

# "Provocativa, cruda, bien Boricua": Language choice in the music of Buscabulla

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#### Introduction

- This study concerns code choice by the band Buscabulla and their listeners
- Buscabulla:
  - Founded in NYC by Puerto Rican-born Raquel Berrios and Luis Alfredo del Valle
  - Returned to Puerto Rico after hurricanes Irma and Maria in 2017
  - Released their debut LP Regresa in 2020; the album addresses issues of Puerto Rican identity



What role does code choice play in identity work for Buscabulla and their listeners?

# Theoretical background

- Tactics of intersubjectivity: "contextually relevant sociopolitical relations of similarity and difference, authenticity and inauthenticity, and legitimacy and illegitimacy" (Bucholtz & Hall 2004: 382)
  - adequation (383): construction of sameness
  - distinction (383): construction of difference
  - **authentication** (385): construction of a credible/genuine identity
  - **authorization** (386): use of structural power to provide legitimacy
- Enregisterment: "processes through which a linguistic repertoire becomes differentiable within a language as a socially recognized register of forms" (Agha 2003: 231)
- By invoking a register, speakers can position themselves relative to the persona(e) linked to that register

## Methodology

- Quantitative analysis of /s/-lenition (/s/ -> h or /s/ ->  $\emptyset$ ) in Buscabulla's singing
- Quantitative analysis of code choice (English-like, Spanish-like, mixed, other) in comments on music videos for "Mío" (a song that explicitly addresses Puerto Rican identity) and "Tártaro" (a song that does not) (*cf.* Garley 2019)

## Results

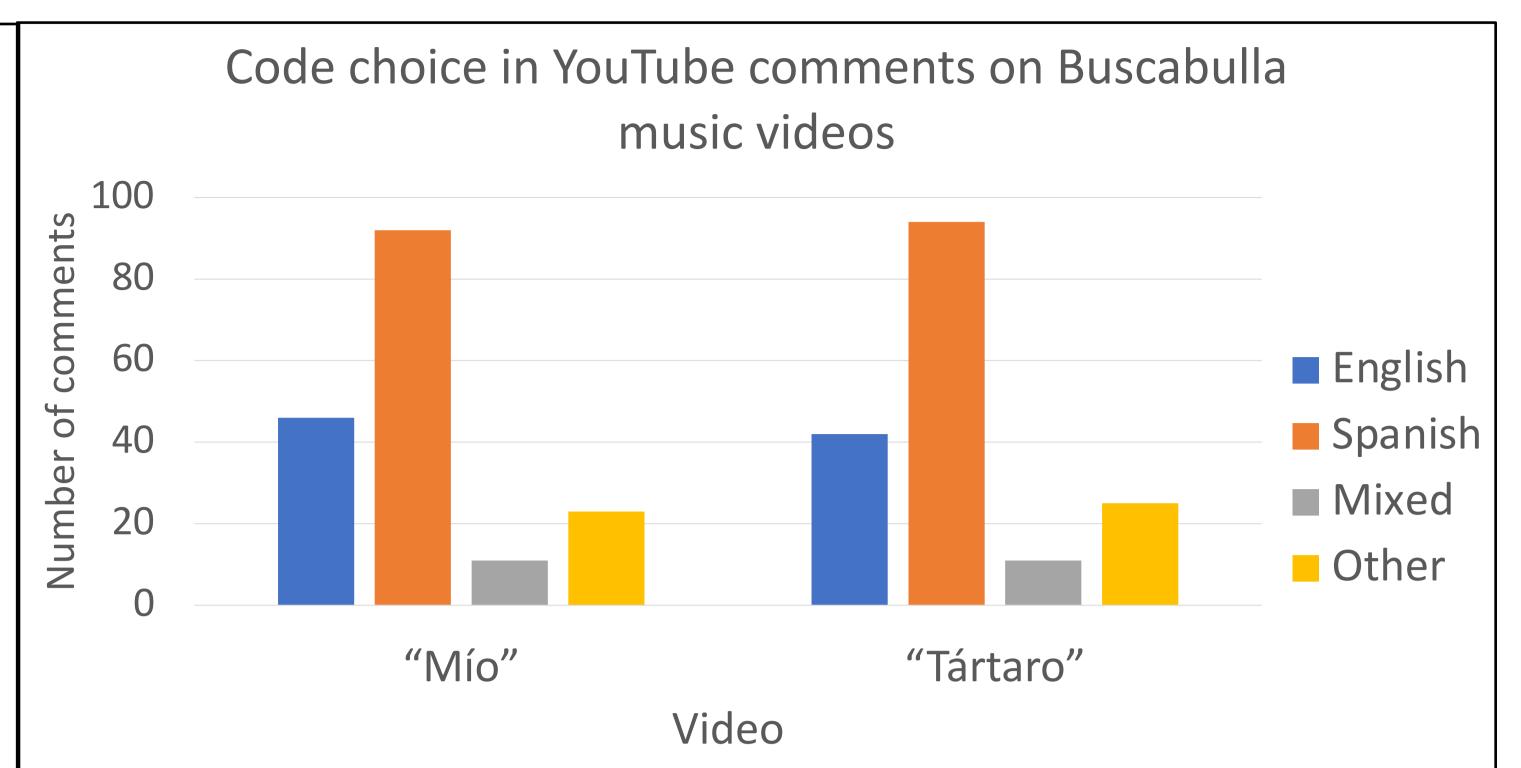
- Buscabulla overwhelmingly restrict their repertoire to Spanish-like forms, with rare loanwords and calques from English
  - les gusta mucha el <u>flow</u> 'they really like the flow' ("La Fiebre")
  - no sé <u>como</u> salir 'I don't know how to leave' ("El Aprieto")

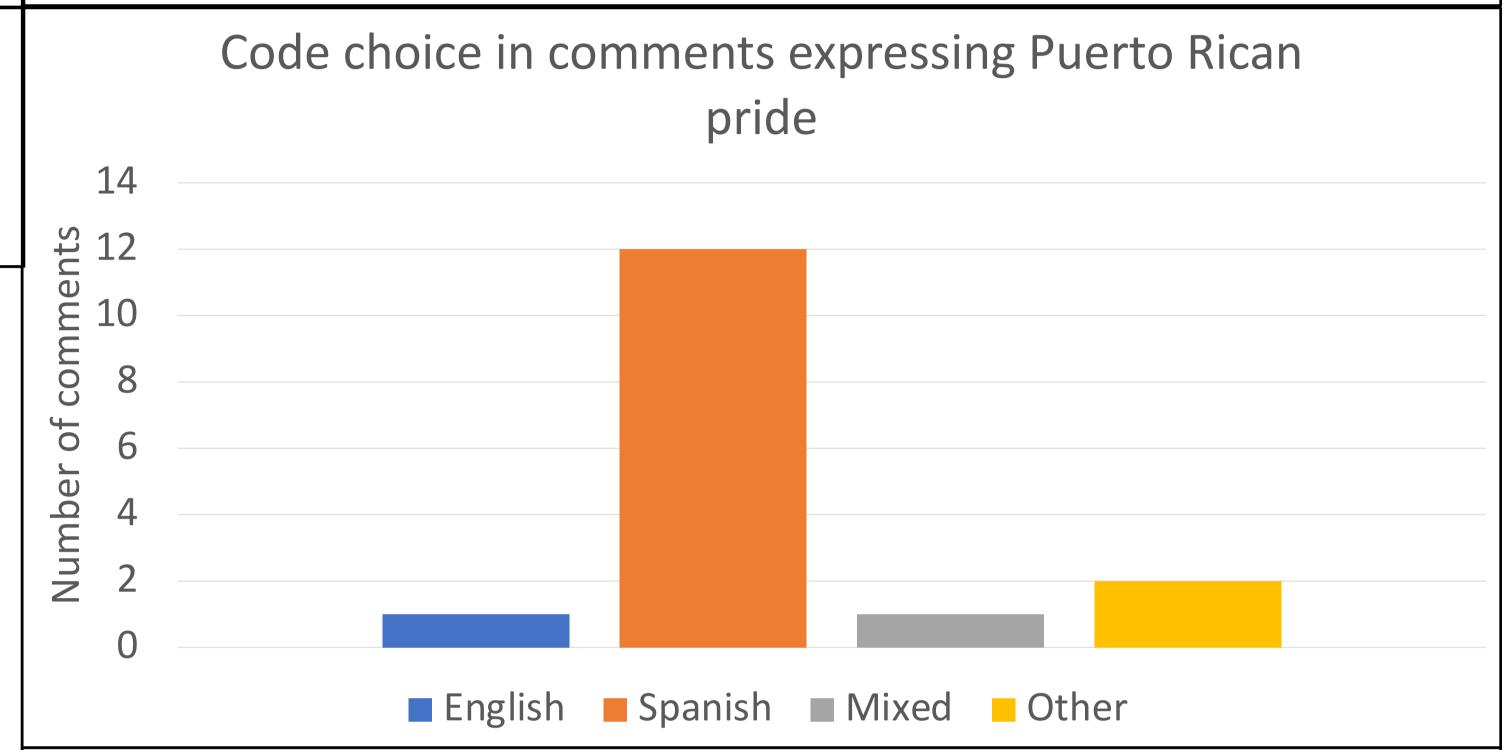
	sC	s#C	s#V	s##
Buscabulla	99	99	76	91
San Juan, PR (Lipski 1986)	97	96	69	54

Table: Rate of /s/-lenition by linguistic environment (%)

References at:

https://malanoski.ws.gc.cuny.edu/files/2021/04/references-ylmp-2.pdf





### Discussion

- Almost all comments expressing Puerto Rican pride are in Spanish, demonstrating a link between Puerto Rican identity and monolingual Spanish
- Buscabulla's use of Puerto Rican Spanish constructs
   adequation with an imagined Puerto Rican citizen,
   thereby aligning Buscabulla with a Puerto Rican identity
- Given the place of Spanish in Puerto Rican national identity (Duany 2003; Zentella 2003), Buscabulla's "pure" Spanish **authorizes** their claims to Puerto Rican identity.
- Buscabulla's avoidance of code-mixing creates distinction from the mainland Puerto Rican (Nuyorican) community, which is ideologically linked to Spanish-English bilingualism (Zentella 2003)
- Commenters' use of Spanish constructs adequation with Buscabulla and authenticates the commenter as a "real" fan

## Postscript: Named languages under Translanguaging

- If a speaker possesses a unified, "multilingual" repertoire, why would they deploy that repertoire in a "monolingual" way?
  - Because of external pressure (see Otheguy et al. 2015)
  - As a form of audience design
- To invoke identities, stances, etc. associated with a named language
- What is a named language, really?
- "a collection of the only partially overlapping idiolects of people who share a common cultural identity" (Otheguy et al. 2015: 294; their emphasis)
- <u>A register</u>—the product of a speech chain linking certain semiotic practices to a group (often, national) identity (see Frekko 2009)