

## **Abstracts of Presentation not included in the Proceedings**

### **Keynote Addresses**

#### **Tawkin' Metalinguistic Troot t'Joynalistic Pahwuh: *New York Times*, Indeed**

Michael Silverstein  
*University of Chicago*

On 19 November 2010, an article in the *New York Times* by Sam Roberts described efforts by native-born New Yorkers to learn to speak “General American.” In its online presentation, it became an instant flashpoint, stimulating over 600 comments before such responses were editorially terminated. This naturally effervescent stream of metalinguistic reflexivity is richer, in its way, than any sociolinguistic interview. As to ethno-metapragmatic construals of linguistic variation, the sample reveals what we might term the post-“dialectal” (Gumperz) status of “dialect” in American English – cf. “Pittsburghese” (Johnstone, Kiesling, et al.). And as a form of web-mediated communicative practice, the structure of the “conversation” reveals how the fora for airing “public opinion” have evolved and intersected under contemporary regimes of mediatization.

#### **Question Design and Political Positioning: Policing the Boundaries of the Mainstream**

Steve Clayman  
*UCLA*

Questions are conventionally understood as requests for information, but they also convey information in an indirect way about the speaker, the recipient, and the subject of inquiry. This latent function of question design is mobilized by journalists within news interviews and news conferences so as to position politicians and other public figures along a continuum from consensus to legitimate controversy to extremism. Question-answer sequences may thus be examined as an arena in which journalists and politicians struggle over whether the latter are to be understood as falling within or outside of the political mainstream.

#### **Translating Ching Chong: Contexts of Meaning and the Meaning of Context**

Elaine Chun  
*University of South Carolina*

During the past decade, ching-chong acts, or linguistic mockeries that allude to Asian incomprehensibility, have provoked explicit discussions of race and language in U.S. public spaces. This talk examines discourses that have emerged in response to ten YouTube video postings of such ching-chong acts. Specifically, I describe how the term

ching chong has become widely recirculated in public spaces as well as how users of this term strategically decontextualize and recontextualize (Bauman and Briggs 1990) ching-chong moments by invoking ideologies of race and language. First, I suggest that YouTube commenters may disagree about the racist potential of the term, but they typically share the assumption that "context matters" in its interpretation, specifically when they invoke ideologies of identity, intention, humor, history, and authenticity. Second, I illustrate how a single instance of ching-chong may lead to numerous (over 1,800) repetitions with trajectories of context that are that are, at once, patterned and unpredictable. Finally, I argue that the treatment of ching-chong as a recognizable, circulatable, decontextualizable, and enregistered (Agha 2003) word, in fact, lends it its potential to serve as an anti-racist tool.

## **Presentations**

### **Strategies of legitimization in discourse: Bush, Obama and the War on Terror**

Antonio Reyes  
*University of Mississippi*

From an interdisciplinary framework anchored theoretically in Critical Discourse Analysis and using analytical tools from Systemic Functional Linguistics, this paper explains a crucial use of language in society: the process of legitimization. This paper explains the specific linguistic ways in which language represents an instrument of control (Hodge and Kress 1993:6) and manifests symbolic power (Bourdieu 2001) in discourse and society. This study proposes key strategies of legitimization employed by social actors to justify courses of action. The strategies of legitimization can be employed individually or in combination with others, and justify social practices through (1) emotions (particularly fear), (2) a hypothetical future, (3) rationality, (4) voices of expertise, and (5) altruism.

This study draws from examples of speeches by different ideological leaders, specifically George W. Bush and Barack Obama, in two different armed conflicts, Iraq (2007) and Afghanistan (2009), to underline their justifications of military presence in the notorious 'War on Terror'. This paper explores how the power of words is executed in political discourse to justify governmental decisions.

One of the strategies proposed in this study is legitimization through a hypothetical future. Legitimization often occurs through a time frame or time line connecting our past, present, and future. Political actors display the present as a period that requires taking action. These actions are related to a cause (a problem that occurred in the past) and a consequence (which may occur in the future).

In the legitimization process, the future is projected according to the possible actions taken in the present. In this way, the future displays two alternatives depicted in two different ways:

- a) If we do not do what the speaker proposes in the present, the past will repeat itself. Terrorism will spread:
  - "[R]adical Islamic extremists would grow in strength" (Bush, 1/11/2007)
  - "[T]his danger will only grow if al Qaeda can operate with impunity" (Obama 12/1/2009).

b) If we do act according to the speaker's suggestion, we will have security at home and "our children" will enjoy a series of values: peace, freedom, liberty, happiness. This constitutes a "moral evaluation" legitimization by reference to discourses of value (Van Leeuwen 2008: 109-110).

- "And therefore, in the long run, your children and grandchildren are more likely to live in peace with the advent of liberty" (Bush, 1/11/2007).

- "And we believe that their lives will be better if other peoples' children and grandchildren can live in freedom and access opportunity" (Obama, 12/1/2009).

Figure 1: This figure shows the legitimization of arguments through a time line.

PAST	PRESENT	FUTURE
9/11/2001 = Origin of our problem	Decision making time: a) Ignore speaker's proposal (do not take action) =	a) Insecurity at Home. Spread of terrorism (connected to the past)
Problem caused by "others"	b) Act according to the speaker's proposal	b) Security at home and abroad. Peace and freedom.

Hypothetical future problems are linguistically constructed by the use of conditional structures of the type: "(protasis) If + past -> (apodosis) would + Infinitive without to," i.e., "If we were to fail in Iraq, the enemy would follow us here to America" (Bush, 1/11/2007). This example shows how political actors attempt to achieve political goals by legitimizing actions through a hypothetical future, employing very specific linguistic choices. The future, then, constitutes "an ideologically significant site in which dominant political actors and institutions can exert power and control" (Dunmire 2007:19).

## Variation in Affective Sentence-Final Particle Use and Transcription on Taiwanese Mandarin Television Dramas

Rebecca Starr  
*Stanford University*

Affective sentence-final particles (ASPs) in Mandarin Chinese discourse reflect the stances of conversation participants (Chu 2002, Wu 2004, etc.). In the case of Taiwanese Mandarin, in which ASPs are frequent and varied, research has shed light on how certain particles are used in discourse (Wu 2004), but questions remain as to the distribution of ASPs, their stylistic functions, and how their use has changed over time.

Our study draws from a corpus of Taiwanese television dramas to examine real-time changes in ASP use. The language of scripted television has been shown to reflect wider usage, and to influence language change (Tagliamonte & Roberts 2005, Stuart-Smith 2006). Taiwanese dramas are particularly significant, due to the popularity of Taiwanese media and its linguistic influence in other regions (Zhang 2005:437).

The present analysis contrasts three popular dramas: *The Stars Know My Heart* (Xing Xing Zhi Wo Xin) (1983), *Professor Hoe* (Chu Tou Bo Shi) (1989), and *Devil Beside You*

(E Mo Zai Shen Bian) (2005). 510 minutes of footage were analyzed, with 1,161 ASPs coded in total, including *a*, *ya*, *na*, *la*, *o*, *lo*, *ei*, *lei*, and *me*. Sociolinguistic information was also recorded for each major character.

Significant differences were found in the distribution of ASPs between the three dramas: the use of *ei* and *o* have increased over time ( $p < .0001$ ), while the use of *me* has decreased ( $p < .0001$ ). An analysis of subtitle transcription accuracy reveals a parallel pattern, in which *ei* and *o* have become increasingly accurately transcribed, while *me* transcription has decreased in accuracy relative to other ASPs. These phenomena indicate that *ei* and *o* are becoming more accepted into the linguistic mainstream.

Patterns in speakers: ASP use illustrate how ASPs are used to construct character identities. The use of ASPs is associated with immaturity, low education, and warmth, while their absence is associated with sophistication, professionalism, and coldness. These characteristics correlate with certain social groups within the dramas: professional working adults use far fewer ASPs than other groups (teenagers, retirees, working-class adults). Although the use of ASPs is conventionally associated with women (Callier 2007), female characters did not use them more frequently than men in this corpus. The ASP *ei* was found to be used primarily by teenagers in the 2005 program, but not in the older programs, suggesting that it has become a marker of adolescent identity.

This research represents a first step into a broader project of investigating how Taiwan publicly presents its complex linguistic situation for local and non-local consumption, and what influence this has had on Mandarin in Taiwan and elsewhere.

#### References

- Callier, Patrick. 2007. Not so obvious: the sociolinguistic distribution of *me* in Mandarin Chinese. Poster presented at New Ways of Analyzing Variation (NWAV) 36, Philadelphia, PA.
- Chu, Chauncey. 2009. Relevance of discourse functions of Mandarin utterance-final modality particles. *Language and Linguistics Compass* 3(1). 282-299.
- Sandel, Todd L. 2003. Linguistic capital in Taiwan: The KMT's Mandarin language policy and its perceived impact on language practices of bilingual Mandarin and Tai-gi speakers. *Language in Society* 32. 523-551.
- Stuart-Smith, Jane. 2006. From Cockney to Jockney: The role of television in accent change in Modern Urban Scots. University of Glasgow: [http://www.gla.ac.uk/media/media\\_70063\\_en.pdf](http://www.gla.ac.uk/media/media_70063_en.pdf). Accessed July 29, 2010.
- Tagliamonte, Sali & Chris Roberts. 2005. So weird; so cool; so innovative: the use of intensifiers in the television series *Friends*. *American Speech* 80(3). 280-300.
- Wu, Ruey-Juan Regina. 2004. Stance in talk: a conversation analysis of Mandarin final particles. 2004. Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins.
- Zhang, Qing. 2005. A Chinese yuppie in Beijing: Phonological variation and the construction of a new professional identity. *Language in Society* 34.431-466.

## **Sweetening Public Space: Language Ideologies and Emergent Roles of Moroccan Arabic in the Media**

Jennifer Hall  
*University of Michigan*

Given a complex multilingual situation in which oral and written varieties of a number of different languages compete and overlap for social, economic and cultural capital, Morocco provides a particularly rich setting for studying the role of language ideologies, beliefs about language structure, nature and use, in emergent forms of language in the media. As in other parts of the Arab world, one of the most striking characteristics of the Moroccan sociolinguistic scene is that two varieties of Arabic, Classical and Colloquial Moroccan, coexists in a diglossic relationship (Haeri 2000). Standard Arabic, though not a mother tongue of any speaker, is the most valued variety of Arabic and is associated with public institutions, religion, education and the media (Ennaji 2005). In contrast, colloquial Moroccan Arabic, a non-written language and the only language in Morocco for which a standard writing system does not exist, is viewed as backward and is associated with oral poetry and informal, everyday contexts. Furthermore, Standard Arabic has traditionally been linked with public, urban, and male domains whereas Moroccan Arabic has been linked to private, rural and female domains (Sadiqi 2008). Recently, however, the apparent naturalness and static quality of these binary relationships have been challenged by new and emergent public forms of Moroccan Arabic in both television and written advertising domains. In 2008, Moroccan audiences got to watch for the first time a foreign soap opera series dubbed directly into Moroccan Arabic and aired on international satellite TV. In 2010, the third largest mobile phone provider in Morocco launched a full scale ad campaign that for the first time in advertising history portrayed written Moroccan Arabic using the Arabic script.

This paper looks at both of these contexts and argues that the choices made about how to represent Moroccan Arabic in these novel oral and written domains are both ideologically grounded and historically contingent. It is suggested that these new media forms are indicative of and contribute to an "ideological elision" that is underway between Moroccan and Standard Arabic in which Moroccan Arabic is increasingly viewed as having adopted many of the positive connotations of Standard Arabic and has become the unmarked mother language in contrast to Berber, the other dominant, primarily unwritten mother language in Morocco (Hoffman 2008). Working from the notion of "language ideologies of differentiation," as referring to language ideologies that "divide spaces, moralities, types of people, activities and linguistic practices into opposed categories" (Gal 2005), this paper discusses how culturally resonant metaphors such as public/private and male/female have become anchored in these two media contexts through the semiotic processes involved in maintaining and renegotiating ideologies, thus forming the taken-for-granted basis for understanding the distinction in the first place. As Moroccan Arabic takes on new roles in these different public domains, these binaries in effect function as shifters by changing their denotation according to the contexts of use resulting in one side of the opposition becoming embedded in the other in a recursive cycle of nesting.

### References

Ennaji, M. 2005. *Multilingualism, Cultural Identity, and Education in Morocco*. New York: Springer.

- Gal, S. 2005. Language ideologies compared: Metaphors of public/private. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 15:23-37.
- Haeri, N. 2000. Form and Ideology: Arabic Sociolinguistics and Beyond. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 29:61-87.
- Hoffman, K. 2008. *We Share Walls: Language, Land, and Gender in Berber Morocco*. Blackwell Studies in Discourse and Culture. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, Inc.
- Sadiqi, F. 2008. Language and gender in Moroccan urban areas. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 190:145-65.

### **The Use of Personal Pronoun in Political Campaign Advertisements in the Philippines**

Paulina Gocheco

*De La Salle University Philippines*

The study investigates the interplay of language, persuasion and culture, as reflected in the usage of pronouns in a political type of discourse such as political campaign advertisements on television. An examination of the linguistic features in a mediated type of discourse may reveal the speakers' strategies in their attempts of persuasion. For example, the first person plural pronouns can be used by politicians in their strategies to gain the people's allegiance, while the use of singular first person pronoun may result in exclusion of some groups. The variances in the use of pronouns can shed light on how participants project themselves and others. In the Tagalog language, the preference for certain pronouns reveal social distance, politeness, or solidarity. To serve as the framework for categorizing the Tagalog pronouns, the study adopts Schachter and Otnes' (1972) categories of personal pronouns; namely, genitive, absolutive, and locative. The corpus consists of 60 political campaign ads shown on television for a national senatorial race. The study argues that pronouns are linguistic features that may render uniqueness in a particular type of political discourse that is generally persuasive in nature. Through the analysis of the frequency and usage of personal pronouns in the televised campaign ads, the study provides insights and discussions on the benefits of the agentive role of the pronoun, as well as the role of culture and other speaker motivations in the use of pronouns. Despite the significance of inclusive pronouns such as *tayo* 'we' in persuasive discourse, the study reveals the predominance of first person singular *ko* 'I' in the corpus.

#### References

- Schachter P. & Otnes, P.S. (1972). *Tagalog Reference Grammar*. Berkley, Los Angeles: University of California Press.

### **Competing Identities: A Discourse Analysis of Second- and Third-Generation Cretan Immigrants in Turkey**

Neşe Kaya

*Boğazici University*

After the Lausanne Treaty in 1923, a compulsory population exchange took place between Greece and Turkey. The consequences of this exchange have been studied from different perspectives (Ari, 1995; Hirschon, 2003), yet language has received very little

attention although its constitutive role in identity construction of the members of such immigrant communities has been widely accepted (Baynham and De Fina, 2005; De Fina, 2003; Joseph, 2004). This study aims to fill this gap by analyzing some of the ways in which second and third generation Cretans settled in Cunda discursively construct their identities.

The data for this study come from 13-hour recordings of semi-structured interviews with 11 second or third generation immigrants settled in Cunda. In each session, there were two researchers. The interviews took place either at the homes of the participants or in the office of an NGO called Cunda'yi Guzellestirme Dernegi.

The study basically focuses on ethnic identities made relevant and the role interview context plays on identity formation. In our participants' discourse, continuously set up oppositions between the Cretan and Turkish identities are quite frequent. The former is marked by direct references to being Cretan, positive attributes to Cretans and Cretan culture, and idealized representation of Crete. Turkish identity, on the other hand, is set up by establishing historical connections with Anatolia and old Turkish states, claims for being 'good citizens' of Republic of Turkey, and gratefulness to Turkish state for the initiation of the population exchange.

During the interviews, the participants constructed both Cretan and Turkish identities as evoked by the interview context. This might be due to the fact that the participants know they are being recorded and being interviewed by researchers who are known to be Turkish and interested in the language Giritçe (Cretan). We have accounts where participants directly present themselves as Cretan without any interviewer or context prompt. Also, we have accounts told by the same participants about their having common historical and cultural background with the old Turkish states which includes a migration to Crete after it had been Crete annexed by the Ottoman Empire. However, no records of history mention Muslim migration to the Island of Crete and there are inaccuracies or inconsistencies in the historical facts presented to construct common historical ties.

The transitions between Cretan and Turkish identities are mostly observed when being Cretan might have implications for not being Turkish. In such contexts participants abruptly position themselves as Turkish and their speech turns into public performance having Turkish audience. In such contexts, "Turkishness" is constructed in opposition to Kurdish people and Cretan identity is presented as a sub-identity. In addition, in the construction of Turkish identity, participants talk about the allegiance to Turkish state and its founding principles in such a way that it echoes the official discourse of the state. The observations we make as an outsider show that in addition to language as a medium, spatial context and the role and existence of the participants do frame constructed identities and the language use.

#### References

- Ari, K. (2003). *Büyük Mobadele, Türkiye'ye Zorunlu G (1923-1925)*. Tarih Vakfı; Yurt.
- Baynham, M and De Fina, A. (2005). *Dislocations/Relocations: Narratives of displacement encounters*. Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing.
- De Fina, A. (2003). *Identity in narrative: a study of immigrant discourse*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame Analysis*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Hirschon, R. 2003 *Crossing the Aegean: an appraisal of the 1923 compulsory population exchange between Greece and Turkey*. New York : Berghahn Books,
- Joseph, J. E. (2004). *Language and identity*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Smith, M.L. (1965). *The Great Island: A study of Crete*. London: Longmans

## Socializing Yiddish Metalinguistic Community Members through the Construction of Yiddish Source Languages as Resources or Rivals

Netta Avineri  
UCLA

This paper examines how instructors and students within contemporary secular Yiddish educational contexts interactionally construct Yiddish source languages (including Hebrew, German, and Slavic languages) as "resources" or "rivals". Through discourse and conversation analysis of Yiddish classrooms, programs, and cultural events in Los Angeles, the Bay Area, and New York, I will argue that instructors' differential embodied stance (Goodwin 2007, DuBois 2007, Jaffe 2009) displays toward lexical and phonological alternatives derived from various source languages are one ongoing practice through which students are socialized into the Yiddish metalinguistic community and by extension an imagined nationhood of the Jewish diaspora.

Yiddish (meaning 'Jewish' in Yiddish), has been spoken by Ashkenazic (Western, Central, and Eastern European) Jews since approximately 1000 C.E. Due to the Holocaust, migration to and assimilation of large numbers of Jews in America and other countries; and the state of Israel's choice of Hebrew over Yiddish or other Jewish languages as the official language of the nation, the number of Yiddish speakers within the secular Jewish community has greatly diminished. On the other hand, at present numerous Orthodox Jewish communities utilize Yiddish as one of their daily languages. Due to all of these reasons, the current state of Yiddish and its metalinguistic community members is characterized by complexity and, at times, contradictions.

This research is part of a larger project that examines heritage language socialization practices that maintain (what I have termed) a "metalinguistic community", a community comprised of positioned social actors engaged in discursive practices about both an "endangered" language and cultural symbols tied to that language (e.g., food, music, theater, family histories). Building upon the notions of speech community (Gumperz 1968, Duranti 1997, Morgan 2004), linguistic community (Silverstein 1998a), local community (Grenoble and Whaley 2006), and discourse community (Watts 1999), "metalinguistic community" provides a theoretical framework for contexts in which participants may feel a strong connection to an (endangered) language but may lack familiarity with the language and its speakers.

Within the Yiddish metalinguistic community, participants are socialized first and foremost into language ideologies. One central practice within this community is the ongoing metalinguistic commentary about the sources of Yiddish vocabulary and grammar. In one example, taken from the second quarter of a first-year Yiddish language course, the teacher is engaged in drawing a detailed family tree for the students. During this discussion, one of the students asks how to say cousin, after which follows a metalinguistic presentation regarding two options for how to say the lexical item, *cuzine* and *shvester kind*.

01 St1: question.

02 Tea: Yoh.

03 St1: How would you say cousin.

Lines skipped

08 Tea: We left that one out. [Cousin.] ((swings right arm)) Okay.

09 St2: [Cuzine.]

10 Tea: Yeah that's one easy way I like that one. ((points to student

11 with left hand))



- 12 All: ((Laughter))  
 13 Tea: Uh [di di ] cuzine=  
 14 St3: [cuzina]  
 15 St4: ?cuzin.  
 16 Tea: =or cuzin. (0.1) Der cuzin di cuzine. (.) ~But, there?s another  
 17 way,~ ((scrunches face)) (.) which is in ((brings left hand down))  
 18 standard Yiddish which I hapt- I happen to (.) dislike  
 19 ((shakes head)) very much.  
 20 St1: Hmh  
 21 (0.3) ((Tea takes eraser with left hand, erases something on  
 22 board))  
 23 Tea: But it?s there.

At lines 16-19, the instructor engages in an elaborate stance display practice regarding a standard Yiddish word derived from German. Though technically standard Yiddish is what is being taught in this class, the teacher's negative embodied stance towards the standard (and by extension German) communicates a different message. Frequently, teachers' personal experiences with the language are in direct conflict with what is supposed to be taught in class. Teachers may engage in subtle practices that could undermine the acquisition of standard language forms while socializing the students into an appreciation of the Yiddish varieties that came before any "standard" was established by the Yiddish organization YIVO. In contrast to the construction of German-based words as rivals, frequently Hebrew is constructed as a resource upon which students can depend when determining the meaning of words in Yiddish.

This paper provides a unique perspective on one socialization practice within the context of a metalinguistic community constructed around an endangered heritage language. In analyzing source languages' differential construction as resources vs. rivals, I demonstrate how languages themselves can be deployed as objects in the ongoing projects of constructing both past and present communities.

### **Reinforcing Ideologies: The Rhetorical Strategies Utilized by Large-Scale Media and Spanish-Language Media during the Nomination of Justice Sonia Sotomayor**

Eliana Razo

*University of Texas at Austin*

Sotomayor is the first Latina to serve as an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court. Her success has brought attention to the Latino population in the United States. When her nomination was announced, not only did the large-scale media networks contribute to the on-going political discourse but so did the Spanish networks. The Spanish media, specifically Univision and Telemundo, have also reported her nomination in a way that polarizes thus formulates independent perceptions of the political world. Therefore, both large-scale and Spanish media suggest the notion that the world of politics is like a spectator sport. By suggesting that the world of politics is like a spectator sport, the media also suggest that reporting the news is somewhat handled like a game. Thus, implying that there are strategic moves to make when reporting the news. Alongside, while playing the "game" or reporting on the political world, the media actually reinforce underpinned ideological premises.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the independent formulations of the political world presented by both the large-scale media systems and the Spanish media. In addition, this paper will explore the implications suggested by the sport metaphor. A comparative content analysis geared to explore rhetorical strategies employed by both large-scale media systems and Spanish media entities will be presented. The reason why the focus is on both of these media entities is the topic. Given that Sotomayor is the first Latina to reach this level of political success, the Spanish media have certainly embraced this differently than large-scale media systems (i.e. English media). How do the Spanish news report her nomination? That is, how does this compare to the reports presented by CNN, MSNBC, and FOX News? It seems as if the sport metaphor greatly applies to the methods employed by both large-scale media systems and Spanish media when reporting Sotomayor's nomination.

This essay will attempt to answer these questions and further explain the implications of the rhetorical strategies utilized by the media. First, this paper will present literature to date that encapsulates the intersections of rhetorical strategies and ideology. Second, a comparative content analysis will shed light on the rhetorical strategies employed by the media. Finally, this essay will conclude with a discussion on the meta-level issues suggested by these rhetorical strategies.

Louis Althusser proposes that the work of ideology is to reproduce the relations of production. Althusser describes people as the forces of production. Relations of production refer to the political superstructure of the field, where people establish their relationship to the modes of production. In other words, people maintain the modes of production by interacting with dominant ideological structures. In addition, Althusser claims that the ways in which ideology is materialized is through what he calls the ideological state apparatuses (Althusser, 207). He defines Ideological State Apparatuses (ISA) as, "A certain number of realities which present themselves to the immediate observer in the form of distinct and specialized institutions" (Althusser, 207). For example, ISAs are institutions such as Universities, Schools, the Family, Churches, Political Parties, various Media, Unions and Culture (Althusser, 208). In essence, Ideological State Apparatuses function by ideology. For example, the clashing of interests, opinions and values within political parties, churches or schools all derive from the idea of clashing ideologies. That is, the reason why we have conflict and disagreement among representatives of opposing political parties is because their structures or doctrines are motivated by ideology.

By portraying the world of politics as a spectator sport and promoting the idea of the "American Dream," the media reinforce the dominant ideology. According to Wilson II et al., the media serve five functions in society. One function speaks to the heart of this essay. Transmission is defined as, "the socialization function of the media, in which the media define the society, its norms and values, to the audience and through their portrayals and coverage assist members of the society in adopting, using and acting on those values" (Wilson II et al., 40). For the English speaking audience, the large-scale media systems define the norms and values through their polarized portrayals of political issues. The Spanish-language media encourage members of the Latino population to embrace academic success, thus assisting members of society to adopt the norms and values defined by them. The media successfully reinforce the dominant ideology because, as Stuart Hall states, "ideologies are most effective when we are not aware that how we formulate and construct a statement about the world is underpinned by ideological premises" (32). The media have sustained dominant ideologies for long periods, therefore establishing the norms and standards as normative and taken-for granted. Furthermore, this ideological normativity makes it challenging for audiences to become aware of the underpinned ideological premises.