriate for the current data set. As a whole, the Attitude subsystem of the Appraisal theory (Martin & White, 2005) directly responds to the research aims and provides a well-rounded investigation of the use of stance markers to express symbolic transnationalism.

CHAPTER 4. QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

The following section is focused on the presentation of the quantitative results obtained in the course of the study. This chapter reports the quantitative results for symbolic transnationalism (section 4.1); language use (section 4.2); and the correlation between symbolic transnationalism and language use (section 4.3). Differences between 1.5 and 2nd generation are highlighted where relevant.

4.1 Degree of Symbolic Transnationalism

In order to investigate the overall level of symbolic transnationalism, descriptive statistics (means and standard deviations) were generated for each subcomponent of symbolic transnationalism (immediate social network, ways of doing, and ways of belonging) for each target group. In order to compare the results obtained for each group, independent two-sample t-tests were conducted on the overall values and the subcomponents.

4.1.1 1.5 Generation Group

The data obtained from 27 representatives of the 1.5 generation group indicate a presence of symbolic transnational involvement among the participants ($M = 41.2$, $SD = 7.43$, $SE = 1.43$, scale: 0–75). In the subcomponent of immediate social network, which included questions about discussions of Cuba and communication with network members (family, friends) in Cuba, participants indicate high scores ($M = 17.82$, $SD = 2.49$; $SE = 0.48$, scale: 0–25), which suggests that participants routinely engage in discussions about Cuba and contact with immediate social network members in Cuba.

In the subcomponent of ways of doing, which included questions on current engagement with Cuba in the US environment, including participation in activities and organizations connected to Cuba in Miami, affiliation with church, following media, cinema, sports, music, and presence of Cuban artifacts at home, significantly lower scores were demonstrated ($M = 9.75$, $SD = 3.38$, $SE = 0.65$, scale: 0–25). These results suggest only a moderate engagement with or participation in Cuban-related events.

Considering ways of belonging, participants indicated an overall high level of connection to Cuba in both aspects: sense of belonging and sense of “home” ($M = 13.63$, $SD = 3.85$, $SE = 0.74$, scale: 0–25). It is worth noting responses on several individual questions. For example, participants responded positively to the question “do you feel connected to Cuba?” and “do you think it is important for you to stay connected to Cuba?” ($M = 4.52$, $SD = 0.94$, $SE = 0.18$, scale: 0–6). While preference in terms of home was given to the US ($M = 4.82$, $SD = 1.2$, $SE = 0.23$, scale: 0–6), Cuba also received scores in the higher range ($M = 3.51$, $SD = 1.66$, $SE = 0.32$, scale: 0–6)¹², all of which provides evidence of high degree of transnational ties among 1.5 generation of Cubans in Miami. A summary of the results for the degree of symbolic transnationalism and its subcomponents can be found in the Table E1 in the Appendix E.

4.1.2 Second Generation Group

According to the data obtained from 48 representatives of the 2nd generation Miami Cubans, participants also demonstrate presence of symbolic transnational involvement ($M = 34.62$, $SD = 8.66$, $SE = 1.25$, scale: 0–75). Scores found for the subcomponents of symbolic transnationalism show similar trends to 1.5 generation group.

¹² Values for individual questions in the subcomponent of sense of belonging are presented based on the scale 0–6, where “0” indicates “not at all” and “6” “absolutely.”

As such, in the subcomponent of immediate social network participants demonstrate scores ($M = 14.29$, $SD = 3.67$, $SE = 0.53$, scale: 0–25) in the higher range of the weighted scale, which suggests that participants routinely engage in discussions about Cuba and contact with network members in Cuba. Further analyzing the results of the immediate social network both quantitatively and qualitatively, it was noted that such engagement is largely limited to the family domain, as only four participants indicated having friends in Cuba.

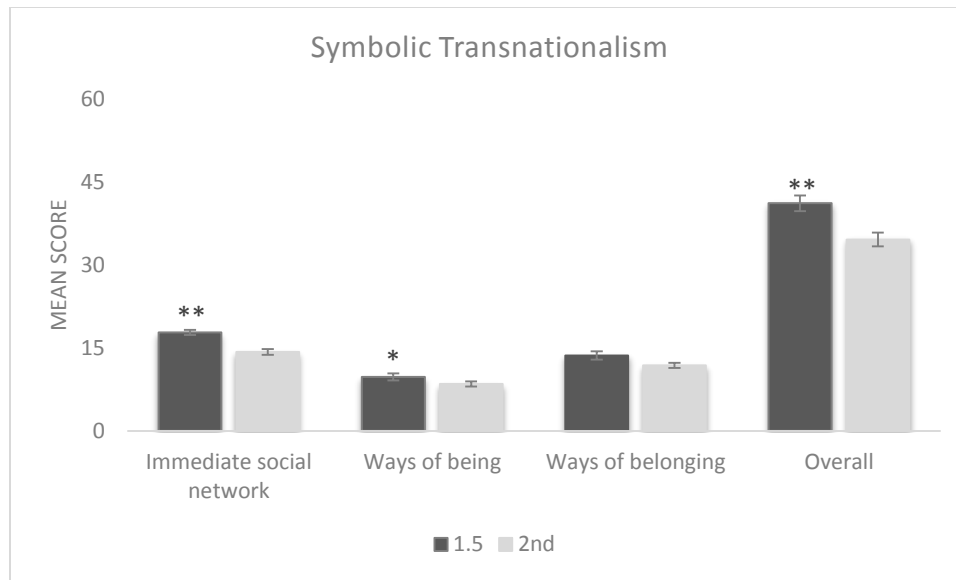
Considering ways of doing, it should be noted that participants indicate an overall low engagement with Cuba in Miami environment, including participation in cultural and social activities, Cuban/Cuban-American organizations, attending church, following Cuban media, arts, sports, and literature ($M = 8.48$, $SD = 3.33$, $SE = 0.48$, scale: 0–25).

With respect to the ways of belonging, a distinct trend can be noted. While participants indicate overall moderate scores ($M = 11.83$, $SD = 3.19$, $SE = 0.46$, scale: 0–25), the results suggest a further division of this subcomponent into ways of belonging (connection to Cuba and importance of this connection) and sense of “home” (Cuba or Miami). Responses to individual questions in this subcomponent: “do you feel connected to Cuba?” and “do you think it is important for you to stay connected to Cuba?” indicate high level of connection to Cuba and importance of maintaining this connection ($M = 3.97$, $SD = 1.45$, $SE = 0.21$, scale: 0–6). However, in the aspect of the sense of “home,” participants demonstrate a clear preference of the US environment ($M = 5.05$, $SD = 1.25$, $SE = 0.18$, scale: 0–6) over Cuba ($M = 1.5$, $SD = 2.01$, $SE = 0.29$, scale: 0–6). A summary of the results for the degree of symbolic transnationalism and its subcomponents can be found in the Table E1 in the Appendix E.

4.1.3 Comparison of 1.5 and 2nd Generation Groups

To investigate the differences between the two target groups, independent two-sample t-tests were conducted between mean overall scores and the scores of each subcomponent of symbolic transnationalism for both 1.5 and 2nd generations. To account for the sample size imbalance between 1.5 ($n = 27$) and 2nd generation ($n = 48$), the t-tests were adjusted using the Satterthwaite approximation for the variance (Moore, 2016). The normality assumption for the two groups' data were checked using a quantile-quantile plot, and it was found that the data did not significantly deviate from a normal distribution. The significance of all t-test results was assessed using the significance level threshold (i.e., alpha level) of $p < 0.05$.

The results of the t-test between 1.5 and 2nd generation reveal a significant difference in the overall level of symbolic transnationalism $t(73) = 3.3$ ($p = 0.001$), with the 1.5 generation demonstrating a greater degree of symbolic transnational involvement ($M = 41.2$, $SD = 7.43$, $SE = 1.43$, scale: 0–75) than the 2nd generation ($M = 34.62$, $SD = 8.66$, $SE = 1.25$, scale: 0–75). Considering its subcomponents, a t-test indicates a significant difference in the mean scores of immediate social network, $t(73) = 4.4$ ($p < 0.001$) and ways of doing, $t(73) = 2.16$ ($p = 0.034$). With respect to ways of belonging, the difference was not found to be statistically significant, $t(73) = 1.55$ ($p = 0.124$). The results suggest that the 1.5 generation has a more robust Cuban social network and displays slightly higher engagement with Cuban-related activities than the 2nd generation. A summary of the t-test results can be found in the Table E1 in the Appendix E. The illustration of the comparison of the two target groups is provided in the Figure 1.



Note: Symbolic transnationalism (Mean \pm standard error); *significant at $p < 0.05$; **significant at $p < 0.01$.

Figure 1 Symbolic transnationalism of 1.5 and 2nd generation; two sample t-test

4.2 Language Use

To evaluate language use, descriptive statistics were generated for overall language use, as well as each of the language use subcomponents (language history, language proficiency, language choice, and language value). In order to compare the results obtained for each group, independent two-sample t-tests were conducted. Again, negative values indicate English language dominance and preference, whereas positive values represent Spanish language dominance and preference.

4.2.1 1.5 Generation Group

While 1.5 generation group demonstrates extensive use of both English and Spanish, they show a trend towards greater use of Spanish ($M = 12.78$, $SD = 11.68$, $SE = 2.25$, scale: -100 –100). This trend was broadly seen across all of the subcomponents of language use.

With respect to the language history subcomponent, which includes age of initial exposure to the language, language in the family and societal domains, as well as school and work contexts,

participants indicate more extensive exposure to Spanish than English ($M = 7.69$, $SD = 4.16$, $SE = 0.8$, scale: -25–25).

Taking into account the language proficiency component, participants report nearly equal proficiency in both English and Spanish ($M = -0.57$, $SD = 4.05$, $SE = 0.78$, scale: -25–25), thus self-identifying as balanced bilinguals. Comparison of the four proficiency skills is presented in Table 5.

Table 5 Language Proficiency Self-Reports (1.5 Generation)

	English	Spanish
Speaking	5.37(0.13)	5.37(0.17)
Understanding	5.74(0.1)	5.81(0.09)
Reading	5.74(0.12)	5.74(0.1)
Writing	5.55(0.13)	4.92(0.23)

Note: Values (M , SD) are presented based on the scale 0–6, where “0” indicates “not well at all” and “6” “very well.”

With respect to language choice, participants demonstrate a preference for Spanish ($M = 2.33$, $SD = 5.25$, $SE = 1.01$, scale: -25–25). However, it should be noted that English is chosen in the societal domain, specifically for job/school-related purposes ($M = 1.7$, $SD = 1.25$, $SE = 0.24$, scale: 0–6). In the family domain, participants indicate extensive use of the Spanish language, more specifically with parents or caregivers ($M = 5.62$, $SD = 0.83$, $SE = 0.16$, scale: 0–6).¹³

Considering the subcomponent of language value, participants recognize the importance of both Spanish and English ($M = 3.33$, $SD = 3.43$, $SE = 0.66$, scale: -25–25), although they show a slight preference for Spanish. The highest value for the Spanish language is attributed to communication with grandparents in the family domain ($M = 5.84$, $SD = 0.62$, $SE = 0.12$, scale: 0–6) and advantage in everyday life in the societal domain ($M = 5.44$, $SD = 1.3$, $SE = 0.25$, scale: 0–6).

¹³ Values for individual questions in the subcomponent of language choice are presented based on the scale 0–6, where “0” indicates “only English” and “6” “only Spanish.”

6).¹⁴ A summary of the results for the language use and its subcomponents among 1.5 generation can be found in the Table E2 in the Appendix E.

4.2.2 Second Generation Group

The data obtained from the 2nd generation group indicate a slight trend for more extensive use of English than Spanish ($M = -11.8$, $SD = 13.51$, $SE = 1.95$, scale: -100–100).¹⁵ When overall language use is further subdivided into subcomponents, the following distribution can be seen.

In the language history aspect the 2nd generation group reports slightly greater exposure to the English than Spanish ($M = -1.5$, $SD = 3.39$, $SE = 0.49$, scale: -25–25).

With respect to language proficiency, while participants indicate relatively high proficiency in both languages, they self-report as more dominant in English than Spanish ($M = -6.31$, $SD = 4.5$, $SE = 0.65$, scale: -25–25), scoring nearly perfectly in each proficiency skill in English (speaking, understanding, reading, and writing). Scores for the Spanish language demonstrate greater variation, with the lowest overall scores shown in the domain of writing. Comparison of the two languages can be found in Table 6.

Table 6 Language Proficiency Self-Reports (2nd Generation)

	English	Spanish
Speaking	5.89(0.04)	4.41(0.2)
Understanding	5.97(0.02)	5.14(0.16)
Reading	5.95(0.02)	4.17(0.23)
Writing	5.89(0.05)	3.26(0.26)

Note: Values (M , SD) are presented based on the scale 0–6, where “0” indicates “not well at all” and “6” “very well.”

In the aspect of language choice, participants again indicate an overall preference for English language use ($M = -6.01$, $SD = 6.72$, $SE = 0.97$, scale: -25–25). This trend can be noted in

¹⁴ Values (M , SD) for individual questions in the subcomponent of language value are presented based on the scale 0–6, where “0” indicates “strongly disagree” and “6” “strongly agree.”

¹⁵ Since the weighed scale is based on -100–100 values, we can only talk about trends since the variance in values overall represents the situation of balanced language use.

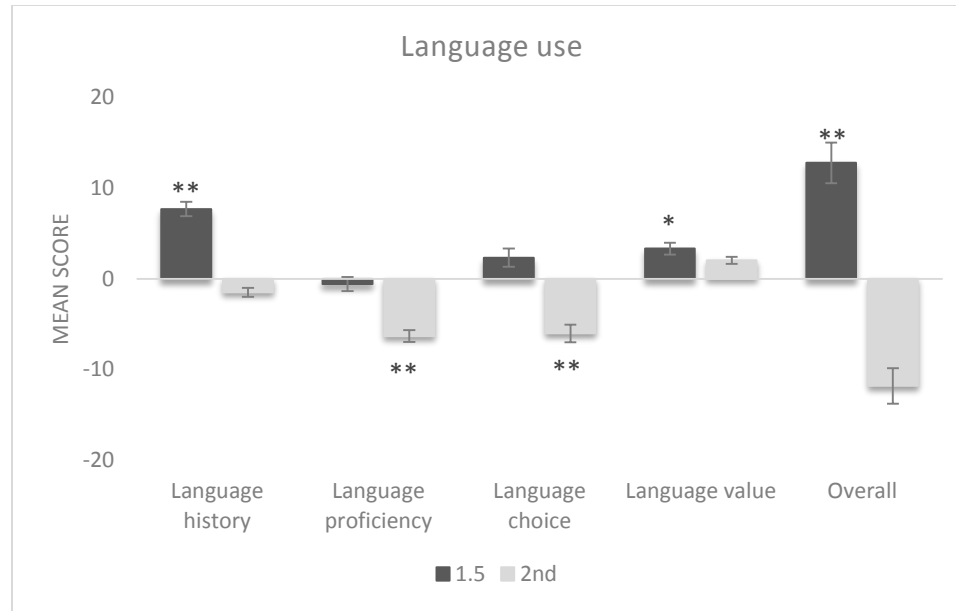
the societal domain, specifically in the activities related to school/job ($M = 1.55$, $SD = 1.66$, $SE = 0.24$, scale: 0–6). However, it should be noted that there is a preference towards Spanish language use in the family domain, where participants indicate more extensive use of Spanish with parents or caregivers ($M = 3.7$, $SD = 2.08$, $SE = 0.3$, scale: 0–6) and almost exclusive use of Spanish with grandparents ($M = 5.45$, $SD = 1.8$, $SE = 0.26$, scale: 0–6).

While the subcomponents of language history, proficiency, and choice, demonstrate English language dominance, the subcomponent of language value stands in contrast. Although the tendency is slight, the positive values for the language value subcomponent ($M = 2.02$, $SD = 2.7$, $SE = 0.39$, scale: -25–25) indicate that participants acknowledge the importance of the Spanish language in both family and societal domains. Parallel to findings for the 1.5 generation, the highest degree of importance of Spanish was found in the aspects of communication with grandparents ($M = 5.7$, $SD = 1.11$, $SE = 0.16$, scale: 0–6) and advantage in everyday life ($M = 5.58$, $SD = 0.83$, $SE = 0.12$, scale: 0–6). A summary of the results for the language use and its subcomponents among the 2nd generation can be found in the Table E2 in the Appendix E.

4.2.3 Comparison of 1.5 and 2nd Generation Groups

To investigate the differences between two target groups, independent two-sample t-tests were conducted between overall language use scores, as well as scores for each subcomponent of language use for both 1.5 and 2nd generation groups. To account for the sample size imbalance between 1.5 ($n = 27$) and 2nd generation ($n = 48$), t-tests were adjusted using the Satterthwaite approximation for the variance. The results of the t-test between 1.5 and 2nd generation reveal a significant difference in overall language use, $t(73) = 7.92$ $p < 0.001$, where 1.5 generation demonstrates higher use of the Spanish language use than the 2nd generation. Significant differences were also found in each of the language use subcomponents: language history, $t(73) = 10.29$ $p <$

0.001, language proficiency $t(73)= 5.47$ $p < 0.001$, language choice $t(73)= 5.54$ $p < 0.001$, and a near significant difference for language value $t(73)= 1.82$ $p = 0.072$, with 1.5 generation indicating a greater preference for the Spanish language in each subcomponent. Summary of the t-test results can be found in the Table E2 in the Appendix E. The illustration of the comparison of the two target groups is provided in the Figure 2.



Note: Language use (Mean \pm standard error); *significant at $p < 0.05$; ** significant at $p < 0.01$; positive score indicates Spanish language dominance, negative score indicates English language dominance.

Figure 2 Language use of 1.5 and 2nd generation; two sample t-test

4.3 Symbolic Transnationalism-Language Use Correlation

This subsection presents the results for the statistical correlations between the overall scores and subcomponents of symbolic transnationalism (immediate social network, ways of doing, and ways of belonging) and language use (language history, language proficiency, language choice, and language value) for both 1.5 and 2nd generation groups. The analysis was performed by conducting a bivariate Pearson correlation test for each subcomponent pairing.

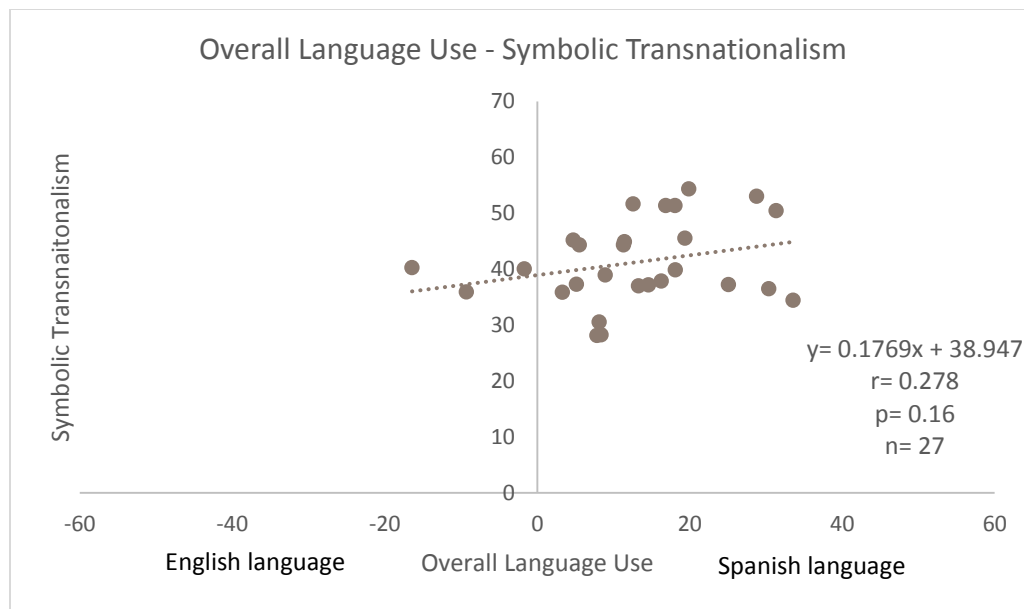
4.3.1 1.5 Generation Group

In the case of 1.5 generation group, overall no statistically significant correlation was found between symbolic transnationalism and language use ($r = .278$ $p = 0.16$). As such, for the 1.5 generation, there was no connection between their language use and the degree of symbolic transnational involvement (Figure 3). An examination of the correlations between each subcomponent of the target aspects revealed a moderate positive correlation only between the language proficiency and immediate social network subcomponents ($r = .433$ $p = 0.024$) (Figure 4). No statistically significant correlations between other subcomponents of language use and symbolic transnationalism were identified for 1.5 generation group. A summary of the bivariate Pearson correlation for 1.5 generation group can be found in the Table 7.

Table 7 Bivariate Pearson Correlation between Components of Language Use and Symbolic Transnationalism

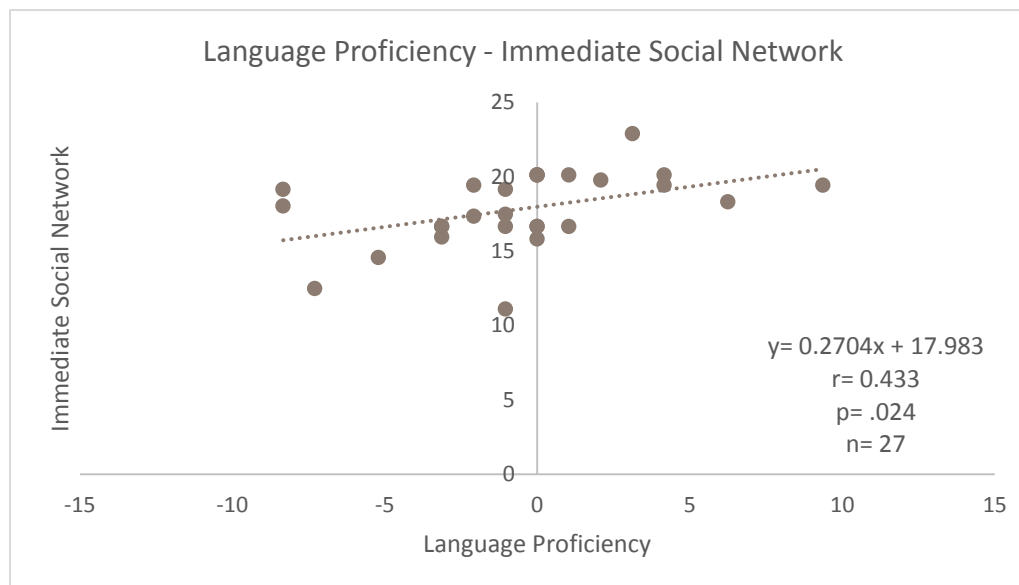
1.5 generation	Immediate social network	Ways of doing	Ways of belonging	Overall transnationalism
Language history	.331	.150	.249	
Language proficiency	.433*	.006	-.013	
Language choice	.294	.235	-.063	
Language value	-.096	.245	.103	
Overall language use				.278

Note. $n = 27$; *significant at $p < 0.05$; **significant at $p < 0.01$.



Note: r = bivariate Pearson correlation coefficient.

Figure 3 Symbolic transnationalism as a function of language use for 1.5 generation



Note: r = bivariate Pearson correlation coefficient.

Figure 4 Immediate social network as a function of language proficiency for 1.5 generation

4.3.2 Second Generation Group

In the case of the 2nd generation group, results of the bivariate Pearson correlation indicate a statistically significant positive correlation between overall language use and the degree of symbolic transnationalism ($r = .662, p < 0.001$) (Figure 5) and in the majority of the subcomponents. These findings suggest that a greater affiliation with the culture of origin (i.e., Cuban) is related to a greater use of the heritage Spanish language.

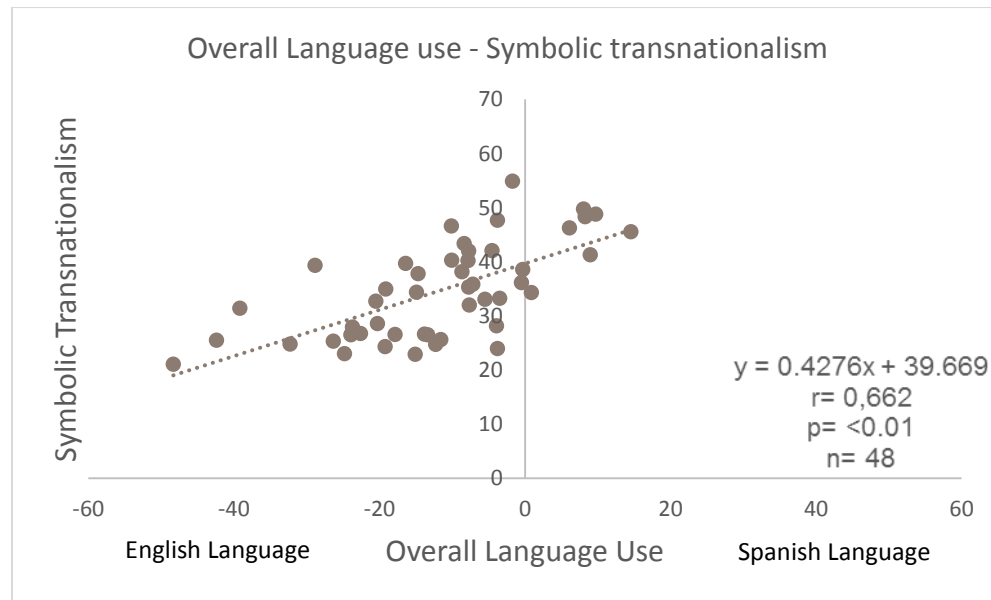
In addition, it is worth considering the correlations between subcomponents of both language use (language history, proficiency, choice, and value) and symbolic transnationalism (immediate social network, ways of doing, and ways of belonging). Language history was moderately correlated with immediate social network ($r = .419, p = 0.003$), but not with ways of doing or ways of belonging. Language proficiency was significantly correlated with all three transnationalism components: immediate social network ($r = .550, p < 0.001$), ways of doing ($r = .450, p = 0.001$), and ways of belonging ($r = .407, p = 0.004$). Similarly, the subcomponent of language choice was highly correlated with ways of doing ($r = .695, p < 0.001$) (Figure 6), moderately correlated with immediate social network ($r = .582, p < 0.001$) (Figure 7), and moderately correlated with ways of belonging. ($r = .390, p = 0.006$). Finally, language value was moderately correlated only with the aspect of immediate social network ($r = .388, p = 0.006$). Taken as a whole, both the overall correlation and the correlations between the subcomponents of language use and symbolic transnationalism indicate that a preference for the Spanish language is correlated with the level of symbolic transnational involvement. Worth noting, the subcomponents of language proficiency and language choice were significantly correlated with all subcomponents of symbolic transnationalism, demonstrating their interdependence with the degree of symbolic transnational involvement for 2nd generation migrants. In contrast, language value, which was highly scored by the participants, demonstrated moderate correlation with only family domain, providing evidence

that the level of importance of the Spanish language is less susceptible to external factors among the 2nd generation. A summary of the bivariate Pearson correlation test for the 2nd generation can be found in the Table 8.

Table 8 Bivariate Pearson Correlation between Components of Language Use and Symbolic Transnationalism

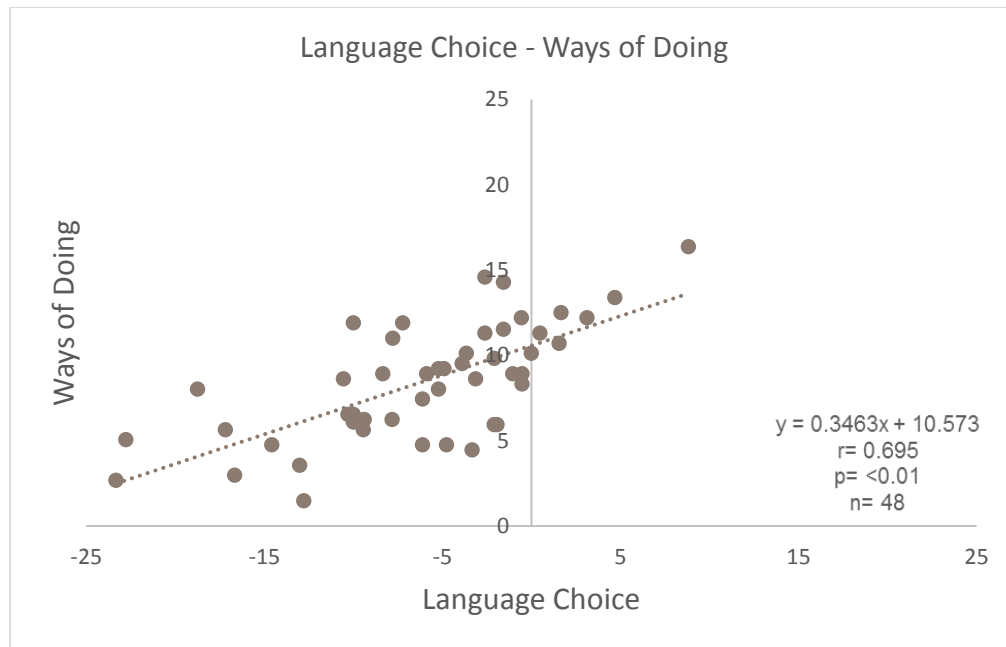
2 nd generation	Immediate network	social	Ways of doing	Ways of belonging	Overall transnationalism
Language history	.419**		.194	.166	
Language proficiency	.550**		.450**	.407**	
Language choice	.582**		.695**	.390**	
Language value	.388**		.198	.265	
Overall language use					.662**

Note. n = 48; *significant at $p < 0.05$; **significant at $p < 0.01$.



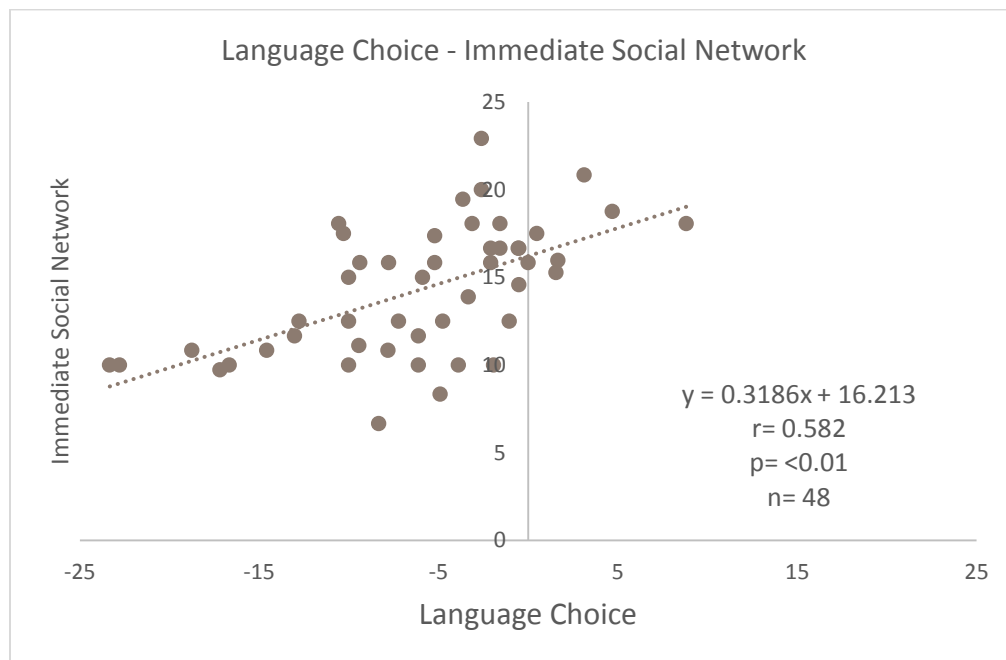
Note: r = bivariate Pearson correlation coefficient.

Figure 5 Symbolic transnationalism as a function of language use for 2nd generation;



Note: r = bivariate Pearson correlation coefficient.

Figure 6 Ways of doing as a function of language choice for 2nd generation



Note: r = bivariate Pearson correlation coefficient.

Figure 7 Immediate social network as a function of language choice for 2nd generation

4.4 Summary of the Quantitative Results

Data for quantitative analysis were obtained from two written questionnaires completed by the participants of both 1.5 and 2nd generation groups. The results indicate presence of symbolic transnational involvement for both groups. An analysis of the subcomponents revealed that the subcomponent of ways of belonging presented inner differentiation for both 1.5 and 2nd generation groups. While participants indicate high level of connection to Cuba and recognize its importance in their lives (sense of belonging), they demonstrate clear preference for the US environment as “home.” When the two groups are compared, an independent t-test indicates a higher degree of symbolic transnationalism among 1.5 generation, and this trend was found in two of the three subcomponents (i.e., immediate social network and ways of doing).

Considering language use, both 1.5 and 2nd generation groups demonstrate extensive use of both Spanish and English languages across all domains. Comparing the use of both languages, 1.5 generation shows a slight preference for Spanish, while 2nd generation participants demonstrate a slight preference for English. Worth noting, while 2nd generation demonstrates a preference for English across the subcomponents of language history, language proficiency, and language choice, they acknowledge the value of Spanish in their current context (subcomponent of language value).

The bivariate Pearson test performed to generate correlations between the subcomponents of language use and symbolic transnationalism revealed distinct patterns among groups. The 2nd generation participants evidence a significant correlation between the use of language and symbolic transnationalism as well as between most of their subcomponents. In contrast, there was no correlation found between overall language use and symbolic transnationalism for the 1.5 generation, and no significant correlations between the majority of their subcomponents were detected.

CHAPTER 5. QUALITATIVE RESULTS

This chapter provides the results of a detailed qualitative (thematic) analysis of the interview data and addresses research question #3: investigation of the external factors that influence the maintenance and development of symbolic transnationalism among 1.5 and 2nd generation Cubans in Miami.

5.1 Thematic Analysis

According to the results obtained in the course of the quantitative analysis, both 1.5 and 2nd generation participants demonstrate symbolic transnational involvement, despite limited contact with Cuba. Therefore, the main goal of the thematic analysis was to investigate the most prominent factors that influence the maintenance of symbolic transnational practices, more specifically, one's connection to Cuba. Broadly, a grounded, cyclical approach was used to hierarchically organize data into the most salient themes and subthemes (Corbin & Strauss, 1990; Glaser & Strauss, 1967) and analyze them with respect to the research questions.

During the open coding stage, the data were broadly categorized into (1) the personal life and experiences of the participants and (2) Cuba and the Cuban community in Miami context. Following the initial categorization, the data were regrouped according to the most frequently recurring and salient themes and subthemes, which are presented in Table 9.

Table 9 Thematic Analysis (Axial Coding Stage)

Themes	Subthemes
Personal	Self-identification Self-inclusion/distancing from Cuba Self-inclusion/distancing from the Cuban community Sentiments about Cuba Social and cultural activity Sense of home (Inherited) nostalgia
Immediate social network	Family in Miami Family in Cuba References of Cuba at home Personal and family memories
Societal level	Experience of growing up in Miami Connection/distancing from Cuba in Miami Presence of Cuba in Miami Cubans in Cuba/Miami
Spanish language	Immediate social network level Societal level

As a result of the selective coding stage, the following themes were identified as the most important factors in the process of maintenance and development of symbolic transnational involvement among 1.5 and 2nd generation Cubans: (1) family domain, (2) Miami environment and ethnic community, and (3) Spanish language use. Each of the external factors will be addressed in detail in the following subsections.

The excerpts from the interviews are labeled according to participant generation, gender, and identification number. The examples are presented in the participants' language of choice, and translations are provided for all Spanish material. Translations were conducted by the author and verified by a native speaker of Spanish. It should be noted that all excerpts represent direct quotations from the participants. Non-standard grammatical and lexical forms, as well as cases of Spanish–English code-switching, are unedited.

5.2 Family Domain

According to the interviews, for both the 1.5 and 2nd generation groups, the family domain represents one of the major components in the process of maintenance and development of the connection to the country of origin, heritage culture, and heritage language. In addition, the family domain is a major factor influencing self-identification with the ethnic community. The overarching concept of the family domain encompasses immediate family in Miami (section 5.2.1), Cuban-related artifacts and traditions at home (section 5.2.2), family conversations and memories about Cuba (section 5.2.3), as well as family in Cuba (section 5.2.4). All of these sub-components effectively serve to (re)create Cuba and establish the basis for building symbolic transnational connections. Highlighting the importance of this component, the concept of the family domain as a connector to Cuba, Cuban culture, and Cuban heritage was identified in 73 interviews (of the total 75), indicating the salience of this theme for 1.5 and 2nd generation participants.

5.2.1 Immediate Family

For the majority of the participants from both groups, it is their immediate family in Miami that supports and promotes their connection to Cuba and self-affiliation with the Cuban culture and ethnic community. Therefore, in response to such questions as “What helps you stay connected with Cuba?” and “What comes to mind when you think about Cuba,” a high number of participants ($n = 54$) from both groups explicitly mentioned family.

For example, in the excerpt (1) this 19-year-old 1.5 generation participant, who was born in Havana and came to Miami at the age of 8, connects to Cuba through her grandmother. As she was born in Cuba and left it at a relatively older age, she has her own memories of life in Cuba, and that is what this participant sees in her grandmother, her everyday habits, and memories, living in Miami.

(1) [1.5-F24]-¿Cómo está presente Cuba en tu vida?-¿Presente? *En mi abuela. Yo diría que ella es Cuba para mí porque ella se levanta todos los días poniendo música así de sus tiempos y es la que cocina la mayoría de las veces, o sea comemos arroz, frijoles muy a menudo. Ella es la que más recuerdos tiene, diría yo, y es la que más habla español también.* ‘How is Cuba present in your life? –Present? In my grandmother. I would say she is Cuba for me because she wakes up every day and puts music from her times, and she is the one who cooks most of the time, we eat rice and beans very often. She is the one who has most memories, I would say, and she is the one who speaks most Spanish.’

This trend continues in the comment (2) of a 30-year-old 2nd generation participant who was born in the US. He also sees Cuba through his grandmother. In this case, the participant transfers his strong feelings of love for his grandmother to an overall concept of Cuba, and therefore maintains his connection to Cuba.

(2) [2-M8] *Amor, amor y mucho alegre, me gusta, me encanta, que es a donde nació mi familia y como amo a mi abuela tanto, como ella ama a Cuba, yo amo a Cuba también, entonces el amor que yo tengo pa’ ella como el amor que ella tiene pa’ Cuba todo se pone junto.* ‘Love, love and happiness, I like, I love that this is where my family is from, and the fact that I love my grandmother so much, and how she loves Cuba, I also love Cuba. So the love that I have for her, and the love that she has for Cuba, all this comes together.’

In the excerpt (3) this 19-year-old 2nd generation participant, born in Miami, explicitly states that although Cuba does not constitute a part of his daily life, it is his parents and the whole family, their ethnic and cultural identity, that create his connection to Cuba.

(3) [2-M19] *Aunque yo no pienso mucho en Cuba, mis padres son cubanos y entonces hay esa conexión de mis padres y de mi familia entera.* ‘Although I don’t think a lot about Cuba, my parents are Cuban and there’s this connection of my parents and my whole family.’

In the excerpt (4), a 20-year-old 2nd generation participant who has never visited Cuba, perceives his connection to Cuba through his immediate family. Moreover, since it is the family’s

history that links him to Cuba, this perception, according to his words, will never change, which again emphasizes the role of the family in maintaining symbolic transnationalism.

- (4) [2-M3] *Sí, la conexión que siento con Cuba, sé que yo soy de parte cubana, porque tengo familia y es la historia de mi familia. Y eso una cosa que nunca va a cambiar.* ‘Yes, the connection that I feel with Cuba, I know that I am Cuban because I have a family, and this is the history of my family, and this is the thing that will never change.’

In a number of cases, participants highlighted the fact that family is their *only* connection with Cuba. While this is an expected trend among the 2nd generation, given their place of birth, limited access to Cuba, limited or absence of visits to Cuba, similar attitudes were also observed among 1.5 generation participants. Therefore, the family domain functions as a mediator between the participants and Cuba, and establishes and reinforces their connections with the heritage culture and the country of origin. These findings reiterate the importance of the family domain for sustaining symbolic transnational involvement among successive generations.

For example, this trend can be seen in the excerpts (5) and (6) of two 2nd generation Miami-born participants, 19 and 27 years old respectively, who have never visited Cuba. They both indicate that family represents their only connection to Cuba. In this case, due to the lack of visits to Cuba, family functions as a mediator between them and their country of origin. For these participants, as stated in the excerpt (6), Cuba is “more like a dream than a reality.”

- (5) [2-F27] *Una conexión... Bueno, yo creo en la conexión de Cuba es con mi familia, si no era por y mi familia yo no creo que yo tuviera esa conexión con Cuba.* ‘Connection... Well, I think that connection with Cuba is through my family. If it wasn’t for my family, I don’t think I would have this connection with Cuba.’

- (6) [2-F20] *Cuba es algo que conozco por cuentos y por historias pero personalmente yo no lo he podido conocer, es como un sueño más que una realidad.* ‘Cuba is something that I know from the tales and stories but personally I haven’t been able to know it, it’s more like a dream than a reality.’

Since the family domain, especially for the 2nd generation, represents the major or the only “source” of Cuba in their lives, these individuals tend to adopt the attitudes of other family members towards Cuba, and continue to follow and support the trajectory established in the family. Participants adopted both positive and negative perspectives, depending on their family history. This situation can be seen in the remarks (7) and (8) of two 2nd generation participants, 21- and 26-year-old, who have never visited Cuba. Their family histories, particularly with respect to political events in Cuba, fostered a negative attitude towards Cuba, which has been transmitted to members of the following generation, and as a result impedes their behavioral transnational involvement.

(7) [2-F18] *I remember when I was really, really little, like eight years old, I promised not to go to Cuba until Fidel's regime is gone. So, I made a promise to him <grandfather> because it was so important for me not to go to see the Cuba that it is today and not the Cuba that he grew up with, like my grandfather never went back after he came years ago. He spent the majority of his life in America, not in his home because of the government, because of everything that happened. So, I feel like to go and give up everything I have to just live in Cuba would be like a slap in his face so that would be a definite no.*

(8) [2-M18] *-My mom she was really well off in Cuba and apparently she was very wealthy, had like an estate, and had all this kind of stuff, she grew up very well, and during the time of the revolution at the beginning of the revolution, like that was all taken away from them. -Would you like to go there to visit?-I actually would but I feel very conflicted about going because of my family.*

Connections that were developed only through the prism of the family can lead to the development of another phenomenon defined in the literature as “inherited nostalgia” (Maghbouleh, 2010).¹⁶ This inherited nostalgia can be seen among the 2nd generation participants, individuals that were born in the U.S. who develop a sense of nostalgia for Cuba through the memories of their

¹⁶ Inherited nostalgia was described as a “relational, multi-generational and ultimately inherited, social form of expression and communication” (Maghbouleh, 2010, p. 204).

parents. For example, two 2nd generation participants, age 24 and 32, who have never visited Cuba, indicate sense of nostalgia for the Cuba of the past and the Cuba of their parents (9) and (10). Since the only means to learn about Cuba for these participants has been through parents' stories and memories, which generally carried the connotation of nostalgia about their past, it led to the transference of parents' feelings onto the participants and development of this so-called "inherited nostalgia."

(9) [2-F25] *¿Qué tipo de sentimientos tienes acerca de Cuba? - Dolor, nostalgia, por lo que era... Lo que era antes. Porque muchas veces mis padres me dicen: "Era un tiempo tan bonito antes de esto, y era..." Yo quisiera conocer eso también, tener la oportunidad de ir por las calles, disfrutar el aire, disfrutar las playas que tiene, las montañas, la gente. Yo siento que he perdido mucho por eso, claro no... Nací en una época que es diferente. Pero ese es mi pensar de Cuba, que perdí lo que nunca pude conocer.* 'What kind of feelings do you have about Cuba? – Pain, nostalgia for what it used to be before. Because a lot of times my parents tell me: "It was such a beautiful time before that, and it was..." I would like to know that as well, have an opportunity to walk in the streets, enjoy the air, enjoy the beaches, mountains, people. I feel like I missed out on a lot. Of course, I was born in a different period. But that's what I think about Cuba, that I missed something that I was never able to experience.'

(10) [2-F6] *Es raro lo que voy a decir, un tipo de nostalgia aunque no la conozco, pero nostalgia porque yo conozco Cuba por mis padres y por los cuentos de mis padres. So cuando yo recuer*... No es que recuerde a Cuba, cuando yo pienso en cuba, yo pienso en la Cuba que existía, no en la Cuba de hoy, porque en sí la Cuba de hoy no la conozco salvo por lo que he visto en la televisión, mis padres la conocen, mis padres llegaron a los cincuenta. Entonces yo cuando pienso en Cuba pienso en como en nostalgia, de conocer como era Cuba, la Cuba de mis padres, es lo que yo pienso.* 'It's strange what I am going to say, but it is a kind of nostalgia despite the fact that I do not know it, but nostalgia because I know Cuba through my parents and through the stories of my parents. So when I remember, not actually remember Cuba, when I think about Cuba, I think about Cuba that existed before, not about the present-day Cuba, because in fact I do not know present-day

Cuba, except for what I have seen on TV. My parents know it, they came in the 50s. So when I think about Cuba, I think about like nostalgia to learn how was Cuba, Cuba of my parents, this is what I think.’

5.2.2 Cuba at Home

A second subcomponent of the family domain that was identified during the thematic analysis, was the presence of Cuban artifacts and traditions in the homes of participants. A total of 68 participants referenced Cuban artifacts or traditions in their sociolinguistic interviews. The most common Cuban artifacts mentioned were photographs, pieces of art, and components of the interior decor. The most frequent traditions that were mentioned were Cuban food, the process of coffee making, and celebration of *Nochebuena*.¹⁷ Again, these references to Cuba (food, home interior, and holiday traditions) are often established and maintained by their parents and grandparents, and accompany the everyday life of the participants, building connections with the heritage culture and country of origin, on both conscious and subconscious levels.

In excerpts (11) and (12), from two 1.5 generation participants (25 and 27 years old) who were born in Cuba and came to the US at the age of 6 and 12 respectively, it can be seen that their families continue daily routines established in Cuba, which are also familiar to the participants.

(11) [1.5-F4] *Todos. Vivo con mi mamá y mi abuela, la comida cubana, la misma que cocinaba en Cuba, la televisión ve toda la televisión latina. Todo lo que es Univisión, Telemundo, la música. Escuchan una emisora que es de música cubana nada más.* ‘Everything. I live with my mom and grandmother. Cuban food, the same as was cooked in Cuba, television is all Latin: Univision, Telemundo, music. They only listen to the radio station that is of Cuban music.’

(12) [1.5-F7] *Tenemos todo, todo es cubano. A pesar de llevar diez años en este país, todo es cubano. Adquirimos algunos holidays, yo diría que todo lo otro es cubano. Hacemos lo*

¹⁷ *Nochebuena* is the night before Christmas, and is usually celebrated with immediate and extended family.

mismo aquí que en Cuba. ‘We have everything, everything is Cuban. Despite living in this country for ten years, everything is Cuban. We acquired some holidays. I would say that everything else is Cuban. We do the same as what we did in Cuba.’

In excerpt (13), from a 2nd generation 20-year-old participant who was born in Miami and has never visited Cuba, the same pattern can be seen: her parents maintain Cuban traditions at home and re-create Cuba in the home interior. This case serves an example of building symbolic transnational connection for the 2nd generation through a highly visible and permanent presence of Cuba in the home.

(13) [2-F29] *Mi mamá siempre cocina. Cocina mucha comida cubana. Mi papá siempre pone música cubana como los fines de semana, cuando estamos limpiando la casa, hay unas decoraciones en la sala de Cuba que mi papá tiene, hay muchas fotos de Cuba, de la familia y todo eso y aquí también en Miami con cubanos.* ‘My mom always cooks. She cooks a lot of Cuban food. My dad always puts Cuban music on weekends when we clean the house. There are some decorations from Cuba in the living room that my dad has. There are a lot of photos of Cuba, of family, and also here in Miami with Cubans.’

In the excerpt (14), produced by a 30-year-old 2nd generation participant who has never visited Cuba, this trend is further reinforced by the strong feelings of the parents towards maintaining and following family traditions.

(14) [2-F6] *Los cubanos celebran la Nochebuena, que es el veinticuatro, y ese es importante. Mi mamá... Yo me puedo ir de viaje el veinticinco y mi mamá ni le importa, igual que Thanksgiving: “Está bien, chao”. Si yo le digo que yo me voy el veinticuatro de diciembre para algún lado y que no lo voy a pasar con ella es mejor que me mude y que más nunca ni le hable porque me mata. Ese es un día muy muy importante para los cubanos.* ‘Cubans celebrate Nochebuena, which falls on the 24th, and this one is important. My mom... I can be travelling on the 25th, and my mom doesn’t care, the same with Thanksgiving: “It’s OK, bye.” If I tell her that I am leaving on the 24th of December and I won’t spend it with her, I’d better move and never talk to her again because she will kill me. This day is very important for Cubans.’

Although, the vast majority of participants from both groups indicate some presence of Cuban traditions or artifacts, there were a limited number of counterexamples identified in the selective coding process. For example, in the excerpt (15), a 1.5 generation participant (age 19), who came to Miami at the age of 12, indicates that the negative feelings of her immediate family towards Cuba have led to a rejection of Cuban artifacts and/or traditions in the home.

(15) [1.5-F15] *Como nada. Mi mamá y mi padrastro no quieren saber nada de Cuba. Ellos no tienen nada de Cuba.* ‘Well nothing. My mom and stepfather do not want to know anything about Cuba. They don’t have anything from Cuba.’

5.2.3 Cuba in Conversations

Within the main theme of family domain, another recurrent subtheme that was identified was the presence of Cuba in the conversations and memories shared by members of the family. A total of 66 participants referenced familial conversations or memories of Cuba in their discourse. Conversations carry both positive and negative connotations. In general, positive attitudes are expressed about the past, while predominantly negative feelings are conveyed about the present-day situation in Cuba and political issues.

The dual nature of the conversations about Cuba can be seen in the excerpts (16) and (17). Excerpt (16) was produced by a 1.5 generation 27-year-old participant who was born in Havana and came to Miami at the age of 10. Excerpt (17) was produced by a 2nd generation 18-year-old participant, who was born in Miami but has traveled to Cuba. As can be seen in these comments, Cuba is present in the conversations at home in the form of positive memories about the life in the past and negative remarks about the current situation in Cuba and its politics.

(16) [1.5-M1] *En mi familia a veces hablan de Cuba. Buenos recuerdos de Cuba, de cosas que hacían en Cuba y todo, pero la mayoría de las veces es hablando de las cosas que pasan en*

Cuba ahora, que no son muy buenas y es lo que se escucha mucho también en la televisión.
'My family sometimes talks about Cuba. Good memories of Cuba, things they used to do in Cuba and all that, but most of the time about the things that are happening now in Cuba, that are not very good, and that is what can be heard on TV as well.'

(17) [2-F26] *–Is it encouraged to talk about Cuba? –Very encouraged, we even asked them about it, they talk to us about it a lot. We talk about actually that we need to visit or we discuss all their adventures, their adventures, they took a bus all the way, all over Cuba, they'd go camping, hiking and climbing, all that stuff, they love the scenery, nature. So they talked about the positives and also the negatives, especially 'cause they lived in Cuba also at the time before and after the revolution of Fidel. So, they've seen Cuba when it was great and happy and it was bad and not great.*

In the excerpt (18) it can be seen that the conversations about Cuba (both positive and negative) that are constantly present at home also serve as a connector to Cuba. This 2nd generation 19-year-old participant who has visited Cuba only once specifically states that parents' conversations and memories facilitate his connection to Cuba.

(18) [2-M19] *Yo creo que son... Que es mis padres constantemente así hablándome de Cuba y esa conexión siempre está ahí, porque mis padres siempre me hablan, ¿sabes? De la experiencia mala, pero también de las experiencia buena.* 'I think that is my parents constantly talking to me about Cuba, and that connection is always there, because my parents always talk to me, you know, about bad experience but also about good experience.'

While most participants highlight the fact that Cuba is present in family conversations and memories, as was the case with Cuban artifacts, there were a limited number of cases in which participants suggested that conversations about Cuba were limited or excluded. This idea was explicitly mentioned by 5 participants (of 75 total).

The limited presence of Cuba in family discourse is highlighted in excerpt (19), where a 23-year-old 2nd generation participant explains why her family does not talk about Cuba at all or only comments about the current situation with a negative connotation.

(19) [2-F1] *Mis padres no pueden regresar a Cuba y entonces ellos no hablan tanto de Cuba, nada más hablan de Cuba, si oyen algo en las noticias y quieren comentar como ejemplo si escuchan del embargo, empiezan hablar, pero si no, no es algo que normalmente se habla. No hablan mucho del país o lo único que hablan es cuando vienen fotos de allá y dicen: “Ay mira que... Qué malo está Cuba y todo se está derrumbado.” A veces muchas cosas negativas lo que hablan.* ‘My parents cannot return to Cuba and that’s why they don’t talk that much about Cuba, they only talk about Cuba if they hear something in the news and want to comment on that. For example, if they hear about embargo, they start talking about it, but if not, it is not something they would talk about. They don’t talk a lot about the country or the only thing they talk about when they see photos from there and say: “Oh look how bad is Cuba now and everything is destroyed.” Sometimes they talk about many negative things’.

Worth noting, family attitudes do not always transfer onto the second generation. For example, a 2nd generation 35-year-old participant who has never visited Cuba comments on the lack of conversations about Cuba in the family domain (20). However, when addressing his identity, he indicates that he always feels proud to be Cuban-American.

(20) [2-M12] *No, mi familia no hablan de Cuba. Ellos cuando se trasladaron acá, desde que yo abrí los ojos, ellos nunca han hablado de Cuba. Ellos se olvidaron de Cuba. Y se adaptaron aquí y ya.* ‘No, my family doesn’t talk about Cuba. When they moved here, from the moment I opened my eyes, they never talked about Cuba. They have forgotten about Cuba. They have adapted here and that’s it.’

5.2.4 Family in Cuba

Family in Cuba was identified as the final subtheme of the family domain that plays a role in maintaining symbolic transnational ties. Although presence of family in Cuba in many cases encourages symbolic transnational involvement, direct communication with participants takes place rarely and often exists in an indirect form, in which news from family in Cuba is communicated through other immediate family members in Miami. In this subcomponent a generational

differentiation was found. While the majority of 1.5 generation participants (23 out of 27) mentioned communication with family in Cuba directly or indirectly, only 27 (out of 48) members of the 2nd generation group reported communication with family in Cuba. Moreover, members of the 2nd generation reported that, when communication with Cuba existed, it was relatively rare (or occurred only once) and took place predominantly in an indirect form through their US-based immediate family.

The importance of communication with family members in Cuba can be seen in the remarks of both 2nd (21) and 1.5 generation participants (22). In excerpt (21), a 2nd generation 24-year-old participant, who was born in Miami but never visited Cuba, explains her constant communication with Cuba because part of her immediate family had to stay in Cuba. According to her words, due to the emotional connections she has with the family there, she cannot “abandon” them.

(21) [2-F25] *¿Por qué sigues hablando y comunicando con la familia allá? -Bueno, por las conexiones que uno tiene. Uno no puede abandonar así a la familia, claro. ‘Why do you keep in contact with your family there? –Well, because of the connections that one has. You cannot abandon your family like that, no.’*

In the excerpt (22) a 1.5 generation 19-year-old participant who was born in Havana and came to Miami at the age of 5, explicitly states that it is the family in Cuba that helps her maintain a connection with Cuba, and despite her rare travels to her country of origin, she still feels connected and when visiting considers Cuba her “second home.”

(22) [1.5-F19] *¿Qué me ayudó a mantener la conexión? Mi familia allá, porque yo sé que aunque no he ido en los últimos cinco años, yo voy ahora y me siento todavía como que soy parte de algo, porque aparte que estoy constantemente, no constante pero como que recientemente estoy en contacto con ellos, yo voy allá y es como que un segundo hogar para mí. ‘What helped me stay connected? My family there because I know that, despite the fact that I haven’t gone there in the past five years, I go now and I would feel that I am still a*

part of something, because apart from the fact that I am constantly...not constantly but recently in contact with that, I go there and it is like a second home for me.'

While participants in (21) and (22) describe frequent communication with family in Cuba, the opposite trend was also prevalent. Examples of limited communication with the family in Cuba can be seen in the remarks (23) and (24) of two 1.5 generation participants, 20 and 27 years old, born in Sancti-Spiritus and Havana, and came to the US at the age of 12 and 10 respectively. Despite their age of arrival and time spent in the US, they indicate limited communication with the family in Cuba, in contrast to the continuous communication of their immediate family.

(23) [1.5-F39] *Mi mamá siempre está hablando con mi familia de Cuba, yo no tanto, <...> mi mamá siempre está comunicándose por Facebook.* 'My mom is always talking to the family from Cuba, me - not that much <...> my mom always talk to them on Facebook.'

(24) [1.5-M1] *¿Pero hablas con ellos? -Bueno, mi tía, mi mamá, ellas se comunican, como son más familia entonces, se comunican con ellos, pero yo no. Yo me comunico con ellos a veces, pero no con tanta frecuencia.* '-But do you talk to them? -Well, my aunt and my mom they talk, because they are more family, they talk to them, but I don't. I talk to them sometimes but not that frequently.'

Additional examples of the role of the family domain can be found in the Appendix F, section F.1.

5.3 Miami Environment and Ethnic Community

The environment of Miami was identified as the second overarching factor that is highly influential for the development and maintenance of symbolic transnationalism. Miami is the environment that not only re-creates Cuba for 1.5 and 2nd generation participants, but in many cases creates Cuba for the second generation migrants that, due to the limited access to Cuba or family history, have never visited the island. Within this theme, several subthemes were identified: the Miami-Cuba connection (section 5.3.1), the presence of Cuba in Miami (section 5.3.2), and the Cuban community in Miami (section 5.3.3).

5.3.1 Miami-Cuba Connection

Stemming from historic and political factors, Miami is a city where the presence and influence of the Cuban community is highly visible on both local and societal levels. The influence of the Cuban community has shaped Miami environment into a ‘Cuba outside of Cuba’ that accommodates the habits of arriving migrants and re-creates a similar environment outside of the home country. Although Miami-Dade County is not homogeneous with respect to the distribution of the Cuban culture, with historically “Cuban” (e.g., Hialeah and Little Havana) and emerging Cuban areas (e.g., Westchester and Miami Lakes), Miami as a whole is still perceived as highly influenced by the Cuban culture. This presence of Cuba is acknowledged by both 1.5 and 2nd generations, and reflected in their overall comments and Cuban-oriented comparisons for the city or region (examples 25–30)

(25) [1.5-F36] *Hialeah es Cuba segunda parte, con aire acondicionado.* ‘Hialeah is Cuba part two, with air conditioning.’

(26) [1.5-M14] *Esto es como otro pedacito de Cuba fuera de Cuba.* ‘This is like another piece of Cuba outside of Cuba.’

(27) [1.5-F16] *Esto es como Cuba pero desarrollado. Es como estar en Cuba, en una Cuba mejor diría yo.* ‘It’s like Cuba but developed. It’s like to be in Cuba, in a better Cuba, I would say.’

(28) [2-F25] *Es como una segunda Cuba.* ‘It’s like second Cuba.’

(29) [2-F29] *Es como little Cuba.* ‘It’s like little Cuba.’

(30) [2-F14] *Miami es como Cuba del norte.* ‘Miami is like Northern Cuba.’

5.3.2 Presence of Cuba in Miami

Miami in general plays a significant role in sustaining transnational ties among 1.5 and 2nd generations. Food, restaurants, music, cultural events, and Cuba-themed attributes (e.g., flags,

symbols, and advertisements), (re)create the environment of Cuba and thus (re)connect successive generations with their heritage culture. The highly visible presence of Cuba in Miami was mentioned by 70 participants from both 1.5 and 2nd generation groups. Thirty-eight participants explicitly mentioned the Miami environment as a factor that is influential for maintaining connection with Cuba.

In the case of a 1.5 generation 19-year-old participant who was born in Havana and came to Miami at the age of 12, Miami not only functions as a connector to Cuba but also served to build and expand knowledge about her country of origin, as she explicitly states in her comment (example 31).

(31) [1.5-F21] *Y creo que es importante que me mantiene pegada a mis raíces y me gusta, porque no conocí mucho cuando estaba en Cuba, porque estaba muy pequeña pero yo creo que he conocido más de Cuba, aquí en Miami, que cuando vivía en Cuba.* ‘I think that it is important that I stay close to my roots, and I like that, because I didn’t know much about Cuba when I was there, because I was very little, but I think that I learnt more about Cuba here in Miami than when I lived in Cuba.’

This trend is also exemplified in excerpt (32), produced by another 1.5 generation participant (18 years old), who was born in Santa Clara and came to Miami at the age of 9. For him, such prominent presence of Cuba in Miami allows him to “go back to his roots” being away from his country.

(32) [1.5-M14] *Estamos aquí en la Pequeña Habana, ¿entiendes? Ya el nombre de por sí ya lo dice, muchos restaurantes cubanos, muchos lugares donde puedes ir de noche, sentarte y no sé, comerte una comida, tomarte un mojito y ver a tres señores Cubanos de setenta, ochenta años tocando guitarra y cantando y eso creo que de vez en cuando es bien bonito hacerlo para mantenerse como en contacto, hay una canción que dice: “Que vas de... De tu país a tu raíz.” Entonces necesariamente ahora mismo no estoy en mi país, pero sí puedo ir a mi raíz.* ‘We are now in Little Havana, the name itself says it all. A lot of Cuban

restaurants, a lot of places where you can go at night, sit down, eat a meal, drink a mojito and see three Cuban men of seventy, eighty years old playing the guitar and singing, and this, I think, is sometimes very nice to do to stay in contact. There is a song that says: “When you go from your country to you roots.” So right now I am not in my country but I can go back to my roots.’

For one of the 2nd generation participants, who has never visited her country of origin, Miami and her immediate family combine into one single entity. One of the streets of Miami is named after her father, and as this fact makes her feel proud, it therefore plays an important role in promoting her connection to Cuba (excerpt 33).

(33) [2-F6] *Bueno conozco la historia por allí, las calles, los nombres de las calles, tenemos la calle ocho es Celia Cruz. Con orgullo la calle catorce está nombrada por mi papá.* ‘Well as I know the history, the streets, the names of the streets, we have Eighth Street that is of Celia Cruz. Proudly, Fourteenth Street is named after my father.’

The role of Miami in maintaining symbolic transnational connections and creating affiliation with the ethnic community can also be seen through the lens of comparison with other places. In these comparisons, expressed by 36 participants, Miami represents an agent that reinforces their “Cubanness,” notion of “home” on the basis of Cuban presence, as well as connections to Cuba itself and participants’ heritage culture. For this 1.5 generation participant, 32 years old, who came to the US at the age of 9, Miami, when compared to other regions, served as a “tool” to reinforce her “Cubanness” (excerpt 34). Even though she considered herself more American (despite her relatively late age of arrival), leaving Miami made her “rediscover” her Cuban identity.

(34) [1.5-F9] *Siempre pensé que era más americana, hasta que pensé irme de Miami, y cuando fui a otros estados me sentí muy extraña, y me di cuenta que era más cubana de lo que pensaba.* ‘I always thought that I was more American, until the time when I decided to leave

Miami, and when I went to different states I felt very strange, and I noticed that I was more Cuban than I thought.'

These two 2nd generation participants, share similar attitudes in excerpts (35) and (36). They reflected on the lack of Cuban presence in other states or cities in the United States, which highlights the ubiquitous nature of "Cubanness" in Miami. They reiterate their connection to Cuba in Miami by comparing it to other states where they noticed a significantly different situation with respect to the Cuban community and overall presence of references to Cuba.

(35) [2-F1] *En Miami me siento muy conectada. Ahora si viviera en otro estado, no me sintiera tan conectada porque no estoy rodeada de tantos cubanos y eso, pero viviendo en Miami me siento muy conectada. Cuando yo he ido hasta Nueva York, cuando fui a la Alabama y Nueva York, otro estado fuera de la Florida yo decía: "Ay, no..." No escuchaba ninguna música cubana en los lugares que yo estaba y yo iba a diferentes bares y barras y discotecas y no ponían nada de música. Bueno, y digo: Whoa, cómo que no existimos aquí. Es muy diferente, muy diferente.* 'In Miami I feel very connected. Now, if I lived in another state, I would not feel that connected because I wouldn't be surrounded by so many Cubans and all, but living in Miami I feel very connected. When I went to New York, when I went to Alabama and New York, other state outside of Florida, I would say "Oh no..." I didn't hear any Cuban music in the places where I were and where I went to different bars and clubs they didn't put any music. Well, and I say: Wow...as if we didn't exist here. It's very different, very different.'

(36) [2-M16] *Bueno, creo que si estuviera en Tallahassee, Jackson, Indiana, sería un poco diferente, ¿no?, pero aquí como que es una segunda comunidad cubana, entonces no se siente tan diferente. O sea no parezco un extraterrestre. Creo que la Florida ayuda a mí. Por ejemplo, si viviera en Chicago, Indiana, Nueva York, no estaría tan conectado es decir, esa cultura que se ve aquí, que viene siendo la misma, un poco diferente pero la misma, ese sí me siento conectado desde ese punto de vista.* 'Well, I think that if I were in Tallahassee, Jackson, Indiana, it would be a little different, no? But here there is the second largest Cuban community, so it doesn't feel that different. I mean I don't look like an alien. I think that Florida helps me. For example, if I lived in Chicago, Indiana, or New York, I wouldn't be

that connected. I mean, this culture that you can see here, it is the same, a little different but the same, with this I feel connected, from this point of view.’

5.3.3 Cuban Community in Miami

The socio-political history of the Cuban diaspora in Miami has resulted in a large Cuban population with strong presence in local politics, economics, and media. This elevated position in the local community has led to the development of in-group solidarity and reinforces the notion of a ‘Cuba outside of Cuba’, which in turn promotes a symbolic transnational link with Cuba among successive generations (explicitly mentioned by 30/75 participants).

For these participants from both 1.5 and 2nd generation groups, the Cuban community serves as an important connector to Cuba. The size of the community and the history they all share help them remember Cuba and stay connected to their heritage (37), (38), and (39).

(37) [1.5-M30] *Estar rodeado de cubanos siempre te recuerdas como es Cuba, o sea, es como que en todos lados, en mi trabajo, hay cubanos por todos lados. Sí, esa comunidad siempre te va a recordar, te va a mantener como que estás cerca.* ‘Being surrounded by Cubans, you always remember how is Cuba, I mean, it’s like everywhere, at work there are Cubans everywhere. Yes, this community will always remind you, will always maintain, as if you are close.’

(38) [2-F18] *The people, definitely the people, cuz everybody has a story. If you are Cuban, you have a story to tell about where you’re from and why you came here. But yeah, I think the most important thing, is people for sure.*

(39) [2-F1] *En la ciudad serían los cubanos que llegan aquí. Si no hubiera todos los cubanos fuera difícil mantener esa conexión.* ‘In the city it would be Cubans that come here. If it wasn’t for all the Cubans, it would be difficult to maintain that connection.’

This 2nd generation participant talks not about the Cuban community in general, but specifies the location, Hialeah, which historically has been a Cuban area. For him, this particular

place, which is predominantly Cuban and therefore largely maintains Cuban lifestyle, serves as the main connector to Cuba in Miami (40).

(40) [2-M18] *I mean, I think that since my family still lives in Hialeah, I think every time I come to Hialeah I'm always like connected, cuz a lot of people are always coming in and out of Hialeah, you know from Cuba, and then people live there for years and years and years, you know? That's always like a reminder, like everywhere I go, anywhere I have in Hialeah there's always... There's a lot of Cubans and I'm always like, you know, in contact with those people.*

Additional examples of the role of the family domain can be found in the Appendix F, section F.2.

5.4 Spanish Language Situation

The final factor that was identified through the thematic analysis as important for maintaining symbolic transnational ties was the presence and use of the Spanish language. Moreover, participants recognize the prominence of Spanish in both the familial (section 5.4.2) and societal (section 5.4.3) levels, and the role that the language plays in maintaining connections with the country of origin and heritage culture.

5.4.1 Spanish Language

The role of the Spanish language in general can be seen in the answers of the participants to the question “What helps you stay connected to Cuba?” which explicitly indicate the importance of the Spanish language to maintaining these ties. Spanish was explicitly mentioned by 16 participants as one of the factors that helps maintain connections with Cuba and Cuban culture. The importance of the Spanish language can be seen in both generations of participants. Excerpts (41) and (42), produced by a 1.5 and 2nd generation participants respectively, show that they perceive the Spanish language as their connector to Cuba.

(41) [1.5-M5] *El idioma me ayuda a mantenerme...exacto. Todo lo que yo sé del idioma español es cubano. Yo soy muy orgulloso de poder ser de esa cultura.* ‘The language helps me to maintain it...exactly. All that I know of Spanish language is Cuban. I am very proud to be able to be from this culture.’

(42) [2-F18]–*What helps you to stay connected? –Speaking Spanish definitely.*

Furthermore, in three different conversations, 1.5 and 2nd generation participants name the Spanish language one of the factors that help to maintain their connection to Cuba, and constitutes a marker of “Cubanness,” as well as a feature that distinguishes Cubans from other Spanish-speaking populations (43), (44), (45).

(43) [1.5-F24] *Mi conexión más grande - el idioma. Sentirse cubano es como que puedes hablar y también cada idioma, no sé, como el país que uno nace lo hablan diferente, aunque sea en español universal, todo mundo dice palabras diferentes, yo diría que esa es una de las cosas más... que me tienen como una conexión a Cuba. Cuando yo empecé a hablar español: “Ah, ok, tú eres cubana.”* ‘My biggest connection is the language. To feel Cuban is like when you can speak, and also every language, I don’t know, like the country where one was born they speak it differently, even though it is a universal Spanish, everybody uses different words. I would say that this is one of the things that gives me connection to Cuba. When I start speaking Spanish: “Ah, ok, you are Cuban.”

(44) [2-F6] *Todo. Mis costumbres, mi idioma, más que el idioma, la cultura de mi idioma y digo la cultura de mi idioma porque no todo el que habla español lo habla igual, hasta los mismo cubanos, los cubanos que llegaron hace diez años hablan completamente diferente al idioma que hablo yo, que es de mis padres de los cincuenta y algunas veces no nos entendemos.* ‘Everything. My traditions, my language, more that the language, the culture of my language, and I say the culture of my language because not everybody who speaks Spanish, speaks it the same, even Cubans. Cubans that came ten years ago speak a completely different language to the one that I speak, which is of my parents from the 50s, and sometimes we do not understand each other.’

(45) [2-F8] *Yo no puedo decir que tengo mucho de Cuba en mi vida, lo único que hablo español casi todos los días, con mis padres, con mis familiares, con gente en el trabajo.* ‘I cannot

say that I have a lot about Cuba in my life, the only thing is that I speak Spanish almost every day with my parents, with my relative, with people at work.’

5.4.2 Spanish in the Family Domain

Taking into consideration family domain, the data (32 interview responses) indicate that Spanish language is widely, and in some cases exclusively, used at home. This language preference is generally established according to family traditions or due to the language proficiency (dominance) of the older generation of relatives, which is followed (voluntarily or not) by the participants.

An example of parents’ stance on the Spanish language and its maintenance was expressed by a 2nd generation, 18-year-old participant who tells of their family rule of speaking only Spanish at home in order to maintain the heritage language (46). In this case, the usage of a given language seems to be a conscious choice on the part of the parent.

(46) [2-M26] *El idioma, siempre hablando en español, eso es una regla que mi papá siempre ha puesto <...> que hay que hablar español en la casa, porque el inglés siempre se va aprender en la escuela o en otro lugar, pero el español siempre hay que mantenerlo en la casa* ‘The language, always speaking Spanish, this is the rule that my dad established <...> that you have to speak Spanish at home because you will always learn English at school or another place, but Spanish you always have to maintain at home.’

Another 2nd generation participant (excerpt 47) also indicates Spanish as the only language spoken at home, however the motivation for Spanish usage differs from that expressed in excerpt (46). This participant notes a lack of English proficiency of the immediate family, which makes Spanish language the only available option for communication inside the family.

(47) [2-M8] *En mi casa no más que hablo español <...> en la casa todo es español. La música, el noticiero, todo, todo en español. Si hablo inglés no me entienden. No vale ni la pena*

hablar inglés en la casa porque no lo entienden. ‘At home I only speak Spanish <...> at home everything is in Spanish. Music, news, everything, everything in Spanish. If I speak English, they don’t understand me. It is not even worth it to speak English at home, they don’t understand it.’

5.4.3 Spanish in the Societal Domain

Although the family domain clearly encourages the use of Spanish, thus promoting heritage language and culture maintenance, a majority of participants ($n = 58$) also noted the high instrumentality and importance of Spanish in the greater Miami society. The strong presence of Spanish outside the home further supports the symbolic transnational involvement of the 1.5 and 2nd generation Cubans.

This idea is reflected in the comment of a 2nd generation 26-year-old participant who was born in Miami and has never travelled to Cuba. According to her words, the Spanish language is so prominent in Miami that it is not necessary or important to know English (48).

(48) [2-F44] *When you drive around and you see advertisement in Spanish and tú no sabes si estás en Cuba o en Miami because todo está en español, everything is in Spanish. Hay gente que... Mi abuela ha vivido aquí cuarenta años, ni sabe el inglés porque hay tanta gente que habla el español que sobrevive así, entre la gente y allí cuando llega el correo allí ella llama a sus amigos que saben inglés o si no me llama a mí y yo leo.* ‘When you drive around and you see advertisement in Spanish and you don’t know whether you are in Cuba or in Miami because everything is in Spanish. There are people that... My grandmother has lived here for forty years, and she doesn’t know English because so many people that speak Spanish survive like this, among people. And when mail comes, she calls her friends who know English or if not she calls me, and I read it.’

The high instrumentality of Spanish language in Miami was also expressed by two 1.5 generation participants. According to them, it is necessary to speak Spanish to perform such daily

activities as going to a store or to apply for a job (49), especially in such highly Cuban areas as Hialeah (50).

(49) [1.5-F36] *Cuando vas a una tienda, si hablas inglés no te entienden. Tienes qué hablar en español para que te entiendan. Y toda la gente habla español cuándo vas a aplicar un trabajo, no es muy importante qué hables español más importante es qué hables inglés. Aquí en Hialeah te preguntan: ¿Hablas inglés?* ‘When you go to the store, if you speak English, they don’t understand you. You have to speak Spanish so that they can understand. And everybody speaks Spanish when you go to apply for a job, it’s not very important that you speak Spanish, it’s more important that you speak English. Here in Hialeah they ask you: “Do you speak English?”

(50) [1.5-F7] *Sí, la primera vez que fui a buscar trabajo, lo primero que me preguntaron fue... Ni siquiera fue si hablaba inglés, fue si hablaba español, porque es en Hialeah. Fue si hablaba español... Y guao, sí, me sentí bien, me sentí orgullosa de haber nacido en ese país, de saber el idioma que hablamos.* ‘Yes, the first time when I went to look for a job, the first thing that they asked me was... not if I spoke English, it was if I spoke Spanish because it is in Hialeah. It was if I spoke Spanish... And wow, yes, I felt good, I felt proud to have been born in that country, to know the language that we speak.’

Additional examples of the role of the family domain can be found in the Appendix F, section F.3.

5.5 Summary

The detailed qualitative thematic analysis, which relied on an iterative process of open, axial, and selective coding identified three broad themes that influence symbolic transnational involvement among 1.5 and 2nd generation groups: the family domain, the Miami environment and ethnic community, and the use of the Spanish language. Collectively, these factors shaped participants’ experience of growing up in Miami as young Cubans or Cuban-Americans. For the 1.5 generation, these factors served to assist with the integration process and help maintain emotional (i.e., symbolic) ties with the country of origin. For the 2nd generation, these factors helped

to develop symbolic transnational connections and promote self-identification with the ethnic (Cuban) community. The broadly positive nature of their ties with their culture of origin, supported at both the familial and societal levels, can be seen in their self-identification as Cubans, in-group solidarity, use of their heritage language, and connection with their heritage culture. The robust nature of their symbolic transnational involvement provides evidence for the importance of complementary support of the familial and societal domains.

CHAPTER 6. DEIXIS AND STANCE ANALYSIS

This chapter presents a linguistic discourse analysis of deictic and stance markers as expressions of symbolic transnationalism in the discourse of 1.5 and 2nd generation Cubans in Miami. Results from the quantitative and thematic analyses demonstrated that 1.5 and 2nd generation Cubans in Miami display a high degree of symbolic transnationalism regarding their country and culture of origin. As deixis and stance markers are used for the expression of spatial, temporal, and personal distance or proximity (Caffi & Janney, 1994; Hanks, 1992; Levinson, 1983; Levinson, 2004), as well as evaluation, emotions, and attitudes towards specific ideas (including literal and metaphorical locations and times, ideas and situations) (Biber & Finegan, 1988; Biber, 2004; Precht, 2008), they represent unique tools for the examination of symbolic transnationalism. Therefore, the linguistic analysis focuses not on the grammatical structure and use of the deictic and stance markers but on whether/how these markers reflect the symbolic transnational involvement in the broader context of participants' discourse.

The excerpts from the interviews are labeled according to participant generation, gender, and identification number. The examples are presented in the participants' language of choice, and translations are provided for all Spanish material. Translations were conducted by the author and verified by a native speaker of Cuban Spanish. It should be noted that all the excerpts represent direct quotations, and non-standard grammatical and lexical forms, as well as cases of Spanish–English code-switching, are included in their unedited forms.

6.1 Deixis

Deixis includes all types of verbal and nonverbal choices that vary metaphorical 'distances' between speakers and topics, topics and partners, or speakers and partners in discourse space or

time (Caffi & Janney, 1994; Levinson, 1983; Levinson, 2004), where proximity is considered to be a subjectively experienced spatiotemporal dimension of linguistic emotive experience (Caffi & Janney, 1994, p.356). The analysis focuses on several types of deixis, including personal, spatial, and temporal, as they can provide additional evidence of metaphorical proximity and a reflection of emotional connections to the country of origin and ethnic community. This section will analyze personal deixis (section 6.1.1), spatial deixis (section 6.1.2), and temporal deixis (section 6.1.3) separately. The description of types of deixis relevant for the Spanish language can be seen in Table 10.

Table 10 Types of Deixis

Type	Definition	Sample items
Personal	Speaker's reference/positionality to cognitively or perceptually "accessible" objects from a personal perspective	<i>I/we—you—she/he/they</i> <i>Yo/nosotros—tú/Ud.—él/ella/ellos</i>
Spatial	Speaker's reference/positionality to cognitively or perceptually "accessible" objects from a spatial perspective	<i>here—there; this—that</i> <i>aquí/acá—ahí—allí/allá</i> <i>este/esta—ese/esa—aquel/aquella</i>
Temporal	Speaker's reference/positionality to cognitively or perceptually "accessible" objects from a temporal perspective	<i>now—yesterday—tomorrow</i> <i>ahora—antes—mañana</i>

Note. The table represents deixis types used relevant for the current project. The definitions are adapted from Hanks (1990).

6.1.1 Personal Deixis

Transnational connections and a sense of belonging to the ethnic community, heritage culture, and the country of origin were observed in the participants' use of personal deixis (Levinson; 2004; Kresova & Ivanova, 2013; Papapavlou & Sophocleous, 2009). This section addresses the use of 1st person singular and plural pronouns, verb inflections, and possessive

adjectives and pronouns, as well as 2nd person singular pronouns (Kluge, 2016)¹⁸ and verb inflections. Worth noting, while a number of authors provide evidence of a greater pronominal expression in Cuban Spanish, i.e., increased frequency of the use of personal pronouns (Ortí Lopez, Dauphinais, & Alequín, 2017), the present analysis focuses specifically on the usage of these markers in context. These markers analyzed in the broader context of participants' discourse indicate different degrees and expressions of self-affiliation, self-involvement, and personal proximity with the country of origin, and thus represent personal positionality as a component of symbolic transnationalism.

First person singular forms. First person singular pronouns (*yo, I*) and verb inflections (e.g., *soy, tengo*) were used in the discourse of the participants to perform a number of functions: express self-identification with the Cuban group and express personal sentiments and emotions about the country of origin of the past and present. In the following excerpts, these functions are clearly identifiable. For example, in the excerpt (1) a 1.5 generation participant uses first person pronouns and verb inflections to self-identify as Cuban *soy cubana* (I am Cuban), and comment on her connection to a Cuba of the past *tengo mis raíces cubanas* (I have my Cuban roots) rather than the present *no me llevo con esa gente [Cubanos modernos]* (I don't hang out with those people [modern Cubans]). Similar usage of the first person singular forms can be seen across interviews (e.g., excerpts 2 and 3), often employing copular verbs.¹⁹

(1) [1.5-F36] *Que yo soy cubana y he nacido en Cuba y tengo mis raíces cubanas, de que me gusta la salsa, me gusta jugar al dominó, esas cosas básicas, pero ya lo que es ya son los Cubanos modernos yo no me llevo con esa gente.* 'That I am Cuban and I was born in Cuba

¹⁸ 2nd person singular pronouns are investigated in the means of referring to the first person as well as generic self-inclusion in the group (Kluge, 2016).

¹⁹ A copular verb is "the one that is used simply as a link or mark of relationship between one element and another in the sentence" (Rodríguez Prieto, 2009). In Spanish they also can be used to indicate class membership, inclusion, identity, property assignment, among many (Hengeveld, 1986).

and I have my Cuban roots, that I like salsa, I like play domino, those basic things but what is now nowadays Cubans, I don't get along with those people.'

In the examples (2) and (3) 2nd generation participants use copular verbs (*ser*, to be) to express their identity, the "property" of being Cuban, which is directly related to expressing a sense of belonging (for copular verbs function in Spanish see Hengeveld, 1986).

(2) [2-M31] *maybe I'm being biased because they are Cubans and I'm Cuban, but it's fun. It's fun with your own people that know your language and have the same habits you have, you know? It's like to going to work in your favorite place.*

(3) [2-M7] *Siempre voy a ser cubano, no puedo hacer nada para cambiar eso. So, normalmente me siento... ese es mi país.* 'I will always be Cuban, I cannot do anything to change that. So normally I feel... that is my country.'

First person plural forms. First person plural subject pronoun (*nosotros*, we) and verb inflections (e.g., *somos*, *tenemos*) were used by the participants of both 1.5 and 2nd generation groups to demonstrate self-affiliation and a sense of belonging to a larger ethnic community, as well as to express in-group solidarity. Worth noting, first person plural pronouns in this study were found to simultaneously perform two functions. First, participants expressed personal attitudes and ethnic identity, presenting themselves as Cubans or Cuban-Americans. Second, they positioned themselves as a part of the group, demonstrated self-affiliation with the ethnic community, and expressed in-group solidarity, which provides another means of expressing transnational involvement. For example, in excerpt (4), this 1.5 generation participant first explicitly states that there exists a connection between Cubans who were born there (in Cuba) and here (in the US). Then, not only she explains what the connection is: *esa raíz* (that root), *parte de Cuba* (part of Cuba) but includes herself in the group: *tenemos esa raíz* (we have that root), *somos parte de Cuba* (we are part of Cuba). This trend of using first person plural forms was observed in both the 1.5

generation, who were born in Cuba, and the 2nd generation, who express self-identification with the Cuban community without ever having visited Cuba (5).

(4) [1.5-F24] *Pues yo creo que como la gente que yo he conocido que son cubanos que nacieron allá y cubanos que nacieron aquí, hay como una conexión. La conexión es que **tenemos** esa raíz, de que **somos** parte de Cuba.* ‘Well I think that like the people who I’ve met that are Cubans that were born there and that were born here, there is a connection. The connection is that we have that root, that we are part of Cuba.’

(5) [2-F14] *A mí me encanta lo afeccionados que **somos** los cubanos. Me encanta la forma en que **hablamos**. A pesar de que algunas veces **sonamos** que **tenemos** una papa en la boca, me encanta.* ‘I love how passionate we are. I love the way we speak. Although sometimes we sound like we have a potato in the mouth, I love it.’

First person possessive adjectives. These forms (*mi/mis, nuestro/nuestros*²⁰, my, our) were used by the participants with reference to the country of origin, culture, and their heritage as another means of expressing self-affiliation and personal proximity to Cuba, and predominantly appeared with notions such as country (*país*), roots (*raíces*), land (*tierra*), people (*gente*), culture (*cultura*), heritage (*herencia*), language (*idioma*). For example, in excerpt (6), a 2nd generation participant who was born in Miami and has made only two, one-week long visits to Cuba, refers to the Cuban culture as *mi cultura* (my culture) and to Cuba as *mi país* (my country), which illustrates her sense of belonging and emotional connection to the country and culture of origin. Another 2nd generation participant adds the language aspect, referring to the heritage Spanish language as *mi idioma* (my language) (7).

(6) [2-F14] *Tú sabes **mi cultura** es más rica, es una llena de lucha. <...> Siento conexión en el sentido que esa es **mi raíz**, ese es **mi país** y cada vez que yo voy a los cayos y estoy arriba de un bote, estoy al lado de la playa, o hasta cuando fui a Cuba y estaba al lado del agua,*

²⁰ Spanish language possesses a feature of gender. Therefore, masculine forms of adjectives generally end in -o/-os, and feminine forms end in -a/-as.

esa es mi conexión a mi país. ‘You know, my culture is richer, it is full of struggle. <...> I feel connection in the sense that that is my root, that is my country, and every time when I go to the Keys and I am up in a boat, I am close to the beach, or even when I went to Cuba and was right next to the water, that is my connection to my country.’

- (7) [2-F6] *Todo, mis costumbres, mi idioma, más que el idioma, la cultura de mi idioma.*
 ‘Everything, my traditions, my language, more than the language, the culture of my language.’

Second person singular forms. Along with extensive use of 1st person forms, participants from both 1.5 and 2nd generation groups frequently employed 2nd person singular pronoun (*tú, you*) and verb inflections (e.g., *eres, ves*) when addressing their own experiences and attitudes towards Cuba and Cuban culture. While cross-linguistically 2nd person pronouns and verb inflections generally refer to the addressee, in Spanish they also perform the function of (1) representing one’s experience as generalizable, comparable to the rest of the group, and (2) presenting oneself as a part of a larger entity (Kluge, 2016), all of which express a sense of belonging to the country of origin and ethnic community. In the excerpts presented here, this latter usage can be clearly seen, in which participants link their experiences with those of their ethnic community. For example, in the remarks (8) and (9) these 1.5 and 2nd generation participants describe the situation in Hialeah and Little Havana, largely Cuban areas in Miami. By using 2nd person singular pronoun ‘tú’ they include themselves in the group and express the idea of a generalized or similar experience for all representatives of the Cuban group.

- (8) [1.5-F7] *Siento que Hialeah es un lugar como tú... si eres cubano, te sientes como si estuvieras en casa, como si estuvieras allá.* ‘I feel that Hialeah is a place like... if you are Cuban, you feel as if you were at home, as if you were there.’

- (9) [2-M8] *Cuando vengo pa’ acá y voy pa’ la Pequeña Habana, para Hialeah. No te puedes escapar de la presencia, de todo el mundo es español, todo el mundo está comiendo un bistec con arroz, frijol y tostones, entonces todo lo que tú ves es cubano. Que te puedes*

*saber que cuando **entras** a la pequeña Habana ya **tú no puedes escapar** de Cuba, porque todo lo que **tú ves** es Cuba.* ‘When I come here and go to Little Havana, to Hialeah. You cannot escape the present, everybody is Spanish, everybody is eating steak with rice, beans and fried plantains, so everything that you see is Cuban. You know when you enter Little Havana, you cannot escape Cuba because everything that you see is Cuba.’

Although the use of 2nd person singular forms can imply a certain degree of detachment, as in the following example (*la gente te ve y te ayuda, te abraza, algunas veces lloran. pero yo me siento [in Cuba] como the other, no me siento parte de eso.* ‘people see you and help you, they hug you, sometimes they cry, but I feel in Cuba like the other, I don’t feel part of that’), the patterns observed in the discourse of the participants in the present study demonstrate the function of self-inclusion and self-affiliation with the larger group.

With respect to generation, no differences were found between the two target groups in the use of deictic markers. Overall, both 1.5 and 2nd generation groups used personal deixis to express personal proximity and self-affiliation with the ethnic group, heritage culture, and the country of origin, to demonstrate in-group solidarity, to present one’s experiences as similar to the rest of the group, as well as to express sentiments and emotions about the country of origin and ethnic community. The full list of the examples of personal deixis can be found in the Appendix G, section G.1.1.

6.1.2 Spatial Deixis

Transnational connections and expression of spatial and metaphorical proximity or distance were also observed in the participants’ use of spatial deixis. This section addresses spatial deictic markers, including adverbs of place (*aquí/acá–ahí–allí/allá* ²¹, *here–there*), demonstrative

²¹ Adverbs of place in Spanish represent a three-part system, where *aquí/acá* refers to an object close to the speaker, *ahí* refers to an object close to the interlocutor, and *allí/allá* to an object far from both speaker and addressee.

adjectives/pronouns (*este/estos–ese/esos*²², *this/these–that/those*), and verbs of motion (e.g., *venir, irse, salir, regresar*) (Bletzer, 2013; Levinson, 2014; Prasch, 2016; Stradioto, 2018)

Adverbs of place. These features were used by the participants primarily to indicate their current location and physical (geographical) distance with Cuba. Judging by the data, participants of both 1.5 and 2nd generation groups presented Cuba (as a physical location) as “there,” recognizing both physical and metaphorical distance between their current country of residence and the country of origin. In this case *aquí/here* referred to the US (Miami), whereas *ahí/allí/there* were used to indicate Cuba. It should be noted that no difference was found in the use of *allí* and *ahí*, participants either chose one variant or used both adverbs in the same sentence referring to the same concept.²³ For example, in the excerpt (10) this 1.5 generation participant refers to Cuba as *allá* (there) when communicating his stance on the current socio-political situation in Cuba, and thus expresses his physical distance with Cuba. Moreover, spatial distance is indicated by the use of the verb *vine* (came) (which has a connotation of an endpoint of ‘here’), demonstrating distance, direction, and contrast of ‘there’ vs ‘here’.

(10) [1.5-M1] *No me gusta mucho **allá** cómo están las cosas en Cuba, por eso fue que vine.* ‘I don’t really like how are things there in Cuba, that’s why I came.’

Also, in a number of cases participants used both *aquí* and *ahí/allí* while addressing one single idea. Data show that it was predominantly done for comparative purposes. While in some cases this positioning of *aquí* vs *ahí/allí* was used to express an objective difference between two locations, it was also used to express subjective personal attitudes towards Cuba and the US, as well as express the notion of home. Thus, this usage of *aquí* vs *ahí/allí* expresses both an objective

²² Demonstrative adjectives in Spanish have the feature of gender and number. Thus, masculine singular/plural demonstratives end in –e/-os, and feminine in –a/-as respectively.

²³ Although no difference was found in the use of *allí* and *ahí* in this particular study, this trend is not universal (e.g., Stradioto, 2018).

physical differentiation between the two countries, as well as the subjective distance and proximity to one of the two locations. As it can be seen in the examples (11) and (12) these participants clearly position themselves in the US environment: *mi hogar ya está aquí* (my home is here), *mi familia más allegada está aquí* (my closest family is here) as opposed to referring to Cuba as *allí* (there) and reinforcing her distancing from Cuba by using past (imperfect) verb tense.

- (11) [1.5-F4] *En estos momentos casa es **aquí** porque mi familia más allegada está **aquí**, mi hogar ya está **aquí**, la casa donde vivía en Cuba y **allí** viven otros familiares, ya cómo que desconecté que esa fuera mi casa, esa es su casa, el hogar de ellos ahora y el mío es **aquí**.* ‘At this moment my home is here because my closest family is here, my home is already here. The house where I lived in Cuba, other relatives live there, I have already like disconnected that that was my house, that is their house, their home now, and mine is here.’
- (12) [2-F23] *Yo quiero ir a Cuba para ver bien cómo viven **allá**, porque yo tengo la vida mejor, porque yo tengo, yo no... Yo no sé nada de Cuba y yo no puedo... Yo no puedo estar en Cuba porque yo soy la gringa que tenía todo, tenía todas sus comodidades **aquí**, en América.* ‘I want to go to Cuba to see how people live there because I have a better life, because I have, I don’t... I don’t know anything about Cuba and I cannot... I cannot be in Cuba because I am gringa that had everything, had all the goods here in America.’

Worth noting, in a number of cases participants of both 1.5 and 2nd generation groups by using the dichotomy ‘here–there’ referred to both locations as their home, as it can be seen in the example (13). This type of context clearly reflects presence of symbolic transnational involvement among 1.5 and 2nd generation Cubans.

- (13) [1.5-F17] *¿Dices [casa] en Miami o en Cuba? ¿O? Creo que los dos, no sé. Porque **aquí** me siento que es mi hogar porque está mi mamá, mi papá, eso es algo que me ata, ¿ves? Este es mi hogar, estoy loca por llegar a mi casa donde vivo. En Cuba cada vez que... me paso el año entero no más que pensando que va a ir pa' **allá**, en las vacaciones y estar **ahí** con la familia, pasarlo bien... So pudiera decir que los dos [son mis hogares/casas].* ‘You are asking [home] in Miami or in Cuba? I think both, I don’t know. Because here I feel like

it's my home because my mom, my dad are here, it's something that makes me attached, you see? This is my home, I'm crazy to come home where I live. In Cuba every time... I spend the whole year thinking about going there during vacation and stay there with the family, have a good time... So I could say that both [are my home].'

Demonstrative adjectives and pronouns. Another spatial deictic marker noted in the discourse of participants with respect to transnational involvement is demonstrative adjectives and pronouns (*este/estos—ese/esos, this—that*). These markers were predominantly collocated with concepts such as *país* (country), *raíces* (roots), *cultura* (culture), *historia* (history), *casa* (home) and used to express one's personal perception of the spatial distance between Cuba and the US. When addressing Cuba, heritage, and roots, participants tended to use a demonstrative adjective 'that' (*ese/eso*) which demonstrated their spatial distancing. Conversely, when referring to the US, participants used 'this' (*este*) to express spatial proximity and their current spatial point of reference. For example, in the excerpt (14) the 1.5 generation participant uses *esa* (that) (when referring to the house where she used to live in Cuba), emphasizing her distancing by using the verb *desconecté* (disconnected) and counterposes it with the adverb of place 'here' to indicate her current proximity to Miami.

(14) [1.5-F4] *Ya cómo que desconecté que esa fuera mi casa, esa es su casa, el hogar de ellos ahora y el mío es aquí.* 'It's like I have already disconnected that that was my house, that is their house, their home, mine is here.'

In the example (15) this 2nd generation participant while, on the one hand, explicitly expresses certain connection with Cuba, he refers to the history of Cuba with a demonstrative adjective 'that' and to the whole situation with a demonstrative pronoun 'that', indicating his spatial distance. This type of distancing is reinforced by his explicit statement on lack of connection, which compliments spatial with a personal distancing.

(15) [2-M4] *Yo veo a como myself as parte de esa historia de Cuba, pero más de eso no tengo tanto como una conexión a una comunidad de cubanos tan grande.* ‘I see myself as a part of that history of Cuba, but apart from that I don’t have that much connection to the Cuban community that big.’

Although demonstrative ‘that’ *ese/esa* was used with reference to Cuba to indicate spatial distance, when the comments were analyzed in the broader context, an overall close metaphorical proximity was observed. This pattern provides evidence of symbolic transnational connection of the participants where metaphorical proximity, which can be interpreted as emotional connection, is present in the broad context of spatial distance (which can parallel with the lack of behavioral transnationalism) For example, in the remark (16) provided by a 2nd generation participant, although she indicates that she is referring to a place that is physically distant from her *ese país* (that country), her sense of metaphorical (personal) proximity is expressed by inserting a first person possessive adjective *mi* (my): *ese es mi país*, (that is my country).

(16) [2-F14] *Siento conexión en el sentido que esa es mi raíz, ese es mi país.* ‘I feel connection in the sense that that is my root, that is my country.’

In excerpt (17) the 2nd generation participant also expresses spatial distance with Cuban culture, but at the same time describes it as *mi cultura* (my culture) indicating metaphorical proximity. This idea of proximity is reinforced by his comment about the political situation being the only reason for them to be away from Cuba.

(17) [2-M5] *Porque esa es mi cultura, y la única razón que nosotros no estamos allá, es por todos los problemas políticos, las cosas que están pasando, si no todavía estaríamos ahí.* ‘Because that is my culture, and the only reason we are not there, is because of all the political problems, the things that are happening, if not we would still be there’.

Verbs of motion. Another means of expressing spatial deixis was noticed in participants' choice of action verbs when referring to Cuba or the US, verbs indicating motion²⁴ (in conjunction with prepositions). Generally with reference to the US participants chose verbs such as *venir* (to come) and *quedarse* (to stay), *regresar* (to return), demonstrating their current location and spatial point of reference. When addressing Cuba participants used a variety of verbs with different functions: (1) verbs indicating movement away from Cuba, such as *salir* (to leave), *irse de* (to leave), *dejar* (to leave); (2) verbs indicating movement towards Cuba with a temporary meaning, including *visitar* (to visit), *viajar* (to travel), *mandar* (to send), *ir* (to go), *pasar por* (to stop by); (3) verbs indicating movement towards Cuba with a permanent connotation, like *regresar* (to return), *virar* (to return). It should be noted that verbs indicating a permanent return to Cuba were most often used with other discourse elements that suggest an impossibility or improbability of this event. This variety of verbs of motion with reference to Cuba, demonstrating a continuum, expresses general attitude of the participants, including emotional connection and willingness to maintain contact with Cuba but not returning there permanently. For example, in the excerpt (18) a 2nd generation participant demonstrates spatial distance with Cuba by employing two strategies: (1) he indicates the direction of movement (*voy a ir* 'I will go') from his current point of reference towards distant Cuba (*allá* 'there'); (2) in the second instance, in the collocation with *allá* (there) referring to Cuba, he uses the verb *pasar por* which has the connotation of temporariness (stop by) to express the unlikelihood of returning to Cuba permanently.

²⁴ Worth noting, English and Spanish languages differ with respect to verbs of motion. English language is considered satellite-framed, where "a satellite to the verb [e.g., preposition] conveys the core information to the path of movement." In English there are a number of verbs that convey manner but not directionality (e.g., walk, run, fly). Spanish language is defined as verb-framed, where "it is the verb itself (e.g., *salir* 'to exit') that conveys this information" (Slobin, 1996, p. 196).

- (18) [2-M24] *Mi abuela me sigue diciendo que cuándo voy a ir para allá. Si creo que el año que viene quiero pasar por allá.* ‘My grandmother keeps telling me that when I am going to go there. I think that next year I want to stop by there.’

In the example (19), a 1.5 generation participant by using the verb *salí* (left) demonstrates movement away from Cuba. In the second instance he uses the verb *viro* (return), which indicates movement towards Cuba with a permanent connotation. However, the context indicates the impossibility of this action.

- (19) [1.5-M1] *Yo salí de Cuba para acá, para tener una vida mejor. Si viro a Cuba, no voy a tener una vida mejor, va a ser peor.* ‘I left Cuba for here, to have a better life. If I return to Cuba, I am not going to have a better life, it is going to be worse.’

Spatial distance vs metaphorical proximity. Although deictic markers used by the participants indicate spatial distance with Cuba and proximity to the US context, the data demonstrate that participants acknowledge presence, high visibility, and impact of the Cuban culture in Miami, which they generally describe in terms of “Cuba outside of Cuba.” The broad context where such description appears, positive attitudes of the participants to such environment in Miami, as well as their feeling of “still being in Cuba” and “never leaving Cuba” reflects their metaphorical proximity to Cuba in the context of physical point of reference in Miami (e.g., examples 20–23).²⁵

- (20) [1.5-F36] *Hialeah es Cuba segunda parte, con aire acondicionado.* ‘Hialeah is the second part of Cuba, with air conditioning’.

- (21) [1.5-M14] *Esto es como otro pedacito de Cuba fuera de Cuba. <...> es decir que básicamente no te vas de Cuba.* ‘This is like another bit of Cuba outside of Cuba. <...> that is basically you don’t leave Cuba.’

²⁵ Worth noting, in examples (20–23) *es como* (it’s like) functions as a hedge to create the meaning of similarity of two phenomena but not their equivalence (Lakoff, 1973).

(22) [2-F3] *Como oasis cubano, que han creado los cubanos que han inmigrado aquí.* ‘Like Cuban oasis that Cubans that immigrated here have created.’

(23) [2-M31] *So es como segundo parte Cuba, es como la segunda parte de Cuba.* ‘So it’s like the second part of Cuba, it’s like the second part of Cuba.’

With respect to comparison of the two target groups, no difference in the use of spatial deictic markers was noticed. Both 1.5 and 2nd groups used adverbs of place, demonstrative adjectives and pronouns, and verbs of motion to indicate their current physical point of reference, and thus spatial proximity to the US (Miami), as well as spatial distance but metaphorical proximity to Cuba and Cuban culture, all of which provides another evidence of symbolic transnational involvement among 1.5 and 2nd generation individuals. The full list of examples employing spatial deixis can be found in the Appendix G, section G.1.2.

6.1.3 Temporal Deixis

Transnational connections and expression of temporal and metaphorical distance or proximity to the country and culture or origin were also observed in the participants’ use of verb tenses (predominantly present, preterite, and imperfect), conditional sentences (if-clauses), and adverbs of time, such as *siempre* (always) and *nunca* (never) (Levinson, 2004; Zulaica-Hernández, 2012).

Verb tenses. When referring to Cuba, participants used past tense (both preterite and imperfect)²⁶ for a number of purposes: (1) to describe memories of their visits or life in Cuba, (2) to retell memories of their family members, and (3) to express attitudes towards Cuba of the past,

²⁶ While the distinction between preterite and imperfect in Spanish is the subject of ongoing debate (Frantzen, 1995), the preterite tense is generally used to express completed actions in the past, sequence of actions, as well as actions with a definite beginning and end point. Imperfect is generally used to express habitual actions in the past, mental and physical states, as well as actions in the past without a specific time frame (Frantzen, 1995; Montrul & Slabakova, 2003).

all of which demonstrates actual temporal distance with Cuba from the perspective of their current point of temporal reference. The use of the past tenses was expected in these situations, and the focus of the analysis was placed not on the verb forms but on the use of the verb tenses in the broader context of participants' discourse. It should be noted that participants from both 1.5 and 2nd generation groups expressed positive memories about Cuba of the past and sense of nostalgia, all of which provides evidence of temporal distance but metaphorical proximity with the Cuba of the past. For example, in the excerpt (24) this participant uses imperfect tense (*salía, jugaba, tenía*) to describe her life and habitual actions when she lived in Cuba as a child. From the context it can be seen that she shares positive memories about her past, which she explicitly states in her concluding remark (*es un recuerdo bonito* 'it is a beautiful memory').

(24) [1.5-F17] Yo **salía, jugaba** pa' la calle, **tenía** amiguitas pa' la casa, **era** diferente. No, no **veía** televisor. El televisor **era**, si acaso, por la noche, así antes de dormir, por lo que **estaba comiendo** y tal, pero ese no **era** mi entretenimiento, mi entretenimiento **era** salir y jugar con las amiguitas en el barrio, y caminar allí en la cuadra y eso. **Era** diferente, y **era** bien. Me recuerdo de eso. *Es un recuerdo bonito.* 'I was going out, playing in the street, having friends over, it was different. I didn't watch TV. TV was just in case, at night, before going to bed, while eating and all, but that was not my entertainment, my entertainment was going out and plying with friends in the neighborhood and walking there around the block, and all. It was different, and it was good. I remember that. It's a beautiful memory.'

In the remark (25) a clear distinction can be noticed. This 2nd generation participant uses imperfect tense *era* (was) to express positive memories of her parents about Cuba (*bello* 'beautiful', *prosperando económicamente* 'economically successful'). However, she describes present Cuba, using present tense *está* (is) with a negative connotation (*está destruida* 'it is destroyed').

(25) [2-F31] De los cuentos qué me cuentan mis padres, **era** un país que **era** muy bello, **tenía** prosperando económicamente, entonces me ha dado tristeza de querer un país que **era** tan bello y **tenía** tanta posibilidad de ser una cosa inmensa, sabes, como un París o como un

*Milano pero no, **está destruida**.* ‘From the stories that my parents tell me, it was a very beautiful country, it was prospering economically, so I feel sad to love the country that was so beautiful and had so much potential to become a huge thing, you know, like Paris or Milan but no, it is destroyed.’

When referring to Cuba, participants also used present tense, which generally indicates temporal proximity, as it coincides with the current temporal point of reference. However, when these instances were analyzed considering an overall context, it was noted that participants tended to distance themselves from Cuba of the present, based on the current political and societal situation there. This pattern demonstrates a distinct trend, where participants by using temporal deixis express temporal proximity but metaphorical distance with the present-day Cuba. In the example (26) the participant demonstrates distancing with Cuba using two strategies: (1) she expresses metaphorical distance in the context of temporal proximity by using present tense verb inflections with the negative connotation (e.g., *está atrapado* ‘it’s trapped’, *no quiero interactuar con ese tipo de gobierno* ‘I don’t want to interact with this type of government’); (2) personal distancing is reflected in referring to Cuban people, and more specifically, Cuban government, as ‘them’, which is expressed in the use of the 3rd person plural verb form (*tienen* ‘they have’, *dejan* ‘they let’).

(26) [2-F25] *El sistema que **tienen**, que no le **dejan** educarse de ciertas maneras y **hacen** cosas para sobrevivir, y de verdad yo siento que es una pena. Y siempre siento mucha lástima porque yo creo que Cuba **puede ser** muchas cosas pero **está atrapado**. <...> Me gustaría [visitar], pero como **está** ahora no. Porque no **quiero** interactuar con ese tipo de gobierno, no **quiero** aportar absolutamente nada.* ‘The system that they have that doesn’t let them get educated in some sense, and they do things to survive, I frankly speaking feel that it’s a pity. And I always feel pity because I think that Cuba can be a lot of things, but it’s trapped. <...> I would like to visit but how it is now, no. Because I don’t want to interact with that type of government, I don’t want to contribute absolutely anything.’

Taken as a whole, the analysis of temporal deictic markers suggest a diversion between temporal and metaphorical proximity. That is, participants tend to use past tense to refer to Cuba, but express positive evaluatives. Moreover, a contrasting pattern is found when analyzing present tense, with participants expressing negative evaluations about Cuba in the present tense. Thus, participants express temporal distance but metaphorical proximity with Cuba of the past and temporal proximity but metaphorical distance with Cuba of the present. This pattern is most visible in examples where both past and present tenses are used in a single utterance or idea. For example, in (27) this 1.5 generation participant, by using imperfect (*era* ‘was’) and present tense (*es* ‘is’) clearly counterposes his feelings towards Cuba of the past and the present-day Cuba. While he expresses feelings of pride for what Cuba *was* in the past, he does not have the same feeling about what Cuba *is* now. A similar trend can be observed in the 2nd generation group (28).

(27) [1.5-M2] *Me siento orgulloso, sí. Me siento orgulloso quizás más de lo que **era** Cuba. No de lo que **es** ahora. De eso es de lo que yo me siento orgulloso, de José Martí. Me siento más orgulloso de eso, de Cuba que **era**.* ‘I feel proud, yes. I feel proud maybe more of what Cuba was. Not of what it is now. That is what I am proud of, of José Martí. I feel proud of that, of Cuba of the past.’

(28) [2-F25] *Y por un tiempo, cuando **era** más chiquita, yo **decía**: Yo nomás que soy cubana, nomás que soy cubana. Pero cuando he ido creciendo y olvido... he aprendido más de Cuba, me he puesto un poco más distante. La razón es porque **no me siento** tan conectada a la Cuba que **es** de hoy, pero más la que la Cuba que me cuenta mis padres, que **era** una Cuba, bueno, la perla del Caribe.* ‘There was a period, when I was younger, when I used to say: I am Cuban, I am only Cuban. But when I was growing up, I have learn more about Cuba, and I became more distant. The reason is that I don’t feel that connected to Cuba of now, but more to Cuba that my parents tell me about, Cuba of the past, the pearl of the Caribbean.’

It should be noted that such comparison was found only in the discourse of the 2nd generation group. It can be assumed that such pattern occurred due to the role of the family in this process.

Since 2nd generation was born in the US and generally rarely or never visited Cuba, their early memories and knowledge are based on those of their parents who transmitted their nostalgia to their children, therefore the contrast of “then” vs “now,” early memories created by the parents about Cuba of the past vs own analysis, knowledge, or experience of Cuba of the present, can be noticed in the discourse of the 2nd generation group.

Conditional sentences (if-clauses). Taking into consideration temporal deixis with respect to the future, the use of future tense and conditional sentences was observed. It should be noted that when referring to Cuba in general, visiting Cuba or returning to live in Cuba, participants rarely used future tense inflections but rather utterances with if-clauses. This trend indicates a distancing from Cuba with respect to the future, represented on a continuum of certainty expressed by conditional sentences in both indicative and subjunctive mood (Haverkate, 2002).²⁷ .

In the example (29), the participant uses a conditional sentence in the indicative mood (*se arregla* ‘resolves’–*me iré* ‘will go’) to imply that the condition (improvement in Cuba) can be fulfilled, and therefore the consequence (him going to Cuba) is possible.

(29) [2-M28] *Si todo se arregla me iré, porque es bien bonita.* ‘If everything resolves, I will go, because it is very beautiful.’

In the example (30), the participant uses an if-clause in the subjunctive mood and a conditional form (*cambiara* ‘changed’–*regresaría* ‘would return’) to indicate that, in his opinion, the condition (i.e., change in the current political and economic situation in Cuba) is contrary to the

²⁷ Haverkate (2002) distinguishes three interpretations of *si*-clauses in Spanish: *realis*, *potentialis*, and *irrealis*. Both *realis* and *potentialis* trigger the use of indicative mood whereas *irrealis* requires subjunctive mood. *Realis* represents generic statements, general laws, rules, or principles, and requires the use of present indicative tense in both antecedent and consequent clauses. *Potentialis* expresses the situation where “the causal link [between the antecedent and consequent clauses] is based on a virtual state of affairs” (p. 173), it implies the possibility of an event, and requires the use of present indicative in the antecedent and future tense in the consequent clauses. *Irrealis* represents “state of affairs that do not correspond with factual reality” (p.179), it implies the improbability of the event, and requires subjunctive mood (imperfect subjunctive) and a conditional verb tense in the antecedent and consequent clauses respectively.

fact and cannot be fulfilled, and therefore he sees the consequence (his return to Cuba) as impossible or improbable. The same idea is observed in the example (31).

(30) [1.5-M14] *Hay médicos que estudian diez años que son brillantes y después el salario no es bueno y tiene que ser taxista o hacer otra cosa, entonces, eso es lo que yo le veo a Cuba que no está bien. Y por eso si algún día eso **cambiara** yo creo que yo **regresaría** a Cuba.*
‘There are doctors that study ten years and that are brilliant and after that their salary isn’t good and they have to be taxi drivers or do other things, so that is what I see that isn’t good in Cuba. And that’s why if one day this changes, I think I would return to Cuba.’

(31) [1.5-M21] *En un día que **se pudiera mejorar** el sistema del Gobierno yo sí **quisiera ir**.*
‘The day when the governmental system improves, yes, I would like to go.’

It was also observed that 1.5 generation used if-clauses in the subjunctive mood more extensively than 2nd generation. A more extensive use of this type of clauses suggests that 1.5 generation views the possibility of returning to Cuba as a more unlikely situation than their 2nd generation counterpart.

Adverbs of time. Another means of expressing temporal deixis among the participants of both 1.5 and 2nd generation groups was the use of adverbs of time, such as *nunca* (never) and *siempre* (always)²⁸, which indicate more permanent states. *Nunca* (never) is taken as a permanent marker of temporal distance, while *siempre* (always) is considered a permanent marker of temporal proximity. Adverb *siempre* was generally present in the context of connection with the Cuban culture, “Cubanness,” conversations about Cuba at home, Cuban traditions at home, as well as pride of being of Cuban origin. For example, in the excerpt (32), by using the adverb *siempre* ‘always’ the participant emphasizes permanency of her connection to Cuba, the feeling that cannot be changed.

²⁸ Analysis also included similar lexical examples of this deictic continuum with the meaning of ‘always’, such as ‘all the time’ (*todos los días*).

(32) [1.5-F7] *No importa cuál sea la situación ni el lugar, y yo **siempre** estoy conectada.* ‘It doesn’t matter the situation or the place, I am always connected.’

In the examples (33) and (34) 2nd generation participants express permanent state of their Cuban identity and sense of pride for being Cuban.

(33) [2-M7] ***Siempre** voy a ser cubano, no puedo hacer nada para cambiar eso. So normalmente me siento... ese es mi país.* ‘I will always be Cuban, I cannot do anything to change that. So normally I feel... that is my country.’

(34) [2-M31] *Bueno, sí, **todos los días, todos los días**, no una sola vez, no una sola vez porque nunca ha pasado algo, al menos ahí... Pero **todos los días** soy orgulloso de ser cubano.* ‘Well yes, every day, every day, not only once, not only once because nothing ever happened, at least there... But every day very proud to be Cuban.’

With respect to the adverb *nunca* (never) two main uses were detected. Participants of the 2nd generation group used *nunca* to express their lack of personal connection to Cuba due to the fact that they have never gone there, and thus to indicate temporal and personal distance (e.g., excerpts 35 and 36).

(35) [2-F20] *Yo **nunca** he ido a Cuba por lo tanto no me siento esa conexión personal.* ‘I have never gone to Cuba that is why I don’t feel that personal connection.’

(36) [2-F44] *Cultura sí, el país - no, yo **nunca** he tocado la tierra de Cuba like **nunca** <...> por ahora con la cultura sí me siento bien conectada, pero con el país no.* ‘Culture, yes, country–no, I have never touched the land of Cuba like never <...> right now with the culture yes I feel very connected but with the country–no.’

At the same time, both 1.5 and 2nd generation groups used *nunca* when referring to the idea that Cuba or “Cubanness” will never disappear from their lives, which if rephrased, communicates the message of personal and metaphorical proximity as well as self-identification with Cuba and Cuban culture (e.g., excerpts 37 and 38).

(37) [1.5-F33] *Yo creo que sí, yo **nunca** voy a decir que no soy cubana.* ‘I think that yes, I will never say that I am not Cuban.’

(38) [2-F28] *Miami [es casa] pero Cuba está ahí, como tú sabe, que **nunca** se va a desaparecer de mi vida, porque es Cuba.* ‘Miami [is home] but Cuba is there, like you know, it will never disappear from my life because it’s Cuba.’

Taking into consideration temporal deictic markers when referring to Cuba and Cuban culture, participants from both 1.5 and 2nd generation groups used past and present tenses, as well as conditional sentences and adverbs of time to indicate actual temporal distance (when compared to their present point of reference) with Cuba in general, but metaphorical proximity to Cuba of the past. When two groups are compared, it can be noted that 1.5 generation group built their discourse, and therefore chose temporal deictic markers, based on their personal memories and experiences of life and visits to Cuba. Second generation group was relying on their parents’ memories, judgements, and nostalgia, which provides additional evidence of the role of family in the area of heritage language and culture for the second generation migrants). The full list of examples on temporal deixis can be found in the Appendix G, section G.1.3.

Considering all types of deixis analyzed in this project (personal, spatial, and temporal), the following patterns were observed. Both 1.5 and 2nd generation groups used personal deixis to express personal proximity and self-affiliation with the ethnic group, heritage culture, and the country of origin, to demonstrate in-group solidarity, to present one’s experiences as comparable to the rest of the group, as well as to express positive sentiments and emotions about the country of origin and ethnic community. Considering spatial deixis, participants used adverbs of place, demonstrative adjectives and pronouns, and verbs of motion, to indicate spatial distance but metaphorical proximity to Cuba and Cuban culture. With respect to temporal deixis, participants used past and present tenses, conditional sentences, and adverbs of time to indicate actual temporal

distance with Cuba. However, in the subcomponent of temporal deixis a further differentiation was observed: by using past vs present tenses participants expressed temporal distance but metaphorical proximity with Cuba of the past and temporal proximity but metaphorical distance with Cuba of the present. Overall, the analysis of deictic markers provides additional evidence of the nature of the symbolic transnational involvement of the participant groups, which supports findings from the quantitative and thematic analyses, and adds additional nuance to the complex nature of the phenomenon.

6.2 Stancetaking

Stance can be referred to as lexical and grammatical expressions of attitudes, feelings, judgments, or commitments concerning the propositional content of a message (Biber & Finegan, 1988; Biber, 2004). Therefore it represents a relevant tool to investigate emotional connections to the country of origin and heritage culture among 1.5 and 2nd generation migrants. While a number of different frameworks have been proposed for analyzing markers of stance (e.g., Biber, 2004; Du Bois, 2007; Ochs, 1990; Precht, 2003), the classification offered by the Appraisal Framework (Martin & White, 2005) has been chosen for the current analysis. The Appraisal Framework encompasses several subsystems, including Attitude, Graduation, and Engagement. This study focuses on the Attitude subsystem as it encompasses positive/negative evaluations and affect, whereas Graduation centers on the notions of “force” and “focus of an utterance,” and Engagement analyzes the degree of personal investment in the utterance (White, 2015). Within the Attitude subsystem, which is the focus of the current project, Affect (expression of emotions and feelings), Judgement (expression of evaluation), and Appreciation (expression of aesthetic evaluation of phenomena) are analyzed. While Affect and Judgement are broadly considered in a number of other theoretical approaches (e.g., Biber, 2004; Biber & Finegan, 1989; Ochs, 1990; Precht, 2003), the

inclusion of Appreciation component is unique to the Appraisal Framework, and makes a significant contribution to the current analysis. The description of the Attitude subsystem of the Appraisal Framework can be found in Table 11.

Table 11 Attitude Subsystem of the Appraisal Theory (Martin & White, 2005)

Subcategory	Definition	Sample items
Affect	Assessment as an emotional reaction	<i>querer</i> (to love), <i>gustar</i> (to like), <i>extrañar</i> (to miss), <i>sentirse bien</i> (to feel good) <i>feliz</i> (happy), <i>triste</i> (sad), <i>orgulloso</i> (proud) diminutive suffixes (-ita/ -ito)
Judgement	Assessment by reference to ethics and other social norms	<i>(no) estoy de acuerdo</i> (I do (not) agree), <i>(no) creo</i> (I do (not) believe) <i>mal</i> (bad), <i>está controlado</i> (it's controlled)
Appreciation	Assessment by reference to aesthetics and other systems of social valuation	<i>lindo, bello, bonito</i> (beautiful). <i>precioso</i> (gorgeous)

Note. Definitions of the components are adapted from White (2015).

Therefore, the combination of the aspects that compose the Attitude subsystem of Appraisal theory accounts for the specific research goals and data obtained in the course of the interviews, and provides a well-rounded description and categorization of stance markers to express symbolic transnationalism. The remainder of this section will address markers of Affect (section 6.2.1), markers of Judgement (section 6.2.2), and markers of Appreciation (section 6.2.3) that were observed in the course of discourse analysis.

6.2.1 Markers of Affect

Affect represents markers of evaluation of the phenomena or individuals in the form of emotional reaction. Affect, according to Martin and White (2005), is explicitly subjective and is focused on the “appraiser” rather than “appraised” (object). In the discourse of participants, markers of Affect as reflection of symbolic transnational involvement have predominantly surfaced in the

areas of self-affiliation with the culture and country of origin, family in Cuba, and feelings about Cuba and Cuban culture, all of which directly relate to the sense of belonging and emotional connections with the country of origin.

Affect and self-affiliation. With respect to ethnic self-identification and self-affiliation with the country of origin, participants employed markers of Affect to demonstrate positive emotions. Most specifically, participants expressed a sense of pride (*orgullo*), reinforced by adverbs *siempre* (always) or *muy* (very), as well as sense of emotional attachment and affection using structures such as *me gusta* (I like), *me encanta* (I love), *me siento bien* (I feel good), *me siento feliz* (I feel happy). A representative example of these markers of Affect can be seen in excerpts (39–41) It should be noted that no differentiation between the 1.5 and 2nd generation groups.

(39) [1.5-F4] ***Me siento feliz de ser Cubana, cuando voy a Cuba es como si estuviera llegando a mi casa.*** ‘I feel happy to be Cuban, when I go to Cuba it’s as if I was coming home.’

(40) [2-F18] ***If someone says: “Hey, you are Cuban” Me... I instantly say yes, I just like to say that, I feel proud to say that.***

(41) [2-F19] ***A mí me gusta esa parte de mí. No es una parte que yo cómo que I shy away from. Es algo, tú sabes, a mí me gusta y es parte de mí, yo lo reconozco.*** ‘I like that part of me. It’s not a part that I like shy away from. It’s something, you know, I like it and it’s part of me, and I recognize it.’

Affect and family in Cuba. Another aspect where participants used stance markers of Affect was the topic about family in Cuba. Since family represents one of the major factors in maintaining transnational connections, as evidenced in both the quantitative analysis (Chapter 4) and thematic analysis (Chapter 5), positive attitudes and a sense of affection expressed by the participants provide additional evidence of symbolic transnational involvement. Participants used phrases such as *me siento feliz* (I feel happy), *me alegra* (I am glad), *me siento bien* (I feel good) when referring to the opportunities to talk to family in Cuba, to learn about their life and news, and to stay in contact.

Although overall attitudes expressed by the participants carry positive connotation, some mixed feelings (*mezcla de emociones*) were also expressed, where the sense of happiness was complemented by the feeling of sadness (*es triste*), namely about not being able to communicate frequently with family in Cuba and about the conditions that their families live. With respect to the comparison of two target groups, it should be noted that 1.5 generation more extensively expressed the feeling of missing their relatives (*los extraño*). This pattern is not unexpected, as the 1.5 generation individuals were born in Cuba and tend to still have members of their immediate family domain in Cuba (e.g., siblings, parents, etc.).

For example, in the excerpt (42) the 1.5 generation participant expresses a variety of emotions towards his family in Cuba. By using lexical stance markers of Affect he expresses importance of communication with them in his life, reinforcing the adjective *importante* (important) with an intensifier *muy* (very). He also describes his feelings by using utterances with positive connotations, such as *es rico* (it's great), *me siento bien* (I feel good). At the same time, he expresses mixed emotions by collocating *es rico* (it's great) and *triste* (sad) in the same utterance, all of which reflect his sense of attachment to his family in Cuba. In the excerpt (43) this idea is expanded and reinforced by another 1.5 generation participant in her use of *los amo todos mucho* (I love them all very much) and *los extraño* (I miss them).

(42) [1.5-M14] *Para mí es **muy importante comunicarme** con mi familia, es algo que es **inexplicable**, **me siento bien** cuando hablo con ellos. **Me gusta saber de ellos**, si están bien, si están mal. **Es rico** porque... **Es rico y triste a la vez** porque en cinco minutos o en diez o en una hora tienes que tratar de recopilar ahí todo lo que no has hablado en tres años.* 'For me it's very important to communicate with my family, it's something that is inexplicable, I feel good when I talk to them. I like to know about them, if they are well or not. It's great because... It's great and sad at the same time because in five minutes or ten or one hour you have to try put together everything you haven't talked about in three years.'

(43) [1.5-F17] *Sí, sí, es algo que yo estoy muy feliz de que no hemos perdido el contacto nunca. -¿Y por qué sigues en contacto...? - Porque es mi familia, los amo todos mucho y me encanta, me encanta ir. La paso bien y también los extraño.* ‘Yes, yes, it’s something that I am very happy about that we have never lost contact. – And why you stay in contact? – Because it’s my family, I love them all very much, and I love, I love to go. I have a good time, and I also miss them.’

Affect and sentiments about Cuba. Stance markers of Affect also surfaced when participants reported on their sentiments about Cuba, a topic that is directly related to symbolic transnationalism. While both 1.5 and 2nd generation groups of participants overall indicated feelings of attachment, belonging, and importance of Cuba in their lives (rather than indifference), a wide range of markers of Affect were found. Overall, participants indicated somewhat mixed feelings towards Cuba. While the prevailing emotion was a sense of affection, expressed in the use of verbs like *amar* (to love) and *querer* (to love), and nouns such as *alegría* (happiness), *amor* (love), *cariño* (love), and *felicidad* (happiness), participants also expressed emotions of sadness (*tristeza*), pity (*pena, lástima*), pain (*dolor*) towards the current socio-economic situation in Cuba.

For example, in the excerpt (44), this participant mixed both positive affective markers (*quiero* ‘love’) to refer to the people and the culture, and negative affective markers to refer to the political administration (*al gobierno, no* ‘the government no’). This example, as well as examples (45) and (46), illustrate the complex nature of stance for this population, with a dichotomy emerging between the positive affect for Cuba, particularly Cuba of the past and the Cuban population, coupled with negative affective stance towards the existing political situation.

(44) [1.5-M21] *Mixtos. Mixtos porque el pueblo y la cultura yo la quiero mucho pero al gobierno no.* ‘Mixed. Mixed because the people and culture I love very much but the government–no.’

(45) [1.5-F16] *Es algo ambiguo. Como que por un lado me da nostalgia, porque ahí fue donde, o sea, mi niñez, mi infancia fue ahí. Por otro lado, como que siento rollo, porque gracias a eso me separé de mi mamá. Tuve que separarme de mi papá, mi mamá, mi hermana. Me separé de mucha gente que quería y como que sufrí mucho al principio, entonces de alguna forma como que la extraño, pero de otra forma como que lo odio, la situación esa también.*
 ‘It’s something ambiguous. On the one hand, it gives me nostalgia because it is where, well, I spent my childhood there. On the other hand, I have some issues because due to this I separated from my mom. I had to separate from my father, my mother, my sister. I separated from many people that I loved, and as I suffered so much at the beginning, in some sense I miss it, but in some sense I like hate it, I hate this situation.’

(46) [2-F1] *Amo a Cuba pero el gobierno es lo que hace eso un poco difícil.* ‘I love Cuba but it is the government that makes it a little difficult.’

While with respect to Cuba participants expressed mixed feelings with an overall indication of affection, concern, and self-affiliation, which can be seen in a variety of stance markers of Affect that they used, they addressed Cuban culture and history using stance markers with highly positive connotations. These markers of Affect included, *me encanta* (I love), *me fascina* (I am fascinated), *me gusta* (I like) with an intensifier *muy/mucho* (very), ‘we admire’ with an intensifier ‘do’, and ‘I love’. Such stance markets indicate a generally positive attitudes towards Cuban culture, and thus demonstrate that participants seem to separate Cuban culture from the socio-political notions of Cuba. For example, in the excerpt (47) this participant expresses sense of pride (*he sentido muy orgullosa* ‘I feel proud’) and affection (*me encanta* ‘I love’) towards Cuban culture and literature, emphasizing it with the intensifier *muy/mucho* (very). She also reinforces his stance by complimenting it with a deictic marker *mi* (my) when referring to Cuban culture, which indicates her personal proximity. Similar ideas were observed in the remarks of the 2nd generation participants (48) and (49).

(47) [2-F20] *Yo siempre me he sentido muy orgullosa de mi cultura cubana, me encanta leer, me gusta mucho Martí, me gustan mucho sus poemas.* ‘I have always felt proud of my Cuban culture, I love reading, I like Martí very much, I really like his poems.’

(48) [2-F26] *We don't really follow art, but we do admire any Cuban art, especially music.*

(49) [2-M29] *Me encanta mi cultura, me fascina, y me gusta toda la gente en general.* ‘I love my culture, I am fascinated, and I like all the people in general.’

Along with general feelings about Cuba and sentiments about its present situation, participants (predominantly of 1.5 generation group) expressed their stance of Affect towards past by using the noun *nostalgia* (nostalgia) with an intensifier *mucha* (a lot of), which indicates their remaining emotional connection with Cuba (e.g., examples 50 and 51). This trend was found only among the 1.5 generation group, which was expected given that they were born in Cuba and tend to have remaining ties with their country of origin.

(50) [1.5-F36] *Nostalgia. Mucha nostalgia. Porque uno nace ahí. Pero nostalgia es la mayor.*

‘Nostalgia. A lot of nostalgia. Because I was born there. But nostalgia is the biggest one.’

(51) [1.5-F39] *Diría que nostalgia por el hecho de que me fui de mi país, porque la situación no está bien, porque si mi país tuviera una buena situación, no me hubiera ido, o sea, allá es mi país, mi familia, mis amigos.* ‘I would say nostalgia because I left my country, because the situation is not good, because if my country had good situation I wouldn’t have left it, you know, there it is my country, my family, my friends.’

It should be noted that participants expressed stance markers of Affect about Cuba not only towards Cuba’s present situation and their attitudes towards its past but also sentiments with the direction towards future. Participants used markers such as *esperanza* (hope) when talking about future of the Cuban people (excerpt 52) and markers of desire such as *quiero* (want) when referring to their own future connections with Cuba (excerpt 53).

(52) [2-F12] *No sé, **alegría** y **tristeza**, y **esperanza** para la gente, no al país, pero para la gente.*

‘I don’t know, happiness and sadness, and hope for the people, not for the country, for the people.’

(53) [2-F23] *Deseo, como yo **quiero saber más de Cuba**, yo **quiero entender más**, yo **quiero hablar en español con más confianza**, yo **quiero sentir Cubana-Americana** <...> **Me da pena que yo no sé de eso**, yo **quiero saber**.* ‘I wish, I want to know more about Cuba, I want to understand more, I want to speak Spanish with more confidence, I want to feel Cuban-American <...> I feel bad that I don’t know about that, I want to know.’

Diminutives. Another stance marker of Affect noted in the discourse of participants throughout interviews was a diminutive suffix –ito/ –ita with the function of endearment and affection (Escobar, 2001; King & Melzi, 2004). Participants used diminutives addressing a variety of topics: relatives (“**abuelita**”), old generation of Cubans (“**viejitos**”), and Cuba (“una **islita pequeñita**”), all of which indicates their connection with and affection towards the concepts they described (e.g., examples 54–57).

(54) [1.5-M14] *Cuando voy a estos eventos así yo digo: “Eso es un **pedacito** de Cuba.”* ‘When I go to these events I say: “That’s a little part of Cuba.”’

(55) [1.5-F21] *Que a pesar de que somos **una islita pequeñita** es bastante reconocida en todo el mundo.* ‘Despite the fact that we are a tiny island, it is quite well-known in the world.’

(56) [1.5-M14] *En todos... en el supermercado que vas y ves a los **viejitos** hablando afuera del Sedano’s.* ‘In all... in the supermarket where you go and you see older Cubans talking outside of Sedano’s.’

(57) [2-F20] *Yo a cada rato me pongo hablar con mi **abuelita**, ella me dice cuentos de su infancia.* ‘I frequently have conversations with my grandma, she tells me stories about her childhood.’

The analysis of stance of Affect demonstrates a variety of lexical markers surfaced in the discourse of participants to address topics of self-identification, family in Cuba, past–present–future Cuba, and Cuban culture. Overall, markers of Affect used by the participants in the form of lexical

items as well as diminutive suffixes, carry positive connotations. This trend was observed with respect to the topics of self-affiliation with the country of origin, family in Cuba, and Cuban culture. However, with respect to the topic of the sociopolitical situation of Cuba, a more complex, multilayered stance was found. When referring to Cuba, a feeling of affect was demonstrated through the use of a combination of markers with diverse connotations, often within a single utterance, e.g., love, sadness, nostalgia, and hope. These findings parallel those found in the analysis of deixis, in which participants indicate personal and metaphorical proximity to Cuba of the past and distance with the present Cuba (namely the government and the socio-political and economic situation). While the category of Affect among 1.5 and 2nd generation Cuban in this study demonstrated a continuum of emotions, no sense of indifference or hatred was observed. All of these findings support the idea of the existence of sense of belonging and emotional connection to Cuba among the participants of the study. The full list of examples of the use of stance markers of Affect can be found in the Appendix G, section G.2.1.

6.2.2 Markers of Judgement

According to Martin and White (2005), stance markers of Judgement represent an evaluation of phenomena, predominantly human behavior, according to social norms, and are oriented towards the “appraised” (object). It should be noted that when compared to stance of Affect and Appreciation, responses with stance of Judgement in this particular study more frequently contained markers such as *yo (no) creo* (I (don’t) think), *lo dudo* (I doubt it), and *siento que* (I feel like), by which participants signaled that the utterance represents their opinion and/or provided mitigation when expressing opinion about sensitive topic.

The analysis revealed a number of markers of Judgement specifically related to the current socio-political and economic situation in Cuba that were relevant for considering symbolic transnational involvement. Stance markers of Judgement emerged across several different categories: (1) evaluation of the current socio-political situation in Cuba, (2) evaluation of the agents (and their behaviors) responsible for the current socio-political situation, as well as (3) explicit personal (dis)agreement with the politics of Cuba. First, and most common, participants provided an evaluation of the current socio-political and economic situation in Cuba, employing a number of linguistic structures including *estar* + *adjective* (to be + adjective), impersonal structures *hay* (there is/are) and *se* + *verb*, as well as structures of comparison *como si fue* (as if there were) and *es como* (it's like). Second, participants provided their stance on the agents (and their behaviors) responsible for the current socio-political situation, using active voice to emphasize the agency. Finally, participants explicitly expressed their personal evaluation of Cuban politics using structures such as *(no) estoy de acuerdo* (I do (not) agree).

While evaluating the current political and economic situation in Cuba, participants widely used *estar* + *adjective* (to be + adjective) to describe the current condition of the country as a result of certain actions. As descriptors, the following adjectives were noted: *atrapado* (trapped) (58), *destruido* (destroyed) (59), and *controlado* (controlled) (62). These markers of Judgement, with respect to political and economic issues, were exclusively negative.

(58) [2-F25] *Yo creo que Cuba puede ser muchas cosas pero **está atrapado**.* ‘I think that Cuba can be a lot of things but it is trapped.’

(59) [2-F31] *De los cuentos que me cuentan mis padres, era un país que era muy bello, tenía prosperando económicamente, entonces me ha dado tristeza de querer un país que era tan bello y tenía tanta posibilidad de ser una cosa inmensa, sabes, como un París o como un Milano pero no, **está destruida**.* ‘From the stories that my parents tell me, it was a very

beautiful country, it was prospering economically, so I feel sad to love the country that was so beautiful and had so many possibilities to be a huge thing, you know, like Paris or Milan but no, it is destroyed.’

Also, to describe the current socio-political and economic situation in Cuba, participants used impersonal structure with *hay* (there is/are), which was collocated with nouns such as *pobreza* (poverty), *control* (control), *faltas* (flaws), and *turmoil*. In addition, participants used *no hay* (there is no) with nouns such as *oportunidades* (opportunities), *vida* (life), *los derechos humanos* (human rights), as well as impersonal structure *se + verb* to indicate general pattern that occurs. For example, in the remark (60), the 2nd generation participant uses impersonal *hay* (there is) to describe and evaluate the current socio-economic situation in Cuba by collocating it with the noun *pobreza* (poverty), and impersonal structure ‘*se + verb*’ to talk about impossibility to live in Cuba. By using impersonal structures, the participant not only expresses evaluation from a distance but also communicates sense of personal detachment from the described situation, as well as overall generalization, implying a general nature of the pattern in Cuba that applies to everybody. Similar patterns were found among participants of both 1.5 and 2nd generation groups (61) and (62).

(60) [2-F28] ***Hay mucha pobreza allá, no se puede vivir ahí.*** ‘There is a lot of poverty there, it is not possible to live there.’

(61) [1.5-M14] ***Lo veo como que se hacen muchos errores en Cuba bobos, muchos errores tontos. Cosas que... cositas que se pudieran mejorar y la vida del cubano fuera mejor, fuera más feliz.*** ‘I see that there are a lot of stupid mistakes being made in Cuba, a lot of stupid mistakes. Things that... little things that could change and the life of a Cuban would be better, it would be happier.’

(62) [2-F35] ***Por las condiciones. Hay mucho control allá, <...> hace rato están en una situación mala, muy controlada.*** ‘Because of the conditions. There is a lot of control there, <...> they have been in a bad situation for a while, very controlled.’

Finally, participants used structures of comparison *como si fue* (as if there were) and *es como* (it's like) to provide parallels with a hurricane (*huracán*) (63) and disaster (*desastre*) (64).

(63) [2-F31] *Sólo si cambia la situación económica-social, sólo eso, porque ha llegado a un momento ahora qué está tan... Parece como si fue un huracán... Un huracán por ahí y lo destruyó todo.* 'Only if socio-economic situation changes, only that, because it has come to a moment now that is so... I seems like there was a hurricane... A hurricane there and it destroyed everything.'

(64) [2-M24] *Cuba es como un desastre ahora. Están como detrás en infraestructure, como setenta y cinco años por ahí.* 'Cuba is like a disaster now. They are behind in infrastructure, like seventy-five years there.'

While evaluating the agents (and their behaviors) responsible for the current situation in Cuba, participants used active voice and active verbs to emphasize the agency of the 'system' (*el sistema*), 'government' (*el gobierno*), 'communism' (*comunismo*), 'dictatorship', as well as evaluations of key figures, such as Fidel Castro and Che Guevara. The verbs that indicated participants' stance included *no dejar progresar* (do not let progress), *desbaratar* (to ruin), *destrozar* (to destroy), *destruir* (to destroy), *no dejar expresarse* (do not let express oneself), *no dejar desarrollarse* (do not let develop). For example, in the excerpt (65), the 1.5 generation participant expresses his stance on communism by attributing the action of 'destroying' (*destruye*) to it. By using active voice of the verb, he gives agency to the communism for the current socio-political situation in Cuba. Moreover, the participant uses personal deixis (first person pronoun *nos* 'us') to demonstrate personal proximity and self-inclusion in the Cuban group. Similar attitudes, present among the 2nd generation can be observed in the examples (66–68).

(65) [1.5-M25] *El comunismo nos destruye todos, y no hay nada. <...> Hasta que el comunismo sigue allá—no. I'm not gonna go help. Yo sí que mando cosas con mi abuela cuando va para familia pero ahí no más.* 'Communism destroys us all, and there is nothing.

<...> Until communism stays there—no. I’m not gonna go help. Yes, I send things with my grandmother when she goes there, but that’s it.’

(66) [2-M26] *El sistema no te deja progresar*. ‘The system does not let you progress.’

(67) [2-M31] *Comunismo en Cuba ha desbaratado la isla, la ha desbaratado, porque eso es lo que ha hecho*. ‘Communism in Cuba has ruined the island, it has ruined it because that’s what it has done.’

(68) [2-M22] *Es un lugar bien lindo y, como te dije todavía tengo familia allá, so... Lo único es que el gobierno allá destroza todo*. ‘It a very beautiful place, and like I told you, I still have family there, so... The only thing is that the government ruins everything.’

Finally, when expressing their positionality towards current political and economic situation in Cuba, participants used *no estoy de acuerdo* (I do not agree) to explicitly demonstrate their personal disagreement with the decisions and actions of the Cuban government (examples 69 and 70).

(69) [1.5-M15] *Bueno, no estoy de acuerdo con gran parte de las decisiones que se toman en Cuba de parte del gobierno*. ‘Well, I do not agree with the major part of the decision that government take in Cuba.’

(70) [2-F1] *No, porque no estoy de acuerdo con el gobierno, pero si tuviera otro gobierno yo creo que ese país tiene mucho potencial, pero no estoy de acuerdo con el gobierno*. ‘No, because I do not agree with the government, but if there was a different government, I think that country has a lot of potential, but I do not agree with the government.’

The analysis of stance, as seen in the usage of markers of Judgement in participants’ discourse, indicated similar patterns among two target groups: expression of negative emotions towards present socio-political and economic situation of Cuba. Participants negatively judged the general socio-political condition of Cuba (using *estar* + adjective and impersonal structures (*no*) *hay* and *se* + verb), expressed their negative evaluations with respect to the agents (in their opinion) responsible for such condition (using active voice and active verb to emphasize agency), as well as

explicitly stated their (dis)agreement with the current politics. On the one hand, demonstration of such a strong stance (rather than indifference) indicates a high level of symbolic transnational involvement with Cuba and concern about the present socio-political and economic situation. On the other hand, it indicates a reluctance to consider visiting or living in Cuba, and/or staying actively engaged with the country, which parallels with the lack of behavioral transnational component. Full list of examples on stance markers of Judgement can be found in the Appendix G, section G.2.2.

6.2.3 Markers of Appreciation

In the framework of Appraisal theory, Appreciation represents the evaluation of artifacts and phenomena by reference to aesthetics (form, presentation, appearance, impact) (Martin & White, 2005). Similar to markers of Judgement, the focus is placed on the “appraised” (object) and not on the “appraiser.” In the discourse of participants, markers of Appreciation relevant to symbolic transnationalism were noted in their descriptions of Cuba. When referring to Cuba itself, participants expressed highly positive evaluations of the aesthetic qualities of the country and its nature by using markers of Appreciation in the form of adjectives like *bonito* (pretty), *lindo* (beautiful), *único* (unique), *precioso* (gorgeous), and *bello* (beautiful), as seen in the examples (71–76). These adjectival markers of Appreciation were often collocated with intensifiers *bien* (very), *muy* (very), and *increíblemente* (incredibly)

(72) [1.5-M1] Cuba **tiene lugares lindos, la naturaleza y todo, las playas**. ‘Cuba has beautiful places, nature and everything, beaches.’

(73) [1.5-F35] Cuba es **precioso**. <...> Las montañas just like, es **increíblemente bello**. ‘Cuba is gorgeous. <...> mountains just like.. it’s incredibly beautiful.’

(74) [1.5-F5] Me han enseñado que es **un lugar muy bello**. ‘I was taught that it is a very beautiful place.’

(75) [2-M7] *Sé que es **un país bonito**. **Un país bien lindo** y **la gente de Cuba son muy ayudantes y giving, caring**.* ‘I know that it is a pretty country. A very beautiful country, and people in Cuba are very helpful and giving, caring.’

(76) [2-F11] *I mean I love it. It was **gorgeous**, I just wish you know they were on-par with the United States but it's **gorgeous**, it's just sad what happened there but they have to move on.*

Although markers of Appreciation do not directly demonstrate sense of belonging and transnational involvement, they illustrate participants’ stances towards certain phenomena in their country of origin. Such highly positive nature of the markers expressed in the discourse indicates a sense of appreciation of Cuba which is related to their emotional connection and can add to the overall state of symbolic transnational involvement. A full list of examples with stance markers of Appreciation can be found in the Appendix G, section G.2.3.

Analysis of the Attitude subsystem of the Appraisal theory (Affect, Judgement, and Appreciation) provided an understanding of positionality of the participants towards their country of origin and demonstrated how symbolic transnationalism is expressed by the participants through stance markers. Overall, participants indicated strong emotional involvement with the country and culture of origin. Such positionality was reflected in the following groups of stance markers used by the participants. Within the category of Affect, participants explicitly indicated their positive emotions towards their ethnic self-identification, family in Cuba, as well as Cuba and Cuban culture by using stance markers with the connotation of affection, attachment, sadness, nostalgia, and hope, as well as diminutive suffixes indicating endearment. Within the category of Judgement, participants expressed evaluation of the current socio-political situation in Cuba and the agents responsible for this situation using stance markers with connotations of destruction, decline, devastation, and disagreement. Finally, within the category of Appreciation, participants expressed their valuation of the aesthetic qualities of Cuba and its nature, using stance markers denoting

beauty and appreciation for the country. Taking into consideration all three components, it can be seen that participants expressed a strong stance towards Cuba. Although a large variety of emotions and markers of stance were found, ranging from love to pity, no sense of indifference or hate was noted. All the feelings expressed by the stance markers in the discourse of participants, clearly indicate high level of engagement with Cuba and the ethnic community, and thus provide additional evidence of symbolic transnational involvement among 1.5 and 2nd generation Cubans from the linguistic perspective.

CHAPTER 7. DISCUSSION

While the field of transnationalism addresses both the physical and emotional ties to the origin community (Basch, Schiller, & Szanton Blanc, 2000; Rumbaut, 2002), the role that language plays in establishing and maintaining such transnational practices, and specifically symbolic transnationalism, is not well understood. Addressing this gap, more specifically, the lack of research separating the two types of transnationalism with respect to language use, as well as general lack of research highlighting the link between specifically symbolic transnationalism and heritage language use, the present study aimed at investigating: (1) the level of symbolic transnationalism and characteristics of language use among 1.5 and 2nd generation of Cubans in Miami-Dade County; (2) the interrelation between heritage Spanish language use and the degree of symbolic transnationalism; (3) the external factors influential for symbolic transnational involvement; and (4) the reflection of symbolic transnational practices in the linguistic structures of deixis and stance in participants' discourse.

The Cuban community in Miami-Dade County, Florida, represents a relevant case for this project for several reasons. Overall, this community follows a trajectory comparable to that of other Hispanic groups in the US with respect to migration patterns (Duany, 2011). However, due to the historical background between Cuba and the US, a broad gap between the behavioral component of transnationalism is present among both the first and second-generation migrants, which effectively isolates the target aspect of symbolic transnationalism. Although there exists little behavioral transnationalism, the strong ethnic community, as well as high importance and instrumentality of the Spanish language at both the family and societal levels, have led to the development of positive attitudes towards Spanish and a unique situation favorable to heritage language maintenance. Therefore, this community represents a unique opportunity to examine the

relation between symbolic transnationalism and heritage language use among 1.5 and 2nd generation participants, and how this particular type of transnationalism is reflected in their discourse.

On the basis of the aims of the study, the following research questions were outlined:

(1a) To what degree is symbolic transnationalism present among 1.5 and 2nd generation Cubans in Miami?

(1b) What are the characteristics of language use among 1.5 and 2nd generation Cubans in Miami?

(2) Is there a correlation between symbolic transnationalism and language use among 1.5 and 2nd generation Cubans in Miami?

(3) What external factors influence the process of symbolic transnational involvement among 1.5 and 2nd generation Cubans in Miami, as represented in their discourse?

(4) (How) is symbolic transnational involvement expressed through linguistic structures (i.e., deixis and stance) in the discourse of 1.5 and 2nd generation Miami Cubans?

Due to the characteristics of the Cuban population in Miami area, most notably the 1.5 and 2nd generation, four hypotheses were proposed. First, considering the nature, strength, and organization of the Cuban community in Miami area (Alberts, 2006; Duany, 2011; Lynch, 2000), it was anticipated that 1.5 and 2nd generation Miami Cubans would maintain sense of belonging and indicate a high level of symbolic transnationalism involvement. Second, drawing on previous research on the heritage language proficiency and use (e.g., Porcel, 2006; Portes & Schauffler, 1994; Spence, Rojas, & Straubhaar, 2011), as well as the favorable characteristics in Miami for heritage language maintenance (e.g., López Morales, 2003; Portes & Hao, 2002; Roca, 2005), it was hypothesized that 1.5 and 2nd generation Miami Cubans would demonstrate a certain degree of language shift, but still show an extensive use of both Spanish and English languages. Third, based on the findings on the interconnection between behavioral transnationalism and heritage language

maintenance or shift among the successive generations of migrants (King, 2013; Menjívar, 2002; Trieu, Vargas, & Gonzales, 2015), it was hypothesized that a positive correlation between symbolic transnationalism and heritage language use would exist among 1.5 and 2nd generation Miami Cubans. Next, drawing of the previous studies on language maintenance and identity construction among the successive generations of migrants (Guardado, 2011; Lambert & Taylor, 1996; Portes & Hao, 2002), it was hypothesized that participants would distinguish the factors of family and Miami environment among most prominent in maintaining emotional connections with Cuba. Finally, drawing on the theory of deixis and stance (Biber & Finegan, 1988; Biber, 2004; Levinson, 1983; Levinson, 2004; Martin & White, 2005), it was hypothesized that participants' degree of symbolic transnationalism would be expressed in their use of deictic and stance markers.

The following chapter will present the discussion of the findings, specifically addressing research questions and hypotheses of the current project. The chapter will be subdivided into four sections according to the research questions: research question #1a (section 7.1), research question #1b (section 7.2), research question #2 (section 7.3), research question #3 (section 7.4), and research question #4 (section 7.5).

7.1 Research Question #1a

To what degree is symbolic transnationalism present among 1.5 and 2nd generation Cubans in Miami?

Data for quantitative analysis of the research question #1 were obtained from written questionnaires completed by the participants of both 1.5 and 2nd generation groups. The first questionnaire specifically examined the level of symbolic transnationalism, including family history of transnational practices (immediate social network), ways of doing, ways belonging, and sense of “home.” The second questionnaire examined heritage language use, composed of language

history, language proficiency, language choice, and language value. The level of symbolic transnationalism was analyzed based on descriptive statistics (mean score, standard deviation) for each group separately, the comparison of two target groups was performed using an independent two-sample t-test.

The results indicate overall symbolic transnational involvement for both 1.5 and 2nd generation groups. This overall finding supports and provides further evidence for the current research perspective, which considers the new second generation a “transnational generation” (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004, p.1005; Levitt & Waters, 2002) as opposed to the early works referring to transnationalism as “ephemeral first-generation phenomenon” (for review see Levitt & Schiller, 2004), and emphasizes its importance and involvement in transnational practices (Levitt & Waters, 2002; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Portes & Zhou, 1993).

When subcomponents of symbolic transnationalism were analyzed separately, the following trends were noted. In the aspect of immediate social network 1.5 generation group demonstrated more involvement in communication with Cuba directly, due to factors such as their place of birth, age of arrival to the US, and, most importantly, presence of immediate family members in Cuba. The 2nd generation group’s communication with those in Cuba was limited to the family domain and predominantly took place through their immediate family in Miami. This trend provides evidence of the immediate family being a mediator between 1.5 and 2nd generation migrants and their country of origin, which supports their sense of symbolic (rather than behavioral) transnationalism. This finding with respect to the family domain provides additional evidence to the body of research on the importance of the family domain for successive generations of migrants (Guardado, 2011; Lambert & Taylor, 1996; Portes & Hao, 2002; Wolf, 1997). More importantly,

it adds another variable (symbolic transnationalism) that is influenced by the family domain, along with the previously distinguished aspects of heritage language, culture, and identity construction.

With respect to the second subcomponent, ways of doing (actual social relations and practices, social and cultural involvement in Cuban/ Cuban-American organizations and events in Miami), both groups demonstrated overall low participation in the activities directly associated with Cuba. On the one hand these findings might serve as counter evidence of the self-affiliation and emotional involvement with Cuba and Cuban culture, however, the thematic qualitative analysis provided another perspective on this finding. Specifically, participants noted a significant presence of Cuba in the broader Miami environment and in their everyday life. According to the responses of the participants, given that Cuba and Cuban culture are engrained and closely intertwined with the Miami environment there is no necessity to engage in specifically Cuban events and organizations (as it can be seen in the Excerpt 1).

(1) [2-M24] *Como he vivido como en esa área entre tanto tiempo yo... Es como estamos celebrando una cosa que somos todos los días, entonces, no creo que hay tanta razón para celebrar eso.* ‘As I’ve lived in this area for so long, I... It’s like we are celebrating something that we are all the time, so I don’t think there’s much sense to celebrate that.’

Moreover, the strong presence of Cuba in the home environment, all of which was initiated, maintained, and practiced by the older generation of the immediate family, again demonstrates the important role of the family domain for maintaining transnational ties among the 2nd generation.

While responses in each of the two subcomponents, immediate social network and ways of doing, demonstrated overall uniform trends (high scores in immediate social network and low in ways of doing), the subcomponent of ways of belonging demonstrated further differentiation: while participants indicated a high level of connection to Cuba and its importance in their lives (sense of belonging), participants of both groups demonstrated clear preference for the US environment

(sense of “home”). This trend does not coincide with the general findings in the previous literature, where the notions of belonging and home have frequently been interconnected. For example, Silva (2009) described “home” as both “physical presence/ geographical location” and “metaphorical place of comfort and belonging” (p. 695), thus emphasizing their inseparability. Generally, in the studies on transnationalism “home” has been characterized as a place of security, control, and familiarity, important social relations, as well as an idea closely connected with the family domain (Blunt & Dowling, 2006; Mallet, 2004; Sirriyeh, 2010). These definitions of home provide additional evidence of the symbolic nature of transnationalism among the participants in this study. On the one hand, they acknowledge their connection to Cuba, which is reflected in both quantitative and qualitative components. On the other hand, their sense of “home” responses provided in the survey and detailed in the interviews, indicate that it is the US environment that represents their place of security, control, and familiarity, all of which provides evidence of the symbolic nature of their transnational involvement with Cuba. Therefore, this differentiation between the sense of belonging and “home,” generally combined in the literature, provides a vivid example of the complex reality of symbolic transnational involvement for the participants in this study: maintenance of emotional ties with the country and culture of origin in the broader context of the overall integration in the dominant US society.

When two groups were compared, an independent t-test indicated a higher degree of symbolic transnationalism among 1.5 generation than 2nd generation participants. This trend was noted both in their overall symbolic transnationalism scores, as well as in the subcomponents of immediate social network and ways of doing. Overall, this finding supports the description of the classic 1.5 generation as “living between two cultures” proposed by Goldschmidt and Miller (2005), where native culture and language involvement inside the family domain co-functions with the host

society's dominant language and culture in the societal domain. The fact that the 1.5 generation group evidenced a slightly higher level of symbolic transnational involvement represented an expected trend considering the characteristics of the group: country of birth and age of arrival to the US.

Worth noting, while quantitative analysis indicated statistically higher level of symbolic transnational involvement among 1.5 generation, both qualitative and linguistic analyses provide evidence of a high level of symbolic transnational involvement among both groups. Participants of both groups explicitly expressed their connection to Cuba as a land, Cuban culture, and the ethnic Cuban community by using deictic markers of personal and metaphorical proximity, as well as stance markers of Affect and Appreciation. Such divergence of the results emerged due to the nature and scope of the questions in the instrument: while surveys were focused on major subcomponents of symbolic transnationalism, interview questions elicited more detailed responses and in-depth discussion which provided clarification to the general trends found in the surveys. This observation provides additional evidence of the beneficial nature of a mixed-method approach in sociolinguistic research that allows to obtain well-rounded results, including general trends reflected in the quantitative component as well as more in-depth analysis.

The results obtained in the study indicate presence of symbolic transnational involvement for both target groups, despite limited access to Cuba, and thus, an overall context of the lack of behavioral transnationalism. The general concept of transnationalism has traditionally been further subdivided into behavioral and symbolic (Rumbaut, 2002) and analyzed in research drawing on the findings from both subcomponents. However, research has generally focused on contexts in which both subcomponents could potentially be present (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004, p.1005; Levitt & Waters, 2002; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). However, the cases where the characteristics of a migrant

community (i.e., lack of behavioral component) determined a specific nature of transnationalism have not been observed. Therefore, this study illustrates a unique situation where symbolic transnationalism was analyzed in isolation, in the general lack of behavioral component. The findings obtained in the course of the quantitative analysis (i.e., presence of symbolic transnational involvement in the context of the lack of behavioral transnational practices) provide grounds for the validity of separating the general concept of transnationalism into its subcomponents, as they are not always found to be in direct correlation (which was confirmed in the present study), and thus add to the theoretical body of research in transnational studies.

7.2 Research Question #1b

What are the characteristics of language use among 1.5 and 2nd generation Cubans in Miami?

Data for quantitative analysis of the research question #1b were obtained from a written questionnaire completed by the participants. The questionnaire examined heritage language use, composed of language history, language proficiency, language choice, and language value. Language use situation was analyzed based on descriptive statistics (mean score, standard deviation) for each group separately, the comparison of two target groups was performed using an independent two-sample t-test.

Considering language use, drawing on the model provided by Bilingual Language Profile, (Birdsong, Gertken, & Amengual, 2012), both groups indicated extensive use of both Spanish and English languages in both family and societal domains. There was a differentiation noted between the 1.5 and 2nd generation, with the 1.5 generation group demonstrating a balanced use of both English and Spanish (with a non-significant preference for Spanish) and the 2nd generation group showing a significant preference for English. Although 2nd generation demonstrated preference and

dominance of the English language across the subcomponents of language history, language proficiency, and language choice, analysis of the language value subcomponent revealed that participants ascribe high importance to the Spanish language. These findings with respect to language history, proficiency, and choice represented an expected pattern due to the characteristics of the target groups. Namely, participants of the 1.5 generation group received more exposure to the Spanish language and in some cases initial schooling in Cuba (depending on the age of arrival to the US), but at the same time have already integrated in the US environment and are undergoing the process of socialization and schooling in the English language. Therefore, they employ a more balanced use of both languages than 2nd generation group individuals who were born in the US and generally received no schooling in the Spanish language. However, it should be noted that while statistical results for the 2nd generation group revealed slight preference for the English language, sociolinguistic interviews provided additional information. Only three participants (out of total 48) chose English as the main language for the sociolinguistic interview, which is indicative of their high level of comfort with the Spanish language. Moreover, another three participants, while choosing English to complete the survey, still conducted interviews in the Spanish language. This trend, noted among 2nd generation group, provides additional evidence of a certain level of comfort with the Spanish language, and more specifically, with its oral production (as noted among heritage speakers (Li & Duff, 2008)). Moreover, it provides additional evidence of the importance of a mixed-method approach in sociolinguistic research.

The subcomponent of the Spanish language value, which was highly scored by both groups of participants, responds to the unique position of Spanish in the Miami environment. Participants recognized and valued the minority language (Spanish) in both family and societal domains. Again, it is worth noting the unique characteristics of the Miami context, including the high percentage of

Hispanic residents, the elevated position of the Cuban community, the high instrumentality of the Spanish language, continuous contact with monolingual Spanish speakers, as well as positive attitudes towards Spanish from both Spanish and English language monolinguals (Alberts, 2006; Duany, 2011; Lynch, 2000, Roca, 2005). These characteristics likely contribute to the overall high evaluation of the instrumentality of the Spanish language, regardless of language history, proficiency, and language choice. The finding of high value for the Spanish language reveals the importance of the environment and context in the nature of heritage speakers' relations with their heritage language, which might serve as an influential factor that contributes to the process of the heritage language maintenance.

Worth noting, the high value of the Spanish language among both groups was confirmed and complemented by the findings obtained in qualitative and discourse analyses. Along with the importance of the Spanish language for communication in the family domain and its high instrumentality on the societal level, its value was also acknowledged for symbolic transnational involvement. The Spanish language was perceived by the participants of both groups as one of the most prominent factors that promote maintenance and/or development of symbolic transnational connections with Cuba and sense of in-group solidarity with the Cuban community.

7.3 Research Question #2

Is there a correlation between symbolic transnationalism and language use among 1.5 and 2nd generation Cubans in Miami?

In order to address research question #2 statistical correlations between the subcomponents of language use and symbolic transnationalism were generated using a bivariate Pearson correlation test.

Previous research has indicated interconnection between behavioral transnationalism and heritage language maintenance or shift among the successive generations of migrants, where higher proficiency in the heritage language correlates with higher involvement in behavioral transnational practices (Duff, 2015; Imbens-Bailey, 1996; Menjívar, 2002; Trieu, Vargas, & Gonzales, 2015). However, no previous research has addressed specifically symbolic transnationalism and heritage language use interconnection. As symbolic transnationalism is a subcomponent or subtype of transnationalism, it was hypothesized that a correlation between symbolic transnationalism and heritage language use may also exist. The results revealed distinct patterns among target groups. For the 1.5 generation group, no statistically significant correlations were found between language use and symbolic transnationalism overall, nor between the majority of their subcomponents (c.f. language proficiency–immediate social network relation). This trend can be indicative of the situation where emotional ties with both the country of origin and the heritage language are strong, and as such are not vulnerable or dependent on each other. A second possibility is also acknowledged, that this particular group is prone to a distinct set of external factors that were not examined in the current study.

The 2nd generation group demonstrated statistically significant correlations between Spanish language use and symbolic transnationalism overall, as well as in the majority of their subcomponents. Specifically, a higher level of symbolic transnational involvement was directly correlated with a higher level of Spanish language use. This finding supports the proposed hypothesis and coincides with the conclusions of the previous studies on behavioral transnationalism and language (King, 2003; Menjívar, 2002; Trieu, Vargas, & Gonzales, 2015). Most importantly, this study adds data specifically related to the symbolic transnationalism component to the theory of transnational studies and sociolinguistics. Moreover, the direct

correlation between symbolic transnationalism and heritage language use, confirmed by the statistical results of this study, highlights symbolic transnationalism and adds it as another significant variable to consider in sociolinguistic research with migrant communities.

While causality is not addressed in the current study, the results of the correlation test for the 2nd generation group provided strong evidence for overarching links between the level of symbolic transnationalism and language, such that greater affiliation with the culture of origin is related to a greater use and importance of the heritage language. This strong connection between heritage language use and symbolic transnationalism among heritage speakers, observed in the course of the study, emphasizes heritage speakers' bi-directional relationship: heritage language maintenance for sustaining transnational ties, as well as development of heritage culture awareness for more effective heritage language development.

7.4 Research Question #3

What external factors influence the process of symbolic transnational involvement among 1.5 and 2nd generation Cubans in Miami, as represented in their discourse?

Data for both qualitative and linguistic analyses were obtained through semi-structured sociolinguistic interviews that included two broad topics: (1) information about participants in particular (i.e., everyday life, experience of growing up in Miami being of Cuban origin, self-identification, family, presence of Cuba in their daily life, sense of being and belonging to Cuba, sense of “home”) and (2) broader questions about Cuba and the Cuban community in Miami context (feelings about Cuba, presence of Cuba in Miami, attitudes towards Cuban). The analysis included a grounded iterative thematic approach (Corbin & Strauss, 1990; Glaser & Strauss, 1967) to distinguish external factors influential for the process of symbolic transnational involvement, as

well as linguistic analysis of deixis and stance markers as the means of expression of symbolic transnationalism.

While the initial analysis of the overall level of symbolic transnationalism, as well as the contribution of the previously identified subcomponents, relies heavily on the quantitative analysis, the results are further complemented by the thematic analysis. The results of the quantitative analysis indicated that both 1.5 and 2nd generation participants demonstrate an overall high degree of symbolic transnationalism, despite limited contact with Cuba. Therefore, thematic analysis was applied to distinguish external factors most influential in the process of maintenance of symbolic transnational practices, more specifically, connection to Cuba. Detailed investigation of the data indicated that the family domain (section 5.2), Miami environment and ethnic community (section 5.2), and Spanish language context in Miami (5.3), were the most prominent factors involved in the process of maintenance and development of symbolic transnational involvement.

7.4.1 Family Domain

According to the results, the family domain represents an important factor in the process of the heritage culture and language maintenance, as well as self-identification with the ethnic community. This finding on symbolic transnationalism adds to the body of research that shows family domain to be one of the most significant factors influencing heritage culture and language maintenance or shift among successive generations of migrants (Lambert & Taylor, 1996; Portes & Hao, 2002; Wolf, 1997).

More specifically, it is the immediate family that promotes symbolic transnational involvement among 1.5 and 2nd generation migrants in a number of aspects both explicitly and implicitly. According to the participants, in light of the lack of significant behavioral transnationalism, one's overall family history ("roots") serves as the basis for establishing self-

affiliation with the country of origin. Participants build connections with their heritage culture and country of origin on both conscious and subconscious level, through food, home interior, traditions, and conversations – rules that have been established by parents and grandparents and maintained on a daily basis. Although family in Cuba also positively influences symbolic transnational involvement, it is the immediate family in Miami that serves a mediator between participants and relatives in Cuba, which provides additional evidence of the importance of the immediate family domain in maintaining transnational connections.

Since family domain, especially for the 2nd generation, represents the major or the only reference to Cuba, younger generations tend to adopt their family's attitudes towards Cuba, and continue to follow the trajectory established in the family. However, positive attitudes towards Cuba in the family result in the situation of maintenance of emotional connections, ethnic self-identification, self-affiliation with the heritage culture, as well as the phenomenon of “inherited nostalgia.” This term, introduced by Maghbouleh (2010), is understood as the sense of nostalgia for the country of origin among successive generations of migrants developed only through the memories of the parents. Taking into consideration a scarce number of studies developing the idea of “inherited nostalgia” among successive generations of migrants, this study empirically confirms the existence of this phenomenon, provides a clear example of this situation, and thus adds to the theoretical basis of this phenomenon.

As it can be seen from the results, immediate family functions as an overall mediator between participants and Cuba that establishes and reinforces connections with their heritage culture and the country of origin. This trend, in conjunction with other research highlighting the importance of family, suggests that the family domain may serve as a universal factor in determining the degree and nature of transnationalism, particularly in the absence of significant

behavioral transnationalism (Arriaga, 2005; Haller & Landolt, 2005; Levitt, 2009; Menjívar, 2002; Reynolds, 2006; Rumbaut, 2002; Vickerman, 2011).

7.4.2 Local Environment

Although family domain represents a highly important factor in maintaining transnational connections, it is strongly supported by the societal domain (Arriaga, 2005; Haller & Landolt, 2005; Levitt, 2009; Menjívar, 2002; Reynolds, 2006; Rumbaut, 2002; Vickerman, 2011). The societal domain, which has been shown to be influential in determining the nature of transnationalism, distinguishes the Cuban community in Miami from other migrant populations.

Stemming from historical-political factors, Miami has developed into a city with strong links to Cuba and an environment where the presence of the Cuba is highly visible and recognized by both individuals of Cuban origin and other ethnic groups. Both the large size of the population and the political and economic weight of the Cuban community has shaped Miami into a “Cuba outside of Cuba” that re-creates Cuba in the foreign environment, accommodates all groups (i.e., waves) of migrants, leads to the development of in-group solidarity, and thus promotes symbolic transnational connection with Cuba among successive generations. The position of the Cuban community in Miami, documented by the previous research (Alba, Logan, Lutz, & Stults, 2002; Carter & Lynch, 2015; García & Otheguy, 1985; López Morales, 2003; Lynch, 2000; Lynch, 2003; Roca, 2005) was supported by the data obtained in the study. Participants from both groups recognized the presence and influence of the Cuban community and culture (e.g., restaurants, food, music, cultural events, Cuba-themed attributes, linguistic landscape) and, moreover, this factor emerged in the data as one of the external factors that positively influences and strengthens their sense of emotional connection with Cuba and self-identification as a part of the Cuban/Cuban-American community.

Moreover, the role of Miami in symbolic transnational connections and self-affiliation with the ethnic community was observed through participants' comparisons of Miami with other locations. When compared to different U.S. cities or states and participants' experiences there, Miami was explicitly presented as an agent that reinforces their "Cubanness," notion of "home" on the basis of Cuban presence, as well as connections to Cuba itself and participants' heritage culture. These comparisons explicitly built by the participants in the course of this study, reiterate the unique nature of Miami society and the importance of the Miami environment in forming their connection to Cuba and Cuban culture.

According to an extensive body of previous research (Arriaga, 2005; Beckstead & Toribio, 2003; Carter & Lynch, 2015; Haller & Landolt, 2005; Levitt, 2009; Menjívar, 2002; Pérez, 2001; Portes & Schauffler, 1994; Reynolds, 2006; Rumbaut, 2002; Vickerman, 2011), the host society represents one of the deciding factors in the process of adaptation of migrant communities. Generally, the relations between a host society and minority groups are discussed in the paradigm of the host society being an agent of eventual assimilation of migrant communities with a variety of potential outcomes: acculturation model (Berry, 1997), segmented assimilation (Zhou, 1997), reactive identity (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001), among many. This dominant society–minority group relationship can generally lead to cultural adaptation and shift towards the dominant language of the receiving society, as well as rapid heritage language attrition among the second generation (Alba & Nee, 2005; Carter & Lynch, 2015; Jia, 2008; Montrul, 2010; Pérez, 2001; Portes & Schauffler, 1994; Portes & Zhou, 1993). However, this study provided a clear illustration of a distinct trend. In the case of the Cuban community in Miami, factors such as the environment and the ethnic community, working together, promote maintenance of existing transnational connections among first generation migrants, serve as a point of reference (in terms of the country and culture of origin)

for successive generations, and contribute to building symbolic transnational connections by developing the sense of self-identification with the ethnic community and maintaining certain level of Spanish–English bilingualism.

7.4.3 Spanish Language Use

Miami represents a distinctive environment not only with respect to the Cuban community and culture but to the Spanish language as well. This unique linguistic situation has developed due to a consistent influx of Spanish-speaking monolinguals (from various Hispanic groups), a high instrumentality of Spanish, and a recognition of the importance of Spanish on the societal level by both Spanish and English language monolinguals (Alba, Logan, Lutz, & Stults, 2002; Carter & Lynch, 2015; García & Otheguy, 1985; López Morales, 2003; Lynch, 2000; Lynch, 2003; Roca, 2005). Due to these factors, Spanish has been perceived as an asset on the instrumental level, as well as a marker of Cubans' ethnic distinctiveness and in-group solidarity (Alfaraz, 2002), which serves as an important factor in building and maintaining strong emotional ties with the country of origin.

Findings of the previous research have been complemented by the data obtained in the current study. Participants of both groups not only indicated Spanish language, a minority language in a dominant language environment, as important on both familial and societal levels (which based on the quantitative analysis confirms the results of the previous studies), but, more importantly, named it among influential factors that positively influence their emotional connection with their heritage culture and ethnic community.

Considering the family domain, the data indicated that Spanish language is widely, and in some cases exclusively, used at home. This language use or choice often follows the traditions established in the families or due to the language proficiency of the older generation of relatives,

which is followed (voluntarily or not) by the participants. Family plays an important role in language choice for both 1.5 and 2nd generation individuals, as it is the family domain that, being the narrowest circle in the person's life, predominantly triggers or yields the processes of identity construction, individual language choice, and patterns of language shift or maintenance (Guardado, 2011).

However, the family domain cannot solely provide conditions for heritage language maintenance, as the socialization and schooling of the successive generations of migrants occurs at the societal level and thus, in the cases of minority communities in a dominant host society, the process of natural gradual shift towards the dominant in the host society language usually takes place (Carter & Lynch, 2015; Pérez, 2001; Portes & Schauffler, 1994; Spences, 2012). In this respect, Spanish language use in Miami appears to trend in the opposite direction, according to the responses of the participants. Its prominent presence, high instrumentality, and broad support on the societal level promotes bilingualism among successive generation migrants. Although, according to the quantitative results of this study, 2nd generation demonstrated slight preference and dominance of the English language, and thus a certain degree of language shift towards the dominant English language was present (being a natural process due to the factors such as schooling, major socialization, media, and overall dominance of the English language in the environment), this trend does not represent a rapid change. Although 2nd generation participants demonstrate certain traits of heritage speakers with respect to heritage language attrition (e.g., low self-esteem with respect to heritage language proficiency, transfer from English to Spanish, lower proficiency in written vs. oral modalities), their development does not follow the typical pattern of (fairly) rapid linguistic assimilation (Gardner-Chloros, 1992; Porcel, 2006; Portes & Schauffler, 1994; Spence, Rojas, & Straubhaar, 2011). Specifically, for the 2nd generation, this pattern

predominantly results in the situation of Spanish–English bilingualism rather than English-language monolingualism, which provides a vivid illustration and support to the outcome proposed by Portes and Hao (2002).

Drawing on the qualitative thematic analysis, the family domain, local Miami environment, and Spanish language instrumentality are the principal factors that influence the symbolic transnational involvement of 1.5 and 2nd generations. While all these factors have proven to be important on their own for defining the nature of transnationalism and heritage culture and language maintenance or attrition, this study allowed to observe the importance of the interplay of these three factors. For the 2nd generation group, this combination of factors helped to develop symbolic transnational connections, self-identification with the ethnic community, and a certain level of Spanish-English bilingualism. For the 1.5 generation group, the conjunction of the aforementioned factors assisted with both the process of integration into the dominant society, as well as the maintenance of emotional ties with the country of origin. This outcome with respect to 1.5 and 2nd generations' degree of symbolic transnationalism and maintenance of the heritage language and culture, not only distinguishes the most prominent external factors but, most importantly, highlights the significance of the combination of the aforementioned external factors. In this community, these three factors in conjunction serve to support and promote symbolic transnational involvement, heritage culture and language.

7.5 Research Question #4

How is symbolic transnational involvement expressed through linguistic structures (i.e., deixis and stance) in the discourse of 1.5 and 2nd generation Miami Cubans?

To address research question #4, linguistic markers of deixis and stance were chosen for analysis. Given the primary functions of deixis (i.e., expression of personal, spatial, temporal, and metaphorical distance, and stance (expression of feelings, emotions, and judgement), they represent unique linguistic tools to investigate emotional connections, involvement, and self-affiliation with the country and culture of origin.

7.5.1 Deixis

According to the analysis, participants of the study extensively used personal, spatial, and temporal deixis when referring to Cuba, the Cuban community, and Cuban culture. Overall, both the 1.5 and 2nd generation groups used personal deixis: (1) to express personal proximity and self-affiliation with the ethnic group, heritage culture, and the country of origin, (2) to demonstrate in-group solidarity, (3) to present their experiences as generalizable and comparable to the rest of the group, and (4) to express sentiments and emotions about the country of origin and ethnic community. These findings provide additional support for the trends obtained in quantitative and qualitative analyses. Namely, they illustrate symbolic transnational involvement among 1.5 and 2nd generation migrants and highlight the importance of the co-functioning of the external factors (family domain, societal domain, position of the ethnic community, and Spanish language situation) in establishing personal proximity to the culture of origin among successive generations of migrants. The importance of the family domain and the society has been highlighted in the previous research (Guardado, 2011; Lambert & Taylor, 1996; Portes & Hao, 2002; Wolf, 1997) on ethnic identity construction and language maintenance or attrition among successive generations of migrants. However, this study represents an important case that emphasizes the significance of co-functioning of these factors, as well as the dominant–minority language situation, in the process of symbolic transnational involvement.

In terms of spatial deixis, both groups used these markers to indicate their current physical point of reference (Miami) and spatial distance from Cuba. However, when the analysis considered the discursive context of spatial deictic markers, a dichotomy emerged. Specifically, participants expressed a physical spatial distance with Cuba, while simultaneously indicating a metaphorical proximity with Cuba and Cuban culture. The expression of physical distance from Cuba was expected, given the current (long-term) place of residence of the participants. The expression of metaphorical proximity stemmed from strong presence of Cuba in Miami and re-creation of Cuba outside of Cuba by the ethnic community. In the case of Miami Cubans, the environment, everyday context, and linguistic landscape, function as a mediator between successive generations of migrants and Cuba, and thus contributes to building or maintaining of transnational connections, heritage culture, and language.

Considering temporal deixis, participants from both groups used these markers to indicate actual temporal distance with the present Cuba and potential future related to Cuba (when compared to their present point of reference). However, discourse analysis of the overall context again detected participants' metaphorical proximity to Cuba, although limited to a Cuba of the past. While in other subcomponents of deixis no significant difference was noted between the two target groups, in the case of temporal deixis certain differentiation was observed. The 1.5 generation group built their discourse and choice of temporal deictic markers based on their personal memories, experiences, and visits to Cuba. In contrast, the 2nd generation group relied on their parents' memories, judgements, and nostalgia with respect to Cuba, which in a number of cases led to the development of "inherited nostalgia" (Maghbouleh, 2010). Since both patterns represent retrospective direction, it provides explanation for an overarching trend of temporal distance with the present/future Cuba as opposed to metaphorical proximity to the past Cuba. The pattern

observed in the 2nd generation group, a proximity to Cuba through the prism of the family, provides additional support for the results of the thematic analysis with respect to the impact of the family domain on the degree of transnationalism and heritage language maintenance or attrition among successive generations of migrants.

7.5.2 Stancetaking

The analysis of stance markers performed by applying Appraisal theory (Martin & White, 2005), and more specifically the Attitude subsystem, revealed an extensive use of markers of all three components (Affect, Judgement, and Appreciation) when referring to topics of ethnic self-identification, Cuba as a state, Cuba as a land, and Cuban culture. Moreover, both the 1.5 and 2nd generation groups produced similar patterns and attitudes. This detailed analysis provided an understanding of the positionality of the participants towards their country and culture of origin, and demonstrated how symbolic transnationalism is reflected in the discourse of the participants through their use of stance markers.

Stance markers of Affect extensively surfaced in the discourse of participants to address topics such as ethnic self-identification, family in Cuba, Cuba as a land, and Cuban culture. It was observed that a sense of affect was expressed by both groups as a continuum of emotions, with an overarching positive connotation indicating sense of belonging. Generally both groups expressed affection towards their family in Cuba, attachment to the Cuban community, and positive attitudes towards Cuban culture, through the use of concepts such as love and pride. These findings closely parallel their use of personal deixis markers indicating personal proximity when referring to the same concepts. However, with respect to Cuba as a present-day country, expression of sadness and related emotions frequently occurred in the discourse of participants. These expressions of sadness

support the feeling of belonging, but indicates a distance from the present Cuba, paralleling the trend that was earlier observed in the use of temporal and spatial deixis. The analysis of deictic markers indicated temporal distance from a future Cuba, with a limited possibility to permanently relocate there and maintain physical connection with the country. However, expressions of hope, as a stance marker of Affect, towards the future of the Cuban people provided evidence of metaphorical connection with Cuba, which compliments the findings on metaphorical proximity observed in the analysis of deixis. It should be noted that while both groups demonstrated similar stance patterns, 1.5 generation group also expressed feeling of nostalgia and longing for the family in Cuba, which represents an additional layer to the sense of belonging and emotional connection built on their own experiences and direct connection with Cuba, and supports the definition of 1.5 generation as ‘living between two cultures’ (Goldschmidt & Miller, 2005).

With respect to markers of Judgement, both groups of participants indicated similar patterns, including the expression of negative emotions towards present situation in Cuba and Cuba as a state. Participants used stance markers of negative evaluation to (1) describe general condition of the present-day Cuba, (2) express their evaluations of the agents responsible for this condition, and (3) explicitly state their disagreement with the current political course. Such powerful stancetaking in the discourse of the participants provides evidence of two trajectories. Despite its negative connotation, such stance reflects participants’ emotional involvement with Cuba (supporting the findings on personal proximity and stance of affect), but it clearly provides additional evidence of their detachment from the present Cuba. Highlighting this detachment, some participants are reluctant to visit or live in Cuba, and/or to stay actively engaged with the country due to the current political processes, but retain the potential to change their stance with a change of the politics. This finding coincides with the previous works on transnationalism

among the migrants of the first two waves, where representatives of the first wave were opposed to transnational visits due to their political views (Eckstein & Barberia, 2002). In the case of successive generations of migrants, these attitudes towards the present-day Cuba and potential visits to Cuba built on their own observations are reinforced by the attitudes of their families transmitted to them.

Although markers of Appreciation did not directly express a sense of belonging and the nature of transnational involvement, they still reflected participants' stance towards their country of origin. Appreciation, distinct in nature and separated from the issues of the state, politics, familial ties, and actual familiarity with the country, and centered only on aesthetic qualities of Cuba, was expressed through the use of stance markers with the highly positive denotative meaning when addressing to the beauty of Cuba's nature. This pattern indicates participants' sense of appreciation for Cuba as a land, an idea that is related to emotional connection on the aesthetic level, and adds to the overall state of symbolic transnational involvement, as well as personal and metaphorical proximity of the target groups.

Deixis and stance markers have been extensively studied in both written (e.g., Blyth, 2012; Haas, Carr, & Takayoshi, 2011; Kresova & Ivanova, 2013) and oral (e.g., Cordella & Huang, 2014; Glover, 2000; Hank, 2009) speech from a variety perspectives, using both quantitative (e.g., Blyth, 2012; Vann, 1998) and qualitative (e.g., Hank, 2009; Stradioto, 2018) types of methodology. Moreover, these markers have been considered cross-linguistically (for structure of deixis in Yucatec Maya see Hank (2009); for Spanish see Blas Arroyo (2000), Jisa & Tolchinsky (2009), Rosado, Salas, Aparici, & Tolchinsky (2014), Stradioto (2018), and Zulaica-Hernández (2012); for French see Blyth (2012); for Russian see Kresova & Ivanova (2013); for Chinese, German, and Spanish see Cordella & Huang (2014). Predominantly, these studies were centered on the markers

per se, and on their structure and variation in usage. While deixis has been used in the research on transnationalism, it was investigated in the form of case studies (e.g., Stradioto, 2018). However, this study represents a structural and systematic analysis of an array of deictic (personal, spatial, and temporal) and stance (Affect, Judgement, and Appreciation) markers, all of which demonstrate clear patterns with respect to symbolic transnationalism and its subcomponents. The patterns noted in the discourse analysis of both deixis and stance markers generally parallel and complement the results obtained by both quantitative and qualitative methods, which proves its effectiveness in this type of sociolinguistic research. Moreover, applying this type of investigation in conjunction with quantitative methods provides more in-depth analysis: it can reveal relevant details not captured by the quantitative methods, specify patterns, as well as explain discrepancies by statistical methods, as it was noticed in the course of this study.

Overall, this study demonstrates that deictic and stance markers can be used as the means to investigate, along with other linguistic phenomena, broader issues connected with transnationalism. By doing so, it sets an important avenue for understanding the expression of such practices in the discourse of individuals and demonstrates the potential for using linguistic approaches, such as deixis and stance, to enhance research in other areas of study.

CHAPTER 8. CONCLUSION

Previous research in the fields of sociolinguistics and language acquisition has predominantly discussed language as a predictor of transnationalism, building a direct correlation between heritage language proficiency and overall transnational activity. However, with respect to language use, there has been no distinction between the two different types of transnationalism, behavioral and symbolic. Moreover, no detailed linguistic analysis has investigated the relation between heritage language use and symbolic transnationalism (i.e., emotional ties to the country of origin) among heritage speakers. The current project addresses these gaps, focusing on the example of two groups of heritages speakers: 1.5 and 2nd generation Cubans in Miami-Dade County, FL. This population represents an ideal test case for this type of investigation due to the unique nature of the community, namely a lack of behavioral transnationalism (e.g., visits to the country of origin) and significant heritage language maintenance.

8.1 Summary

To investigate the relations between language use and symbolic transnationalism, a mixed methods study was conducted, combining quantitative questionnaires with face-to-face sociolinguistic interviews. Quantitatively, data analysis centered on statistical correlations to investigate associations between sub-components of language use (history, proficiency, choice, and value) and transnationalism (ways of doing and belonging). Qualitatively, a thematic analysis was conducted to distinguish the most prominent external factors in the process of symbolic transnationalism maintenance or development. Finally, discourse analysis was used to investigate how symbolic transnationalism is reflected in linguistic structures, such as deixis (i.e., terms indicating distance) and stance (i.e., expression of feelings, judgement, and appreciation). Results

provide strong evidence for overarching links between the level of symbolic transnationalism and language among the 2nd generation group, such that greater affiliation with the culture of origin is related to a greater use and value of the heritage language. In addition, qualitative results show that external factors such as the family domain, the Miami environment and ethnic community, as well as the Spanish language situation in Miami, surface in the discourse of participants as most important for symbolic transnationalism maintenance. Finally, discourse analysis revealed that both target groups use deictic markers to express personal and metaphorical proximity as well stance markers of affect and appreciation towards ethnic community, Cuba as a land, Cuba of the past, and Cuban culture, as opposed to temporal and spatial distance as well as markers of judgement with respect to Cuba of the present and its current politics.

8.2 Contributions

The current project represents an interdisciplinary work that bridges fields of sociolinguistics, heritage language, and transnationalism. The contributions of this project can be found on both theoretical and practical levels. On a theoretical level, while the potential role of language in transnational practices has been previously noted (Alba, Logan, Lutz, & Stults, 2002; Duff, 2015; Imbens-Bailey, 1996; Menjívar, 2002; Trieu, Vargas, & Gonzales, 2015), this study systematically isolates the concept of symbolic transnationalism via a quantitative approach and investigates its connection with language. Their direct correlation, confirmed by the results, highlights symbolic transnationalism as a significant variable to consider in sociolinguistic research with migrant communities, and thus provides a solid theoretical base for bridging the disciplines of linguistics and transnationalism. Moreover, this is the first work to employ a structural linguistic approach (i.e., deixis and stance) to demonstrate how transnational ties may be represented through

linguistic structures, and thus it provides new tools for understanding how minority communities express their transnational connections.

On a practical level, this work emphasizes the importance of the context and cross-cultural awareness in language pedagogy. For heritage language learners, it underlines the bi-directional relationship: language maintenance for sustaining transnational ties, as well as development of heritage culture appreciation for more effective heritage language development. Moreover, its findings may be applicable to second language students as well, emphasizing the importance of a context-based approach to language acquisition, which plays a significant role in developing productive cross-cultural communication.

Overall, the findings of the study provide a deeper understanding of symbolic transnationalism among 1.5 and 2nd generation migrants and its relation to language use, and create new tools to investigate the links between language and transnationalism, which adds to existing theory and can be beneficial for further research in the field of sociolinguistics and transnational studies.

8.3 Limitations and Future Research

The current study presents several limitations that provide grounds for more in-depth investigation in the future research. The questionnaire instrument on symbolic transnationalism was developed on the basis of the previous research conducted in the field of transnational studies (CIEP, 1995; CILS, 1995; LNS, 2006; Levitt & Waters, 2002; Orellana-Damacela, 2012; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Vaquera & Aranda, 2011). In this study the component of “sense of belonging and home” was created as a single category, as it was expected that the aspects of sense of belonging and “home” would complement each other. However, in the course of the study with Cuban population in Miami, it was observed that these two aspects do not always represent the same

trajectory (e.g., strong sense of belonging with the country of origin and a strong sense of “home” related to the host country). Therefore, in the future research it will be relevant to separate the concepts of sense of belonging and sense of “home” and to test the subcomponent of “home” cross-generationally. This type of analysis will allow for the investigation of generational differences in the component of sense of “home.” Moreover, it will add to our understanding of the role of the perception of “home” (which deviates from an overall pattern observed across symbolic transnationalism subcomponents) and its interrelation with the general concept of symbolic transnational involvement among successive generations of migrants.

The results of the current study provide clear evidence of the interconnection between language use and symbolic transnationalism among 1.5 and 2nd generation migrants. The methodology employed was able to identify the link between symbolic transnationalism and heritage language use, but was unable to quantitatively establish the direction of the correlation. It is possible that greater language use leads to a greater degree of symbolic transnationalism. Or, on the contrary, it is possible that a greater degree of symbolic transnational involvement leads to more extensive language use. This information might be important on both the theoretical level and in the practical sphere of language pedagogy. Therefore, in the future it will be relevant to capture the causality of the interdependence of heritage language use and transnational involvement among successive generations of migrants. For example, this causality could be addressed via a longitudinal study with heritage speakers enrolled in heritage language classes where the level of symbolic transnational involvement will be tested as their heritage language proficiency increases.

Based on the previous research, two groups of participants were chosen according to their place of birth or age of arrival to the US: 1.5 generation and 2nd generation migrants. While 2nd generation group can be distinguished by their place of birth (host society), 1.5 generation group

does not represent a clear category but rather a continuum based on participants' age of arrival. Therefore, future work will benefit from closer consideration of 1.5 generation by adding age of arrival variable to the analysis and investigating potential differentiation in language use and symbolic transnationalism interconnection based on the age factor.

Finally, although the results of the analyses provide clear patterns, sufficient to fulfill the research aims of the study, the conclusions can currently be made only for a specific population – Cuban/Cuban-American community in Miami. In order for the results to be generalizable, in the future research they will need to be tested and confirmed for other migrant communities in different sociolinguistic contexts.

APPENDIX A. SURVEYS

Background Information

Please underline the appropriate answer and/or provide the information requested.

1. Gender: Male Female Other _____
2. Age _____
3. Place of birth (city, country) _____
4. Ethnicity _____
5. Highest level of formal education:
 - Less than high school
 - High school
 - Some college
 - College (BA, BS)
 - Some graduate school
 - Masters
 - PhD/ MD
 - Other _____
6. Occupation: _____
7. Place of birth of your parents / caregivers: _____
8. Age of arrival of your parents / caregivers to the US: _____
9. Relationship status:
 - Married/ have a partner: _____
 - Not married
10. Do you have children? If yes, how many?
 - Yes _____
 - No
11. Have you visited Cuba? If yes, how often do you go and how long do you usually stay there?
 - Yes frequency: _____ duration: _____
 - No
12. Do you still have relatives in Cuba?
 - Yes
 - No

13. Do you have friends in Cuba?

- Yes
- No

14. Approximately what percentage of you time do you spend among the following groups:

- Cubans _____ % of my time
- non-Cubans _____ % of my time (Total should equal 100%)

Información demográfica

Por favor, subraye la respuesta más apropiada y/o provea la información que se le pide.

15. Género: Masculino Femenino Otro _____

16. Edad _____

17. Lugar de nacimiento (ciudad, país) _____

18. Identidad étnica _____

19. El máximo nivel educativo que alcanzó:

- | | |
|---|-------------------------------|
| - Secundaria incompleta | - Posgrado incompleto |
| - Secundaria completa | - Posgrado completo (MA, MS) |
| - Universitaria o técnica incompleta | - Posgrado completo (PhD, MD) |
| - Universitaria o técnica incompleta (BA, BS) | - Otro _____ |

20. Ocupación: _____

21. Lugar de nacimiento de sus padres / cuidadores: _____

22. Edad de llegada de sus padres / cuidadores a los EE.UU.: _____

23. Estado civil:

- Casado/a, tiene pareja: _____
- Soltero/a

24. ¿Tiene hijos? Si la respuesta es positiva, ¿cuántos?

- Sí _____
- No

25. ¿Ha visitado Cuba? Si la respuesta es positiva, ¿con qué frecuencia va y por cuánto tiempo se queda allí?

- Sí frecuencia: _____ duración: _____
- No

26. ¿Todavía tiene familiares en Cuba?

- Sí
- No

27. ¿Todavía tiene amigos en Cuba?

- Sí
- No

28. Aproximadamente ¿qué porcentaje de su tiempo pasa Ud. entre estos grupos?

- | | | |
|--------------|----------------------|---------------------------|
| - Cubanos | _____ % de mi tiempo | |
| - no Cubanos | _____ % de mi tiempo | (El total deber ser 100%) |

Language Use Questionnaire

1. At what age did you start learning the following languages?

English

Since birth 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20+

Spanish

Since birth 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20+

2. At what age did you start to feel comfortable in the following languages?

English

Since birth 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20+

Spanish

Since birth 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20+

3. How many years of classes (grammar, history, math, etc.) have you had in the following languages (primary school through university)?

English

Since birth 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20+

Spanish

Since birth 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20+

4. How many years have you spent in a country/region where the following languages are spoken?

English

Since birth 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20+

Spanish

Since birth 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20+

5. How many years have you spent in a family where the following languages are spoken?

English

Since birth 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20+

Spanish

Since birth 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20+

6. How many years have you spent in a work environment where the following languages are spoken?

English

Since birth 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20+

Spanish

Since birth 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20+

7. Rate your abilities in Spanish and English on a scale from 0 to 6 (0- not well at all, 6- very well)

How well do you speak English?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
How well do you speak Spanish?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

How well do you understand English?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
How well do you understand Spanish?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

How well do you read English?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
How well do you read Spanish?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

How well do you write English?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
How well do you write Spanish?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

8. What language(s) do you use with parents / caregivers?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
only English			both English and Spanish			only Spanish

9. What language(s) do you use with siblings?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
only English			both English and Spanish			only Spanish

10. What language(s) do you use with grandparents?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
only English			both English and Spanish			only Spanish

11. What language(s) do you use with other relatives?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
only English			both English and Spanish			only Spanish

12. If in a relationship/married, what language do you use with your partner:

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
only English			both English and Spanish		only Spanish	

13. If you have children, what language do you use with them:

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
only English			both English and Spanish			only Spanish

14. What language(s) do you use with Cuban friends?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
only English			both English and Spanish			only Spanish

15. What language(s) do you use with non-Cuban friends?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
only English			both English and Spanish			only Spanish

16. What language(s) do you use on social occasions?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
only English			both English and Spanish			only Spanish

17. What language(s) do you use during work-/school-related activities?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6
only English both English and Spanish only Spanish

18. What language(s) do you use in the community (grocery stores, mall, church, community center?)

0 1 2 3 4 5 6
only English both English and Spanish only Spanish

19. What language(s) do you use to do simple arithmetic?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6
only English both English and Spanish only Spanish

20. In what language(s) do you dream?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6
only English both English and Spanish only Spanish

21. What language(s) do you use to express anger/affection?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6
only English both English and Spanish only Spanish

22. When you listen to the radio, what language is it?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6
only English both English and Spanish only Spanish

23. When you watch TV, what language is it?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6
only English both English and Spanish only Spanish

24. When you read books/newspapers, what language are they?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6
only English both English and Spanish only Spanish

Do you agree with the following statements?

25. It is important for me to speak Spanish with my parents / caregivers.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6
strongly disagree neutral strongly agree

26. It is important for me to speak English with my parents / caregivers.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6
strongly disagree neutral strongly agree

27. It is important for me to speak Spanish with my siblings.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6
strongly disagree neutral strongly agree

28. It is important for me to speak English with my siblings.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6
strongly disagree neutral strongly agree

29. It is important for me to speak Spanish with my grandparents.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
strongly disagree			neutral			strongly agree

30. It is important for me to speak English with my grandparents.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
strongly disagree			neutral			strongly agree

31. It is important for me to speak Spanish with other relatives.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
strongly disagree			neutral			strongly agree

32. It is important for me to speak English with other relatives.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
strongly disagree			neutral			strongly agree

33. It is important for me to speak Spanish with my friends.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
strongly disagree			neutral			strongly agree

34. It is important for me to speak English with my friends.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
strongly disagree			neutral			strongly agree

35. It is important for me to speak Spanish in the community (e.g. neighborhood, church).

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
strongly disagree			neutral			strongly agree

36. It is important for me to speak English in the community (e.g. neighborhood, church).

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
strongly disagree			neutral			strongly agree

37. It is necessary to speak Spanish to be a member of a Cuban community.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
strongly disagree			neutral			strongly agree

38. It is necessary to speak English to be a member of a Cuban community.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
strongly disagree			neutral			strongly agree

39. It is important for me to be able to understand Spanish language.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
strongly disagree			neutral			strongly agree

40. It is important for me to be able to understand English language.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
strongly disagree			neutral			strongly agree

41. It is important for me to know Spanish for my job.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
strongly disagree			neutral			strongly agree

42. It is important for me to know English for my job.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
strongly disagree			neutral			strongly agree

43. Spanish proficiency helped me get a job.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
strongly disagree			neutral			strongly agree

44. English proficiency helped me get a job.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
strongly disagree			neutral			strongly agree

45. Spanish gives me an advantage in receiving an economically better job in Miami.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
strongly disagree			neutral			strongly agree

46. English gives me an advantage in receiving an economically better job in Miami.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
strongly disagree			neutral			strongly agree

47. Spanish gives me other advantages in everyday service interactions in Miami (e.g. stores, restaurants, get necessary information, receive better service, etc.)?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
strongly disagree			neutral			strongly agree

48. English gives me other advantages in everyday service interactions in Miami (e.g. stores, restaurants, get necessary information, receive better service, etc.)?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
strongly disagree			neutral			strongly agree

Uso de idioma

1. ¿Desde qué edad empezó a aprender los siguientes idiomas?

Inglés

Desde nacimiento 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20+

Español

Desde nacimiento 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20+

2. ¿Desde qué edad empezó a sentirse cómodo en los siguientes idiomas?

Inglés

Desde nacimiento 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20+

Español

Desde nacimiento 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20+

3. ¿Por cuántos años ha tomado clases (gramática, historia, matemáticas, etc.) en los siguientes idiomas (desde la escuela primaria hasta la universidad)?

Inglés

Desde nacimiento 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20+

Español

Desde nacimiento 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20+

4. ¿Cuántos años ha pasado en el país/ región donde se hablan los siguientes idiomas?

Inglés

Desde nacimiento 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20+

Español

Desde nacimiento 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20+

5. ¿Cuántos años ha pasado en la familia donde se hablan los siguientes idiomas?

Inglés

Desde nacimiento 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20+

Español

Desde nacimiento 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20+

6. ¿Cuántos años ha pasado en un ambiente laboral (el trabajo) donde se hablan los siguientes idiomas?

Inglés

Desde nacimiento 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20+

Español

Desde nacimiento 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20+

7. Evalúe su dominio del español y del inglés en una escala de 0 a 6 (0 – muy mal, 6 – excelente)

¿Qué tan bien habla inglés?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
-----------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

¿Qué tan bien habla español?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

¿Qué tan bien comprende inglés?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
---------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

¿Qué tan bien comprende español?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
----------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

¿Qué tan bien lee en inglés?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

¿Qué tan bien lee en español?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
-------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

¿Qué tan bien escribe en inglés?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
¿Qué tan bien escribe en español?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
8. ¿Qué idioma(s) usa con sus padres / cuidadores?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
sólo inglés				inglés y español			sólo español
9. ¿Qué idioma(s) usa con sus hermanos?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
sólo inglés				inglés y español			sólo español
10. ¿Qué idioma(s) usa con sus abuelos?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
sólo inglés				inglés y español			sólo español
11. ¿Qué idioma(s) usa con otros familiares?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
sólo inglés				inglés y español			sólo español
12. Si está casado o tiene pareja, ¿qué idioma(s) usa con su pareja?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
sólo inglés				inglés y español			sólo español
13. Si tiene hijos, ¿qué idioma(s) usa con ellos?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
sólo inglés				inglés y español			sólo español
14. ¿Qué idioma(s) usa con sus amigos cubanos?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
sólo inglés				inglés y español			sólo español
15. ¿Qué idioma(s) usa con sus amigos no cubanos?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
sólo inglés				inglés y español			sólo español
16. ¿Qué idioma(s) usa en eventos sociales?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
sólo inglés				inglés y español			sólo español
17. ¿Qué idioma(s) usa durante actividades relacionadas con trabajo/escuela?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
sólo inglés				inglés y español			sólo español
18. ¿Qué idioma(s) usa en la comunidad (tiendas, centros comerciales, iglesia)?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
sólo inglés				inglés y español			sólo español
19. ¿Qué idioma(s) usa para hacer matemática elemental?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
sólo inglés				inglés y español			sólo español

20. ¿En qué idioma(s) sueña?
- | | | | | | | |
|-------------|---|---|------------------|---|---|--------------|
| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| sólo inglés | | | inglés y español | | | sólo español |
21. ¿Qué idioma(s) usa para expresar enojo/cariño?
- | | | | | | | |
|-------------|---|---|------------------|---|---|--------------|
| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| sólo inglés | | | inglés y español | | | sólo español |
22. ¿En qué idioma(s) escucha la radio?
- | | | | | | | |
|-------------|---|---|------------------|---|---|--------------|
| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| sólo inglés | | | inglés y español | | | sólo español |
23. ¿En qué idioma(s) ve la televisión?
- | | | | | | | |
|-------------|---|---|------------------|---|---|--------------|
| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| sólo inglés | | | inglés y español | | | sólo español |
24. ¿En qué idioma(s) lee libros / revistas?
- | | | | | | | |
|-------------|---|---|------------------|---|---|--------------|
| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| sólo inglés | | | inglés y español | | | sólo español |
- ¿Está de acuerdo con las siguientes declaraciones?
25. Para mí es importante hablar español con mis padres / cuidadores.
- | | | | | | | |
|-------------------|---|---|---------|---|---|----------------|
| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| muy en desacuerdo | | | neutral | | | muy de acuerdo |
26. Para mí es importante hablar inglés con mis padres / cuidadores.
- | | | | | | | |
|-------------------|---|---|---------|---|---|----------------|
| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| muy en desacuerdo | | | neutral | | | muy de acuerdo |
27. Para mí es importante hablar español con mis hermanos.
- | | | | | | | |
|-------------------|---|---|---------|---|---|----------------|
| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| muy en desacuerdo | | | neutral | | | muy de acuerdo |
28. Para mí es importante hablar inglés con mis hermanos.
- | | | | | | | |
|-------------------|---|---|---------|---|---|----------------|
| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| muy en desacuerdo | | | neutral | | | muy de acuerdo |
29. Para mí es importante hablar español con mis abuelos.
- | | | | | | | |
|-------------------|---|---|---------|---|---|----------------|
| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| muy en desacuerdo | | | neutral | | | muy de acuerdo |
30. Para mí es importante hablar inglés con mis abuelos.
- | | | | | | | |
|-------------------|---|---|---------|---|---|----------------|
| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| muy en desacuerdo | | | neutral | | | muy de acuerdo |
31. Para mí es importante hablar español con otros familiares.
- | | | | | | | |
|-------------------|---|---|---------|---|---|----------------|
| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| muy en desacuerdo | | | neutral | | | muy de acuerdo |

32. Para mí es importante hablar inglés con otros familiares.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
muy en desacuerdo			neutral		muy de acuerdo	

33. Para mí es importante hablar español con mis amigos.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
muy en desacuerdo			neutral		muy de acuerdo	

34. Para mí es importante hablar inglés con mis amigos.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
muy en desacuerdo			neutral		muy de acuerdo	

35. Para mí es importante hablar español en la comunidad (e.g., en el barrio, en la iglesia).

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
muy en desacuerdo			neutral		muy de acuerdo	

36. Para mí es importante hablar inglés en la comunidad (e.g., en el barrio, en la iglesia).

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
muy en desacuerdo			neutral		muy de acuerdo	

37. Es necesario hablar español para ser miembro de la comunidad cubana.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
muy en desacuerdo			neutral		muy de acuerdo	

38. Es necesario hablar inglés para ser miembro de la comunidad cubana.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
muy en desacuerdo			neutral		muy de acuerdo	

39. Para mí es importante poder comprender español.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
muy en desacuerdo			neutral		muy de acuerdo	

40. Para mí es importante poder comprender inglés.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
muy en desacuerdo			neutral		muy de acuerdo	

41. La competencia en español es importante para mi trabajo.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
muy en desacuerdo			neutral		muy de acuerdo	

42. La competencia en inglés es importante para mi trabajo.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
muy en desacuerdo			neutral		muy de acuerdo	

43. La competencia en español me ayudó a conseguir trabajo.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
muy en desacuerdo			neutral		muy de acuerdo	

44. La competencia en inglés me ayudó a conseguir trabajo.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
muy en desacuerdo		neutral				muy de acuerdo

45. Para mí la competencia en español me da la posibilidad de obtener un trabajo mejor remunerado en Miami.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
muy en desacuerdo		neutral				muy de acuerdo

46. Para mí la competencia en inglés me da la posibilidad de obtener un trabajo mejor remunerado en Miami..

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
muy en desacuerdo		neutral				muy de acuerdo

47. La competencia en español es beneficiosa para mí en otros aspectos de la vida cotidiana (e.g., en las tiendas o restaurantes, para obtener información necesaria, recibir mejor servicio en cualquier lugar, etc.).

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
muy en desacuerdo		neutral				muy de acuerdo

48. La competencia en inglés es beneficiosa para mí en otros aspectos de la vida cotidiana (e.g., en las tiendas o restaurantes, para obtener información necesaria, recibir mejor servicio en cualquier lugar, etc.).

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
muy en desacuerdo		neutral				muy de acuerdo

Symbolic Transnationalism Questionnaire

1. What language do your parents /caregivers speak to each other:

0 1 2 3 4 5 6
only English both English and Spanish only Spanish

2. How often do your parents talk to you about Cuba?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6
never very occasionally occasionally somewhat often often very often all the time
(< once a year) (1-4 times a year) (5-11 times a year) (monthly) (weekly) (daily)

3. If they do, what kind of memories about Cuba do they share?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6
only negative neutral only positive

4. How often do you communicate with relatives in Cuba?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6
never very occasionally occasionally somewhat often often very often all the time
(< once a year) (1-4 times a year) (5-11 times a year) (monthly) (weekly) (daily)

5. How often do your parents / caregivers communicate with them?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6
never very occasionally occasionally somewhat often often very often all the time
(< once a year) (1-4 times a year) (5-11 times a year) (monthly) (weekly) (daily)

6. How often do you communicate with friends in Cuba?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6
never very occasionally occasionally somewhat often often very often all the time
(< once a year) (1-4 times a year) (5-11 times a year) (monthly) (weekly) (daily)

7. What are the means of communication? (Check all that apply)

- Regular phone, mobile phone
- Text messages
- Skype, computer phone calls
- Email
- Chat, social networks (e.g. Facebook)
- Regular mail
- Other _____
- N/A

8. Have you attended any type of school inside the Cuban/Cuban-American community (e.g. Sunday school)?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6
never very occasionally occasionally somewhat often often very often all the time
(< once a year) (1-4 times a year) (5-11 times a year) (monthly) (weekly) (daily)

8a. If yes, were the classes/activities conducted in Spanish ____, English ____ or Both ____

9. How often do you participate in the activities of the Cuban/Cuban-American organizations in Miami (e.g. *Federación de Estudiantes Cubanos*, *Raíces de Esperanza*, *Association of Cuban-American Engineers*)?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
never	very occasionally ($<$ once a year)	occasionally (1-4 times a year)	somewhat often (5-11 times a year)	often (monthly)	very often (weekly)	all the time (daily)

10. How often do you participate in Cuban cultural activities in Miami (e.g. festivals, music, theatre, holiday celebrations)?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6 never
	very occasionally ($<$ once a year)	occasionally (1-4 times a year)	somewhat often (5-11 times a year)	often (monthly)	very often (weekly)	all the time (daily)

11. How often do you attend religious services with members of the Cuban community?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
never	very occasionally ($<$ once a year)	occasionally (1-4 times a year)	somewhat often (5-11 times a year)	often (monthly)	very often (weekly)	all the time (daily)

12. How often do you follow current affairs in Cuba via media (e.g. TV, Internet, radio, newspapers)?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
never	very occasionally ($<$ once a year)	occasionally (1-4 times a year)	somewhat often (5-11 times a year)	often (monthly)	very often (weekly)	all the time (daily)

13. How often do you read books/poems of Cuban authors/novelists/poets?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
never	very occasionally ($<$ once a year)	occasionally (1-4 times a year)	somewhat often (5-11 times a year)	often (monthly)	very often (weekly)	all the time (daily)

13a. Do you read them in Spanish ____, English ____ or Both ____

14. How often do you attend Cuban art exhibitions?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
never	very occasionally ($<$ once a year)	occasionally (1-4 times a year)	somewhat often (5-11 times a year)	often (monthly)	very often (weekly)	all the time (daily)

15. How often do you watch Cuban movies?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
never	very occasionally ($<$ once a year)	occasionally (1-4 times a year)	somewhat often (5-11 times a year)	often (monthly)	very often (weekly)	all the time (daily)

15a. Do you watch them in Spanish ____, English ____, or Both ____

16. How often do you listen to Cuban musicians?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
never	very occasionally ($<$ once a year)	occasionally (1-4 times a year)	somewhat often (5-11 times a year)	often (monthly)	very often (weekly)	all the time (daily)

17. How often do you watch competitions/games when Cuban athletes/sports teams participate?
- | | | | | | | |
|-------|---|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| never | very occasionally
($<$ once a year) | occasionally
(1-4 times a year) | somewhat often
(5-11 times a year) | often
(monthly) | very often
(weekly) | all the time
(daily) |
18. When grocery shopping, do you prefer to buy Cuban or US food/products?
- | | | | | | | |
|---------|---|---|-------------------|---|---|------------|
| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| only US | | | both US and Cuban | | | only Cuban |
19. Do you prefer Cuban or non-Cuban food?
- | | | | | | | |
|----------------|---|---|---------------------|---|---|------------|
| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| only non-Cuban | | | both non- and Cuban | | | only Cuban |
20. Do you have any artifacts related to Cuba at your house (e.g. flag, photos, elements of decor)?
- | | | | | | | |
|------|---|---|------|---|---|-------------------|
| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| none | | | some | | | an extreme amount |
- 20a. Do they come from Cuba _____, Miami _____ or Both _____
21. How often do you carry any items/symbols related to Cuba with you in your everyday life (e.g. key chains, charms, elements of clothing)?
- | | | | | | | |
|-------|---|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| never | very occasionally
($<$ once a year) | occasionally
(1-4 times a year) | somewhat often
(5-11 times a year) | often
(monthly) | very often
(weekly) | all the time
(daily) |
- 21a. Do they come from Cuba _____, Miami _____ or Both _____
22. To what degree do you consider Cuba “home”?
- | | | | | | | |
|------------|---|---|---------|---|---|------------|
| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| not at all | | | neutral | | | absolutely |
23. To what degree do you consider the USA “home”?
- | | | | | | | |
|------------|---|---|---------|---|---|------------|
| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| not at all | | | neutral | | | absolutely |
24. How often have you thought (do you think) about moving to Cuba?
- | | | | | | | |
|-------|---|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| never | very occasionally
($<$ once a year) | occasionally
(1-4 times a year) | somewhat often
(5-11 times a year) | often
(monthly) | very often
(weekly) | all the time
(daily) |
25. Do you feel connected to Cuba?
- | | | | | | | |
|------------|---|---|---------|---|---|------------|
| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| not at all | | | neutral | | | absolutely |
26. Do you think it is important for you to stay connected to Cuba?
- | | | | | | | |
|------------|---|---|---------|---|---|------------|
| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| not at all | | | neutral | | | absolutely |

Transnacionalismo

1. ¿Qué idioma hablan sus padres / cuidadores entre ellos?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6
sólo inglés inglés y español sólo español

2. ¿Con qué frecuencia sus padres / cuidadores le hablan a Ud. de Cuba?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6
nunca muy raramente raramente de vez en cuando con frecuencia muy a menudo todos los días
(< una vez al año) (1-4 veces al año) (5-11 veces al año) (cada mes) (cada semana)

3. En el caso de que lo hagan, ¿qué tipo de recuerdos comparten?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6
sólo negativos neutral sólo positivos

4. ¿Con qué frecuencia Ud. se comunica con sus familiares en Cuba?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6
nunca muy raramente raramente de vez en cuando con frecuencia muy a menudo todos los días
(< una vez al año) (1-4 veces al año) (5-11 veces al año) (cada mes) (cada semana)

5. ¿Con qué frecuencia sus padres / cuidadores se comunican con sus familiares en Cuba?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6
nunca muy raramente raramente de vez en cuando con frecuencia muy a menudo todos los días
(< una vez al año) (1-4 veces al año) (5-11 veces al año) (cada mes) (cada semana)

6. ¿Con qué frecuencia se comunica con sus amigos en Cuba?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6
nunca muy raramente raramente de vez en cuando con frecuencia muy a menudo todos los días
(< una vez al año) (1-4 veces al año) (5-11 veces al año) (cada mes) (cada semana)

7. ¿Cuáles son los medios de comunicación? (Marque todo lo que sea pertinente)

- Teléfono, teléfono celular
- Mensajes de texto
- Skype, llamadas de computador
- Correo electrónico
- Redes sociales (e.g. Facebook, Messenger)
- Correo físico
- Otro _____
- N/A

8. ¿Ha asistido a algún tipo de escuela dentro de la comunidad cubana /cubanoamericana?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6
nunca muy raramente raramente de vez en cuando con frecuencia muy a menudo todos los días
(< una vez al año) (1-4 veces al año) (5-11 veces al año) (cada mes) (cada semana)

8a. Si la respuesta es positiva, las clases se dictaban en español ____, inglés ____ o ambos ____

9. ¿Con qué frecuencia participa en las actividades de organizaciones cubanas / cubanoamericanas en Miami? (e.g. *Federación de Estudiantes Cubanos, Raíces de Esperanza, Association of Cuban-American Engineers*)?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
nunca	muy raramente	raramente	de vez en cuando	con frecuencia	muy a menudo	todos los días
	(< una vez al año)	(1-4 veces al año)	(5-11 veces al año)	(cada mes)	(cada semana)	

10. ¿Con qué frecuencia participa en actividades culturales cubanas en Miami (e.g. festivales, música, teatro, celebraciones?)

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
nunca	muy raramente	raramente	de vez en cuando	con frecuencia	muy a menudo	todos los días
	(< una vez al año)	(1-4 veces al año)	(5-11 veces al año)	(cada mes)	(cada semana)	

11. ¿Con qué frecuencia asiste a los servicios religiosos con miembros de la comunidad cubana?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
nunca	muy raramente	raramente	de vez en cuando	con frecuencia	muy a menudo	todos los días
	(< una vez al año)	(1-4 veces al año)	(5-11 veces al año)	(cada mes)	(cada semana)	

12. ¿Con qué frecuencia sigue las noticias de Cuba via media (e.g. TV, Internet, radio, periódicos)?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
nunca	muy raramente	raramente	de vez en cuando	con frecuencia	muy a menudo	todos los días
	(< una vez al año)	(1-4 veces al año)	(5-11 veces al año)	(cada mes)	(cada semana)	

13. ¿Con qué frecuencia lee libros/poemas de escritores/poetas cubanos?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
nunca	muy raramente	raramente	de vez en cuando	con frecuencia	muy a menudo	todos los días
	(< una vez al año)	(1-4 veces al año)	(5-11 veces al año)	(cada mes)	(cada semana)	

13a. ¿Los lee en español ____, inglés ____ o ambos ____ ?

14. ¿Con qué frecuencia asiste a exposiciones de arte cubano?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
nunca	muy raramente	raramente	de vez en cuando	con frecuencia	muy a menudo	todos los días
	(< una vez al año)	(1-4 veces al año)	(5-11 veces al año)	(cada mes)	(cada semana)	

15. ¿Con qué frecuencia ve películas cubanas?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
nunca	muy raramente	raramente	de vez en cuando	con frecuencia	muy a menudo	todos los días
	(< una vez al año)	(1-4 veces al año)	(5-11 veces al año)	(cada mes)	(cada semana)	

15a. ¿Las ve en español ____, inglés ____ o ambos ____?

16. ¿Con qué frecuencia escucha a músicos cubanos?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
nunca	muy raramente	raramente	de vez en cuando	con frecuencia	muy a menudo	todos los días
	(< una vez al año)	(1-4 veces al año)	(5-11 veces al año)	(cada mes)	(cada semana)	

17. ¿Con qué frecuencia ve competencias deportivas / partidos donde participan atletas / equipos cubanos?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
nunca	muy raramente	raramente	de vez en cuando	con frecuencia	muy a menudo	todos los días
	(< una vez al año)	(1-4 veces al año)	(5-11 veces al año)	(cada mes)	(cada semana)	

18. ¿Prefiere comprar alimentos / productos de Cuba o de los Estados Unidos?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
sólo de los EEUU			ambos			sólo cubanos

19. ¿Prefiere comida cubana o no cubana?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6 sólo
no cubana			ambos		sólo cubana	

20. ¿Tiene algunos objetos relacionados con Cuba en su casa (e.g. banderas, fotos, elementos de decoración)?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6 no
			algunos		grandes cantidades	

20a. ¿Son de Cuba _____, de Miami _____ o ambos _____?

21. ¿Con qué frecuencia lleva objetos/símbolos relacionados con Cuba en su vida diaria (e.g. llaveros, talismanes, elementos de ropa)?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
nunca	muy raramente	raramente	de vez en cuando	con frecuencia	muy a menudo	todos los días
	(< una vez al año)	(1-4 veces al año)	(5-11 veces al año)	(cada mes)	(cada semana)	

21a. ¿Son de Cuba _____, de Miami _____ o ambos _____?

22. ¿Hasta qué grado considera a Cuba como su “casa”?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
de ninguna manera			neutral			absolutamente

23. ¿Hasta qué grado considera a los Estados Unidos como su “casa”?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
de ninguna manera			neutral			absolutamente

24. ¿Con qué frecuencia ha pensado (piensa) trasladarse a Cuba?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
nunca	muy raramente	raramente	de vez en cuando	con frecuencia	muy a menudo	todos los días
	(< una vez al año)	(1-4 veces al año)	(5-11 veces al año)	(cada mes)	(cada semana)	

25. ¿Siente alguna conexión con Cuba?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
de ninguna manera			neutral			absolutamente

26. ¿Para Ud. es importante mantener una conexión con Cuba?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
de ninguna manera			neutral			absolutamente

Interview Protocol

1. What are your days like in Miami?
 - a. How do you spend weekdays/weekends/holidays?
 - b. With whom do you spend weekdays/weekends/holidays?
2. Where do you live in Miami (which part)?
 - a. Is there a big Cuban/Cuban-American community?
 - b. How do they spend their time?
 - c. Is it similar or different to how you spend your time?
3. Do you consider yourself Cuban? Cuban-American? American?
 - a. Was there any moment when you felt proud about your origin?
 - b. Was there any moment when you were hesitant to talk about your origin?
4. What is your experience of growing up in Miami being of Cuban origin? (*positive/negative*)
5. What is Cuban about your household? (*traditions, things, etc.*)
6. In your family is it encouraged/ discouraged to talk about Cuba?
 - a. What do you usually discuss?
 - b. What kind of memories do they share?
7. Do you still have relatives/friends in Cuba? Do you communicate with them?
 - a. If yes, why do you do it?
 - b. Do you enjoy it? How do you feel when you communicate with them? (*happy, excited, obliged, bored, etc.*)
8. How Cuba is present in your life? (*things, music, movies, etc.*)
9. Do you participate in any activities related to Cuba? (e.g. festivals, holidays, educational events)
 - a. If yes, in Miami or directly in Cuba?
 - b. If yes, why do you do it?
 - c. Do you enjoy it? How do you feel when you participate in these activities? (*happy, excited, obliged, bored, etc.*)
10. Do you feel any attachment to Cuba?
 - a. If yes, what helps you to stay attached?
 - b. Is there anything in Miami that helps you to stay connected?
 - c. Or vice versa – something in Miami that makes you feel more distant?
11. What do you consider ‘home’? Why?
 - a. Would consider living in Cuba? Why? Why not?
 - b. Do you think that Cuba is a place where you would continuously travel in your life?
12. What kind of feelings do you have about Cuba? About Miami?
 - a. Do you feel closer to one or the other? Why/how?
 - b. When you think about Cuba, what comes to mind?
13. Do you feel “presence” of Cuba in Miami?
 - a. If yes, how?
14. What do you think about Cubans?
 - a. Cubans in Cuba/ in Miami/ Cuban-Americans
15. What do you think is the difference between a Cuban and Cuban-American?

16. How do you feel about high concentration of Cuban/Cuban Americans in Miami?
(*important/helpful/annoying*)
 - a. How do you feel around them? (*comfortable/alienated/don't care*)
 - b. Who do you prefer to spend time/hang out with? (*Cubans, Cuban-Americans, US origin*)
17. Is there anything else relevant to the topic that we have not talked about?

Entrevista

1. ¿Cómo son tus días en Miami?
 - a. ¿Cómo son / Qué haces durante la semana/ los fines de semana/ las vacaciones?
 - b. ¿Con quién pasas tiempo durante la semana/ los fines de semana/ las vacaciones?
2. ¿Dónde vives en Miami? (qué parte)
 - a. ¿Hay una comunidad cubana/ cubanoamericana grande allí?
 - b. ¿Cómo pasan ellos su tiempo?
 - c. ¿Es similar o diferente a cómo lo pasas tú?
3. ¿Te consideras cubano? cubanoamericano? americano?
 - a. ¿Recuerdas algún momento cuando te sentiste orgulloso de tu origen?
 - b. ¿Recuerdas algún momento cuando dudaste en hablar de tu origen?
4. ¿Cómo ha sido tu experiencia de crecer en Miami siendo de origen cubano?
(*positivo/negativo*)
5. ¿Qué aspectos cubanos tiene tu hogar? (*tradiciones, cosas, etc.*)
6. ¿Se anima o no a hablar de Cuba en tu familia?
 - a. ¿De qué normalmente hablan?
 - b. ¿Qué tipo de recuerdos comparten?
7. ¿Todavía tienes familiares / amigos en Cuba? ¿Te comunicas con ellos?
 - a. ¿Por qué lo haces o no lo haces?
 - b. ¿Lo disfrutas? ¿Cómo te sientes cuando te comunicas con ellos? (*feliz, emocionado, obligado, aburrido, etc.*)
8. ¿Cómo está presente Cuba en tu vida? (*cosas, música, películas, etc.*)
9. ¿Participas en algunas actividades relacionadas con Cuba? (e.g. festivales, celebraciones, eventos educativos)
 - a. ¿En Miami o directamente en Cuba?
 - b. ¿Por qué lo hace?
 - c. ¿Lo disfrutas? ¿Cómo te sientes cuando participas en estas actividades? (*feliz, emocionado, obligado, aburrido, etc.*)
10. ¿Sientes alguna conexión con Cuba?
 - a. ¿Qué te ayuda a mantener la conexión?
 - b. ¿Hay algo en Miami que te ayuda a mantener la conexión?
 - c. ¿O al revés – algo en Miami que te hace sentirte más distante/alienado?
11. ¿Qué es “casa” para ti?
 - a. ¿Considerarías vivir en Cuba? ¿Por qué? ¿Por qué no?
 - b. ¿Piensas que Cuba es un lugar a dónde viajarías con frecuencia en tu vida?
12. ¿Qué tipo de sentimientos tienes acerca de Cuba? ¿De Miami?
 - a. ¿Te sientes más cercano a uno o al otro? ¿Por qué? ¿Cómo?
 - b. Cuando piensas sobre Cuba, ¿qué te ocurre/ viene a la mente?

13. ¿Sientes “la presencia” de Cuba en Miami?
 - a. ¿Cómo?
14. ¿Qué piensas sobre los cubanos?
 - a. Los cubanos en Cuba / en Miami / los cubanoamericanos?
15. ¿Sientes que hay diferencia entre los cubanos y los cubanoamericanos? ¿Cuál es la diferencia?
16. ¿Qué sientes / piensas acerca de la concentración alta de los cubanos / cubanoamericanos en Miami? (*importante, útil, le ayuda, le molesta*)
 - a. ¿Cómo te sientes entre ellos? (cómodo, alienado, no importa)
 - b. ¿Con quién prefieres pasar tiempo? (*los cubanos, los cubanoamericanos, los estadounidenses*)
17. ¿Hay algo pertinente de qué no hemos hablado?

APPENDIX B. ADDITIONAL TABLES FOR QUANTITATIVE RESULTS

Table B1 Summary Statistics for Symbolic Transnationalism Score and Generation Comparison Results

	1.5 generation (n=27)	2 nd generation (n=48)	t_value	p_value
Overall	41.2(1.43)	34.62(1.25)	3.3	<0.01**
Immediate social network	17.82(0.48)	14.29(0.53)	4.4	<0.01**
Ways of doing	9.75(0.65)	8.48(0.48)	1.55	0.124
Ways of belonging, home	13.63(0.74)	11.83(0.46)	2.16	0.034*

Note. Table reports mean scores for symbolic transnationalism components; standard error provided between parentheses; p_value obtained from two sample t_test; *significant at p<0.05; **significant at p<0.01; A significant p_value means that there is a statistically significant difference between the mean score of 1.5 and 2nd generation Miami Cubans.

Table B2 Summary Statistics for Language Use Scores and Generation Comparison Results

	1.5 generation (n=27)	2 nd generation (n=48)	t_value	p_value
Overall	12.78(2.25)	-11.8 (1.95)	7.92	<0.01**
Language history	7.69(0.8)	-1.5 (0.49)	10.29	<0.01**
Language proficiency	-0.57(0.78)	-6.31 (0.65)	5.47	<0.01**
Language choice	2.33(1.01)	-6.01 (0.97)	5.54	<0.01**
Language value	3.33(0.66)	2.02(0.39)	1.82	0.072*

Note. Table reports mean score for the language use component; standard error provided between parentheses; p_value obtained from two sample t_test; *significant at p<0.05; **significant at p<0.01; A significant p_value means that there is a statistically significant difference between the mean score of 1.5 and 2nd generation Miami Cubans. Positive score indicates Spanish language dominance, negative score indicates English language dominance.

APPENDIX C. ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES FOR THEMATIC ANALYSIS

Family Domain

Immediate Family in Miami

[1.5-F9] *Mi familia más que todo, pero sé que de ahí vengo. He empezado a hacer este proyecto de genealogía con mi familia, para buscar esa conexión, para entender esa conexión, para saber de dónde somos, pero sí, me siento conectada. Y cada vez más.* ‘My family more than anything else, but I know that that’s where I come from. I have started to do a project on genealogy with my family to look for this connection, to understand this connection, to know where we come from, but yes, I feel connected. And every time more.’

[1.5-M25] *La familia, mi familia, siempre hablando de Cuba, siempre llamando a Cuba. Todo se revolves around Cuba.* ‘Family, my family, always talking about Cuba, always calling to Cuba...Everything revolves around Cuba.’

[2-F18] *Connection all the time. When with my grandma or with my grandpa I feel... I always feel that connection. My Cuban culture gives me another connection to my grandpa, like even though he's not here today with me, he's still with me, and everything I've learned, everything he taught me about Cuba, where he's from in and the pride that I have in it.*

[2-M23] *<...> mis padres los dos han tenido una vida bastante difícil y es algo que no se puede olvidar, o sea, hay que saber de dónde uno viene.* ‘<...>both of my parents have had a life difficult enough, and this is something that you cannot forget, you have to know where you come from.’

[2-M8] *Le agradezco a abuelo mío lo que me enseñó de Cuba, o hablar Español.* ‘I am thankful to my grandfather for what he taught me about Cuba and to speak Spanish.’

[2-F34] *Entonces yo tengo un amor por Cuba porque es parte de mi familia, entonces yo lo veo así.* ‘So I have love for Cuba because it is part of my family, so I see it that way.’

[2-F2] *<....> me siento orgullosa que yo soy cubana porque mi mamá me habla de tanto que ella sufrió en Cuba y como me da consejo en que voy a la escuela primero y ser más independiente y todo eso, entonces cuando me habla así me siento orgullosa.* ‘<...> I feel proud to be Cuban because

my mom tells me how much she suffered in Cuba, and she gives me advice that I should first go to school and be more independent and all that, so when she talks to me like this, I feel proud.’

[2-M29] *yo me crie en... en un environment muy Cubano, so, yo creo que como yo me crie, es como yo siento que soy.* ‘I was raised in a very Cuban environment, so I think that the way I was raised is what I feel I am.’

[2-F29] *¿Te recuerdas algún momento en que te sentiste orgullosa de tu origen? -Ay, casi siempre es cuando estoy con mi familia.* ‘Do you remember any moment when you felt proud about your origin? – Almost always when I am with my family.’

[2-F8] *Mi familia definitivamente.* ‘My family definitely.’

[2-F11] *Coming home, speaking Spanish or understanding Spanish with my relatives and getting together with my big family and like eating together just talking about Cuba and all that stuff.*

[2-F3] *Siento conexión y siento también... creo que mis padres me inculcaron cierta... que era de importancia en la cultura Cubana.* ‘I feel the connection and I also feel... I think that my parents instilled in me that Cuban culture is important.’

[2-F6] *Era algo como que era parte de mi porque era parte de mi familia.* ‘It was like a part of me because it was a part of my family.’

[2-M3] *Siempre yo voy a ser cubano, por las conexiones de mi mamá y mi papá, y como yo nací.* ‘I will always be Cuban, through the connections of my mom and dad, and how I was born.’

[2-F12] *Mi familia que me criaron así, de tener esa conexión, pero no Miami. Podemos... podíamos haber estado en donde sea y hubiera sido igual.* ‘My family raised me like this, to have this connection, but not Miami. We could be anywhere, and it would be the same.’

Family as the Only Connector to Cuba

[1.5-F43] *Nada más mi familia, por la parte de mi familia.-¿Qué tipo de sentimientos tienes acerca de Cuba?-No sé, por mi familia sí, pero por Cuba como tal como la tierra, normal, neutral.* ‘Only my family, only through family. – What kind of sentiments do you have about Cuba? –I don’t know, for my family yes but for Cuba as the land/country – normal, neutral.’

[2-F23] *Yo sólo sé de Cuba por las historias de mi papá, mi mamá, mis abuelos, mis tías, todo mundo de la familia.* ‘I know about Cuba only from the stories of my dad, my mom, my grandparents, my aunts, everybody from my family.’

[2-F26] *Since we weren't born there, I guess the only connection I have with there is my parents since my family is in Cuba. I only have my parents to connect me to them to Cuba.*

[2-F34] *¿Cómo está presente Cuba en tu vida? – Yo nunca he ido a Cuba. Y yo veo a imágenes de Cuba de como era antes de revolución y yo siento orgullosa, es como yo veo a Miami como mi casa, y yo veo Cuba mi casa. Entonces yo tengo un amor por Cuba porque es parte de mi familia, entonces yo lo veo así.* ‘How is Cuba present in your life? – I have never gone to Cuba. And I see images of Cuba, what it was like before the revolution, and I feel proud. It’s like I see Miami as home, and Cuba as home. So I have love for Cuba because it’s part of my family, and so I see it that way.’

Cuba at Home

[1.5-F16] *Todo.. todo. O sea, por ejemplo, la comida es muy cubana... Frijoles negros con puerco, muy cubano todo.* ‘Everything.. everything. Well, for example, food is very Cuban. Black beans with pork, very Cuban everything.’

[1.5-M21] *Bueno, todo, desde la comida hasta la manera que se vive.* ‘Well, everything, from food to the way we live.’

[2-F12] *Hay de todo... De todo... artesanías...banderas y que hasta los santos tienen... Si hay fotos, todo, todo, hay tantas cosas eso sí, entra a la casa y uno sabe definitivamente.* ‘There’s everything...everything: arts, flags, and even saints. There are photos, everything, everything, there are so many things, you enter the house and you definitely know.’

[2-F18] *My mom's house is covered in Cuban art like I have a map of Cuba, like a vintage map of Cuba, there's this retro painting like a ninety-fifties painting of an old lady with maracas and she had like this beautiful dress, I have antiques from Cuba. There's just so many pictures of Cuba and we have a few pictures of my grandma from Cuba... I feel like all of this is just Cuba.*

[2-F28] *Bueno, la comida eso sí, siempre está. Siempre hay comida hecha en la casa y mucho.* ‘Well, food. Food is always present. Always there is food made at home, and a lot of it.’

[2-F41] <...> *al mis abuelos criarme, era tradición Cubana todo el tiempo.* ‘<...> with my grandparents raising me, it was Cuban tradition all the time.’

[2-M19] *Mis padres me han introducido a muchas cosas cubanas. La comida cubana que me encanta.* ‘My parents introduced me to a lot of Cuban things. Cuban food, which I love.’

[2-M8] <...> *son muchas las tradiciones que sin saber me las metieron.* ‘<...> there are a lot of traditions that I acquired without realizing.’

[1.5-F37] *Mis padres se adaptaron súper rápido a olvidarse de todo Cuba. No, no tenemos ni las religiones, mis padres no son muy religiosos, o sea, como que tú entras a nuestra casa y no piensas que somos cubanos, solamente por la manera en que cocinamos.* ‘My parents adapted very quickly to forget about everything Cuban. We don’t have any religions, my parents are not very religious. If you enter our house, you wouldn’t think that we are Cuban, only by the manner we cook.’

[1.5-M30] *Nada. Bueno, comida, prácticamente, lo que se come en casa.* ‘Nothing. Well, food, practically, what we eat at home.’

Cuba in Conversations

[1.5-F5] *-¿Se anima o no a hablar de Cuba? -Siempre. -¿De qué hablan normalmente? -De los viejos tiempos en Cuba, cómo vivían en Cuba, los trabajos, los carros que tenían allá, cómo era la cultura allá.* ‘Is it encouraged or discouraged to talk about Cuba? –Always. –What do you usually talk about? – About old times in Cuba, how they lived in Cuba, jobs, cars that they had there, what was culture like there back then.’

[1.5-F40] *-En tu vida, ¿cómo está presente Cuba? -En la comida, y mi abuela hablando de Cuba cada casi cada diez minutos.* ‘How is Cuba present in your life? –In food, and my grandmother talking about Cuba almost every ten minutes.’

[1.5-F7] *Mi familia siempre está hablando de Cuba. Siempre... Siempre... Siempre me está dando ejemplos de cómo era, de cómo crecieron ellos. Me gusta que me den ejemplo de cómo fue su infancia. Básicamente siempre estamos hablando de Cuba, siempre, de mis abuelos.* ‘My family is always talking about Cuba. Always... Always... Always they give me examples of what was it like in the past, how they were growing up. I like it when they give me examples of what was their childhood like. Basically, we are always talking about Cuba, always, about my grandparents.’

[2-F26] *–Is it encouraged to talk about Cuba? -Very encouraged, we even asked them about it, they talk to us about it a lot. We talk about actually that we need to visit or we discuss all their adventures, their adventures, they took a bus all the way, all over Cuba, they'd go camping, hiking and climbing, all that stuff, they love the scenery, nature. So they talked about the positives and also the negatives, especially 'cause they lived in Cuba also at the time before and after the revolution of Fidel. So, they've seen Cuba when it was great and happy and it was bad and not great.*

[2-F31] *Oh my god, hablan todos los días, todos los días. Sí, se habla mucho de Cuba, mucho, pero también se habla mucho de la Cuba que era antes y la Cuba que es ahora. 'Oh my god, they talk all the time, all the time. Yes, they talk a lot about Cuba, a lot, but also they talk a lot about Cuba in the past and Cuba now.'*

[2-F20] *Hablan de Cuba bastante, mi madre a cada rato me dice cuentos de su infancia, las cosas buenas y las cosas malas, bueno, mi mamá creció justo cuando estaba empezando las cosas de Fidel, y por lo tanto ella nunca conoció a la Cuba feliz, al principio sí pero ella no... Sus recuerdos en la mayoría es nostalgia triste. 'They talk about Cuba quite a bit. My mom frequently tells me stories about her childhood, good things and bad things. Well my mom was growing up at that exact moment when those things with Fidel were starting, so she never knew happy Cuba, at the beginning yes... but her memories are predominantly sad nostalgia.'*

Family in Cuba

[2-F3] *Cómo está presente Cuba en tu vida? -Cuba... No sé, la verdad es que no sé. Cómo está presente... Está presente porque tengo comunicación con mi hermano allá, bastante frecuente. '- How is Cuba present in your life? –Cuba...I don't know, frankly speaking, I do not know. How is it present... It is present because I keep in communication with my brother there, quite frequently.'*

Miami Environment

Miami-Cuba Connection

[1.5-F13] *Para mí esto es Cuba dos. Cuba está aquí totalmente en todos lados. Sí, sí, sí, absolutamente, pa' mí esto es Cuba dos.* For me it is Cuba number two. Cuba is here absolutely everywhere. Yes, yes, yes, absolutely, for me it is Cuba number two.'

[1.5-M27] *Miami is north Cuba.*

[1.5-M2] *Es como si fuera Cuba en los Estados Unidos. Vas a la Calle Ocho y eso es prácticamente Cuba, eso es Cuba antes de la revolución.* 'It's as if it were Cuba in the U.S. You go to the Eighth Street and it is practically Cuba, it is Cuba before the revolution.'

[1.5-F35] *Miami es Cuba.* 'Miami is Cuba.'

[2-F12] *Todo el mundo acá es cubano. Es como una mini Cuba acá.* 'Everybody here is Cuban. It's like mini Cuba here.'

[2-F30] *Yo me crie en Hialeah, so ahí todo el mundo es cubano, es cómo Cuba pero aquí.* 'I was raised in Hialeah, so everybody there is Cuban, it's like Cuba but here.'

[2-M31] *Es como la segunda parte de Cuba.* 'It's like the second part of Cuba.'

[2-F42] *Vivía yo en la Pequeña Habana, que es como vivir en Cuba.* 'I lived in Little Havana which is like to live in Cuba.'

[2-F18] *Going down Eighth Street alone it's just like Cuba part two.*

Presence of Cuba in Miami

[1.5-M14] *Me hizo sentir como en casa. Sentí que no me he ido completamente de Cuba, que todavía puedo regresar sin regresar físicamente a Cuba puedo regresar en una canción o en una esquina o en un restaurante donde yo vaya a comer o en cualquier cosa.* 'It made me feel at home, I felt that I haven't left Cuba completely, that I still can go back without physically going back there, I can return in a song or a restaurant that I go out to eat or in any other thing.'

[1.5-M27] *I mean, I've always said I hate Miami and that I wanna leave but then I think nobody sells black beans and rice in Wyoming.*

[1.5-F15] *Miami es una ciudad donde me ayuda a recordar de mi país, es una conexión que tengo. Siempre todos los viernes trato de salir a un lugar cubano que me haga recordar a mi país y a mi cultura.* ‘Miami is a city that helps me remember my country, it is the connection that I have. Every Friday I try to go out to a Cuban place that would make me remember my country and my culture.’

[2-M10] *Driving out Eighth Street. Very prominent Cuban sector. Seems like you can feel it, everything just looks like the Cubans have decorated it or like it smells like Cubans have baked something nearby or... You know, you can hear everyone speaking Spanish around there, It's actually rare...it's rarer hearing English, so that's very prominent in that sense, and I feel like not many cities in America have that.*

[2-M12] *Estando en Miami, ya la siento con una conexión cubana.* ‘Being in Miami I already feel Cuban connection.’

[2-M6] *Do you feel any attachment to Cuba? -Yeah, yeah, I mean being here it's... Miami is largely Cuban so you can't help but feel the culture coming just broadcasting from there.*

[2-F20] *Yo creo que el área de La Pequeña Habana, que realmente celebra la cultura cubana y también cafeterías como Versailles que la gente van a la ventanita y se ponen a hablar y dicen cuentos de Cuba y cuando como por ejemplo cuando se murió Fidel esa calle de la Carreta y Versailles y todos los cubanos con la bandera y yo estuve ahí también y de verdad es cuando realmente sentí, guao esta fue una parte de mi cultura, esto fue una parte quien soy.* ‘I think the area of Little Havana that really celebrates Cuban culture, and also coffee shops like Versailles where people go to a ventanita and start to talk and tell stories about Cuba, and when for example Fidel died, in this street of Carreta and Versailles all the Cubans with flags, and I was there also, and honestly it was when I actually felt – wow this was a part of my culture, this was a part of who I am.’

[2-F18] *That is just a huge presence in everything. But everywhere you look there is something of Cuba. There's always going to be like whether it would be like the roosters crossing the road, I've seen so many Cuban flags. There's, yeah definitely a humongous presence of Cuba in Miami.*

[2-F6] *Es para mí, Miami y Cuba son como que hermanos, uno no hubiera existido sin el otro para mí.* ‘For me, Miami and Cuba are like siblings, one would not have existed without the other.’

[2-F11] *I think through Miami I feel my connection to Cuba as well.*

[2-M5] <...> y en Miami se sienten como si pertenecen, porque hay mucha cultura cubana, entonces no es como si estarían fuera de lugar. ‘<...> and in Miami they feel that they belong because there is so much of Cuban culture, so it is as if they were not outside of Cuba.’

[2-M10] Yeah, there's a lot of people, you know, it's like Cuban flags, we eat Cuban food all the time. There's a Cuban coffee window on every single block, so it's very prominent.

Comparison with Other States

[2-F14] Sí, cuando fui a Tennessee, nosotros fuimos en carro, entonces pasamos por Georgia y North Carolina, y todos esos lugares y nos bajamos en un McDonald's y el timbre de mi papá empezó a sonar y era una canción de reggaetón Cubana, y las miradas de todos esos americanos hacia nosotros no me hizo sentir muy comfortable, ¿Me entiendes? Y no era miedo pero una... Era una sensación rara, o sea no sabía que decir o cómo actuar porque ahí nosotros éramos los otros, aquí somos la mayoría. Entonces es raro. ‘Yes, when I went to Tennessee, we went in a car, so we went through Georgia and North Carolina, and all those places, and we stopped at McDonald’s, and my dad’s phone rang, and it was a song of Cuban reggaeton, and the looks of all those Americans towards us didn’t make me feel very comfortable. And it wasn’t fear but it was a weird sensation, I didn’t know what to say or how to act because there we were the others, and here were are the majority. So it’s strange.’

[2-F11] I think Gainesville or anywhere else distances me from Cuba just because I'm not constantly surrounded by Cubans or by Spanish or by images and stuff on Cuba.

[2-F8] Lo veo como casa porque también hay tantos lugares, tantos bakeries, tantas cosas cubanas que a mí me gustan la comida cubana. Y si vas más hacia el norte, tú no coges esa... Ahí tú no vas a coger una misma empanada de pollo igual o una croqueta de jamón o un pastelito de guayaba. So Miami es más home para mí. ‘I see it as home also because there are so many places, so many bakeries, so many Cuban things. I like Cuban food and if you go more to the north, there you won’t get the same chicken empanada o croqueta de jamón or guava pastry. So Miami is more home for me.’

[2-M7] Tú vas a otra ciudad como Naples y no encuentra muchos cubanos y si tú no ves mucha gente del país tuyo, no te sientes comfortable. ‘You go to a different town like Naples and you

cannot find a lot of Cubans there, and if you don't see many people from your country, you don't feel comfortable.'

[2-F19] <...> *porque tú sabes, cómo dicen: "Son más de ellos qué somos de nosotros," o sea, pero aquí jamás, aquí tú puedes ser todo lo Cubano qué tú quieras.* '<...> because you know what they say: "There are more of them than of us," but here never, here you can be as much Cuban as you want.'

[2-F18] *It's not like this everywhere else. Like, I don't know, Miami is just so unique in that aspect, that no matter where you go you have that connection. I've gone to this talk in Chicago and everything is too quiet and I'm so used to the loudness of Cubans and I really like any store I walk in there's this little señora sitting in the cafe like: "Ay, hija"... "Ay, quiero like," Cuban culture is just like in your face that when I'm not near it, I feel lost.*

Cuban Community in Miami

[1.5-F36] *Tener origen Cubano te ayuda a encajar mejor en Miami porque la población de Miami es más cubano que otra etnicidad <...> hasta yo he visto gringos que se hacen pasar por cubanos pa' que... pa' encajar, so es Hialeah.* 'To be of Cuban origin helps you to fit better in Miami because there is more Cuban population than other ethnicities <...> even I have seen Americans that try to pass as Cubans to fit better, so it's Hialeah.'

[1.5-F33] *Yo creo que son las personas. Muchas personas o son acabadas de llegar o actúan como si llegaron ayer mismo de Cuba, so, eso ayuda mucho.* 'I think that it is people. A lot of people that either recently came or act as if they came from Cuba yesterday, so that helps a lot.'

[2-F38] *Cuando hablo con las personas, la mayoría de las veces son cubanos, entonces viviendo en Miami es como, que no tengo como olvidar que soy cubana porque es como, sí, estoy ahí, claro mucho mejor la situación.* 'When I talk to the people, in the majority of cases they are Cubans, so living in Miami is like I do not have to forget that I am Cuban because it's like I am there, of course with a much better situation.'

[2-F2] *La gente porque hay muchos cubanos y cubanoamericanos y en eso en ese aspecto sí me ayuda tener conexión.* 'The people because there are a lot of Cubans and Cuban-Americans, and this aspect yes helps me to have the connection.'

[2-M9] *I can tell that we are enclave, it's easy to like know that this little cultural hub ends like right there. Que hay tanta persona cubana aquí, que you know If you didn't know you were in Miami crees que estás en Cuba, porque todos los Cubanos hablando en Cubano, y se siente.* 'There are so many Cuban people here that, you know, If you didn't know you were in Miami, you think that you are in Cuba because all the Cubans speaking Cuban, and you can feel that.'

[2-F5] *Es que yo hace mucho que no voy a Cuba. Yo he retomado mi sentimiento cubano aquí, porque trabajo con gente cubana, trabajo de hecho con gente que conoce gente que yo conozco, y es raro es como que vuelves a estar ahí.* 'The thing is that I have not been to Cuba for a while. I regained my Cuban feeling here because I work with Cuban people, I work with people who knows people that I know, and it's strange, it's like you were there again.'

[2-M26] *Estoy lejos, eso, pero como estoy rodeado de cubanos, siempre estoy bien.* 'I am far away but as I am surrounded by Cubans, I always feel good.'

Spanish Language Situation

Spanish Language

[1.5-F39] *Mi idioma.* 'My language'.

[1.5-F39] *Cuando hablo en español con alguien sea cubano o no, me siento como con otra conexión porque es mi primer idioma y cuando estoy hablando inglés es como distinto, entonces si el hecho del idioma.* 'When I speak Spanish with somebody Cuban or not, I feel like another connection because it is my first language, and when I speak English everything is different, so yes, the language.'

[1.5-F5] *Hablando español siempre, y siempre ves a gente que son de Cuba que dicen palabras así cubanas. Normalmente siempre te acuerdas, so, ves tú a una persona cubana y cómo tienes una conexión así con la persona.* 'Speaking Spanish always and always. And you always see people that are from Cuba and say Cuban words. Normally, you always remember, so you see a Cuban person and like have this connection with the person.'

[2-F34] *Mi familia, la comida, la idioma.* 'My family, food, language.'

[2-F11] *Coming home, speaking Spanish or understanding Spanish with my relatives and getting together with my big family and like eating together just talking about Cuba and all that stuff.*

[2-F38] *Entonces me siento conectada de esa manera, creo que esa <la comida> es la manera más fuerte, aparte de hablando español.* ‘So I feel connected in this way, I think that this <the food> is the strongest way, apart from speaking Spanish.’

Spanish Language in the Family Domain

[1.5-F37] *Así hablamos el idioma, a mis padres les ha costado más trabajo el idioma, porque no tienen con quién comunicarse. Mis abuelos hablan español y entonces con todas sus amistades aquí también hablan español, entonces esa era la única forma que... Y el acento, es lo único que nos tiene bien conectados con Cuba.* ‘So we speak the language. It has taken more effort for my parents because they do not have anyone to talk to. My grandparents speak Spanish and all their friends speak Spanish, so it was the only form... And accent, it is the only thing that keeps us connected to Cuba.’

[2-F23] *¿Qué te ayuda a mantener esa conexión? -Hablando con mis padres en español.* ‘What helps you stay connected? –Speaking Spanish with my parents.’

[2-F27] *Yo siempre estaba con mis abuelos. Me quedaba con mis abuelos todo el día desde las siete de la mañana hasta las cinco de la tarde, hablando español, oyendo música cubana, yendo a Presidente o Sedano’s, hablando español todo el tiempo. Toda mi familia habla español, no hablan ninguna palabra de inglés. So si habla inglés no te van a entender ni una palabra. Mis padres, cada vez que llego a la casa siempre, siempre tengo que hablar español, sino no me escuchan, no me hablan, eso... habla español, le mando un mensaje en español, todo eso.* ‘I was always with my grandparents. I stayed with them the whole day from seven in the morning to five in the afternoon, speaking Spanish, listening to Cuban music, going to Presidente or Sedano’s, speaking Spanish all the time. My entire family speaks Spanish, they don’t speak a word in English. So if you talk to them in English, they won’t understand a word. My parents, every time I come home I always, always have to speak Spanish. If not, they don’t listen to me, they don’t talk to me, yes... speak Spanish, I send them messages in Spanish and all that.’

[2-F38] *En la casa hablo español y mis padres hablan. Todo el mundo tiene el acento cubano.* ‘At home I speak Spanish, so as my parents. Everybody has Cuban accent.’

[2-M22] *El lenguaje siempre en español. En la casa siempre en español.* ‘The language is always Spanish. At home it is always Spanish.’

[2-F30] *And I don't like speaking in Spanish, I mean solo hablo español con mi familia, porque tengo que hablar en español con ellos sino no me van a entender.* ‘I only speak Spanish with my family because I have to speak Spanish or they will not understand me.’

Spanish in the Societal (Miami) Domain

[1.5-M20] *El español es muy... en cualquier lado puede haber un cubano y hacer una relación y comunicarte bien y tener un buen tiempo hablando con ellos normal y... De cualquier cosa.* ‘Spanish is very... Anywhere there can be a Cuban and create a relationship and communicate well and have a good time talking to them... about anything.’

[1.5-F40] *<...> casi todo el mundo habla español, entonces yo asocio más al español con Cuba qué con Latinoamérica en sí.* ‘<...> almost everybody speaks Spanish, so I associate Spanish more with Cuba than with Latin America.’

[1.5-F37] *<...> millones de lugares donde la gente habla español de mi acento cubano y dicen: “Ah, tú eres cubana.” Y entonces: “¿De qué parte tú eres? ¿Tú fuiste a este lugar?” siempre paso conectada con eso.* ‘<...> there are millions places where people speaks Spanish of my Cuban accent and say: “Ah, you are Cuban.” And then: “Where in Cuba are you from? Did you go to this place?” I am always connected to that.’

[1.5-F33] *En tu vida como está presente Cuba?-Yo creo que más como el lenguaje, las referencias que hacemos, cuando estoy en el trabajo hay veces como que se hacen ciertos chistes, o viene un customer y se nota que es cubano por la manera en que habla, o las frases que dice, cuando se dice la palabra “acere” o algo así es como... Yo creo que es más el lenguaje más que nada.* ‘How is Cuba present in your life? –I think that mostly in the language, the reference that we make, when I am at work sometimes they make certain jokes or a customer comes in and you can see that he is Cuban by the way he talks, or the phrases he says, when he says the word “acere” or something like that. I think that it is language more than anything else.’

[1.5-F33] *Todo el mundo habla español... Todo el mundo habla español de Cuba específicamente.* ‘Everybody speaks Spanish... Everybody speaks specifically Cuban Spanish.’

[1.5-M21] *En Miami se habla mucho el español, es algo que nos mantiene la conexión viva.* ‘In Miami Spanish is spoken a lot, it is something that maintains the connection alive.’

[2-F27] *Bueno, a donde tú quieras ir a Miami siempre están hablando en español de Cuba <...> So siempre tengo la conexión de eso.* ‘Well, wherever you want to go in Miami, people always speak Spanish, about Cuba <...> So I always have connection with this.’

[2-F44] *When you drive around and you see advertisement in Spanish and tú no sabes si estás en Cuba o en Miami because todo está en español, everything is in Spanish. Hay gente que... Mi abuela ha vivido aquí cuarenta años, ni sabe el inglés porque hay tanta gente que habla el español que sobrevive así, entre la gente y allí cuando llega el correo allí ella llama a sus amigos que saben inglés o si no me llama a mí y yo leo.* ‘When you drive around and you see advertisement in Spanish and you don’t know whether you are in Cuba or in Miami because everything is in Spanish. There are people that... My grandmother has lived here for forty years, and she doesn’t know English because so many people that speak Spanish survive like this, among people. And when mail comes, she calls her friends who know English or if not she calls me, and I read it.’

[2-M9] <...> *la gente hablando cuando voy a comprar cualquier cosa, me hablan en español y como ya somos amigos porque somos cubanos. Cuando voy a la tienda y hablo español, la señora me ayuda más rápido.* ‘<...> people talking when I go to buy something, they talk to me in Spanish and we are already friends because we are Cuban. When I go to the store and speak Spanish, the lady helps me faster.’

[2-F38] *¿Hay algo en Miami que te ayude a mantener esa conexión? - <...> aquí está toda mi familia que todos somos cubanos y todo el mundo habla cubano... No habla cubano, habla español con acento cubano.* ‘Is there anything in Miami that helps you to maintain this connection? -<...> my whole family is here, we are all Cuban, and everybody speaks Cuban...Not speaks Cuban, speaks Spanish with Cuban accent.’

[2-F3] *Vives como en una burbuja de cultura cubana que predomina, pero también de habla español. Todo el mundo habla español.* ‘You live in a bubble of Cuban culture that dominates, but also of the Spanish language. Everybody speaks Spanish.’

APPENDIX D. ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES OF DEIXIS AND STANCE

Deixis

Personal Deixis

Use of 1st person singular pronoun (yo, I)

[1.5-F15] *Miami es una ciudad donde me ayuda a recordar de mi país, es una conexión que **tengo**.*

‘Miami is a city that helps me to remember my country, that’s the connection I have.’

[1.5-F4] <...> *pero **me siento** feliz de ser Cubana.* ‘<...> but I feel happy to be Cuban.’

[1.5-F21] *Y creo que es importante que **me mantiene pegada** a mis raíces y **me gusta**, porque no conocí mucho cuando estaba en Cuba, porque estaba muy pequeña pero yo creo que **he conocido** más de Cuba, aquí en Miami que cuando vivía en Cuba.* ‘I think that it is important for me to stay attached to my roots and I like it because I didn’t know much when I was in Cuba because I was little, but I think that I have learnt more about Cuba here in Miami than when I lived in Cuba.’

[1.5-F39] *Y cuando les digo “Ah, **soy** Cubana también” no me creen porque soy, dicen que soy muy blanca y yo como que “No, pero sí **soy** cubana,” cuando me escuchan hablando dicen: “No, sí, sí. Té entiendo, no sé qué.” Y si cuando **veo** gente así que son de mi país o cuando voy a zonas donde si son todos cubanos hay se me... Sí, **siento** conexión.* ‘And when I tell them: “I’m Cuban as well,” they don’t believe me, they say that I am very White, and I like “No, but yes, I am Cuban,” when they hear me speak they say: “No, yes, yes, I understand you.” And if I see people like that that are from my country or when I go to the areas where everybody is Cuban...yes, I feel the connection.’

[1.5-M15] *No, la verdad es que nunca **he sentido** pena o miedo de decir que **soy** cubano. **No me debo sentir apenado** de ser Cubano simplemente, si hay personas que no saben lo que estamos pasando se lo explico y listo.* ‘No, frankly speaking, I have never felt shame or fear to say that I am Cuban. I have to not feel ashamed to be Cuban. If there are people who don’t know what we are going through, I explain to them and that’s it.’

[1.5-M15] ***Me considero** cubano, porque bueno, es la patria, el sentimiento ese que uno siempre tiene a pesar de que viva aquí y, bueno, **no estoy de acuerdo** con gran parte de las decisiones que*

*se toman en Cuba de parte del gobierno, **me sigo considerando** cubano.* ‘I consider myself Cuban, because ok, it is homeland, the feeling that one always has despite living here, and well I do not agree with the major part of the decisions that Cuban government makes, but I keep considering myself Cuban.’

[1.5-F15] *Siempre **estoy** orgullosa de ser cubana.* ‘I am always proud to be Cuban.’

[1.5-F36] *Y a mí **me gusta** mucho mi tierra así.* ‘And I really like my land.’

[1.5-M14] *No, no, no, no. No, mi origen... Yo **estoy** muy orgulloso de lo que **soy**, y **no tengo** momentos. **No dudo** en eso.... Y donde quiera que yo **veo** un cubano en el mundo aquí o en donde sea, siempre **voy a querer** lo mejor pa’ esa persona, y ayudarlo y conversar y sentir algún tipo de conexión.* ‘No, no, no, no. No, my origin... I am very proud to be who I am, and I don’t have any moments. I don’t doubt that... And wherever I see a Cuban in the world, here or anywhere else, I will always want the best for that person, and help him and talk and feel some kind of connection.’

[2-F25] ***Soy** cubana, y es parte de mí, no lo puedo evitar pero es parte de mí.* ‘I’m Cuban, and this is a part of me, I cannot avoid that but it is a part of me.’

[2-F25] *Es un lugar pequeño así de comida, pero es un lugar donde se reúnen otros **como yo**.* ‘It’s a small food place but it’s a place where meet others like me meet.’

[2-M26] *<...> los cubanos americanos **como yo**.* ‘<...> Cuban-Americans like me.’

[2-M31] *Nunca he tenido un problema, que te dije esconde de lo que es que **soy yo** o mis raíces.* ‘I have never had a problem of hiding who I am or my roots.’

[2-F30] *Bueno, claro porque es de donde **soy**, eso nunca **voy a olvidar**.* ‘Well of course because it’s where I am from, I will never forget that.’

[2-F14] *A mí **me encanta** lo afeccionados que somos los cubanos.* ‘I love how passionate we Cubans are.’

[2-F26] ***I feel... I feel like that there's a connection there.***

[2-M31] *Entonces yo voy a diferentes partes de Miami y **tengo** como un advantage sobre alguien que no es cubano.* ‘So I go to different parts of Miami and I have like an advantage than someone who is not Cuban.’

[2-F29] *Totalmente positiva porque aquí hay muchos cubanos y entonces es muy chévere like poder salir y “Oye, ¿de dónde eres? Oh, yo **soy** cubano. Oh, qué chévere.” ‘Totally positive because there are a lot of Cubans here and it’s very cool to be able to go out and “Hey, where are you from? Oh I’m Cuban. Oh how cool!’*

[2-F34] *Nunca me siento como sola, porque siempre **estoy** con gente que **yo puedo** conectar. ‘I never feel alone because I am always with people with whom I can connect.’*

[2-F20] *Yo **me sentí** muy... unificada a mi cultura cubana. ‘I felt very united with my Cuban culture.’*

[2-M12] *Porque nací aquí... Pero **yo me siento** bien cerca de mis raíces, sabes que... aunque yo nunca he ido a Cuba pero **yo siento** de Cuba. **Yo** también **pertenezco** ahí, porque yo **me he criado, me crie** con mis padres y me crie... Aunque nací en otro estado me **crío** aquí en Sur de la Florida y mayormente siempre he sido Cubano, eso **me he criado** dentro de los cubanos. ‘Because I was born here... But I feel very close to my roots, you know, although I have never gone to Cuba, I feel for Cuba. I also belong there because I was raised by my parents and I was raised... Although I was born in a different state, I was raised in South Florida which has been predominantly Cuban, and I was raised among Cubans.’*

[2-F14] ***Siento** conexión en el sentido que esa es mi raíz, ese es mi país. ‘I feel the connection in the sense that that is my root, that is my country.’*

Use of first person plural pronoun (nosotros, we)

[1.5-F21] *A pesar de que **somos** una isleta pequeña, es bastante reconocida en todo el mundo. ‘Despite the fact that we are a tiny island, it is quite well-known in the whole world.’*

[1.5-F36] *Me siento mal por los americanos que viven aquí, porque **venimos** todos los Cubanos y le **robamos** el territorio y los... les **empezamos a empujar** para arriba. <...> Los Cubanos **somos** más unidos, porque la necesidad **nos** ha hecho unidos. Y a mí me gusta ser cubana.*

[1.5-F33] *Desde que llegue aquí siempre he estado con otros cubanos, niños cubanos en la misma posición que yo, o llegaron un poquitito más menores que yo o la misma edad, so es como que **todos estamos viviendo** la misma experiencia. ‘Since I came here, I have always been with other*

Cubans, Cuban kids in the same position as me, that either came a little younger than me or at the same age, si it's like we are all living the same experience.'

[1.5-M13] *Nosotros compartimos recuerdos del trabajo que **pasábamos** para emigrar para acá. Y que valió la pena y esa cosa.* 'We share memories of the work that we've gone through to emigrate here. And that it was worth it and all that.'

[1.5-M14] *Yo creo que al final **todos somos** cubanos.* 'I think that at the end of the day we are all Cubans.'

[1.5-F15] *Sí, creo que casi todo el tiempo, porque resulta que los cubanos **somos** muy... **somos** muy sociables. A ver, y **somos** únicos. Siempre estoy orgullosa de ser cubana.* 'Yes, I think that almost all the time, because it appears that Cubans, we are very... very sociable. And we are unique. I am always proud to be Cuban.'

[2-F18] *At that moment I felt like there is this sense of community, to share that experience that **we all** have.*

[2-F14] *Creo que el spanglish que **hemos creado** aquí en Miami. Eso es algo puramente cubano en el sentido que, vamos a decir, **nosotros decimos**: “**Estamos parqueando** el carro.” “Parquear” no existe en el idioma español, es estacionar, pero es algo que **nosotros hemos vuelto** en nuestras propias formas parte de **nuestro** lenguaje.* 'I think that Spanglish that we created here in Miami. This is something purely Cuban in the sense that, let's say, we say: “We are parking the car.” “Parquear” does not exist in the Spanish language, it is “estacionar,” but this is something that we have made in our way a part of our language.'

[2-F1] *Con los cubanos son lo que más disfruto, lo que más **nos divertimos**, porque **bailamos, compartimos, salimos** a tomar. Es tú sabes, **tenemos** esa cultura en común...* 'It is Cubans with whom I enjoy it the most, the most we have fun, because we dance, share, go out for drinks. It's, you know, we have that culture in common.'

[2-M31] *No es que **somos** racistas, pero solamente que **tenemos** un bond, más unido, una comunidad bien unida, sí. Siempre es algo bien positivo, siendo cubano en Miami.* 'It's not that we are racists, it's just that we have a bond, very united, a very united community, yes. It is always something very positive, to be Cuban in Miami.'

[2-F34] *Orgullosa. Hay bastantes personas que son similares a mí, que **somos** un comunidad tan grande y **tenemos** un voz, si **necesitamos** algo siempre hay una persona que te entiende.* ‘Proud. There are a quite a few people similar to me, that we are a community so large and we have a voice, if we need something there’s always a person who understands you.’

First person possessive adjectives (mi/mis, nuestro/nuestra/nuestros/nuestras, my, our)

[1.5-F15] *Miami es una ciudad donde me ayuda a recordar de **mi país**, una conexión que tengo.* ‘Miami is the city that helps me to remember my country, the connection that I have.’

[1.5-F7] *Hablar de Cuba, es como hablar de algo que me siento orgullosa, me siento orgullosa de haber nacido en ese país, me siento orgullosa de **mis raíces**, me siento orgullosa de ser cubana. Cuba para mí es orgullo.* ‘Talking about Cuba is like talking about something that I feel proud of, I feel proud to have been born in that country, I feel proud about my roots, I feel proud of being Cuban. Cuba for me is pride.’

[1.5-F36] *Y a mí me gusta mucho **mi tierra** así.* ‘And I really like my land.’

[1.5-M14] *No, **mi origen**. Yo estoy muy orgulloso de lo que soy.* ‘No, my origin. I am very proud of who I am.’

[1.5-F39] *Yo sé que son **mi gente** y son cubanos.* ‘I know that they are my people and they are Cubans.’

[2-F1] *Cuando yo fui, lo vi en persona yo dije: “Guau, esta es **mi cultura**, de aquí vino **mi forma de ser**, parte de **mi forma de ser**.”* ‘When I went, I saw it with my own eyes and said: “Wow these are... This is my culture, this is where I came from, a part of me.”

[2-F20] *Yo me sentí muy unificada a **mi cultura** cubana.* ‘I felt very united to my Cuban culture.’

[2-F26] *I feel like that there's a connection there, because those are the roots. Those were **my roots**, **my family's roots**.*

[2-M28] *Como que es **mi país**, **mi tierra**, donde yo nací.* ‘That is my country, my land, where I was born.’

[2-M7] *Es difícil, sí porque nunca he ido, pero son como **mis raíces**.* ‘It’s difficult, yes, because I have never gone, it’s like my roots.’

[2-F12] *Presente en el sentido de saber de situaciones que hace el gobierno, todavía en **nuestra gente** y lo que ya está sufriendo.* ‘Present in the sense of knowing the situations that the government creates still for our people, and the much that they are suffering.’

[2-M18] *I think that is present in the sense that is like part is **my heritage**, is **my culture**.*

[2-M26] *No le doy tanta importancia, pero tú sabes, feliz, claro, porque son **mi gente**.* ‘I don’t give it that much of importance but, you know, happy, of course, because they are my people.’

Second person singular pronoun (tú, you)

[1.5-F5] *Es algo que normalmente aquí en Miami, siempre **ves** a mucha gente cubana, eso **te** recuerda, ¿no? Siempre **ves** a gente que son de Cuba que dicen palabras así cubanas. Normalmente siempre **te acuerdas**, so, **ves tú** a una persona cubana y como **tienes** una conexión así con la persona.* ‘It’s something that is normally here in Miami, you always see a lot of Cuban people, that reminds you, no? You always see people that are from Cuba, that say Cuban words. Normally you always remember, so you see a Cuban person, and it’s like you have a connection like that with the person.’

[1.5-F13] *Pero es un tema delicado, porque en Cuba hay lo que hay y desde que **naces**, **te** están dando lo que ellos quieren, **te** informan lo que ellos quieren, entonces vivir en Cuba es como, o sea, nacer y vivir en Cuba, es cómo estar en otra dimensión. **Tú no tienes** ni idea de lo que pasa en el mundo, porque lo que quieren enseñarte es lo que **te** ponen en la tele, **no puedes salir** libremente del país sí, no **te** lo permiten y eso me parece horrible.* ‘But it’s a delicate topic, because in Cuba it is what it is, and from the moment you are born, they give you what they want, they inform you with what they want, so living in Cuba is like, be born and live in Cuba is like being in other dimension. You have no idea what is happening in the world, yes, they don’t allow you, and I think that is horrible.’

[1.5-F17] *Aquí en Miami sí **te sientes** orgulloso de ser cubano. <...> So, **eres** cubano, **eres** como otro más, pero cuándo **vas** para otros lados sí, **te sientes** mejor de que **eres** diferente.* ‘Here in Miami yes you feel proud of being Cuban. <...> So you are Cuban you are like everybody else, but when you go to other place, yes you feel better because you are different.’

[1.5-M1] *La mayoría de las personas, o son cubano-americano, o son cubanos, entonces **te puedes identificar** con ellos, ustedes, la cultura es como la **tuya** y todo eso **te** va bien, se entienden entre las personas mejor, de todo.* ‘The majority of people are either Cuban-American or Cuban, so you can identify with them, culture is like yours, and all goes well, people understand each other better about everything.’

[2-F19] *Tenemos hasta una estación ahora, no sé si usted sabe, noventa y cinco punto siete es como que la estación cubana y eso se oye aquí en Miami. Eso está bastante presente y eso es lo que ayuda, tú sabes como que **tiene**s una conexión aparte de mi familia.* ‘We even have a radio station now, I don’t know if you know, 95.7, that is like a Cuban station and this is what is listened to here in Miami. That is quite present and that is what helps, you know, it’s like you have a connection apart from your family.’

[2-M4] *Siendo cubano in Miami a veces **tú no lo ves**.* ‘Being Cuban in Miami, sometimes you don’t see that.’

[2-F8] *Yo creo que en Miami **te** hace sentir como si **tú acabaste de venir** de Cuba, yo creo que **te** hace sentir bien cómodo.* ‘I think that in Miami it feels like you have just arrived from Cuba, I think that it makes you feel very comfortable.’

[2-M31] *Yo voy a diferentes partes de Miami y tengo como un advantage sobre alguien que no es cubano como en Hialeah, la Calle Ocho, o lugares que es muy cubano. **Te** tratan más friendly, más cariñoso, cuando **tú eres** cubano contra a una persona de otro país.* ‘I go to different part of Miami and I have like and advantage than someone who is not Cuban like in Hialeah, Eighth Street, or places that are very Cuban. They treat you more friendly, nicer when you are Cuban than a person from another country.’

[2-M7] *Maybe I’m being biased because they are Cubans and I’m Cuban, but it’s fun. It’s fun with **your** own people that know **your** language and have the same habits **you** have, you know?*

[2-M8] *Cuando vengo pa’ acá y voy pa’ la Pequeña Habana, para Hialeah. **No te puedes escapar** de la presencia, de todo el mundo es español, todo el mundo está comiendo un bistec con arroz, frijol y tostones, entonces todo lo que **tú ves** es cubano. Que **te puedes** saber que cuando **entras** a la pequeña Habana ya **tú no puedes escapar** de Cuba, porque todo lo que **tú ves** es Cuba.* ‘When I come here and go to Little Havana, to Hialeah. You cannot escape the present, everybody is Spanish, everybody is eating steak with rice, beans and fried plantains, so everything that you see

is Cuban. You know when you enter Little Havana, you cannot escape Cuba because everything that you see is Cuba.’

[2-M7] *Si **tú** no ves mucha gente del país **tuyo**, no **te sientes** comfortable.* ‘When you don’t see a lot of people from your country, you don’t feel comfortable.’

Spatial Deixis

Adverbs of place (aquí/acá—ahí—allí/allá, here—there)

[1.5-F33] *Yo diría que es mucho más cómodo vivir **aquí** y tienes muchos más privilegios, que decir si voy a volver a Cuba, porque es mi país... no es realístico.* ‘I would say that it is much more convenient to live here, and you have many more privileges that to say that I will return to Cuba because it is my country...it is not realistic.’

[1.5-F24] *Creo que **aquí** se celebra mucho también la cultura cubana. Y hacen festivales y muchas cosas que debería ir. So esas son algunas de las cosas que siento la presencia de Cuba **aquí**.* ‘I think that here Cuban culture is also very much celebrated. And they make festivals and many things where I should go. So those are some things in which I feel presence of Cuba here.’

[1.5-F7] *Porque nací **allá**. Vine para **acá** a la edad de once años. Mis raíces son de **allá**. Todo, mi cultura es de **allá**, a pesar de que estudié en... la mayoría de mi educación en este país, siento que mi cultura es de **allá**.* ‘Because I was born there. I came here when I was eleven. My roots are from there. Everything, my culture is from there despite the fact that I studied... major part of my education in this country, I feel that my culture is from there.’

[1.5-F16] *Como que por un lado me da nostalgia, porque **ahí** fue donde... O sea, mi niñez, mi infancia fue **ahí**.* ‘It’s like on the one hand it gives me nostalgia because it was there where... well my childhood, my infancy was there.’

[2-F34] *No sé si voy a vivir **ahí** pero visitar sí... Sí, quiero.* ‘I don’t know if I am going to live there but visit yes... Yes, I would like to.’

[2-F12] *Todo el mundo **acá** es cubano.* ‘Everybody here is Cuban.’

[2-F26] *Would I like to travel **there**? Well, since we traveled **there** a lot when we were younger and I can't remember as much as I would like to, I would definitely want to travel **there**.*

[2-F23] *Yo nací **aquí** en Miami, yo sé cómo son las tradiciones cubanas, pero no siento muy fuerte, en esa cultura. Lo tengo, yo hablo bastante español porque vivo **aquí** pero más para ser cómica, pero no es como...fuerte.* ‘I was born here in Miami, I know what are Cuban traditions like but I don’t feel the culture that strong. I have it, I speak enough Spanish because I live here but more so to be funny, but it’s not like...strong.’

[2-F28] *Hay mucha pobreza **allá**, no se puede vivir **ahí**.* ‘There is a lot of poverty there, it is not possible to live there.’

[2-M16] *Kendall...sí, pero cuando visito me siento en casa **allá**. Entonces, pudiera decir que son dos casas, son dos casas que tengo.* ‘Kendall...yes, but when I visit I feel at home there. So I could say that they are two homes, two homes that I have.’

[2-F25] *Yo nunca he ido a Cuba, pero yo sé que **allá** sí le gusta hacer sus fiestas y cosas así.* I have never gone to Cuba but I know that there yes they like to make parties and things like that.’

[2-F42] *Pero sí, yo sé que **allá** en Cuba es muy... Como que tanto es restringido ellos tienen que buscar algo para hacerse feliz.* ‘But yes, I know that there in Cuba it is more... Since so much is restricted, they have to look for something to make themselves happy.’

[2-M5] *Porque esa es mi cultura, y la única razón que nosotros no estamos **allá**, es por todos los problemas políticos, las cosas que están pasando, sino todavía estaríamos **ahí**.* ‘Because that is my culture, and the only reason that we are not there is because of all the political problems, things that are happening, if not – we would still be there.’

[2-F20] *Me gustaría que estuviera más presente realmente, me gustaría aprender más de mi cultura y algún día me gustaría ir y conocer la familia que tengo **allá**.* ‘I wish it were more present really, I would like to learn more about my culture and one day I would like to go and meet my family that I have there.’

[2-F26] *When we first landed in the airport, it was like whole cultural like “wow” so here we are like what I expect and... you see... you see like a different... difference from like **here** and **there**.*

[2-F6] *<...> si las cosas cambian, volver a vivir **allá**. A mi me gustaría quedarme **acá** pero no me importaría viajar hacia **allá** estar un mes y regresar.* ‘<...> if things change go back to live there. I would like to stay here but I wouldn’t mind travelling there, stay there for a month and return.’

[2-F14] *Porque yo tengo amistades **aquí** o amistades de mis padres que son más familia que la gente **ahí**.* ‘Because I have friends here or friends of my parents that are more family than people there.’

[2-F8] *Porque no nací **allá**, nací **aquí**. A lo mejor, si nací **allá**, y vine para **acá**, sería diferente. Pero no mucho.* ‘Because I wasn’t born there, I was born here. If I was born there and came here, it would be different, but not a lot.’

[1.5-F21] *Aunque yo también considero a Estados Unidos mi home, Cuba seguirá siendo mi hogar.* ‘Although I also consider the US my home, Cuba will continue to be my home.’

[1.5-F37] *Mi hogar es este ya, ya **allá** me siento no totalmente conectada.* ‘My home is already here, I already don’t feel totally connected there.’

[1.5-M20] *Básicamente en Cuba, en mi casa **aquí** una reflexión de la de Cuba.* ‘Basically in, my house here is the reflection of the one in Cuba.’

[2-F19] *También, no es lo mismo una vida en Cuba, que la vida **acá**. **Allá** se pasa mucho trabajo, el gobierno no es igual, no tengo las mismas oportunidades. Entonces, por esa parte como que estoy bien **aquí**, como que me siento mejor **aquí** pero me gustaría, por ejemplo, si mi país tuviera esas posibilidades de nuevo, a mí no... No es que no me gustaría ir para atrás, pero yo considero los dos, como que mi hogar.* ‘Also, life in Cuba and life here are not the same. There people have to go through a lot of work, government is not the same, I don’t have the same opportunities. So in this sense I am good here, like I feel better here but I would like, for example, if my country has the same possibilities again... It’s not that I would like to go back but I consider both like my home.’

Demonstrative adjectives/pronouns (este/esta/estos/estas—ese/esa/esos/esas, this—that)

[1.5-F4] *Estoy fuera de Cuba, estoy en los Estados Unidos, **este** es otro país. De vez en cuando, cuando tengo un tiempesito, lo pienso y hago conciencia, sí **esto** es otro lugar.* ‘I am not in Cuba, I am in the USA, this is a different country. Sometimes when I have time I think about it, that yes, this is a different place.’

[2-F34] *Si se mejora la cosa, sí obvio. Si parece a **este** país un poco más en el futuro. No sé si voy a vivir ahí pero visitar sí... Sí, quiero.* ‘If the situation improves, yes, obviously. If it looks a Little

more similar to this country in the future. I don't know if I am going to live there but visit – yes. Yes, I'd like to.'

[2-F23] *Yo nací aquí en Miami, yo sé cómo son las tradiciones Cubanas, pero no siento muy fuerte, en esa cultura.* 'I was born here in Miami, I know what Cuban traditions are like, but I don't feel that culture that strongly.'

[2-F26] *I feel... I feel like there's a connection there, because **those** are the roots. **Those** were my roots, my family's roots.*

[2-M7] *Que **ese** lugar es donde está mi abuelos, mi abuelas y vivieron ahí **esos** son... **Esa** es la casa de ellos. Yo siempre he querido conocer **ese** área para saber qué tipo de vida tenían.* 'That that lugar is where my grandparents are, my grandparents lived there, that is their house. I have always wanted to get to know that area to know what kind of life they had.'

[2-F27] *A mí me encanta la comida cubana. So, cada vez que estoy comiendo comida cubana me siento, como soy parte de **eso**. De **esa** cultura.* 'I love Cuban food. So every time when I am eating Cuban food, I feel like I'm part of that. Of that culture.'

Verbs indicating movement and direction

[1.5-F17] *Me considero cubana, pero a la misma vez... No, **no fuera pa' tras a vivir**, no, no me gustaría.* 'I consider myself Cuban, but at the same time... No, I wouldn't go back to live there, no, I wouldn't like that.'

[1.5-F13] *Es que yo hace mucho que no **voy a Cuba**. Yo con Cuba... Yo he retomado mi sentimiento cubano aquí, porque trabajo con gente cubana, trabajo de hecho con gente que conoce gente que yo conozco, y es raro es como que **vuelves a estar ahí**.* 'The thing is that I haven't gone to Cuba in a while. Me with Cuba... I regained my Cuban feeling here because I work with Cuban people, in fact with people who know people that I know, and it's strange, it's like you are there again.'

[1.5-F37] *Lo **dejé** por problemas y no pienso **regresar**.* 'I left it because of the problems, and I am not thinking of returning.'

[1.5-M21] *Aunque yo **vine a este país** joven y me mantengo bien patriótico por mi país.* 'Although I came to this country at a Young age, I stay very patriotic to my country.'

[1.5-F13] Cuando **vengo aquí** y puedo usar mi pasaporte cubano para **quedarme aquí** por derechos legales, políticos, me siento orgullosa también. ‘When I come here and I can use my Cuban Passport to stay here legally, I feel proud as well.’

[1.5-M14] Creo que Miami es la alternativa perfecta para cuándo **te vas de Cuba**. ‘I think that Miami is a perfect alternative for when you leave Cuba.’

[1.5-M15] Luego **vino**, pasó diez días en Cuba... **vino no, fue a Cuba**. ‘And then came, spent ten days in Cuba... came – no, went to Cuba.’

[2-F44] Yo **nunca he tocado la tierra de Cuba** like nunca. ‘I have never touched the land of Cuba like never.’

[2-F6] Sí nos gustaría **regresar** y si podemos estar en casa ya, y estar **viniedo y llevando**, y **volver** si... Si las cosas cambian, **volver a vivir allá**. A mí me gustaría **quedarme acá** pero no me importaría **viajar hacia allá**, estar un mes y **regresar**, pero todavía no. ‘Yes we would like to return and if we can stay in the house, and keep coming and going, and come back... if things change, go back to live there. I would like to stay here but I wouldn’t mind travelling there, stay there for a month and return, but not yet.’

[2-F19] Consideraría, ahora como está la cosa no, pero un tiempo que sí, quise, sí **regresar**. ‘I would consider that, now with how the situation is – no, but there was the time when yes, I wanted to return.’

[2-F1] Algún día me gustaría **ir** y conocer la familia qué tengo allá. ‘One day I would like to go and meet the family that I have there.’

[2-F26] Would I like to **travel there**? Well, since we **traveled there** a lot when we were younger and I can't remember as much as I would like to, I would definitely want to **travel there**.

[2-F12] Bueno, **mandamos** muchas cosas a Cuba, so estamos presentes en la situación que todavía ellos no tienen muchas cosas y necesitan ayuda. ‘Well we send a lot of things to Cuba, so we are present in the situation that they still don’t have many things and need help.’

[2-F27] Sí, quiero **ir a Cuba, para allá**. Para familiar, es como mi familia vive, vive ahí y quiero conocerlos, yo nunca lo he visto, nunca comunicado con él tanto como mi papá hace so. Quiero **visitarlos**, no sé. ‘Yes, I want to go to Cuba, go there. For the family, it’s since my family lives

there, and I want to meet them, I have never seen him, never communicated with him like my dad does. I want to visit them.'

[2-F19] *No es que no me gustaría **ir para atrás**, pero yo considero los dos, como que mi hogar.*
'It's not that I wouldn't like to go back, but I consider both as my home.'

Spatial distance vs metaphorical proximity

[1.5-F13] *Para mí **esto** es Cuba dos... Cuba dos.* 'For me this is Cuba two... Cuba two.'

[1.5-F4] *La transición fue como ir a una parte de Cuba donde hay más comodidades, hay carros, aire acondicionado, pero me sentí desde chiquita siempre como si todavía estuviera en Cuba. <...> mientras no sales de Miami y estás con latinos, normalmente te sientes como que estás en Cuba.*
'The transition was like going to the part of Cuba where there are more comfort, cars, air conditioning, but since being very little I had a feeling as if I had still been in Cuba. <...> while you don't leave Miami and you are with Latinos, normally you feel as if you were in Cuba.'

[1.5-M27] *The way I see in Miami is north Cuba.*

[1.5-F7] *Siento que Hialeah es un lugar como tú... Si eres cubano, te sientes como si estuvieras en casa, como si estuvieras **allá**.* 'I feel that Hialeah is a place... if you are Cuban you feel as if you were at home, as if you were there.'

[2-F38] *Todo donde vivo es Cuba.* 'Everything where I live is Cuba.'

[2-F30] *Bueno, porque yo me crie en Hialeah, so ahí todo el mundo es cubano, es como Cuba pero **aquí**.* 'Well I was raised in Hialeah, and there everybody is Cuban, it's like Cuba but here'.

[2-F42] *Vivía yo en la Pequeña Habana, que es como vivir en Cuba. <...> Me siento feliz, me siento como si estuviera **ahí** en Cuba.* 'I lived in Little Havana, that is like living in Cuba. <...> I feel happy, I feel like... As if I was there, in Cuba.'

[2-F29] *Sí, definitivamente es como Little Cuba.* 'Yes, definitely, it's like Little Cuba.'

[2-F12] *Todo el mundo **acá** es cubano. Es otra... Es como una mini Cuba **acá**.* 'Everybody here is Cuban. It's another... It's like mini Cuba here.'

[2-F14] *Miami es como Cuba del norte.* 'Miami is like northern Cuba.'

Temporal Deixis

Verb tenses

To describe memories of visits/life in Cuba

[1.5-M15] *Cuba para mí tiene dos partes: La Cuba que se vive y la Cuba del gobierno. Entonces la Cuba que yo **viví era** una Cuba bastante alegre. Cuando **regresé vi**, o sea, ya un poco mayor, **había** momentos que ya no era tan alegre, quizás cuando **vivía** allá, no **me daba** cuenta de muchas cosas. <...> Y creo que **era** en su momento lo justo, no **teníamos** por qué ser sombra de ningún país, sino que **podíamos** crear nuestra propia entidad, nuestro propio sistema, simplemente que cae en manos de alguien que **velaba** por sus intereses, no por el interés del pueblo aunque dijera que sí, que **era** el pueblo lo que... Lo primero, nunca **fue** así.* ‘Cuba for me has two parts: Cuba where you live and Cuba of the government. So Cuba where I lived was a happy Cuba. When I returned, I saw, well, I was a little older, there were moments that were now not that happy, maybe when I lived there, I didn’t pay attention to many things. <...> And I think that at some point we didn’t have to be a shadow of any country, but we were capable of creating our own entity, our own system, it’s simply that it appeared in the hand of someone who was concerned with his interests, and not with the interest of the country, even though he said that yes, it was the country that went first, but it was never like that.’

[1.5-F13] *Tengo recuerdos de pequeña, yo cuando **tenía** catorce o quince años **fui** de vacaciones con mi madre y yo me **quise** quedar, **estuve viviendo** allí tres años. Tengo muchos recuerdos de estar con los amigos, de las playas. Mis tíos **tenían** una casa en la playa y entonces **íbamos** cada verano, tengo el recuerdo de las playas, el calor, de la escasez también.* ‘I have memories when I was a kid. When I was 14 or 15 years old, I went there on vacation with my mom, and I wanted to stay there, I was living there for three years. I have a lot of memories of being with friends, of beaches. My uncles/aunts had a house at the beach, and we would go there every summer. I have memories of the beaches, the heat, the need/scarcity as well.’

[1.5-F9] *Muy pocas. Me acuerdo de ir a la escuela, me acuerdo de estar con amigas. No me acuerdo de nada difícil, mis padres sí eso me lo **escondieron** muy bien, nunca me **faltó** comida, nunca nada.* ‘Very Little. I remember going to school, I remember being with friends. I don’t remember any difficulties, my parents were hiding that from me very well, I was never lacking food, never, nothing.’

[1.5-M14] *Pobreza, hay otros problemas, drogadicción, violencia, secuestro. Y que eso son cosas a las que nunca vi en Cuba, nunca oí un disparo, nunca oí de un secuestro, entonces los recuerdos que yo tengo de Cuba son como me fui a los nueve años, son de mi niñez y es una niñez muy libre, de llegar a la casa, soltar la mochila y salir a la calle a jugar y después entrar a hacer tarea, a bañarme, esas cosas ¿me entiende?, de compartir mucho en la calle, mucha conversación, mucha interacción humana, y una niñez muy bonita, no puedo decir otra cosa.* ‘Poverty, there are other problems, drug addiction, violence, kidnapping. And those are the things that I never saw in Cuba, never hear a shot, nunca heard of a kidnapping, so the memories that I have about Cuba are those of me leaving being 9 years old, they are from my childhood, and it is a very free childhood, of coming home, dropping my backpack, going out to the street to play, and then coming back to do homework, to take a bath, those things, you know? Sharing a lot of things in the street, a lot of conversations, a lot of human interaction, and it was a beautiful childhood, I cannot say any other thing.’

[1.5-M2] *De Cuba sí, cuando era niño. Unas cuantas cosas. Bañándome con mi primo, tú sabes, yendo a parques. Comiéndome los tomates como si fuera una manzana, y cosas así, montando caballos. Un pony, no caballo, un pony.* ‘About Cuba, yes, when I was a child. Some things. Swimming with my cousin, you know, going to parks. Eating tomatoes as if it was an apple, and things like that, riding horses. A pony, not a horse, a pony.’

[2-M18] *No tengo tanta memoria, pero me recuerdo que el país era un poco pobre, pobre no, sabes la no tanto cosas, pero muy lindo todo el mar y todo muy lindo y ver la gente unidas y ver toda la gente afuera todos los vecinos unidos.* ‘I don’t have a lot of memories, but I remember that the country was a little poor, poor – no, you know, not a lot of things, but very beautiful sea, and everything very beautiful, and seeing people united, and seeing all the people outside, all the neighbors united.’

[1.5-F35] *Por la mayor parte, todos casi siempre hablamos del pasado. Son cuentos de, o sea, cuando mis padres estaban en secundaria o cuando mis padres estaban en tal situación o la otra, cosas así, ¿no? Like historietas, o de que crecieron en el mismo barrio, ese tipo de cosas.* ‘For the major part, we almost always talk about the past. Those are the stories of when my parents were at school or when my parents were in this or that situation, things like that, you know? Like little stories, or that they grew up in the same neighborhood, things like that.’

[2-F19] *Algún momento, que yo me acuerde así bien fuerte fue la primera vez que **viajé** a Cuba, porque cuando **vine** se me **demoró** como siete años para poder regresar. Y yo me acuerdo estando en el avión cómo que aterrizando en Cuba, y **era** como que: “Oh, my God, estoy... I’m, like, home,” ¿sabes? Se le **sentía** como que like, I’m home. No, o sea, eso es como que me... like I **felt** good. ‘One moment that I remember very strong was the first time I traveled to Cuba, because when I came it took me seven years to return. And I remember being on the plane landing in Cuba, and it was like “Oh my God... I’m like home,” you know? It felt like I’m home. No, it was like I felt good.’*

[2-F18] *I remember when I **was** really, really little, like eight years old, I **promised** not to go to Cuba until Fidel’s regime is gone. So, I made a promise to him because it **was** so important for me not to go to see the Cuba that it is today and not the Cuba that he **grew up** with like my grandfather never **went** back after he came years ago. He **spent** the majority of his life in America, not in his home that because of the government, because of everything that **happened**. So, I feel like to go and give up everything I have to just live in Cuba would be like a slap in his face.*

To retell memories of their family members

[1.5-M25] *Yo siempre... Yo que **fui** de campo, o sea, **era** de Sabor la Grande, pero **teníamos** familia en campo y yo siempre **estaba** ahí saltando arriba de los mangos y corriendo con ellos, y ellos me **criaron** cuando chiquito. ‘I always, I was from the country, well, I was from Sabor la Grande, but we had family in the country, and I was always there jumping from mangoes, running with them, and they raised me when I was little.’*

[2-F26] *I **considered** it when I was younger. To see what’s like to grow up in Cuba instead of here. By what my parents tell me they had to go... They **worked** on the field planting tobacco leaves. They **had to go** work on the fields for most of their... When I was in school for not to mention in high school, they **had to go** to the fields for all that time. It would be kind of like camping but not in the happy sense, so they **had to work** a lot.*

[2-F32] *La comida de mi mamá, sí, porque en Cuba de verdad no **había** nada de... Bueno, no voy a decir qué no **había** nada de comer, porque mi mamá siempre dice que siempre **había** comida, lo que es que como **era** tan difícil coger la comida allá. Tú sabes, tener una variedad de cosas con lo que **tenías**, **tenías** que hacer algo y mamá siempre con la comida. ‘Food of my mom, yes, because in Cuba there was really nothing... Well I’m not going to say that there was nothing to eat, because*

my mom always says that there was always food, the thing is that it was so difficult to find food there. You know, to have a variety of things with what you had, you had to make something, and my mom did it with food.'

To express attitudes towards Cuba of the past

[2-F34] *Y yo veo a imágenes de Cuba de como **era** antes de revolución y yo siento orgullosa, es como yo veo a Miami como mi casa, y yo veo Cuba mi casa. Entonces yo tengo un amor por Cuba porque es parte de mi familia, entonces yo lo veo así.* 'And I see the images of Cuba, how it was before the revolution, and I feel proud. It's like I see Miami as my home and I see Cuba as home. So I feel love for Cuba because it is a part of my family, so I see it like this.'

Present tense

[1.5-F37] *Porque mi objetivo **ahora es** conectarme con la cultura americana, a coger el inglés, coger la escuela y dejar eso atrás.* 'Because my objective now is connect to the American culture, to pick up English, school, and leave that behind.'

[1.5-F39] *Ay, no, porque la situación **está** muy complicada.* 'Oh no, because the situation is very complicated.'

[2-F3] *No creo que **tengo** mucho que ver con las personas de la generación de **ahora**, no **tengo** amistades. Solo una conexión familiar.* 'I don't think that I have much to do with the people of nowadays generation, I don't have friends. Only familial connection.'

[2-M19] *Porque yo creo que el régimen cubano, el malo todavía **está** presente en Cuba y no quiero, no sé... Con toda la historia que mi padre me ha contado, **no creo que quiero vivir** ahí.* 'Because I think the Cuban regime, the bad is still present in Cuba, and I don't want, I don't know... With all the history that my dad has told me, I don't think that I want to live there.'

[2-M16] *Cuando des el viaje **vas a ver** que... **Vas a sentir** como si estuvieras dándole pa' tras al tiempo. Como que **vas a viajar** en un avión y **vas a salir** no de los Estados Unidos, sino **vas a salir** del dos mil dieciocho que estamos ahora y **vas a viajar** pa' tras para mil novecientos sesenta. Y **vas a ver** el mundo completamente diferente, **vas a ver** el carro súper antiguo, vas a ver... Y obviamente producto del gobierno que **hay**.* 'When you travel there, you are going to feel as if you were going

back in time. Like you would travel in a plane, and you would leave no the US but 2018, where we are now, and you would travel back to 1960. And you will see a completely different world, you will see a car super old. And obviously the product of the government that there is there now.’

[2-F45] *Por las condiciones. Son como... Hay mucho control allá.* ‘Because of the conditions. They are like... There’s a lot of control there.’

Past tense + present tense

[2-F25] *Dolor, nostalgia, por lo que era antes. Porque muchas veces mis padres me dicen: Era un tiempo tan bonito antes de esto, y era... Yo quisiera conocer eso también, tener la oportunidad de ir por las calles, disfrutar el aire, disfrutar las playas que tiene, las montañas, la gente. Yo siento que he perdido mucho por eso. Nací en una época que es diferente. Pero ese es mi pensar de Cuba, que perdí lo que nunca pude conocer.* ‘Pain, nostalgia, for what it was like in the past. Because a lot of times my parents tell me: it was a very beautiful time before this, and it was... I would like to know that as well, have an opportunity to walk in the streets, enjoy the air, enjoy the beaches that it has, mountains, people. And I feel that I have missed a lot. I was born in a different epoch. But this is my way of thinking about Cuba, that I lost something that was never able to get to know.’

[2-F25] *Y por un tiempo, cuando era más chiquita, yo decía: Yo nomás que soy cubana, nomás que soy cubana. Pero cuando he ido creciendo y olvido... he aprendido más de Cuba, me he puesto un poco más distante. La razón es porque no me siento tan conectada a la Cuba que es de hoy, pero más la que la Cuba que me cuenta mis padres, que era una Cuba, bueno, la perla del Caribe.* ‘There was a period, when I was younger, when I used to say: I am Cuban, I am only Cuban. But when I was growing up, I have learn more about Cuba, and I became more distant. The reason is that I don’t feel that connected to Cuba of now, but more to Cuba that my parents tell me about, Cuba of the past, the pearl of the Caribbean.’

[2-F14] *Mixtos, bueno porque es un país de bello y como había dicho anteriormente la cultura es bella. Pero malo, porque la gente ha cambiado mucho de lo que era en el pasado, basado en lo que mis padres me han dicho y los que abuelos o parientes más viejos que yo me han dicho de cómo era Cuba. En Cuba el primer país de tener un tren, de Latinoamérica. El primer país que dio derecho a las mujeres. No había y no hay la misma discriminación hacia negros en Cuba. Mujeres tuvieron el derecho a votar antes de cualquier otro país... pero paró en el tiempo.* ‘Mixed, well

because it is a beautiful country, and, as I have said earlier, the culture is beautiful. But bad because the people have changed a lot from what it was in the past, based on what my parents have told me, and grandparents or older relatives, about what Cuba was like. Cuba was the first country to have a train in Latin America. The first country that gave rights to women. There was and there is no discrimination against people of color in Cuba. Women had the right to vote before any other country... but it stopped in time.'

[2-F18] When we talk about Cuba today it is mostly negative, but when we talk about when my grandpa still lived there and my grand uncle, we talk about like not necessarily how negative it was, it just like the incredible experiences that they had. <...> Like, also upset because it's not the Cuba that I heard stories about, like, it's not this magnificent place with all these lights and music and this rich fantastic culture. It's a place that's poor and dirty and yeah it's just not what I heard, what I grew up listening to. So when dad says like I'm upset that I would never see the Cuba that my grandparents are in love with, the Cuba that was their home, but at the same time I'm happy that that I still have the connection.

[2-F19] Consideraría, ahora como está la cosa no, pero un tiempo que sí, quise, sí regresar porque como te dije ese día que regresé ya era como que me sentí tan bien. 'I would consider it. now how the situation is there – no, but there was the time when yes, I wanted to return because like I told you, that day when I returned I felt so good.'

[2-F6] Un tipo de nostalgia aunque no la conozco, pero nostalgia porque yo conozco Cuba por mis padres y por los cuentos de mis padres. So cuando yo recuer... no es que recuerde a Cuba, cuando yo pienso en Cuba, yo pienso en la Cuba que existía, no en la Cuba de hoy, porque en sí la Cuba de hoy no la conozco salvo por lo que he visto en la televisión, mis padres la conocen, mis padres llegaron a los cincuenta. Entonces yo cuando pienso en Cuba pienso en como en nostalgia, de conocer como era Cuba, la Cuba de mis padres, es lo que yo pienso. 'A type of nostalgia although I don't know it, but nostalgia because I know Cuba through my parents and stories of my parents. So when I remem... not that I remember Cuba, when I think about Cuba, I think about Cuba that existed, not about Cuba of now, because in reality I don't know Cuba of now, except for what I have seen on TV, my parents know it, my parents came in 1950s. So when I think about Cuba, I think about nostalgia, to get to know what was Cuba like, Cuba of my parents, that is what I think.'*

[2-F31] *Me tuvieron cuando eran un poquito más viejos, entonces no sé cómo decirlo, en la actitud de ahora ha cambiado, entonces como diferentes tipos de cubanos, tú sabes, diferentes ideas, y las ideas que tienen mis padres son de una era antes, una época que era muy diferente, era más como los cincuentas, vamos a decir, porque eso son de mis abuelos. Soy más cubana-americana, porque soy cubana pero las ideas de una Cuba que ahora no existe.* ‘My parents had me when they were a little older, so I don’t know how to put it, the attitude of now has changed, like different types of Cubans, you know, different ideas, and the ideas that my parents have are of the era that was in the past, the epoch that was very different, it was more like in the fifties, let’s say, because that was of my grandparents. I am more Cuban-American because I am Cuban but with the ideas of Cuba that now does not exist.’

Future tense and conditional sentences

[1.5-F39] *Si voy a Cuba me voy a sentir bien con mi lugar porque nací allá.* ‘If I go to Cuba I will feel good about my place because I was born there.’

[1.5-M1] *Porque yo salí de Cuba para acá para tener una vida mejor. Si viro a Cuba, no voy a tener una vida mejor, va a ser peor.* ‘Because I left Cuba for here to have a better life. If I go back to Cuba, I won’t have a better life, it will be worse.’

[1.5-M25] *Sí y no. No, in the long future maybe, si Cuba ya se vuelve capitalist y se mejora mucho, porque sí me gusta Cuba, es muy bonito, mucha libertad, cuando había, playas muy bonitas, pero ahora no, definitely no.* ‘Yes and no. No, in the long future maybe, if Cuba becomes capitalist and improves a lot, because yes, I like Cuba, it is very beautiful, a lot of freedom, when it was, very beautiful beaches, but now definitely no.’

[2-F34] *No creo que es el momento para vivir en Cuba, pero si las cosas se van abriendo, van arreglando las relaciones, los negocios, sí, es posible. Pero en estos momentos no. Pero en un futuro...* ‘I don’t think that it is the moment to live in Cuba but if the things keep opening, and the relations keep resolving, businesses, yes, it is possible. But at this moment no. But in the future...’

[2-F31] *Sí, claro, algún día. Algún día me gustaría ir al hospital que yo nací, a ver la casa de mis padres, a ver la casa de mi abuelo.* ‘Yes, of course, one day. One day I would like to go to the hospital where I was born, to see the house of my parents, to see the house of my grandfather.’

[1.5-F17] *Me considero cubana, pero a la misma vez, **no fuera pa' tras a vivir, no, no me gustaría.*** 'I consider myself Cuban but at the same time I wouldn't go back to live there, no, no, I wouldn't like that.'

[1.5-F16] ***Debería** pasar mucho tiempo para pa' que **sea** igual de bueno que Miami o que Estados Unidos en general. En Cuba hay mucho pobreza, no existen los Derechos Humanos, no hay oportunidades, sabes, uno se sacrificó tanto para después volver pa' Cuba, no.* 'It would take a lot of time for Cuba to be as good as Miami or the US in general. In Cuba there is a lot of poverty, human rights don't exist, there are no opportunities, you know, one sacrificed so much to return to Cuba after all – no.'

[1.5-F39] *Ay, no, porque la situación **está** muy complicada, pero ahora, **si mejorara en unos años podría que vivir**, pero sí visitaría más, aunque por **ahora como está todo no.***

[1.5-F39] *Diría que nostalgia por el hecho de que me fui de mi país, porque la situación no está bien, porque si mi país **tuviera** una buena situación, no **me hubiera ido**, o sea, allá en mi país, mi familia, mis amigos. Es un lugar muy lindo, pero si no **tuviera** el problema que tiene de la situación, no **me hubiera venido** para acá.* 'I would say that nostalgia because I left my country, because if my country had a good situation, I wouldn't have left. There it is my country, my family, my friends. It is a very beautiful place, but if it didn't have the problem with the situation that it has, I wouldn't have come here.'

[1.5-M2] ***Si se cae** todo el comunismo que **hay** ahí, que lo dudo, sí... maybe **invertiría** en Cuba. Si **tuviera** el dinero en un futuro, y **fuera** de vacaciones, claro. Yirme a pasar un verano allá, pero vivir ahí no. No creo, no puedo, aunque **cambie** completamente, no creo que **me acostumbraría** bien.* 'If all the communism that there is there falls, which I doubt, yes... maybe I would invest in Cuba. If I had money in the future, and went for vacation, of course. And go and spend a summer there, but live there no. I don't think, I can't, even if it changes completely, I don't think I would adapt well.'

[1.5-M13] *Cuba está presente en mi vida desde que me levanto hasta que me acuesto. **Algún día quisiera regresar.** <...> **Sí, sí, cuándo no haya comunismo.*** 'Cuba is present in my life from the moment I get up until I go to sleep. One day I would like to return. <...> Yes, yes, when there is no communism.'

[2-F42] *A lo mejor, cuando sea yo mayor, que sea más vieja y quiera retirarme.* ‘Maybe when I am old and would like to retire.’

[2-M29] *Le digo a mi papá que cuando él quiera ir yo voy con él.* ‘I tell my father that when he goes I would like to go with him.’

Adverbs of time (*siempre, nunca, always, never*)

[1.5-F9] *Por ejemplo nochebuena, eso siempre lo hacemos.* ‘For example Nochebuena, we always do that.’

[1.5-M2] *Sí, claro. No sé. Yo vivo aquí. Me siento como que nunca se me ha ido la conexión con Cuba. Ha sido... Ha cambiado, ha sido diferente, pero no en total.* ‘Yes, of course. I don’t know. I live here. I feel like my connection with Cuban has never disappeared. It has changed, it has been different, but not totally.’

[1.5-M21] *Siempre, siempre, siempre me he sentido orgulloso.* ‘I have always always always felt proud.’

[1.5-M14] *Entonces siempre hay como ese tema de Cuba en la casa. De lo bueno y de lo malo ¿Me entiendes? Siempre estamos hablando. <...> Siempre hay algoito que me lleva hacia atrás, hacia ahí. No sé si es por qué.* ‘So there is always Cuban topic at home. About good and bad, you know? We are always talking. <...> There is always little something that takes me back, takes me there. I don’t know why.’

[1.5-M15] *Y Cuba siempre está ahí.* ‘And Cuba will always be there.’

[1.5-M14] *Entonces, siempre, todos los días. Yo creo que todos los días tienen un momento en el que yo me siento orgulloso de ser cubano.* ‘So, always, every day. I think that every day has a moment when I feel proud to be Cuban.’

[2-F20] *Yo a cada rato me pongo hablar con mi abuelita ella me dice cuentos de su infancia. Siempre me lo siento como una parte de mí, aunque realmente hasta que yo no vaya y lo conozca personalmente creo que no me voy a poder identificar de manera completa.* ‘Every time when I talk to my grandma she tells me stories about you childhood. I always feel that is it like a part of me. However in reality until I go and get to know it personally, I think I won’t be able to identify completely.’

[2-F18] Connection **all the time**. When with my grandma or with my grandpa I **always** feel that connection.

[2-M23] Yo **siempre** he sentido, gracias a mis padres, porque cuando ellos hablan de sus historias y eso me da alguna presencia de esa conexión que ellos tienen. ‘I have always felt, thanks to my parents, because when they tell their stories, this gives me some presence of the connection that they have.’

[2-M31] **Siempre** aprendiendo de mi cultura y **siempre** he querido saber la cultura cubana. ‘Always learning about my culture and I have always wanted to know Cuban culture.’

[2-F32] La primera es la comida cubana **siempre**. Sí, **siempre**, la tradición del cafecito. ‘The first one is Cuban food always. Yes, always the tradition of cafecito.’

[2-F5] **Siempre** me siento orgullosa. Porque es algo que normalmente aquí en Miami, siempre ves a mucha gente cubana, eso te recuerda, no? **Siempre** hablan de cosas de Cuba, y de los buenos tiempos que tenían allá so **siempre** me siento orgullosa. ‘I always feel proud. Because this is something normal here in Miami. You always see many Cuban people, this reminds you, no? They always talk about things of Cuba, and about good times that they had there, so I always feel proud.’

[2-F23] Porque yo **nunca** lo conocí, yo no tengo ese comunicación con ellos como: “Yo recuerdo de ti de niño,” no, yo no tengo eso. No. ‘Because I never knew it, I don’t have this communication with them like: “I remember you as a kid,” no, I don’t have that. No.’

[2-M10] I mean I kind of knew it wasn’t, you know what it was over there, but I didn’t necessarily like, experienced it first hand, I’ve **never** experienced that, so I can’t really say that I feel a connection with that.

[2-M7] Es difícil, sí porque **nunca** he ido, pero son como mis raíces, ¿tú sabes? ‘It’s difficult, yes, because I have never gone but those are like my roots, you know?’

[2-M29] Yo creo que yo mismo en general, yo no tengo tanta conexión porque yo **nunca** he ido, yo **nunca** he podido ir y yo quiero ir. ‘I think that I myself in general, I don’t have that much of connection because I have never gone, I have never been able to go and I want to go.’

[2-F41] No... Sí, **nunca**. **Nunca** lo dudé, pero no estaba muy expuesta a lo que era la cultura. ‘No... Yes, never. I never doubted it, but I was never very exposed to what the culture was.’

[2-F30] *Bueno, claro porque es de donde soy, eso **nunca** voy a olvidar, like where my roots are. So, siempre voy a crecer y voy a saber las tradiciones, las comidas. It's always gonna be with me.*
'Well of course because it is where I am from, that I will never forget, like where my roots are. So I will always grow and I will know the traditions, the food. It's always going to be with me.'

Stancetaking

Markers of Affect

Ethnic self-identification

[1.5-M1] ***Me siento bien de ser cubano.*** 'I feel good to be Cuban.'

[1.5-M15] *No, la verdad es que **nunca he sentido pena o miedo de decir que soy cubano.*** 'No, frankly, I have never felt shame or fear to say that I am Cuban.'

[1.5-M7] ***Siempre, siempre, siempre me he sentido orgulloso.*** 'I have always, always, always felt proud.'

[1.5-F13] *Entonces me preguntan y la gente se asombra y dice: "¿Cubana? Uf, pero ella es tan blanca, y tiene los ojos verdes," y ahí **me siento orgullosa** porque es como: Guao, no se esperaban que yo fuera cubana.* 'So people ask me and they get surprised and say: "Cuban? Uf, but she is so white and has green eyes," and there I feel proud because it's like – wow they didn't expect that I am Cuban.'

[1.5-F36] ***De ser cubana me siento orgullosa** porque nacer en Cuba me dio la oportunidad de tener una infancia muy activa. Y de tener una educación muy buena. Esa es **la parte más orgullosa** cuando yo veo la educación que recibí en Cuba.* 'I am proud to be Cuban because to be born in Cuba gave me an opportunity to have a very active childhood. And to have a very good education. That is that part that makes me most proud – when I see the education that I received in Cuba.'

[1.5-F9] *Yo era, creo la única por mucho tiempo que había nacido en Cuba, entonces me sentía un poco extraña, pero en lo que crecí y entendí más... **Cada vez que pasa más tiempo me siento más orgullosa de ser cubana.*** 'For a long time I was, I think, the only one who was born in Cuba, so I felt a little strange but I grew up and understood more... The more time passes the more I feel proud to be Cuban.'

[1.5-M14] *Entonces, siempre, todos los días. Yo creo que **todos los días tienen un momento en el que yo me siento orgulloso de ser cubano.*** ‘So always, all the time. I think that every day has a moment when I feel proud to be Cuban.’

[1.5-F7] *Hablar de Cuba, es como hablar de algo que me siento orgullosa, **me siento orgullosa de haber nacido en ese país, me siento orgullosa de mis raíces, me siento orgullosa de ser cubana. Cuba para mí es orgullo.*** ‘Cuba, to talk about Cuba is like to talk about something that I am proud of, I feel proud to be born in that country, I feel proud about my roots, I feel proud to be Cuban. Cuba for me is pride.’

[1.5-M25] *En verdad, yo **siempre soy orgulloso. Yo no quisiera ser otra cosa menos cubano.*** ‘Honestly, I am always proud. I wouldn’t like to be anything but Cuban.’

[1.5-F15] ***Siempre estoy orgullosa de ser cubana.*** ‘I am always proud of being Cuban.’

[1.5-F17] ***Es orgullo de ser de ahí.*** ‘It’s the feeling of pride to be from there.’

[2-M31] *Yo soy cubano americano porque yo... A mí **no me gusta ser mucho americano, a mí me gusta ser más cubano que americano.** Siempre dicen que los americanos no tienen ritmo, no tienen sazón, son boring, entonces yo **no quiero ser americano. Quiero ser más cubano pero no, yo nací aquí soy americano.*** ‘I am Cuban-American because I don’t like to be very American, I like to be more Cuban than American. People always say that Americans don’t have rhythm, don’t have “spice,” they are boring, so I don’t want to be American. I want to be more Cuban but no, I was born here, I’m American.’

[2-M31] *Bueno, sí, todos los días, todos los días, no una sola vez <...> pero **todos los días soy orgulloso de ser cubano.*** ‘Well, yes, all the time, all the time, not just once <...> but all the time I feel proud to be American.’

[2-F11] *Umm I mean I think **I’m always proud about my origin.** I have mostly nothing bad to say about it, I’m proud of my parents, what they’ve done and how far they’ve come.*

[2-F6] *En ese entonces yo **me sentí muy orgullosa de ser quien soy, de ser cubana y de ser latina, hispana específicamente.*** ‘So I felt very proud to be who I am, to be Cuban and to be Latina, Hispanic specifically.’

[2-F38] *No tengo ningún problema **¿Por qué no decir de dónde soy...? Al contrario siempre me gusta decir que soy cubana.*** ‘I don’t have any problem: Why not say where I am from? On the contrary, I always like to say that I am Cuban.’

[2-F1] *No tengo ninguna inconveniencia en decir: “Ah, soy cubana” porque soy orgullosa de serlo.* ‘I don’t feel any inconvenience of saying: “Ah, I am Cuban” because I am proud to be Cuban.’

[2-M29] *Yo digo cubano porque me gusta decir cubano, es mejor que americano.* ‘I say Cuban because I like to say Cuban, it’s better than American.’

Family in Cuba

[1.5-F24] *Emocionada* varias veces y *feliz* que puedo escuchar la voz de mi papá o mis hermanos o mi abuelo. ‘Sometimes emotional and happy that I can hear the voice of my father or my brothers or my grandfather.’

[1.5-F36] *Son mi familia y los extraño* .<...> *Mi prima más cercana, cuándo hablo con ella, me alegre de hablar con ella, cómo está, saber que está bien, que le está yendo bien.* ‘They are family and I miss them. <...> my closest cousin, when I talk to her, I feel happy talking to her, how she is, to know that she is well, that everything is going well for her.’

[1.5-F4] *Mayormente emocionada, porque no es lo mismo tener que hacer una llamada por teléfono, o un email, que poder verlos. So, es mezcla de emociones. Estás alegre porque sabes de ellos, pero a la vez te pones a pensar: “Ah, si los pudiera ver, si pudiera hacer una visita, montarme en el carro y los ves un momentico.” O pudieran verme, pasar weekend, entonces hay que esperar meses para verlos... Pero me siento bien mayormente.* ‘Mostly emotional because it’s not the same to have to call them on the phone or email than to be able to see them. So it’s a mix of emotions. You feel happy because you know about them but at the same time you start thinking: “Ah, if only I could see them or visit, jump in a car and see them for a moment.” Or they could see me, spend weekend, so you have to wait for months to see them... but I feel good mostly.’

[1.5-M1] *Normal, ¿sabes? Me gusta saber que están bien, los pregunto mucho de ellos allá, pero realmente no tienen muchas noticias que darme, todo es igual.* ‘Normal, you know, I like to know that they are well, I ask them a lot about their life there but in reality they don’t have a lot of news for me, everything is the same.’

[1.5-F15] *Creo que los extraño mucho.* ‘I think that I miss them very much.’

[2-F12] **Me alegre**, unas veces me pongo brava con ellos, ¿no? pero usualmente **me alegre**. Quien sabe que están bien, o si necesitan ayuda. ‘I am happy, sometimes I get angry with them, you know, but usually I am happy. Who knows if they are well or if they need help.’

[2-F18] To hear about like my cousins that they can't go to school because of medical reasons and that they don't have the same opportunities I do, **makes me upset** and, **just the thought of it, it's a bit depressing**.

[2-F19] **Me siento feliz**, me siento como si estuviera ahí en Cuba con ellos y no sé, **me da una felicidad** saber que ellos están bien y que están disfrutando. No sé, me da así como una nostalgia. ‘I feel happy, I feel as if I were there in Cuba with them, I don’t know, it makes me happy to know that they are well and they are enjoying. I don’t know, it gives me like nostalgia.’

[2-F1] **Me siento feliz**, me siento como, tú sabes, que tengo más familia que no veo todos los días. <...> Yo sé todo lo que ella está pasando y **me siento bien de poder**, tú sabes, **ayudarla lo más posible** y eso. ‘I feel happy, I feel like, you know, I have more family that I don’t see every day. I know what she is going through, and I feel good to be able to, you know, help her as much as I can.’

Sentiments about Cuba

[1.5-M15] O sea, acerca de Cuba **me da mucha alegría**. No sé, cómo artista también a mí es **un lugar que me inspira, que me transmite mucha emoción, mucha nostalgia**. ‘Well, about Cuba it makes me feel very happy. I don’t know, being also an artist, for me it is a place that inspires me, that transmits a lot of emotion, a lot of nostalgia.’

[1.5-M2] **Tristeza, tristeza y respeto**. Respeto mucho a la gente que viven allá y que no se lo merecen. ‘Sadness, sadness and respect. I have a lot of respect for people who live there and that do not deserve that.’

[1.5-F24] **Contenta** y a veces **triste**. ‘Content and sometimes sad’.

[1.5-F5] Te diría **sentimientos buenos** porque soy de ahí, toda mi familia es de ahí y me han enseñado que es un lugar muy bello, aunque ahora no esté una persona correcta ahí, mandando en el país, pero sí, serían **sentimientos buenos**. ‘I would say positive feelings because I am from

there, my whole family is from there, and I was taught that it is a very beautiful place, although now it is not the right person as the head of the country, but yes, it would be positive feelings.’

[1.5-F9] *Muchos. Positivos, negativos, pero muy apasionados, todos los sentimientos son muy apasionados, los buenos y los malos.* ‘Many. Positive, negative but very passionate, all the feelings are very passionate.’

[1.5-F35] *No sé, no me siento mal sobre Cuba, ahí no pienso que es un mal país, simplemente creo que es un lugar divertido, donde puedo ir a pasar un tiempo, cuando tenga ganas you know un lugar que es bonito para irse de vacaciones.* ‘I don’t know, I don’t feel bad about Cuba, I don’t think that it is a bad country, I simply think that it is a fun place where I can go to spend time when I feel like it, you know, the place that is beautiful to go for vacation.’

[1.5-F37] *Entonces yo no sé, o sea, como que extraño Cuba. O sea, no extraño Cuba, extraño mis amistades de Cuba. O sea, no extraño estar en Cuba, ni en la escuela. Yo nunca le he cogido odio, ni la extraño tan fuertemente como mucha gente dice que: “Oh, yo extraño mucho mi país,” no, yo no extraño igual porque yo estaba loco por salir de ahí.* ‘So I don’t know, well, I like miss Cuba. Well, I don’t miss Cuba, I miss my friends in Cuba. Well, I don’t miss being in Cuba nor at school. I have never developed hate but I don’t miss it so strongly like a lot of people say: “Oh, I miss my county so much,” no, I don’t miss it also because I was crazy about leaving it.’

[1.5-F43] *<...> por Cuba como tal como la tierra, normal, neutral.* ‘<...> for Cuba as country – normal, neutral.’

[1.5-M20] *Tengo sentimientos mixtos porque hay como te mencioné, me siento como mi tierra, lo donde nací, lo que me creó pero también veo la... como mis primos ahora que están sufriendo tanto.* ‘I have mixed feelings because, as I mentioned, I feel that it’s my land, where I was born, what raised me, but also I see how my cousins are suffering now.’

[1.5-F9] *Mi español no es tan bueno como para regresar a Cuba y sentirme cómoda, pero esa es la nostalgia que queda yo creo, de un lugar que no puedes regresar, especialmente.* ‘My Spanish is not that good to return to Cuba and feel comfortable, but that is nostalgia that is left I think, especially about the place where you cannot return.’

[2-F25] *Y siempre siento mucha lástima porque yo creo que Cuba puede ser muchas cosas pero está atrapado. <...> Siento el dolor de Cuba.* I always feel bad because I think that Cuba can be a lot of things but it's trapped. <...> I can feel its pain.'

[2-F8] *Me da mucha lástima con la gente que están ahí, because por las cosas que pasan.* 'I feel sorry for the people that are there because of the things that happen.'

[2-M23] *Sentimientos de felicidad, siempre, desde que yo me recuerdo, yo nunca he pasado un tiempo malo.* 'Feelings of happiness, always, since I remember myself I have never went through bad time.'

[2-F34] *Entonces yo tengo un amor por Cuba porque es parte de mi familia.* 'So I feel love for Cuba because it's part of my family.'

[2-F20] *Me siento como una conexión inexplicable. Siempre me he sentido atada a Cuba y a las cosas cubanas.* 'I feel like inexplicable connection. I have always felt attached to Cuba and Cuban things.'

[2-M31] *Muy amable, positivo pero también siento bien triste por lo que pasan los cubanos en Cuba por necesidad, me siento bien triste por eso.* 'Very nice, positive, but also I feel very sad for what Cubans are going through because of need, I feel very sad about that.'

[2-F19] *Sentimientos tengo cariño, me siento que es otra parte de mí, otro lado.* 'I have feelings of affection, I feel that it is another part of me, another side.'

[2-F38] *Tengo sentimientos los dos, felices y tristes. Tristes porque a veces veo que los primos de mi papá allá que no tienen las oportunidades que tengo yo, y yo sé que no es como que... Por ejemplo si vivieran en otro estado, pueden montarse en un avión y venir a visitar y en este caso no es así, él no puede venir a verme cuando quiere y cuesta dinero entonces eso. Esa distancia es lo que duele, pero soy feliz sabiendo que vengo de un país que ha pasado por mucho.* 'I have feelings both happy and sad. Sad because sometimes I can see that my father's cousins there don't have the opportunities that I have here, and I know that it's not like... For example, if they lived in another state, they could take a plane and come to visit but in this case it's not like that, he cannot come to see me whenever he wants, and it costs money. This distance is what hurts, but I feel happy to know that I come from the country that has been through a lot.'

[2-M10] *I guess, when I went there... kind like **pity**, because there's these families living in homes without walls, but yeah **pity** and the **feeling of like it's also something amazing**, because you can see all the history that has happened that you've heard about, so I'm not sure it's a word for that but that's it.*

[2-F14] ***Mixtos**, bueno porque es un país de bello y como había dicho anteriormente la cultura es bella. 'Mixed, well because it is a beautiful country, and as I said earlier, the culture is beautiful.'*

[2-F11] *When I visited this summer it was very eye-opening. **I absolutely loved it.***

[2-M22] *Sí, **tristeza más que nada** porque un lugar tan hermoso y son personas buenas pero la condición allá está bien mala. 'Yes, sadness more than anything, because it is such a gorgeous place and good people but the condition there is very bad.'*

[2-M8] ***Amor, amor y mucho alegre, me gusta, me encanta**, que es a donde nació mi familia y como amo a mi abuela tanto, como ella ama a Cuba, yo **amo a Cuba** también. 'Love, love, and a lot of happiness, I like, I love that it is where my family was born, and as I love my grandmother so much, and how she loves Cuba, I love Cuba as well.'*

[2-F27] ***A mí me encanta la comida cubana**. So, cada vez que estoy comiendo comida Cubana me siento como soy parte de eso. De esa cultura. 'I love Cuban food. So every time when I eat Cuban food, I feel like I am part of that. Of that culture.'*

[2-M3] ***La comida cubana me encanta**. Me canso de ella, pero también **me encanta, yo siempre quiero comer comida cubana**. 'I love Cuban food. I get tired of it but I also love it, I always want to eat Cuban food.'*

[2-M18] ***I really want to identify with that culture, because I'm proud of the history of it and I really enjoy like the music, I love listening to it, <...> I don't like what, you know, what the government has been doing over the years.***

Diminutives

[1.5-M2] *Tú ves los **viejitos**, vas a cualquier parque, hay muchos parques que tienen mesas de domino y tú siempre ves los **viejitos** ahí los fines de semana o entre días y tú los ves ahí jugando domino normal. 'You see older Cubans, you go to any park, there are many parks that have domino*

tables, and you always see older Cubans there during weekends or week days, and you see them playing domino.’

[1.5-M14] *Siempre hay **alguito** que me lleva hacia atrás, hacia ahí.* ‘There is always something that takes me back, takes me there.’

[2-F6] *La **abuelita** de mi hermano por parte de madre venía y visitaba mucho, que a mí me encantaba estar con ella.* ‘Grandma of my brother from my mother’s side would come and visit a lot, and I loved spending time with her.’

Markers of Judgement

Evaluation of the situation in Cuba

[1.5-F13] *Podría ser, pero solo si las cosas cambiaran allí, porque no, no, no, en Cuba es **muy difícil** según que cosas hasta teniendo dinero, es una isla, **todo lo que entra está controlado**, es **difícil volver a pensar en vivir allí.*** ‘It could be but only if the things changed there, because no, no, no, it is very difficult in Cuba, even with money, it is an island, everything that enters is controlled, it is difficult to think about living there again.’

[1.5-F16] *Para mí **vivir en Cuba es como para ir pa' atrás.** <...> Debería pasar mucho tiempo pa' que sea igual de bueno que Miami o que Estados Unidos en general. En Cuba **hay mucha pobreza**, **no existen los Derechos Humanos**, **no hay oportunidades.*** ‘For me to live in Cuba is like to go back. <...> it would take a lot of time for it to become as good as Miami or the US in general. In Cuba there is a lot of poverty, Human Rights do not exist, and there are no opportunities.’

[2-F34] *Yo nunca he ido a Cuba, un día yo quiero ir pero yo entiendo porque no puedo, porque **todavía está mal.*** ‘I have never gone to Cuba, one day I want to go but I understand why I can’t, because it is still bad.’

[2-M19] *Yo creo que el régimen cubano, **el malo todavía está presente** en Cuba y no quiero, no sé, con toda la historia que mi padre me ha contado, no creo que quiero vivir ahí.* ‘I think that Cuban regime, the bad is still present in Cuba I don’t want, I don’t know, with all the history that my dad have told me, I don’t think I want to live there.’

[2-M18] *There's **still a lot of turmoil** between the people and its government **happening there**, and I think that I won't be able to make a living doing the thing that I do over there.*

[2-F20] *Creo que no, realmente sobre lo que he oído no creo que me apetecería [vivir en Cuba]. Creo que **hay muchas faltas** y no me gustaría vivir en **un sitio tercermundista**.* ‘I think no, in reality from what I’ve heard, I don’t think I would like it. I think that there are many flaws, and I wouldn’t want to live in a third-world place.’

[2-M29] *No, es que en general, en Cuba **no hay vida para eso**, no. **No hay oportunidades** que hay aquí. Tú vas allá con tu degree de psicología y no puedes hacer nada. Trabajar con el gobierno, un gobierno comunista, ¿no? ¿Pa’ qué? So, yendo para vivir ahí es más vivir con las personas, con el país, con la tierra en general. No es pa’ una vida entera.* ‘No, the thing is that in general in Cuba there is no life for that, no. There are no opportunities that exist here. You go there with your degree in psychology and you cannot do anything. Work for the government, for a communist government, no? What for? So to go to live there is more about living with people, with the country, with the land in general. It’s not for the whole life.’

Evaluation of the reasons/agents of the current situation

[1.5-F39] *Tiene mucho turismo, pero **el problema que tiene** es que **el gobierno no deja al país desarrollarse, engloba todo**.* ‘It has a lot of tourism, but the problem that it has is that the government does not let the country develop, it controls everything.’

[1.5-F40] *Cuando pasó lo que... Eso de que Fidel se murió, no sabía si “yaay!” o si estar triste porque, no sé, es que en Cuba **no te dejan expresarte**.* ‘When that happened... that when Fidel died, I didn’t know whether to “yaay!” or be sad because, I don’t know, the thing is that in Cuba they don’t let you express yourself.’

[2-F11] *No, just cuz it's so different because **the dictatorship just changed everything**, it's just totally completely different, we don't have the same amenities like the way of living is just so different I just I don't think I would every want to live there.*

[2-F26] *My family has adapted to the American lifestyle since we've been here for so long, it's better for us, the children so. I think it was better that way, so **Fidel is like ruining the perspective of Cuba**.*

[2-M6] *For example, Che Guevara. He is considered a hero by a lot of people, you know, some sort of freedom fighter for the poor. Not a lot of people know **he wasn't a very nice person**,*

*especially towards my grandfather. <...> I didn't wanna tell them **that the guy was a murderer and psychopath.***

Markers of Appreciation

[1.5-F13] *En Cuba **todo es muy divertido**, los niños se divierten de manera muy sana, la gente está en la calle, los niños juegan en la calle, no sé, es diferente.* ‘In Cuba everything is very fun, kids have fun in a very healthy way, people are in the Street, kids play in the streets, I don’t know, it’s different.’

[1.5-F39] *Cuando alguien me pregunta de Cuba yo les digo como que sí, **es muy lindo**.* ‘When somebody asks me about Cuba, I tell them that yes, it is very beautiful.’

[2-F25] *La razón es porque no me siento tan conectada a la Cuba que es de hoy, pero más la que la Cuba que me cuentan mis padres, que era una Cuba, bueno, **la perla del Caribe**.* ‘The reason is that I don’t feel that connected to Cuba that is today but more so to Cuba that my parents tell me about, that it was Cuba well the pearl of the Caribbean.’

[2-M23] *Cuba es **muy bonito**, yo he ido a Varadero y algunos lados y **es bonito**, es otra cosa... **Te da como un sentido como original**.* ‘Cuba is very pretty. I’ve been to Varadero and other places, and it’s pretty, it’s a different thing... It gives you the sense like original.’

[2-M19] ***Muy lindo todo el mar y todo muy lindo. Y ver la gente unidas y ver toda la gente afuera, todos los vecinos unidos.*** ‘The sea is very beautiful and everything is very beautiful. And to see people united, and all the people outside, all the neighbors united.’

[2-M22] ***Es un lugar bien lindo.*** ‘It’s a very beautiful place.’

[2-F3] *Cuba es un lugar **bien único**, como ha pasado políticamente, históricamente. Las personas, la religión, la cultura... **Es especial**.* ‘Cuba is a quite unique place, what it’s been through politically and historically. People, religion, culture...it’s special.’

[2-M16] *Cuba es **un país muy lindo**.* ‘Cuba is a very beautiful country.’

[2-M28] *Si todo se arregla me iré porque **es bien bonita**.* ‘If everything resolves I will go because it’s very pretty.’

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