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Los Angeles

A Los Angeles Flavor of Spanish:  
Local Norm & Ideology of a US Variety

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction  
of the requirements for the degree Master of Arts  
in Spanish

by

Armando Guerrero, Jr.

2013



## ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

A Los Angeles Flavor of Spanish:  
Local Norm & Ideology of a US Variety

by

Armando Guerrero, Jr.

Master of Arts in Spanish

University of California, Los Angeles, 2013

Professor Claudia Parodi, Chair

Parodi (2010, 2011) has evidenced a Spanish variety unique to Los Angeles, which she names Los Angeles Vernacular Spanish (LAVS). The present study focuses on active and passive knowledge of loanwords that incorporate linguistic elements of English into LAVS (such as: *tiquete* (<ticket), *chores* (<shorts), *marqueta* (<market), *troca* (<truck), etc.). As a native speaker of LAVS, I have chosen the thirty-eight (n=38) lexemes for the study based on my personal experience with the community. The study analyzes responses given by thirty-five (n=35) first generation immigrant monolingual Spanish-speaking contributors in a sociolinguistic interview and questionnaire. The results indicate that they have extensive knowledge of these items, many of which are unique to this variety of Spanish. Nevertheless, this reality is confronted with



linguistic ideologies that stigmatize the variety, since such loanwords in US Spanish are often rejected; they are considered *pochismos*, and not Spanish.

The thesis of Armando Guerrero, Jr. is approved.

Adriana J. Bergero

Antonio C. Quícoli

Claudia Parodi-Lewin, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2013

## DEDICATION

To the strongest women in my life y aquellas que me apoyaron a ser el hombre que soy hoy –

MI MA

quien ha sido la mejor mamá y papá que un hijo puede tener,

Y

MI LITTLE BIG SISTER, ERIKA

who has been el mejor ejemplo of what a human being should strive to be.

Peluches, las adoro con todo mi ser.

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## **1. Introduction**

The United States is second only to Mexico as the country with the most Spanish speakers in the world; with an estimated 45 million, which includes both native and second language learners (Census 2010). Nonetheless, Spanish does not enjoy much prestige at the macro, or government, level due to the perceived lack of importance and imagined fear that it will overtake English (cf. Hill 2008, Milroy 2000). The almost complete absence of support in government institutions, such as, courts, schools, police departments, and fire departments, etc., have constrained the language to, for the most part, only be supported at the smaller community, level. Despite the aforementioned, Spanish has and continues to flourish within smaller communities in the United States, a pattern of language-use that contrasts almost every other non-English language in the country's history. The continued use of Spanish is mostly due to the fact that there is an ongoing circulation of immigrants from Latin America and the Caribbean, most notably from Mexico, Puerto Rico, and Cuba (Census 2010). The current study proposes to examine the Spanish in the Southwest, which is predominantly fed by immigration from Mexico, El Salvador, and Guatemala (Parodi 2010, 2011). The primary focus is the loanword lexical repertoire of monolingual Spanish speakers in the Los Angeles area (from now on simply known as Los Angeles), with the focus being in three cities within Los Angeles County. (1) I argue that the local working-class Spanish-speaking Latino/a community has adopted a local lexical norm that is unique in many ways to the region. In addition, (2) I argue that certain linguistic ideologies prevent the fostering of a US Spanish variety by limiting the use of these lexemes outside of the community in question.

Illustrating that loanwords are present in the lexical repertoire of first generation immigrant monolingual Spanish speakers is very important because it demonstrates how English

has influenced more than just native bilinguals. Further, this study allows us to see how the Spanish spoken in the United States is reshaping itself to be more efficient within the context of its environment. Because Spanish in the US co-exists and is in constant contact with other languages, principally English, it will inevitably be influenced by it. The influence that English, and other languages, have on Spanish varies and is dependent on several factors of Accommodation Theory; Giles (1991) proposes three criteria as the most important: prestige, numbers, and institutional support. *Prestige* refers to the status of a language; *numbers* refers to the amount of speakers; and *institutional support* refers to the support the language has in bloc institutions, such as schools, the workplace, and other public or private spaces. It is important to note that different peripheries will amass different results. For instance, Catalan has the prestige, numbers, and institutional support in Catalonia, Spain, and speakers are more likely to accommodate to Catalan over, say Euskara, which is spoken in the Basque country; however, outside of Catalonia, say Madrid, Spanish has the prestige, numbers, and institutional support, and thus speakers are more likely to accommodate accordingly. Thus, within the context of this paradigm, English is likely the only language that can significantly influence Spanish in Los Angeles (see 2.3.1 *Accommodation* for more information).

Moreover, the new perspective I propose for studying Spanish in the United States provides evidence to support Parodi's (2009, 2010, 2011) theory that a Spanish variety exists in this area, at least at the lexical level. I resolve to do this by illustrating how loanwords in the lexical repertoire of monolingual Spanish speakers in Los Angeles is not idiosyncratic; that is to say, they are not sporadic anglicisms used by a handful of speakers at random. I am able to assert this due to the fact that Spanish in Los Angeles does not exist in isolation; rather, it is spoken by a vast network of speakers who are part of a community of shared practices, language being one



of these practices. Many different things characterize this community or network, but the primary characteristic is that most speakers are intimately connected to the Spanish-speaking working-class. Additionally, as Chomsky (1985) argues, “there are many facts about language – [in this case a particular variety of Spanish, LAVS] – that speakers know without instruction or even direct evidence, and surely without correction of error by the speech community.” This is the case with the lexicon of native speakers of LAVS, it is not learned or acquired comparing it to some other variety – the lexicon is native and often not influenced by English.

The network mentioned above allows Spanish in the US to have local standards or norms that may be in opposition to a broader adopted standard – a standard that I will argue is not possible given the current socio-political position of Spanish. Nevertheless, these norms in effect can be referred to as the local variety, or vernacular, but not necessarily only popular speech. This can only be envisioned if we steer away from the conceptualization that language norms only exist within some physically delineable boundary. The unique features of the norm itself can be the boundary or isogloss. The current study will show that within these imagined boundaries there exists a norm and standard that is very powerful and influential when speakers from outside enter them. For example, if a Spanish speaker abandons their previous network and is suddenly immersed in the network of working-class Spanish-speakers in Los Angeles, he or she will accommodate to the Los Angeles community’s linguistic norms. The aforementioned is possible due to micro accommodations that occur in Spanish within the new community, which is similar to what would happen to individuals migrating from say Mexico to Spain. Because of this, the momentum of Los Angeles Spanish only increases with continued immigration as more and more speakers accommodate to the region’s local Spanish. The present will illustrate this phenomenon with regard to the lexical repertoire of speakers. Nonetheless, the proposed

hypothesis is not much different, then, than when a Spanish speaker from Mexico moves to Spain and begins to use the local lexical norm of their host community. I argue that there are unique linguistic localisms in Los Angeles Spanish, localisms that are not necessarily directly tied to Spanish/English bilinguals.

The analysis of this thesis primarily focuses on responses given by twenty-five (n=25) contributors in a sociolinguistic interview and questionnaire (See Appendices E, F, and G). The contributors are monolingual female Spanish speakers who came to Los Angeles after the age of eight years and are all working-class (See Appendices C and D). Specifically, I analyze the active and passive knowledge of loanwords that incorporate linguistic elements of English and Spanish; such as: *tiquete* (ticket), *chores* (shorts), *marqueta* (market), *troca* (truck), etc. As a heritage bilingual and native speaker of the variety, using a similar approach to the one employed in the discipline of Generative Grammar, I have chosen the lexemes for the study based on my personal experience with the community in Los Angeles. According to Chomsky (1965), native speakers – including heritage speakers – are fully competent in the language they speak because they have the core grammar of that language, which is different from the performance of the language. Although choosing the words to study was not an easy task, it was also the culmination of a close linguistic analysis of Latino/a communities throughout Los Angeles County. Moreover, in order to illustrate the uniqueness of the regional variety in question, lexical items identified as “common” in other studies on bilingualism and/or other studies in dialectology in the US are also used here (cf. Parodi 2010, 2011; Valdés 1993; Zentella 1997, etc.). Finally, responses from contributors in Mexico City, Mexico and in El Viejo San Juan, Puerto Rico are also used for comparison as a control group, though this sample is much smaller, three (n=3) and two (n=2) contributors, respectively (see Appendices H, I, and J).

Although the focus of this thesis is the lexicon of monolingual Spanish speakers in Los Angeles, these findings can have very significant implications in the way we think of Spanish in the United States, specifically the Spanish acquired by bilingual speakers. Though the primary focus of the study is not on bilingual speakers; if a lexical norm exists with a plethora of English loanwords, then the children in these communities will natively acquire them as Spanish due to constant exposure in and outside of the home. Therefore, there are many features that can now be thought of as acquired and not idiosyncratic creations of bilinguals. Equally important, however, are linguistic ideologies since they play a very important role in the way these features are acquired, exchanged, and lost. It is via detrimental linguistic ideologies that the relatively low status of Spanish has been maintained within the broader more macro community in this country. However, it is also the existence of these same ideologies within Spanish-speaking communities that can also curtail the innovative use of the language, and in many cases maim its use in most contexts altogether for fear of ridicule and stigmatization – a characteristic that is representative of Spanish in the US.

As can be deduced, there are many elements that are interplaying. It is not simply about identifying the linguistic norm of a community. It is important to identify whom the members of the community in question are and how do they interact with one another: in what domains, in what instances, and with what frequency, etc. The current study will expand on the foundation established by Parodi (2010, 2011) by looking at the lexical repertoire of this population in more detail. More importantly, I seek to contribute to further establishing that different phenomena occur when these communities are examined as networks or interconnected units, rather than micro realizations, such as families, or a group of coworkers.

## 2. Previous Research

In the following subsections I describe previous research on a narrow range of subjects, this research aggregates a solid foundation in support of the proposed hypotheses. In this narrow review of the literature, I provide (1) a general overview of the status of Spanish in the United States; (2) discuss the different ways to conceptualize Latino/a<sup>1</sup> Spanish-speaking communities; (3) describe useful theoretical frameworks of language contact; and ultimately, (4) illustrate how linguistic ideologies give rise to the current status of Spanish, while also shaping the trajectory of the language in the United States. Politically and socially, these four areas of study will help conceive the current situation of Spanish in Los Angeles; it sheds light into the processes necessary to develop a unique variety of Spanish in the United States grounded on shared norms or practices.

### 2.1. Spanish in the United States

Although providing a general overview of the linguistic reality of Spanish in the United States is important, it is also vital to present an overview of its political and cultural status. In the following (1) I detail who are the Spanish speakers and where are they located in the US; (2) what has been said about US Spanish varieties in the literature; (3) what is the lexical repertoire of Spanish/English bilingual speakers; and finally, (4) provide a review of the typology used in the current investigation for “*préstamo léxico*” or “loanword”.

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<sup>1</sup> Latino/a and Hispanic will be used interchangeably throughout this study. The majority of the literature opts for the US designation of Hispanic, though it is a term that is politically charged.

### *2.1.1. Speakers of Spanish in the United States*

It is unarguable that Spanish is used in the United States<sup>2</sup>. This reality is self-evident when overhearing it in public spaces, tuning into Latino/a radio or television stations, or by being a member of a Spanish-speaking community yourself where the language is potentially an integral part of your daily communicative interactions. By the numbers, it is currently estimated that Spanish is the second most spoken language in the United States with over 37 million native speakers<sup>3</sup>, out of the estimated 49.9 million Hispanics<sup>4</sup> in the US (Census 2011). This also makes the US the second country with the most speakers after Mexico, with an estimated total population of a little over 110 million compared to the United States' 315 million. Despite the language's continued status as an ethnic/minority language in front of English, the momentum and rate at which Spanish is spoken natively in the US is astonishing.

The Latino/a population is no longer localized in large metropolitan areas like it was as recently as the 1980s (Beaudrie & Fairclough 2012). There are still four major regions that are recognized for having large populations of Latino/as, and to a large extent, Spanish spoken by most speakers<sup>5</sup>. These four concentrations of people originating from Spanish-speaking countries are in the Northeast, Southeast, Midwest, and Southwest of the US. The most prominent presence in the Northeast are of Latino/as from Puerto Rico, this can be credited to the close proximity of the island to the US and its status as a commonwealth, which allows Puerto Ricans

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<sup>2</sup> The domains of Spanish-use are continuously fluctuating, and are naturally different in different communities – language adapts to local necessity based on culture and other social realities.

<sup>3</sup> These speakers are both foreign and native born.

<sup>4</sup> According to the US Census Bureau “Hispanic” refers to people whose origin is Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Spanish-speaking Central or South American countries, or other Hispanic/Latino, regardless of race.

<sup>5</sup> Beaudrie & Fairclough (2012) evidence that about 70% of the G2 Latino/a population speak Spanish natively.

to enter and exit the country at will. Additionally, Zentella (1997) has evidenced, in her now famous ethnographic study of “*El Bloque*” in New York, that Spanish is very much still spoken in this Latino/a community. The second notable population of Latino/as is in the Southeast, with large populations of Cubans. The wave of immigration that gave rise to this community began at the start of what would become Fidel Castro’s communist regime in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Spanish-use has also been documented in this region. The third noteworthy population is in the Midwest, primarily in the Chicago metropolitan area. The Latino/a population in the Midwest mainly constitutes peoples originating from Mexico, though there is also a small presence of Puerto Ricans, which is possibly due to the proximity of the area to the Northeast (Potowski 2007). And much like Zentella’s studies of the Latino/as in New York, the Latino/as in the Southeast and Midwest have also been shown to use Spanish in their respective communities<sup>6</sup>.

The Latino/a population in the Southwest, and the focus of this study, is probably the most noted due to current and historical politics. First, it is crucial to note that Spanish has been spoken in what is now the US’s Southwest since the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and it has continued to be fed by expansive immigration from its neighbors to the south, mostly from Mexico and Central America (Beaudrie & Fairclough 2012). Furthermore, Parodi (2009, 2010, 2011) and Silva-Corvalán (1996) have documented a strong presence of Latino/as originating from Mexico in Los Angeles. In addition, Parodi has also shown that Mexican-origin Latino/as are in sustained contact with Spanish-speaking Latino/as from El Salvador and Guatemala, the second and third most abundant Latino/a groups in the region. The contact is attributable to the fact that these

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<sup>6</sup> For further information on the organization and distribution of these communities please refer to Zentella (1997) and Potowski (2007).

immigrant populations are members of the same community of practice that forms a dynamic social network, though they may not always live together. As I will substantiate below, many Spanish-speakers interact across many different social domains, increasing the social importance of the language in US even if only within these networks.<sup>7</sup>

In the United States, the current state of Latino/a immigration from Spanish-speaking countries is remarkable in terms of raw numbers. Though the current population of this group is at 49.9 million (54.5 million if we include the Latino/as in Puerto Rico) (Census 2011), the number is ‘projected to reach 132.8 million, [or] about 30 percent of the nation’s population’ by the year 2050 (Beaudrie & Fairclough 2012). Of linguistic importance, the Pew Hispanic Center (2009) has reported that 70 percent of Latino/as born in the US currently speak Spanish at home. If this growth continues to be the case, by 2050 the US Spanish-speaking population will hold its place as the second geographical area with the most Spanish speakers. These estimates are astonishing, and beg the question of whether language attrition at the community level can even occur with such tenacious momentum and social resistance.

### *2.1.2. Varieties of Spanish in the United States*

The existence of a US Spanish variety has for the most part been discredited as even possible at the moment. However, this is mostly due to the lack of research taking a more macro approach to the current state of Spanish in Spanish-speaking communities across the United States. The current study aims to provide further evidence to what Parodi (2009, 2010, 2011) has termed “Los Angeles Vernacular Spanish”, or LAVS, for short. The aforementioned vernacular can be thought of as a variety of Spanish unique to the United States. Parodi has posited that this

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<sup>7</sup> “Community of Practice” and “Social Network” will be detailed in section 2.2 *Spanish-speaking Communities*.

variety is the result of the koineization of a combination of rural Mexican varieties coming in contact in what is now the Los Angeles Metropolitan area (from now simply referred to as Los Angeles or LA). The author argues that together these rural varieties form a rural-urban variety that contrasts Standard Mexican Spanish<sup>8</sup> (SMS). LAVS is the product of dialect contact among different 1<sup>st</sup> generation Spanish-speakers (G1), or speakers who were born outside of the US but have immigrated after the height of the sensitive period (or about 8 years old). The children of these speakers are 2<sup>nd</sup> generation Spanish-speakers<sup>9</sup> (G2), and they will naturally acquire the variety formed in contact as their native variety<sup>10</sup>. Zentella (1997) has noted that G2 speakers will often use linguistic features that are heavily influenced by English as Spanish (in Spanish only contexts) – these influences can be loanwords, or calques, both lexical and syntactic, among others. This is often the root of the marginalization of US varieties in monolingual Spanish environments, both in non-working-class Spanish-speaking communities or Spanish-speaking communities outside of the US.

In order to more accurately describe how this process is possible in this region, a description of the Latino/a population in Los Angeles is essential. First and foremost, Latino/as represent half of the population in Los Angeles, and it is estimated to become the majority by 2014. The same year California is to become a White (non-Hispanic) minority state (Pew Hispanic Center 2009). These estimates provide the numbers necessary for the vitality of a Spanish variety, which can potentially encourage more effective legislation for heritage language

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<sup>8</sup> Standard Mexican Spanish is a Spanish variety that is derived from the speech of the upper, formally educated-class in the country's capital. Dictionaries and grammar books in Mexico used this as the "Standard."

<sup>9</sup> In the literature, these speakers are commonly referred to as Spanish heritage speakers.

<sup>10</sup> G1.5, individuals who were born outside of the US but immigrated before the height of the sensitive period, will have similar language acquisition patterns as G2.



maintenance. Currently, Latino/as are principally concentrated in the east and south-most regions of LA, flowing into neighboring counties, such as Ventura, Riverside, Long Beach and Orange County (Census 2010) – however, it should be noted that these concentrations are where Latino/as *live*, it is possible that these groups are mobile and are employed elsewhere within the city. This mobility is likely a result of the nature of this population as working class, many of these individuals will work together even if they do not live in the same geographical locations, thus creating a vast dynamic social network – this process is explained with more detail in 2.2.2. *Social Network*. Thus, Latino/as living in different regions of Los Angeles can still interact and do so even if they live in isolation from other Latino/as, which is not generally the case of other immigrant groups who may find it easier to assimilate to the broader English-speaking community.

The visualization of the previously mentioned social network is crucial because it creates the space where these populations will interact in Spanish outside of the home (i.e. at the market, at church, at work, and at school, etc.). This social network takes Spanish outside of the home and locates it in varying domains, allowing for the development of more extensive use. This view contrasts a more micro approach, which argues that Spanish is almost exclusively a “home language”. The approach adopted in this study recognizes that Spanish is used in a plethora of domains extending outside of the home, all of which have meaningful social value. Moreover, this more generalized use of Spanish allows for dialect contact to be more permeating, which in turn allows more opportunities for linguistic accommodation. This makes a US Spanish variety possible despite attrition within one family – a phenomenon that has been well documented and it is not opposed in the current investigation. As mentioned at the beginning of this section, the consequence of the linguistic accommodation among G1 monolingual speakers is that their

children will speak that variety, LAVS. The aforementioned process is repeated throughout the Spanish-speaking community, effectively maintaining a unique Spanish variety since there are G2s that belong to all age groups.

As Parodi (2011) has documented, G2 bilingual speakers of Salvadoran heritage do not speak a Spanish phonetically characteristic of El Salvador, or the *tierras bajas* regions in the Americas. These speakers speak a Spanish more characteristic of the *tierras altas* region, as acquired in Los Angeles<sup>11</sup>. These distinctions are particularly helpful in Los Angeles since the two major contrasting varieties in contact are of Mexican-origin (*tierras altas*) and Central American-origin (*tierras bajas*). Nevertheless, the phenomenon illustrated above by Parodi (2011) can be attributed to the fact that the parents of the G2 speakers have already accommodated to certain features that they later passed down to their children, a natural and involuntary development. This process is complemented by the accommodation that G2 speakers will develop within their personal Spanish-speaking interactions outside of their home, at school, parks, or playgrounds, etc. Below, in Table 1, is a list with the characteristics of a Spanish from the *tierras bajas* in contrast to that of *tierras altas*, as illustrated by Parodi (2011):

Table 1

*Phonetic Characteristics of the Spanish from 'tierras bajas' and 'tierras altas'\**

<b>Salvadoran Spanish</b> <i>(tierras bajas)</i>	<b>Los Angeles Vernacular Spanish</b> <i>(tierras altas)</i>
s → h/0 / __C, __#	no aspiration
<b>[páhta]</b> <pasta>, <b>[kásah]</b> <casa>	<b>[pásta]</b> <pasta>, <b>[kásas]</b> <casas>

<sup>11</sup> *Tierras altas* and *tierras bajas*, are used to distinguish the Spanish used in the Americas. *Tierras bajas* is a Spanish representative of colonization from the south of Spain, whereas *tierras altas* is a Spanish more representative of colonization from the center of Spain.

---

*“pasta”, “house”*

x → h

**[káha]** <caja>

*“box”*

aspiration (due to contact with English)

**[káha]** <caja>

n → ŋ / \_\_#

**[pájŋ]** <pan>

*“bread”*

no velarization

**[pán]** <pan>

0 → y / í\_\_a

**[díya]** <día>

*“day”*

no epenthesis

**[día]** <día>

y → 0 / i,e\_\_V

**[éa]** <ella>

*“she”*

no loss of /y/ but softening to semiconsonant

**[eja]** <ella>

p,b → k / \_\_t,s

**[aksolúto]** <absoluto>,

**[konseksjón]** <concepción>

*“absolute”, “conception”*

no change

**[aβsolúto]** <absoluto>,

**[konsepsjón]** <concepción>

unstressed vowels are maintained

**[ántes]** <antes>

*“before”*

unstressed vowels by soften or be lost

**[ant’s]** <antes>

---

\*adapted from Parodi (2011)

The descriptions of the phonetic features present in LAVS and Salvadoran Spanish is just one linguistic domain in which Parodi has shown linguistic leveling. There are many archaic features present in LAVS that are not shared by the working-class Salvadoran Spanish-speaking population (see Parodi 2011), but they have acquired many of them in Los Angeles. Parodi argues that the primary motivator for this accommodation is linguistic discrimination and ridicule toward non-LAVS features. Furthermore, and relevant to the current study, Parodi has also documented that Salvadoran-heritage G2 Spanish-speakers in Los Angeles do not have

knowledge of common Salvadoran lexical items, in their active speech nor in their passive knowledge. Below in Table 2, I provide a list<sup>12</sup> of Salvadoran lexical items alongside their LAVS, or Mexican-origin equivalents, as listed in Parodi (2011):

Table 2

*Salvadoran lexical items and their LAVS equivalent*

<b>Salvadoran Spanish</b>	<b>LAVS</b>
ayote	calabacita
bayunco	baboso
chabacán	vulgar
chacalines	camaroncitos
chambroso	chismosos
chele	güero
chuco	sucio
chumpa	saco, chamarra
cipote, bicho	niño
corvo, colín	machete
cuchumbo, cumbo	bote de basura
fustán	medio fondo
ginas	sandalias de hule
guaro	licor
guineo	plátano
haragán	flojo (perezoso)
keike	pastel
majoncho	plátano dominico
marañero	tramposo

<sup>12</sup> The list is not exhaustive and does not include English loanwords in either Salvadoran Spanish or LAVS. Its purpose is to illustrate the difference between Salvadoran-origin words and Mexican-origin words, the latter of which are present in LAVS.

matate	morral, bolsa
pacha	botella, mamila
piscucha	papalote (cometa)
plátano	plátano macho
socado	apretado, ajustado

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\*adapted from Parodi (2011)

In addition to lexical items originating in Mexico, Parodi (2011) has also documented the presence of some lexemes that have been borrowed from English, many of which are not present in the lexicon of monolingual Mexican Spanish speakers in Mexico – one can argue that these items were formed in LA. Below, in Table 3, is a list of those lexical items:

Table 3

*English loanwords present in LAVS\**

- i. Bil [bíl] for ‘cuenta’ (<bill)  
**Hoy pago mis biles**  
*today I pay my bills*
- ii. Bloque [blóke] for ‘cuadra’ (<block)  
**Vivo a tres bloques de aquí**  
*I live three blocks from here*
- iii. Puchar [pučár] for ‘empujar’ (<to push)  
**Me puchó contra la pared**  
*He/She pushed up against the wall*
- iv. Troca [tróka] for ‘camioneta’ (<truck)  
**Me gusta la troca roja**  
*I like the red truck*
- v. Marqueta [markéta] for ‘mercado’ (<market)  
**La marqueta está lejos**  
*The market is far*

\*adapted from Parodi (2011)

In addition to the author showing the existence of a US Spanish variety in Los Angeles, there have also been studies of New Mexico Spanish – a Spanish that has many unique

characteristics and has also maintained a lot of archaic linguistic features, in most cases contrasting those found in LAVS. The Spanish of New Mexico has also been thought to be its own Spanish variety, one that has preserved features from ‘old world’ Spanish (Villa 2011).

### *2.1.3. The Lexical Repertoire of Bilinguals*

In the United States, Spanish/English bilingualism is one of the most researched phenomena in the field of Spanish Linguistics. It has long been documented that bilingual speakers code-mix and codeswitch<sup>13</sup> as a natural way of speaking. Researchers have attempted to define the linguistic boundaries of bilinguals, stipulating on what it means to truly be bilingual. Research has even aimed to determine what an ideal bilingual looks like, or sounds like. In 1953, Weinreich infamously defined an ‘ideal bilingual’ as someone who switches “appropriately” to “changes in the speech situation, but not in an unchanged speech situation, and certainly not within a single sentence.” Henceforward, academia has come a long way to now embrace this phenomenon as completely natural and appropriate for bilinguals –though it may not be the case in the linguistic ideologies held by both monolingual and bilingual speakers alike, who still maintain this antiquated image of a bilingual’s linguistic skills. Moreover, not only is it now established that it is natural for bilinguals to codeswitch and code-mix, but it has also been shown that competency in both languages is essential since this phenomenon follows strict grammatical rules that are not easily imitable (Valdés 1993). Therefore, bilinguals who exhibit these characteristics – codeswitching and code mixing – are doing so within the confines of strict

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<sup>13</sup> Both codeswitching and code mixing refer to the general switch (or mix) of one code (or language, variety, style, or other linguistic variation, etc.) to another. This phenomenon can be either inter/intra-sentential or inter/intra-lexical.

linguistic parameters.

The focus of this section is the idiosyncratic use of loanwords (or lexical code-mixing), which has been documented in a plethora of studies on bilingual speakers. Zentella (1997), in the ethnographic study of a small community of Puerto Ricans in New York, has famously evidenced the organic use of both English and Spanish in the creation of many lexical items. In the aforementioned research, the author illustrates how resourceful and efficient bilinguals are when communicating – speakers are keenly aware of their interlocutors’ linguistic competency in either language, and will use their own linguistic resources accordingly. Further, the author has also shown the strict structure bilingual speakers follow when creating these code-mixed lexemes<sup>14</sup>, these examples are listed below in Table 4:

Table 4

*Common Lexemes in the Spanish of Monolinguals and Bilinguals in New York City\**

1. Londri [lón dri] for ‘lavandería’ (<laundry)  
**¿Has recogido el londri?**  
*Did you pick up the laundry?*
2. Lonchar [lončár] for ‘almorzar’ (<to have lunch)  
**Ya fui a lonchar.**  
*I already had lunch.*
3. Biles [bíles] for ‘cuentas’ (<bills)  
**No he pagado los biles.**  
*I haven’t paid the bills.*

\*adapted from Zentella (1997)

Nonetheless, code mixing is often confounded with incorporated loanwords because on the surface they appear to be one in the same, though this is only the case if we compare it to

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<sup>14</sup> Noting that many of these idiosyncratic creations are now incorporated into the lexical repertoire of an entire Spanish-speaking community.

standard, ‘monitored’ varieties. Codeswitching, code mixing, and incorporated loanwords are often times difficult to distinguish because members of the second generation are under the impression that they are part of the Spanish lexicon, which is true of their Spanish but not necessarily the case throughout (Acosta-Belén 1975; Zentella 1981). Because of this, it is important to note that bilingual speakers could be in Spanish code when actively using English loanwords; after all, the knowledge of a lexeme’s history is not necessarily common practice. The Spanish language the world over is composed of a plethora of loanwords that have enriched the language, English loanwords in US Spanish varieties is no different. In sum, it may easy to quickly describe hybrid lexemes in US Spanish by the way English has influenced it. However, it is not, and should not be the only way to examine these lexical items due to the fact that Spanish in the US has a very strong continuous history, and thus many of these items are on par with any other loanword in global Spanish.

Moreover, despite the abundance of research on the influence of English on Spanish/English heritage bilinguals, there is a lack of literature on the same influence in the Spanish of G1 Spanish monolinguals in the US. This is essential as their influence can result in features that can be passed on to the children of a community, or the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation of Spanish speakers.<sup>15</sup> In Table 5 is a list of lexical items that have been borrowed from English and are now present in these dictionaries (DEM 2013, REA 2013). This list is by no means exhaustive, and

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<sup>15</sup> Outside of the United States, for instance, there is a lot of English influence in many Standard Spanish varieties; many of these influences have been formally included in reputable dictionaries such as *El Diccionario Español Mexicano* (DEM), in Mexico and *El Diccionario de la Real Academia Española* (DRAE), in Spain (current as of 2013). These are important to cite because they serve as the institution that maintains what lexemes are appropriate or inappropriate to use and the leaning that they bear; they essentially maintain the Standard lexicon of the language. At minimum, it is ideologically the case (Silverstein 1996).



different Spanish-speaking countries have incorporated different anglicisms and for different purposes.

Table 5

*English loanwords present in Standard Mexican Spanish\**

1. Tíket [tíket] for ‘recibo’ (<receipt)  
**No se te olvide el ticket**  
*Don't forget the receipt*
2. Lunch [lónč] for ‘almuerzo o comida’ (<lunch)  
**Aquí está mi lunch**  
*Here is my lunch*
3. Short [čort] for ‘pantalones cortos’ (<shorts)  
**Me gusta llevar shorts cuando hace calor**  
*I like to wear shorts when it's hot*
4. Jeans [yins] for ‘pantalones de mezclilla’ (<denim pants or jeans)  
**Los mejores jeans son los Levi's**  
*The best jeans are Levi's*
4. Backstage [baksteič] for ‘detras del escenario’ (<backstage)  
**Me gané dos boletos para verlo backstage**  
*I won two tickets to see him backstage*

\*from *El Diccionario Español Mexicano* (2013)

#### *2.1.4. Loanwords in the Spanish-speaking world*

Previously, I briefly detailed some of the English loanwords formally incorporated in the Spanish lexicon of Mexico and Spain. By extension, it is important to note that the linguistic and social process of incorporated loanwords is by no means a new phenomenon, and it is definitely not a phenomenon limited to bilingual speakers, as was illustrated at end of the last section. Most known languages have borrowed at least some lexemes, it is simply a natural process of language variation and change. Nonetheless, there are different motivators for borrowing and incorporating lexical items to the language in question. For example, according to Myer Scotton & Okeju (1973), the principal motivator for loanwords is the incapacity of a lexicon to name or

reference a new referent or concept. Another motivator for this process, according to Rodríguez González (1996), is the necessity to extend the referential function of the language. The author further argues that bilinguals are especially susceptible to this necessity because they perceive the novelty of objects much easier due to their intimate familiarity with multiple cultures (cultures tied to other languages) (See Weinreich (1974) for the author’s comprehensive list of motivators that impulse this phenomenon).

The current study employs Eva Mendieta’s (1999) typology for *préstamo léxico*<sup>16</sup>. The author defines *préstamo léxico* or “loanword” as the incorporation of a lexical unit (or of a compound that functions like a lexical unit) from a second language (L2), in this case English, into the context of the first language (L1), in this case Spanish. Mendieta further describes the different types of loanwords, placing them into four categories. This typology is listed below along with examples.

Table 6

*Typology of loanword\**

- i. Pure borrowings: loanwords that incorporate morphemes from the L2 to the L1  
lonche [lónče] for almuerzo (<lunch);  
yarda [yárða] for jardín (<yard)
- ii. Syntactic calques and semantic extensions: loanwords that change the semantic reproduction  
aplicar [aplíkar] for solicitar (<to apply);  
atender [atender] for asistir (<to attend)
- iii. Hybrid creations: loanwords that both incorporate morphemes from L2 to L1 and change the semantic representation  
calendador [kalendaðor] for calendario (<calendar)
- iv. Intrusions: loanwords that are the result of phonological intrusion  
miúsica [mjúsika] for música (<music);  
quémica [kémika] for química (<chemistry)

\*adapted from Mendieta (1999)

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<sup>16</sup> “Lexical borrowing” and “loanword” will be used interchangeably throughout this study.

Mendieta (1999) argues that pure borrowings, or loanwords that incorporate morphemes from L2 to L1, are the most common in English/Spanish bilingual speakers. These are followed by syntactic calques and semantic extensions; she further claims that hybrid creations and intrusions are the most rare. Espinosa (1914), Kreidler (1959), Ortiz (1949), OrtheGuy *et al.* (1989) and Torres (1997) have all confirmed a similar hierarchy of loanword creation and incorporation as the one detailed above. The present inquiry primarily focuses on pure borrowings and semantic extensions since they are the most common in Mendieta's data as well as in data obtained in this study. These types of loanwords are also the most common type of borrowing seen in Spanish-speaking countries<sup>17</sup>. Though the most common *types* of loanwords are the same in both Spanish-speaking monolingual countries and in US Spanish/English bilinguals, the loanwords in Spanish-speaking countries are often not adapted morphologically, whereas the loanwords used by bilinguals are. Torres (1997) argues that this is the case because bilinguals have two linguistic repertoires at their disposal. In contrast, monolinguals, or speakers who have a greater dominance of Spanish, are more limited in their strategies to incorporate new lexemes from English. Therefore, despite the latter group's limited dominance of English, they tend to simply incorporate lexical items instead of morphologically adapting the English form to Spanish<sup>18</sup>. As is analyzed in more depth in the results section below (*4.1. Lexical Norm of a US Variety*),

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<sup>17</sup> See Table 5 for examples.

<sup>18</sup> Spanish-dominant speakers will still adapt a lexeme phonetically for features not available in their linguistic repertoires. For example, the "h" in "hot dog" will be more velarized [x] than the English "h", which is more aspirated [h]. Bilinguals will simply produce the word using English phonetics.

Torres' claim supports the hypothesis that G2 bilinguals initially create many of the loanwords found in LAVS, and possibly other US Spanish varieties as well.

The definition provided for loanword suggests that these items are not simply idiosyncratic but are rather incorporated to the lexicon of a community. This happens in both monolingual and bilingual communities, both having their particular way of handling the borrowing. According to Molina (1986), it is possible to dismiss that a loanword is idiosyncratic when it has been accepted and has been integrated into the speech of the broader community – in other words, once the word has ceased to be evaluated as a linguistic interference. In addition, Lance (1975) argues that a word is incorporated once it is integral for talking about certain things, the referent or concept of the loanword. Moreover, Marius (1982) takes a more physical approach; this author claims that a word is incorporated into a lexicon if it used across a broad geographic space. In the following sections, I will describe the different conceptualizations of community and how these communities have undergone the processes described above to incorporate loanwords into the lexicon of their Spanish. This process is not necessarily geographic as it is spatial, a space that molds to the needs of the community.

## **2.2. Spanish-speaking Communities**

Along with providing an overview of Spanish in the US, it is essential to illustrate ways of delineating the peripheries of more localized Spanish-speaking communities. This is especially important in the US where Spanish domains are spread throughout vast geographic spaces and different times. Identifying these peripheries is necessary owing to the fact that Spanish – along with all ethnic languages – exists in flexible diglossia with English, thus somewhat limiting its use (Parodi 2012). Diglossia refers to the reality that English and Spanish

are used in different domains; because of this, it is probable that language hierarchy will form. In the United States, English would be considered the A variety, or the variety of prestige and Spanish, the B variety, or the variety with less prestige. This hierarchy exists because Spanish is not the language used in domains associated with prestige: in education, in government, and in most private enterprises, etc. The three paradigms that I use in the present study to address these communities – speech community, social network, and community of practice – all share some similarities in the way that they conceptualize a social group. However, differences still exist between them because they were developed for different purposes and within different fields. Nonetheless, variations of all can be applied to support the existence of a US variety of Spanish by examining the lexicon alone.

### *2.2.1. Speech Community*

The concept of *speech community* as a unit of linguistic analysis emerged in the 1960s. However, the conceptualization of Labov is by far the most influential. Labov defines a speech community as a “community’s participation in a set of shared norms: these norms may be observed in overt types of evaluative behavior, and by the uniformity of abstract patterns of variation which are invariant in respect to particular levels of usage” (1972). Labov’s definition is very useful because a community does not solely depend on the agreement of language elements, which can be a very narrow and unrealistic way of looking at a community. Why? Because it is far too exclusive to look at a community based on the use of the same language or other broad language elements. This is so because there are a plethora of fine-grained linguistic features that speakers are sensitive to, but are also used to differentiate themselves from one another (cf. Hill 2008; Zentella 2003; Bucholtz & Hall 2004).

Moreover, the concept of speech community has also served as an exceptional tool for studying disenfranchised communities in the face of the invisible norm, which can be very pervasive (Irvine & Gal 2000). In order to delineate where different groups begin and end, we can look at how these individuals group each other with regard to this shared evaluative behavior. The aforementioned can only be possible if we accept that attitudes or ideologies about language are seldom about language, but rather, about the members of that community (Silverstein 1996), a theory I subscribe to in this study.

Speech community has been criticized because it takes a radical subjectivist view, according to Hudson (1996) and other authors. These authors claim that a speech community is too dependent on the evaluative behavior of its members, thus leaving out other external variables that influence the organization of a group. Nonetheless, Santa Ana & Parodi (1998) have shown how the Labovian characterization of speech community can still be utilized today. As Gumperz (1996) argues, “speech communities, broadly conceived, can be regarded as collectivities of social networks.” Thus, this framework is still useful as an analytical tool, as well as an aid to delineate communities when used alongside theoretical frameworks such as *social network* and *community of practice*, both of which will be described in more detail below.

### 2.2.2. *Social Network*

The concept of *social network* has been indispensable in the social sciences as a tool for studying the relationship between individuals, groups, or other social organizations. In the field of Sociolinguistics, and particularly in the current study, the concept of social network has been extremely useful in imagining how Spanish-speakers are interconnected in Los Angeles. It is especially useful to utilize this theoretical framework when analyzing the vast distribution of

linguistics features across a heterogeneous and diverse city such as Los Angeles – where many individuals are in constant contact with one another. This framework helps delineate where the different

The concept of social network depends on two elements, density and multiplicity. Density refers to the number of individuals a speaker interacts with more than once and multiplicity refers to the number of different domains that interaction occurs. This theoretical framework works when considering the linguistic interactions that occur within the social network in question, in this case whether said interaction is in Spanish and/or English and what dialect of Spanish and/or English is used by the speaker. Milroy & Milroy (1992) have posited that “in a maximally dense and multiplex network, everyone would know everyone else (density) and the actors would know one another in a range of capacities (multiplex).” Further, Milroy & Milroy argue that the most dense and multiplex networks are tight-knit and are the most conservative with regard to language variation and change, leading to more maintenance of linguistic features and norms. Nevertheless, these tight-knit networks are still susceptible to internal changes. Because of the fact that social networks of Spanish-speakers in the United States include a broad array of speakers – multiple generations, bilinguals, and from different origins, etc. – there are still many opportunities for substantial internal change, despite the characteristic of dense multiplex networks typically being more conservative. For instance, as Torres (1997) posits, bilingual speakers often use English loanwords that have been morphologically adapted to Spanish, both idiosyncratically and as part of their Spanish lexicon. As described above, Torres argues that bilinguals tend to incorporate adapted lexemes and not simply reproduce phonetically adapted English forms. This phenomenon is due to the fact that bilinguals have the linguistic systems of both languages more readily accessible, despite Spanish

monolinguals having a broader linguistic repertoire of the Spanish language. The above illustration is only one instance of an internal change that can occur within a network.

Within the social network, it is important to understand who is actively interacting within its boundaries and what other social networks do these individuals claim membership. For example, the social network of working-class Spanish-speaking communities in Los Angeles is very tight-knit, dense, and multiplex. Nonetheless, some of its members, the bilingual speakers, have much broader networks that include English-speaking ones. These are the speakers that can more readily bring in influences from outside the tight-knit network because they are more susceptible to outside influence – this is the result of these speakers being spread across multiple networks. Therefore, when looking at the loanwords in vernacular Spanish, it is important to note that bilingual speakers introduced morphologically adapted items, either contemporarily or historically; and monolingual speakers introduced non-adapted items, or lexemes that are only adapted phonetically. Nevertheless, this is not to say that all lexemes are idiosyncratic, as mentioned in above, there are items that may have been historically introduced and are simply part of the lexical norm of the community regardless of whether the speaker is monolingual or bilingual. Again, stressing that this is the case of many historically introduced lexemes in the Spanish lexicon, such as *zanahoria* (<carrot), *almohada* (<pillow), and *alcohol* (<alcohol), etc.

### 2.2.3. *Communities of Practice*

The concept of *community of practice* is very similar to social network, but perhaps more simplified. The social networks theoretical framework, for instance, does not rely on geographic, physical proximity, whereas community of practice does to a certain extent. According to Eckert & McConnell-Ginet (1992), “shared practices emerge in the course of coming together around a



mutual engagement/endeavor,” thus forming a community of practice. These shared practices can extend into shared linguistic norms, such as the lexicon of a community. Moreover, these linguistic norms can range from formal linguistic features forming part of shared vernacular or linguistic variety, but can also include other linguistic domains, such as pragmatics and semantics, especially with regard to the use of English and Spanish. After all, different languages form part of a speakers linguistic resources and speakers use these resources to efficiently enact and/or negotiate different meaning (Zentella 1997).

In addition to Eckert & McConnell-Ginet’s definition of community of practice, Wenger offers an interpretation of the framework that requires that three basic criteria be met, which he posits are necessary to have a community of practice. According to Wenger (1998) there must first be *mutual engagement* of members in the community in order to engage in a shared practice. Nonetheless, Wenger further posits, “[that] the engagement need not be harmonious or conflictual, so a community of practice is not necessarily a group of friends or allies.” An example of a harmonious group may be a group of friends who work in different locations but regularly get together on Saturday nights where they share the experiences from their respective workplaces. In contrast, a less harmonious group might be a group of department heads that regularly meet in order to discuss the organization’s necessary budget reduction and allocation of funds to the various departments. The latter may be characterized by personal feuds and conflict. But nevertheless, both of these are examples where a community of practice would be sustained over time because this mutual engagement is useful, and sometimes necessary, to the members’ emotional, practical, and occupational needs (Meyerhoff 2002).

The second criterion for a community of practice in Wenger’s interpretation is that members share some *jointly negotiated enterprise*. Because the enterprise is negotiated, there is

some circularity involved in its identification, as Meyerhoff (2002) illustrates, “members get together for some purpose and this purpose is defined through their pursuit.” It is this pursuit of an enterprise that creates relationships of mutual accountability among the participants, or members of the group (Wenger 1998). Meyerhoff (2002) further adds, “that it is important that this shared enterprise be reasonably specific and not very general or abstract,” this is because the enterprise has to contribute something meaningful without it particularly being articulated by any one member of the group.

Lastly, and most important to the current study, a community of practice is characterized by its members’ *shared repertoire*. The shared repertoire is the cumulative result of internal negotiations, linguistic or otherwise. For instance, the current study focuses on the resources resulting from such negotiations. The results are a repertoire of lexical items that are incorporated into the linguistic norm of the speakers or members of this community of practice in Los Angeles. Therefore, as described above, the community of practice requires dynamic social interactions in order to function as a solid theoretical framework and serve as a basis for describing the product of a social organization.

### **2.3. Language in Contact**

There are many different theoretical approaches one can use in studies of language contact. In the present study I utilize three: Accommodation Theory, Koineization, and Coşeriu’s proposed theory on the social organization necessary for linguistic norms.

### 2.3.1. Accommodation

*Accommodation Theory* as it is used throughout this study is a theoretical framework that attempts to illustrate the processes of communicative accommodation. According to Giles (1977, 1991), the basic process of this theory is that speakers will accommodate to the speech of an interlocutor if three conditions are met. The conditions are *status*, *demographics*, and *institutional support* within a communicative context – in the present study the context is purely linguistic, but more specifically confined to the lexical domain.

As mentioned above, Giles (1977, 1991) contends that the first condition required for accommodation is *status*. The status refers to the prestige a specific linguistic feature has within the social sphere of the speaker at a particular time and space. The scope of a social sphere can and does fluctuate, and the prestige of a particular feature will depend on the particular scope. For instance, in the United States, from a broad macro scope, Standard American English<sup>19</sup> enjoys the highest level of social prestige. However, there are varieties, or ethnolects<sup>20</sup>, which enjoy a higher level of prestige than the Standard within their more localized social spheres. It is important to note that these non-prestigious varieties, as Lippi-Green argues, are often used in the mass media “to draw character quickly, building on established preconceived notions associated with specific national loyalties, ethnic, racial, or economic alliances” (1997). These varieties are thus marked within a macro imagination of a community, a sign of their lack of prestige; but are often invisible in the narrower imagination, a sign of prestige.

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<sup>19</sup> Standard American English (SAE) is now referred to as “Mainstream American English” in the literature. Nonetheless, it is important to note that this “mainstream” or “Standard” is no neutral, and more often than not, it is representative of the speech of the White elite-class.

<sup>20</sup> An ethnolect is a language variety that indexes a particular ethnicity.

Further, the second condition required for accommodation is *demographics*. This condition specifically refers to the numbers or quantity of speakers who produce the specific linguistic feature; again, this is all within the given scope. Finally, the third condition for accommodation to occur is that the linguistic feature in question must have *institutional support*. The institutional support can be derived from formal institutions, such as language academies or organizations regulating the grammar of the particular language; but it may also refer to social organizations that are also able to provide institutional support, either overtly or covertly, to some features over others. The institutional support of these social organizations can manifest itself by ridiculing *unsupported* linguistic features and/or promoting *supported* linguistic features; that is, stigmatizing some but not others. These institutions can be the workplace or some other social assembly like a university fraternity or sorority, etc.

### 2.3.2. *Koineization*

*Koineization* is the formation or leveling of a new dialect resulting from dialect mixing. According to Tuten (1999), this process contrasts pidginization, which refers to the formation of a new language as a result of contact between typologically distant varieties that are not mutually comprehensible. Below in Table 6, one can see Siegel’s model on how these processes are similar; though their motivation is distinct, as will be explained later in this section (taken from Tuten 1999).

Table 7

#### *Developmental continua of pidgins and koines\**

<b>Process</b>	<b>Stage of development</b>	
	<b>Pidginization</b>	<b>Koineization</b>
Initial Contact	prepidgin (jargon)	prekoine

Stabilization	stabilized pidgin	stabilized koine
Expansion	expanded pidgin	expanded koine
Nativization	creole	nativized koine

\*adapted from Tuten (1999)

First and foremost, koineization is the process of linguistic change that Parodi (2009, 2010, 2011) argues Spanish in Los Angeles has undergone. Parodi (2009) contends that LAVS is a dialect that is the result of dialect mixing among several rural Mexican Spanish varieties. In addition to this, LAVS is also influenced by its contact with English, so it also enjoys many lexical peculiarities that can only be found in this variety. In order to study a koine, it is critical to look at its historical development. In addition to the historical development, it is also vital to look at the current momentum and mobility of the language. For instance, although language attrition is said to occur in Spanish-speaking homes (Silva-Corvalán 1996), it is also the case that immigration from Spanish-speaking countries is increasing and expanding (Census 2011). The latter in effect strengthens the numerical amount of Spanish speakers, and thus the opportunities to use Spanish outside of the home. All of these not only expand the language's usability, but also its importance, and to some extent its necessity.

Though a historical analysis is essential to examine the developmental stages of a koine, a koine does not necessarily take many generations to complete, as Siegel's model would argue. As seen above in Table 6, Siegel describes four stages of development in a koine: initial contact (prekoine), stabilization (stabilized koine), expansion (expanded koine), and nativization (nativized koine). However, this model does not address the potential significance of child language acquisition. It is possible for a nativized koine to come into fruition within one generation, which is the case of many features in LAVS; particularly those most susceptible to change. Therefore, a more refined and useful model of koineization is one proposed by Trudgill

(1986), which coincidentally also has four stages of development and allows for nativization in any of the stages. The four stages proposed by Trudgill, and illustrated in Tuten (1999) are illustrated below.

Table 8

*Stages of Koineization\**

- i. *Mixing*, which refers to survival in the resultant koine if features from different contributing varieties.
- ii. *Leveling* is the reduction or attrition of marked variants.
- iii. *Simplification* is the increase in regularity or an increase in morphological and lexical transparency.
- iv. *Reallocation*, which occurs when more than one competing variant in the pre-koine linguistic pool survives, but each with a different social or stylistic function.

\*adapted from Tuten (1999)

Trudgill's model helps demonstrate how some lexical items can quickly be adapted as a community's norm within one generation. The aforementioned framework could be key to understanding how a language variety can be continuous across time in a community despite language attrition occurring rapidly within the family.

### 2.3.3. Norm

The typology of *language*, *norm*, and *speech* is very useful for identifying regional vernaculars that are often ignored because of the hegemonic presence of the idealized standard of a community. Coşeriu (1952) defines *language* as something abstract, a system that speakers access neurologically in order to communicate orally. In contrast, he defines *speech* as something functional and unique to each individual, in essence, his or her idiolect. Finally, and of interest to the present study, he defines the *norm* as the local or regional linguistic variety; this

norm is socially constructed and negotiated by its speakers. Consequently, a norm is something that comes into fruition naturally as the necessary product of a community using the same abstract system, or language. Similar to Koineization and Accommodation Theory, Coşeriu's conceptualization of norm requires mutual communication amongst speakers of a community. The shared speech is what gives rise to the norm, both of which are reflections of the abstract system.

A similar parallel can be drawn between the linguistic domains of phonology and acoustic phonetics. On the one hand we have phonology, which is the study of the abstract system of rules that govern the production of the particular sounds in a language by identifying patterns. On the other hand, we have acoustic phonetics, which specifically looks at the production of sounds by a speaker. Phonology, in this case, is the abstract system and acoustic phonetics is an individual's in-the-moment realization of this system. The norm, however, would be the shared acoustic realization in a community, not just a single speaker, of the same abstract system.

This framework is constructive because it helps determine the shared norm within a community. Coşeriu's conceptualization of norm can work alongside Koineization and Accommodation Theory to illustrate the hierarchy of language varieties within a group of individuals. By extension, it can also help identify the particular language variety of the same community.

## **2.4. Linguistic Ideologies**

It is impossible to talk about social power relations and organization of language without analyzing the linguistic ideologies that are working to maintain an established hierarchy or are

responsible for shifting the power to benefit a particular group over another. Linguistic ideologies as they will be used throughout this study are, as described by Silverstein (1979), “sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use.” Silverstein referred to these ideologies as *language ideologies*; however, in the present study I have adopted Hill’s (2008) term of *linguistic ideologies*, which refers to the same sets of beliefs but allows for a more broad application of the framework.

In the following, I expound on several phenomena that work together to maintain the current environment that vernacular Spanish is found in in the United States. These are (1) the ideology of the Standard monoglot, which leads to English hegemony; but also (2) the particular ideologies held about Spanish – the latter uses the Standard monoglot ideology as support.

#### *2.4.1. Standard Monoglot: English Hegemony*

According to Silverstein (1996), the Standard monoglot [linguistic] ideology is one of the most pervasive ideologies in the Western world, the United States being no exception. The former is a belief that privileges one language and language variety while suppressing and deploring others. This ideology elevates the Standard variety as the unmarked norm. As argued by Bucholtz & Hall (2004), the power of an unmarked norm is more pervasive because it is masked. Therefore, it transforms the privileged variety into something that is artificially readily accessible to all members of society. This process equates speakers of other varieties as lazy and unwilling to learn or adopt a Standard to which everyone has access. However, accessibility to that Standard is conventional and does not reflect social reality. The aforementioned can be the case with regard to Spanish because the formal development of Spanish is not supported in this



country, automatically making accessibility to the unmarked norm almost impossible. Much more detrimental is the fact that Spanish also suffers from the social reality that English is the language that enjoys the highest social value and prestige in this country. Therefore, in the diglossic reality of Spanish and English, English is the high variety, specifically Standard American English, which can be said to be the language variety primarily spoken by the White-American population (Lippi-Green 1997). Thus, some Standard Spanish is only second to the hegemony of English, and further, US Spanish vernaculars are second to said Spanish.

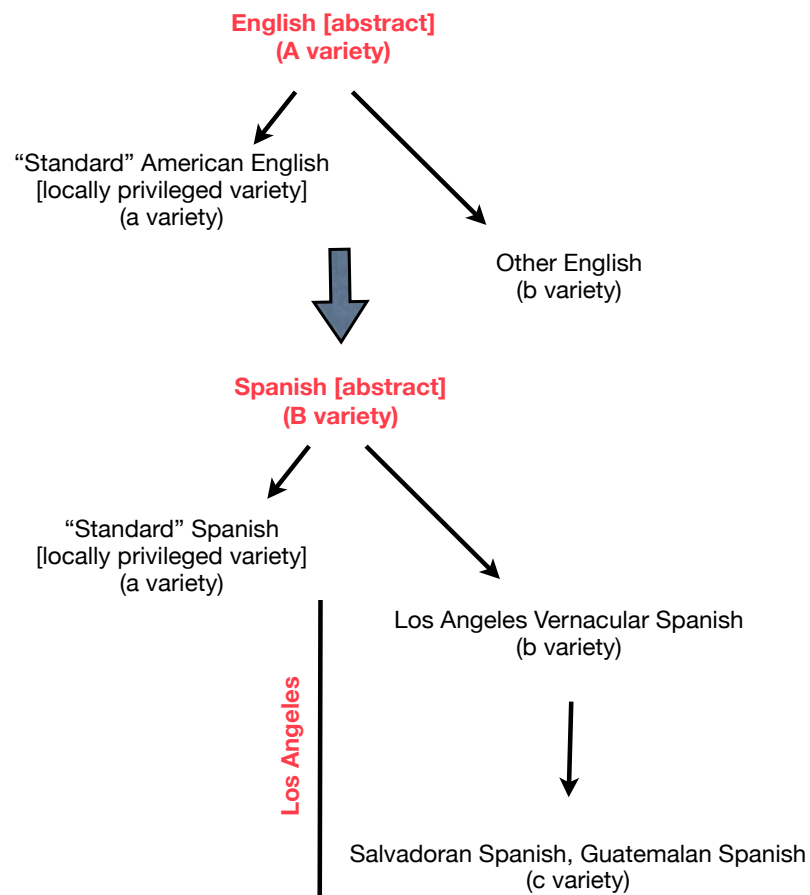
Furthermore, the Standard can also be said to be superficial because it is an idealized language variety that is maintained by dominant bloc institutions, which use the written language as their model. However, this model is drawn primarily from the spoken language of the upper middle class (Lippi-Green 1997), spoken language being the organic origin of language and the one spoken vernacularly. If the previously mentioned is the case, then we must ask as Rumsey (1990) asked, “whose interests are served by an ideology taking the form that it does?” In the US, institutions regulating some US Standard Spanish do not exist<sup>21</sup>; therefore, the Standard is sought elsewhere. However, as will be described further in this study, looking at a foreign country’s Standard to evaluate a local community’s norm is ludicrous and this Standard monoglot ideology toward US Spanish is detrimental to Spanish speakers in this country. The linguistic diglossia in the US can be visualized in Figure 1 below.

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<sup>21</sup> Nevertheless, it is necessary to note that “Standard” Spanish is used in Spanish classrooms throughout the country, though Spanish is not used as extensively as English – students have to willingly enroll in these courses either at the High School or University level, or alternatively pay some other private entity for courses.

Figure 1

*Hierarchy of Diglossia in Los Angeles*



Despite the dire consequences the Standard monoglot ideology has on marginalized languages and language varieties, it still exists and it is very pervasive. So, how does this process come about? Silverstein (1996) thoroughly describes the process of monoglot standardization. He defines standardization as “a phenomenon in a linguistic community in which institutional maintenance of certain valued linguistic practices – in theory, fixed – acquires an explicitly recognized hegemony over the definition of the community’s norm” (1996). This process of standardization slowly, but effectively, elevates and privileges a language variety while

suppressing both other varieties and other languages. Thus, the Standard variety of a single language becomes the unmarked norm – in the US, Standard American English (cf. Schmidt 2007, Milroy 2000). Elevating Standard American English curtails the development of other languages or language varieties – relevant to this study, Spanish, but more harshly vernacular Spanish.

According to Silverstein (1996), the standardization process in the United States has three general properties. The first property displaces the social process of standardization to the plane of the functional utility of language as a means of representation. Therefore rendering all social functions irrelevant, and elevating the utility aspect of language as more important, or rather, as its only function. The second property anchors the process in something outside of the social organization of language in search for a “common agreement” about the denotational value of words. In short, words and grammar are decided upon based on their productivity and efficacy with little regard to social consequences and implications. The third and final property described by Silverstein is the creation of institutions of standardization as mere endpoints. In other words, these institutions are believed to exist to *maintain* a “natural” Standard, which eliminates social groups as the influence for language change (note that this was previously described as the *bloc institution* that maintains the idealized Standard language variety).

The properties detailed above create a variety of a single language that can be treated as a commodity, which can be acquired for a price (Silverstein 1996). There are, then, individuals that *have* or *posses* the Standard and those that *lack* the Standard. However, all hope is not lost, those who do not have or posses the Standard can acquire it, and indulge in its privileges. Consequently, as mentioned above, those who do not acquire the Standard can easily be perceived as *lazy*, *sloppy* or simply incapable of completing this seemingly simple task, despite

the speaker's level of education. Thus, a personal value or worth can then be attributed to such actions (or inactions) by those who possess the Standard or those who believe that it is a variety that is only acquired through individual hard work. This value is primarily negative and marginalizing, and highly superficial (Lippi-Green 1997; Cross, DeVaney & Jones 2001).

#### 2.4.2. *Ideologies of Spanish in the US*

In addition to the general ideology described in the previous subsection, linguistic ideologies about Spanish in the United States are plentiful. There is no doubt that Spanish is suppressed by the Standard Monoglot linguistic ideology, like all ethnic or minority<sup>22</sup> languages in the United States. However, as mentioned earlier, linguistic ideologies are seldom judgments about the language itself and more about the speaker of that particular language, or language variety. Jane Hill (2008) in *The Everyday Language of White Racism* extensively describes how White Americans use a particular form of Spanish – which she terms “mock Spanish” – as a form of oppressing Spanish speakers in the US. In this behavior, the speaker of mock Spanish displays the ideologies he or she has toward these speakers. These ideologies are important because they hinder upward mobility within the communities that speak Spanish. Much like racism or sexism, linguistic ideologies are most harmful when they become institutionalized, and thus invisible.

Zentella argues that, “the portrait of a community must be broad enough to incorporate its traditions, borrowings, and unique contributions, and to describe what the community does, more

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<sup>22</sup> Important to note that Spanish is not a minority language in all communities, this description is one that encompasses the broad US as a community. Spanish enjoys majority status in many Latino/a communities within the US, and of course in many other communities outside of the US.

than what it doesn't do" (1997). Further, the author notes that this is crucially important because "class, racial, ethnic, and linguistic differences serve to further stigmatize the working class, non-white, non-European and non-standard speaking cultures, particularly when they come into contact with the 'model' culture." Therefore, when researching phenomena present in marginalized communities, the description of the community is as important as the cross-cultural analysis. There are a plethora of norms that come into fruition within marginalized communities that should be describe for what they are, not as a deficiency in the face of the "model culture or community."

Furthermore, in addition to linguistic ideologies toward Spanish as a whole, there are also very powerful ideologies about non-Standard varieties of Spanish, especially those that are heavily influenced by English, which is the case of US Spanish varieties. The linguistic features of these varieties are often referred to as *pochismos*, or chopped up particularities of Spanish. However, most of these ideologies are dumbfounded due to the fact that many of these features have been normalized within the local Spanish-speaking community and only superficially deviate from the Standard variety that is used to evaluate them. As was illustrated earlier, the substratum of US Spanish varieties is rural Mexican Spanish, thus these varieties should be evaluated up against these in addition to considering the language change they have undergone due to the contact with English. Still, we must keep in mind that this influence is much different than the influence English has on Spanish outside of the US where it does not exist in the same diglossia.

### 3. Methodology

The methodology used to execute the present study was selected in an attempt to collect the most naturalistic results from the contributors. It also provides an excellent corpus to study other nuances present in the speech of Spanish speakers in Los Angeles – speech that is often stigmatized by monolingual Spanish speakers who are not part of the communities being studied (Parodi 2010). By extension, an analysis of the stigmas associated with this community in academia and other institutions is also essential (Villa 2002). Luckily, the data produced in the study also helps inform such a critical analysis.

#### 3.1. *Sample Selection Criteria*

In order to answer the study's research questions<sup>23</sup>, it was necessary to obtain data from different locations within the Los Angeles metro area. As a Los Angeles native, I chose three different cities based on my ethnographic experience with the Latino/a community in this region. I also opted to choose the lexemes to test due to the fact that studying the lexicon of any community is no easy task; therefore, it was more productive to use an approach employed in the discipline of Generative Grammar to select the lexeme list. As a native speaker of the language variety in question, I have full competence in its grammar (Chomsky 1965). The communities in Pico Rivera, Lynwood, and Echo Park together represent the diversity of the Latino/a community since various Spanish-speaking nations are represented here. Additionally, I chose these locations because they are cities where Spanish is very palpable. It is a language that is heard

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<sup>23</sup> (1) Does the local working-class Spanish-speaking Latino/a community adopt a local lexical normal representative of Los Angeles Vernacular Spanish? (2) Are there linguistic ideologies that prevent the fostering of a US Spanish variety by limiting the use of the lexemes of such varieties?

much more than English in many different domains, such as, at the market, in restaurants (both of Latino/a and non-Latino/a cuisine), and on the streets, etc. It is also not only an oral form of communication, but it is visible in its written form as well, in menus, ads, and many other informal samples of written propaganda or correspondence.

The study only interviewed female contributors. I chose to only use female contributors due to their role in language change within a community, but more importantly, within the household. It has been evidenced that females are the most conservative members within a community/household when it comes to linguistic variation and change (Labov 1994). Being in agreement with this paradigm, it was then natural to evidence what is the lexical repertoire of this group in the Spanish-speaking Latino/a community. If in fact females are the most conservative when adopting new linguistic forms, then it is likely that many of these forms permeate the entire community – a reality that would require further testing, but preliminarily illustrates the importance of studying the lexicon of females.

Further, I also wanted the contributors to be first generation US Americans, more specifically, have arrived to the United States after the *sensitive period*<sup>24</sup> of 8 years of age. The reasoning behind having contributors arrive after the sensitive period is because it will ensure that speakers acquired a different dialect natively at their country of origin. Nevertheless, no limit was placed on how long the contributors have been living in the LA area. The aforementioned was not necessary because I wanted to see if there was any correlation between the lexemes the contributors produced and the length of time living in the US. Lastly, this

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<sup>24</sup> The “Sensitive Period” is a reformulation of Chomsky’s “Critical Period”, which states that there is an absolute age when individuals can or cannot acquire linguistic forms. The “Sensitive Period” states that there is a gradual decline in a person’s ability to acquire linguistic forms.

variable was important because the language forms of monolingual speakers are generally regarded as the model for “proper” Spanish within Latino/a communities in the US. Though it is important to note that the monolingual Spanish spoken outside of the US supersedes the monolingual Spanish within the community (Parodi 2009, 2010), which can be partially credited to the prestige it carries by being a Spanish spoken in a country who has Spanish as its official language.

Further, the contributors had to be part of the working class. This variable is important because it establishes the space of contact and accommodation, but more importantly, it is the common link of the community or network by which linguistic characteristics are maintained and negotiated. If speakers do not belong to the working class, it is likely they do not convene with the speakers in question and are unlikely to adapt the local norm. The method by which this is decided is through a series of questions about the contributors’ occupation and level of education in the United States and in the country of origin (see Appendix C for the specific questions).

Lastly, the study wanted to have contributors from different countries of origin. The purpose of this was to show how generalized these lexical items are across different cities and neighborhoods within Los Angeles. But more importantly, how generalized this lexicon has become across a variety of speakers representing different countries from the Spanish-speaking world. Specifically, speakers from Mexico, El Salvador, and Guatemala, given that these are the groups that are most represented in Los Angeles (Census 2010).



### *3.2. Recruitment*

The recruitment of contributors was a relatively streamlined process. I went to different schools while the mothers or female caregivers were waiting for the students to come out of class. I went around the socially created waiting area and passed out a document detailing my background and what I was doing – in this case, a project for UCLA about the experiences of Latino/as in the United States (see Appendix B). I wanted to be able to conduct interviews on-site per visit, but realized that that was not always feasible. For those I was not be able to meet, I had them call me to schedule a more convenient time and place. I did the aforementioned in the three cities of the study (Pico Rivera, Lynwood, and Echo Park). In addition to going to the schools, I also asked the contributors if they knew anyone interested in participating in the project. The goal was to recruit as much people belonging to the same social network within the Latino/a community in Los Angeles.

### *3.3. Contributors*

The study analyzes the responses of n=35 (100%) contributors. The majority – thirty (n=30) or 87% – live in the Los Angeles metropolitan area in California, United States; three (n=3) or 9% live in Mexico City, Mexico; and two (n=2) or 4% live in San Juan, PR, United States (see Appendices C and D). The core of the study is the responses given by the contributors from the three different cities within the Los Angeles area: ten (n=10) or 29% from Pico Rivera, ten (n=10) or 29% from Lynwood, and ten (n=10) or 29% from Echo Park. The responses from the contributors living in Mexico City and El Viejo San Juan are primarily used as a contrast, a contrast that demonstrates the varied use of these lexemes across three regions experiencing English and Spanish contact differently. In addition to seeing whether populations living in

Mexico City and El Viejo San Juan have passive or active knowledge of LAVS lexical items, contributors in Los Angeles were also given items from El Viejo San Juan and Mexico City, as the control group. In sum, contributors from all three regions were given a chance to express their knowledge of the other two regions included in the study. Below in Table 6, is a brief breakdown of the contributors and the different regions (municipalities) they represent:

Table 9

*Contributors*

<b>Los Angeles, CA, United States</b>	<b>San Juan, PR, United States</b>	<b>Mexico City, Mexico</b>
Pico Rivera: 10	El Viejo San Juan: 2	Anáhuac: 2
Lynwood: 10		Coyoacán: 1
Echo Park: 10		
<b>Total:</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>2</b>
		<b>3</b>

Moreover, all contributors are female, the reason for only selecting females, as detailed above, is because it has been argued that females are the main drivers of linguistic change (Labov 1994). Additionally, it is commonly argued that females have the strongest influence on the linguistic repertoire of the children in a community (Potowski 2011). Although the current study aims to identify the local lexical norm of Spanish spoken by monolingual speakers, it is very important to keep in mind that G1 monolingual speakers have a strong influence on the Spanish of G2 speakers. Also, a great amount of the English loanwords in the lexical repertoire of these bilingual speakers are acquired natively and is not idiosyncratic code mixing. Therefore, studying the lexical norm of females provides rich data to study the linguistic patterns of different members of a community without initially including them in a study. If monolingual speakers maintain the lexical norm then it is, in many instances, reinforced within these Spanish-

speaking communities. Prior to initial contact to “academic” Spanish, Spanish/English bilinguals use the speech of monolinguals and their peers within a community to evaluate the “purity” of their Spanish – this, as well as other questions of identity and ideology, is analyzed in more depth below in 4.2. *Linguistic Ideologies*.

Further, all of the contributors for the study are part of the Latino/a working class. As will be analyzed in more detail below, this is important because the space occupied by the Latino/a working class is the location of encounter and contact that allow for the leveling and accommodation to occur systematically. These English loanwords are maintained across generations due to the communities’ tight-knit nature.

Finally, the contributors living in Los Angeles are from different countries of origin – Mexico, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Costa Rica<sup>25</sup>. Below in Table 7, one can see the specific breakdown.

Table 10

*Los Angeles Contributors’ Country of Origin*

	<b>Pico Rivera</b>	<b>Lynwood</b>	<b>Echo Park</b>	
Mexico	7	6	3	
El Salvador	0	4	4	
Guatemala	2	0	3	
Costa Rica	1	0	0	
<b>Total:</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>10</b>	

<sup>25</sup> The Costa Rican was included in the study because she was a close friend of another contributor and was also part of the working class, something that is not typically expected from populations originating from Costa Rica.

### *3.4. Procedures*

The first step for the realization of the study was to look for target contributors; the process is detailed above in 3.1.1 *Sample Selection Criteria*. The interviews took place at different locations: coffee shops, parks, and bus stops, among others. The goal was to choose the contributors living in Los Angeles maintaining several fixed variables. It was necessary that the contributors (1) be female, (2) be first generation, (3) arrived to the US (preferably Los Angeles) after the sensitive period of eight years of age, and (4) be part of the Latino/a working class. The study also hoped to include monolingual Spanish speakers from (5) a wide variety of countries of origin, but specifically from El Salvador, Guatemala, and Mexico; nonetheless, this variable was not controlled as it was expected that these groups would be living in the same regions given the fact that they belong to the working class. The one and a half hour sessions with the contributors were conducted in four steps: (1) general biographical information questionnaire, (2) sociolinguistic interview, (3) lexeme questionnaire, and (4) language biographical information questionnaire.

#### *3.4.1 General Biographical Information*

The first fifteen minutes of the session was used to obtain general biographical information to identify if the contributors met the four fixed variables that are listed above. Below is a list of these biographical questions along with the variable each intended to elicit (the number next to the question corresponds with the number used for each variable above):

Table 11

*Contributor Biographical Information Questionnaire*

- i. Name
- ii. Sex (1)
- iii. Age (3)
- iv. When did you arrive to the United States? (2, 3)
- v. How long have you lived in Los Angeles? (2, 3)
- vi. Country of origin (4)
- vii. Previous occupation (in country origin) (3)
- viii. Current occupation (in the United States) (3)

The responses given by the contributors to this questionnaire are in Appendix C.

*3.4.2. Sociolinguistic Interview*

The second step was to conduct a forty-five minute open question interview. If contributors met the fixed variables, they were then asked if they had time at the moment or if they wanted to schedule a one-hour appointment with me at a later time – most of the contributors opted for the former, though some were conducted afterward. The primary interview question was “¿Como Latina, cómo ha sido su experiencia viviendo en Los Ángeles?” (“As a Latina, how has your experience been living in Los Angeles?”). The follow-up questions varied from one session to the next, as this step aimed at documenting naturalistic speech and allowing the contributor to feel comfortable with me. In addition, the questions aimed to evoke the different cultural and social realities in these communities as driven by the interview itself – what is it like being a Spanish speaking Latina in Los Angeles? Below are some examples of follow-up questions used:

Table 12

*Sample Open-ended Interview Questions*

- i. *¿Cómo se lleva con otros mexicanos (guatemaltecos, salvadoreños, etc.)?*  
("How is your relationship with other Mexicans (Guatemalans, Salvadorans, etc.)?")
- ii. *¿Cómo se lleva con los gringos o gabachos?*  
("How is your relationship with White folks?")
- iii. *¿Es difícil vivir en Los Ángeles y hablar poco inglés?*  
("Is it difficult living in Los Angeles and speaking little English?")
- iv. *¿Es difícil comunicarse con sus hijo/as en español?*  
("Is it difficult to communicate with your children in Spanish?")
- v. *¿Se le haría fácil regresar a su país o cree que tendría que acostumbrarse a ese estilo de vida de nuevo?*  
("Would it be easy to return to your country or do you think you would have to get used to that way of life again?")

The sociolinguistic interview revealed interesting data about the lexicon of the contributors, though it was not the intention of this portion of the study. As illustrated in the sample transcriptions below, contributors used lexemes not tested for in the questionnaire of the study, which demonstrates their active use of English loanwords. (English loanwords are all capitalized)

*(1) Contributor #24*

- 01 Cont: Es **mu:y** tranquilo aquí,  
it's very calm here
- 02 °la gente no hace muchos **PARIS** y es amable  
people don't have a lot of parties and they're friendly

*(2) Contributor #22*

- 01 Cont: la verda:d es que a mí no me gusta ir mucho a las  
the truth is that I don't really like going to the

02 MUVIS porque son en inglés y no entiendo **nada**  
movies because they're in English and I don't understand anything

03 °pe:ro mis dos hijos van todo el tiempo  
but my two children go all the time

In the first example above (1), contributor #24 uses “*paris*” for “parties” in line 02 instead of the Spanish Standard, “*fiestas*.” In the second example (2), contributor #12 in line 02 does the same thing when she uses “*muvis*” for “movies” instead of the Standard, “*películas*.” In addition to actively producing English loanwords not tested in the study, the contributors also produced the lexemes in the study during the interview. In the example below (3), contributor #14 uses the lexeme “*tiquete*” for “ticket”, when referring to a fine, instead of the Spanish Standard, “*multa*”. Not only does this contributor produce “*tiquete*”, but she also uses “*tiquetera*”, which uses *tiquete* as the base for the noun referring to “parking enforcement.” Nevertheless, the use of *tiquete* is expected because all of the contributors actively produced the item during the lexeme questionnaire portion of study, demonstrating how penetrated the lexical item is in the lexicon of these Spanish speakers.

(3) Contributor #14

01 Cont: fíjate que las TIQUETERAS son **bie::n** lacras en  
you know, parking enforcement is very messed up in

02 Lynwood, a mí me han dado más de tres °TÍQUETES desde  
Lynwood, I have gotten more than three tickets since

03 que vivo aquí  
I live here

The instances listed above in examples (1), (2), and (3) are not rare, and are audible in most of the audio recordings of the sociolinguistic interview. However, due to the time limitations of the study, not every interview was transcribed.

### 3.4.3. *Lexeme Questionnaire*

The next step in the session aimed to document the contributors' lexical repertoire. In order to do so two methods were used: *description identification* and *picture identification tasks*. In the description identification task, a short description was given of the referent. For example, for the lexeme “*aplicación*” (<application), contributors were asked: *¿Cuándo quiere un trabajo, qué tiene que hacer primero? ¿Cómo se llama ese documento que les tiene que entregar?* (“When you want a job, what do you have to do first? What do you call the document that you have to turn in?”). The response given by the contributor was then documented in my field notes.

In the picture identification task an image was shown of the target referent, then the contributor was asked to identify said referent. For example, for the lexeme “*bas*” (<bus), contributors were shown the image below, Figure 2.

Figure 2

*Image of “bas” or “bus”*





For the complete list of the description or image used for each lexeme tested, please refer to Appendix K.

The lexeme includes twenty-five (n=25) items of the English loanwords in the Los Angeles region. I compiled the list consulting other questionnaires and selectively using my knowledge as a native speaker of LAVS in order to avoid any redundancy. Nevertheless, the list is not exhaustive and there is a plethora of other loanwords present in the linguistic norm of this community – some of these were produced in the sociolinguistic interview, as seen in 3.4.2. *Sociolinguistic Interview*. Furthermore, the list also includes ten (n=10) distractors of lexemes present in other dialects of Spanish. Five (n=5) of these are representative of Puerto Rican Spanish on the island and in New York as identified by Zentella (1997), and the other five (n=5) are representative of the lexicon of speakers in Mexico City, MX. When choosing these items, they were, to my knowledge, not actively present in LAVS<sup>26</sup>. The thirty-eight (n=38) items are listed below with their English equivalent and an example of its use.

Table 13

*Lexicon of Los Angeles Vernacular Spanish (LAVS)*

1. Aplicación [aplikasión] (<application)  
**Mañana tengo que entregar la aplicación**  
*I have to turn in the application tomorrow*
2. Vadka [bádka] (<vodka)  
**No me gusta la vadka**  
*I don't like vodka*
3. Bas [bás] (<bus)  
**No me gusta usar el bas en LA**  
*I don't like to use the bus in LA*
4. Breca [bréka] (<brake)

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<sup>26</sup> “bil” (<bill) or “biles” (<bills) is an exception since there is a documented overlap in usage.

- Le tengo que cambiar las brechas al carro**  
*I have to change the car's breaks*
5. Cambo [kámbo] (<combo)  
**¿Quieres el cambo?**  
*Do you want the combo?*
6. Carpeta [karpéta] (<carpet)  
**Las carpetas blancas se ensucian muy rápido**  
*White carpets get dirty too fast*
7. Chirear [čireár] (<to cheat)  
**No me gustan los niños que chirean**  
*I don't like kids that cheat*
8. Chores [čóres] (<shorts)  
**Hace mucho frío para llevar chores**  
*It is too cold to wear shorts*
9. Ponchar [pončár] (<to punch in) or claquear [clakeár] (<to clock in)  
**No se te olvida claquear/ponchar**  
*Don't forget to clock in/punch in*
10. Cloro [klóro] (<Clorox)  
**¡Compra cloro!**  
*Buy bleach!*
11. Cora [kóra] (<quarter)  
**¿Tienes coras para pagar el bas?**  
*Do you have quarters to pay for the bus?*
12. Laquear [lakeár] (<to lock)  
**El teléfono está laqueado**  
*The phone is locked*
13. Lonche [lónče] (<lunch)  
**¿A qué hora sales al lonche?**  
*At what time do you have lunch?*
14. Mapear [mapeár] (<to mop)  
**No me gusta mapear**  
*I don't like to mop*
15. Marqueta [markéta] (<market)  
**En esa marqueta venden comida saludable**  
*They sell healthy food in that market*
16. Mofle [mófle] (<muffler)  
**Es muy ruidoso ese mofle, ¿no?**  
*That muffler is too loud, right?*
17. Parquearse [parkearse] for 'estacionar' (<to park)  
**Me tengo que parquear primero**  
*I have to park first*
18. Parquadero [parkeadero] for 'plaza estacionamiento' (<parking [space])  
**No hay parquadero**  
*There's no parking*
19. Parkin [párkin] for 'estacionamiento' (<parking [lot])  
**¿Dónde queda el parkin?**

- Where's the parking lot?*
20. Pompear [pompeár] for 'echar gas' (<to pump)  
**¿Ya pompeaste gas?**  
*Did you pump gas already?*
21. Pompa [pómpa] for 'bomba' (<pump)  
**No sirve la pompa**  
*The pump doesn't work*
22. Puchar [pučár] (<to push)  
**¿Dónde se le pucha para colgar la llamada en el iPhone?**  
*What do I have to push to end a call on the iPhone?*
23. Raite [ráite] (<ride)  
**¿Me das un raite a la universidad?**  
*Can you give me a ride to the university?*
24. Textear [teksteár] (<to text)  
**Me sale muy caro textear**  
*It is too expensive too text*
25. Tíquete [tíkete] (<ticket)  
**Me dieron un tíquete ayer**  
*They gave me a ticket yesterday*
26. Traila [tráila] (<trailer)  
**No me gusta manejar a lado de las trailas**  
*I don't like driving next to trailers*
27. Troca [tróka] (<truck)  
**Ya no quiero un carro, quiero una troca**  
*I don't want a car anymore, I want a truck*
28. Yarda [yarda] (<yard)  
**No se te olvide regar la yarda mañana**  
*Don't forget to water the yard tomorrow*

The ten (n=10) lexemes, five (n=5) from Puerto Rico and (n=5) from Mexico, are listed below in Table 14 and Table 15.

Table 14

*Lexicon of Puerto Rico and Puerto Rican diaspora in mainland US*

1. Matre [mátre] (<mattress)  
**No me gusta tu matre**  
*I don't like your mattress*
2. Londri [lóndri] for 'lavandería' (<laundry)  
**¿Has recogido el londri?**  
*Did you pick up the laundry?*
3. Parkín [parkinj] (<parking lot)  
**¿Dónde está el parkín?**

- Where is the parking lot*
4. Lonchar [lončár] for ‘almorzar’ (<to have lunch)  
**Ya fui a lonchar.**  
*I already had lunch.*
  5. Biles [bíles] for ‘cuentas’ (<bills)  
**No he pagado los biles.**  
*I haven't paid the bills.*

Table 15

*Lexicon of Mexico City, Mexico*

1. Short [čort] for ‘pantalones cortos’ (<shorts)  
**Me gusta llevar shorts cuando hace calor**  
*I like to wear shorts when it's hot*
2. Tiket [tíket] for ‘recibo’ (<receipt)  
**No se te olvide el ticket**  
*Don't forget the receipt*
3. Bóiler [bóiler] (<boiler)  
**¿Está prendido el bóiler?**  
*Is the boiler on?*
4. Combo [kómbo] (<combo)  
**¿Quieres el combo?**  
*Do you want the combo?*
5. Janguear [xangeár] (<to hang out)  
**Me gusta janguear los fines de semana**  
*I like to hang out on the weekends*

The contributors reviewed the complete list illustrated above three different times – to elicit three different responses. In the first review, (1) they were asked to simply produce the first word that came to mind for the item, which elicited the first active response. In the second review, (2) they were asked to produce any other words they have used to refer to the given item, which elicited a second active response – though not all contributors necessarily produced a second response. In the last review, (3) if the contributors did not produce the LAVS equivalent (or the Mexico City/El Viejo San Juan equivalent, respectively) to these referents, they were given that item and asked if they have ever used or heard these used. This three-review method

was utilized in order to elicit the most instinctual and naturalistic data possible – the first two reviews aimed at evidencing the active production (response i and ii) of the lexical items and the last review aimed at evidencing the passive knowledge, if any. For example, contributor #8 produced “*supermercado*” during the first review, “*mercado*” for the second, and indicated that she has heard “*marqueta*” used before – all words used to refer to “market”. Please refer to Appendix E for the complete corpus of responses given by each contributor.

#### *3.4.4. Language Biographical Information*

The final step in a session was used to obtain more in depth biographical information about the language-use of each contributor (see Appendix D). Here contributors completed a questionnaire where they indicated (1) the number of children, if any; (2) marital status; (3) relationship status; (4) native language (L1); (5) second languages (L2), if any; (6) language used at home with children, if any; (7) language used at home with partner, if any; (8) language used at work with coworkers, if any; (9) language used at work with customer, if any; (10) and finally language used at work with supervisor, if any.

Together, the biographical information, the open-ended sociolinguistic interview, and the picture/description identification tasks, aid in constructing a better image of the linguistic reality of Latino/a communities in Los Angeles. In what follows, I will show what kind of data was produced from the picture/description identification task, which is the most crucial data to the topic of this study. Nonetheless, as mentioned earlier, all help a nuanced analysis of the anthropological linguistic situation of Spanish in Los Angeles.

### 3.5. *Corpus*

The corpus produced using the methodology described above is very rich and nuanced. The questionnaire was able to detail the contributors' active and passive knowledge of lexical items in Los Angeles, CA, US; Mexico City, Mexico; and in Puerto Rican communities in the east coast of the US (see Appendices E, F, G, H, I, and J). In the corpus one is able to examine whether the contributors actively produced a LAVS lexeme as the first item that came to mind or some other known word for a referent, response one and two. This section of the corpus illustrates the isolated words tested in the study. Nevertheless, they are representative of naturalistic speech based on my personal ethnographic experience with the community, as well as my experience as a native speaker of the dialect being studied. Moreover, it is also possible to see that the contributor had passive knowledge of the item even if she or he did not produce the item in the part of the questionnaire that examined the contributors' active knowledge of the word. The results in this corpus are useful to anyone studying the lexicon of a US Spanish variety; it is expected that many of these lexemes will overlap geographically, but this will further validate their uniqueness to the United States. The uniqueness may not only be in the lexical items themselves but in the meaning of the same lexeme, such as *chamarra* meaning jacket in Mexico but blanket in Guatemala. Moreover, in addition to showing the similarities of US Spanish varieties, it can also show the changes in meaning; such as is visible from the responses given to the lexical items from Mexico City, MX and El Viejo San Juan, PR in the present study.

Additionally, the open-ended interview was also able to elicit many lexical items not included in the questionnaire, but that truly demonstrating the extent these items are used in

many different contexts<sup>27</sup>. For example, in the interview several contributors produced loanwords such as *pari* (<party) and *muvi* (<movie), as described in 3.4.2. *Sociolinguistic Interview*. Nevertheless, these data all come together to illustrate a nuanced linguistic reality in Los Angeles, and the flexibility of the Spanish spoken in the region.

#### 4. Results

In the following sections, I analyze the data in the corpus to demonstrate the existence of a Los Angeles lexical norm that incorporates many loanwords that when considered in isolation may appear to be idiosyncratic code mixes produced by Spanish/English bilinguals. Additionally, I argue that the continued classification of these items as idiosyncratic code mixes is harmful to an agenda that aims to promote the use of Spanish among US Spanish speakers. In addition to not promoting Spanish-use in the US, the treatment of these items as *non-Spanish* aids in fomenting and fostering insecurity among heritage Spanish speakers, despite its wide use by the monolinguals in the community, as demonstrated in this study. Lastly, I illustrate how this is all a result of a power system that strives to maintain a tight grip on something that inherently belongs to the people – language.

##### 4.1. Lexical Norm of a US Variety

The data reveals that all contributors living in Los Angeles have extensive active production and passive knowledge of all LAVS lexemes tested, which contrasts the active production and passive knowledge of the distractor items, detailed below in 4.1.1 *Contributor*

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<sup>27</sup> These lexemes are not included in the formal corpus but were consulted because they aid in informing a thorough analysis of the situation of Spanish in Los Angeles.

*Knowledge of All Lexemes*. However, not all lexemes tested were produced actively in the first review, which is expected of these 1<sup>st</sup> generation monolingual speakers. As posited in Parodi (2010, 2011), 1<sup>st</sup> generation monolingual speakers of LAVS tend to become bidialectal, retaining the knowledge of their native dialect. The active production and passive knowledge of individual LAVS lexemes are analyzed in *4.1.2 Contributor Knowledge of Individual Lexemes*.

#### *4.1.1 Contributor Knowledge of All Lexemes*

The contributors' responses to the lexemes tested in the study illustrate a beautiful mosaic of the lexical richness of a US Spanish variety (see Appendix E for the list). Particularly, Los Angeles Vernacular Spanish has truly adapted to a hybrid environment where Spanish and English co-exist in one of the most populated cities on earth, Los Angeles. The corpus shows how monolingual Spanish speakers in Los Angeles have active knowledge of lexical items that in isolation appear to be idiosyncratic and representative of bilingual speech. Of course, the majority of the twenty-eight (n=28) items tested as loanwords in LAVS credit their origin to the speech of Spanish/English bilinguals due to their morphological and phonological adaptation. As discussed in *2.1.4 Loanwords in the Spanish-speaking World*, bilinguals tend to adapt words where monolinguals tend to incorporate words and just alter their phonetic realization to best suit their native language.

The first thing that one is able to notice from the corpus is that the contributors who now live in Los Angeles are well acquainted with the target words that form part of the LAVS lexicon. For instance, in Table 8 one can see that twenty-three (n=23) contributors actively produced the word *marqueta* (<market) during the first review and five (n=5) during the second, with two (n=2) having only passive knowledge of the word. This is starkly contrasted with the



contributors living in Mexico and Puerto Rico, all of which who have no active or passive knowledge of the same word. On the other hand, one can see that the contributors living in Los Angeles have no active or passive knowledge of either of the loanwords in Mexico or Puerto Rico, *ticket* (<ticket) and *matre* (<mattress), respectively. These results are very similar to all of the items tested in the study, with very few exceptions<sup>28</sup>.

Table 16

*Responses for LAVS, Mexican, and Puerto Rican Lexemes*

	<b>Active 1<sup>st</sup> Response</b>	<b>Active 2<sup>nd</sup> Response</b>	<b>Passive Response</b>
<i>LAVS</i>			
<b>Marqueta [markéta]</b>			
Los Angeles (n=30)	<b>23</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>2</b>
Mexico (n=3)	0	0	0
Puerto Rico (n=2)	0	0	0
<i>Mexican Spanish</i>			
<b>Ticket [tíket]</b>			
Los Angeles (n=30)	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
Mexico (n=3)	3	N/A	N/A
Puerto Rico (n=2)	0	0	0
<i>Puerto Rican Spanish</i>			
<b>Matre [mátre]</b>			
Los Angeles (n=30)	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
Mexico (n=3)	0	0	0
Puerto Rico (n=2)	2	N/A	N/A

<sup>28</sup> There appears overlap in the active and passive knowledge of some of the loanwords in Los Angeles, Mexico, and Puerto Rico, such as *textear*, *aplicación*, *mofle*, etc. (refer to Appendix E for a detailed list of responses)

Moreover, the contributors living in Los Angeles had an active (95.60%) and passive (5.77%) knowledge of the words that are part of LAVS, with a total of 98.10% of all lexemes. Again, this is a contrast to the active and passive knowledge of the Mexican (n=5) and Puerto Rican (n=5) lexical items tested. The contributors only had active (32%) and passive (44.67%) knowledge of English loanwords in Mexican Spanish spoken in Mexico (total of 50%) and active (23.16%) and passive (42.76%) knowledge of English loanwords spoken in Puerto Rico (total of 54%), noting that only five lexemes from Mexico and Puerto Rico were part of the questionnaire. The aforementioned results are a strong indicator that the population living in Los Angeles actively uses a lexicon that is unique, to the point that speakers not living in the region don't have immediate access to said lexicon. Of course, this is expected and is illustrated with the lack of knowledge speakers in Los Angeles have with the loanwords of Mexico and Puerto Rico. This phenomenon is very common in the Spanish-speaking world with a plethora of words used by different regions/countries for the same referent. There are many examples that can be used but to name a few, in Mexico one says *enojar* and in Spain, *enfadar* to mean the same thing, "to get upset"; in Mexico one says *cobija* and in Guatemala, *chamarra* to mean, "blanket", although *chamarra* means "jacket" in Mexico. In *2.1.2 Varieties of Spanish in the United States* is a list of the different words used for the same referent in Mexico and El Salvador.

Moreover, the reality that these communities share practices and are tied to overlapping social networks is evident when one considers the fact that LAVS lexical items are used across the Los Angeles area, regardless of the specific location (Pico Rivera, Lynwood, and Echo Park) or country of origin (Mexico, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Costa Rica). For instance, out of n=28 lexemes, in Pico Rivera the average active production of the lexical items was 26.4 (94.29%); in

Lynwood it was 26.7 (95.36%); and in Echo Park it was 27.2 (97.14%). If one includes passive knowledge of these items, most contributors have these words in their total (active and passive) lexical repertoire – Pico Rivera, 27.2 (97.14%); Lynwood, 27.5 (98.57%); Echo Park, 27.6 (98.57%).

#### *4.1.2 Contributor Knowledge of Individual Lexemes*

As mentioned above, the active production and passive knowledge of individual LAVS lexemes is of great interest. As seen below in Table 17, all thirty (n=30) contributors in Los Angeles had 100% total knowledge (active and passive) of 78.57% of the LAVS lexemes tested, twenty-two (n=22) out of the twenty-eight (n=28). All lexical items were known actively and passively by more than 87% of the contributors demonstrating the extent by which these items form part of the monolingual Spanish lexicon of the contributors. Nevertheless, noting that due to the fact that they acquired LAVS after the age of eight, it is likely that they are bidialectal and thus may not have a need for some of the lexemes tested in the present study, a phenomenon that is confirmed by the second active responses given by the contributors, which I describe below. The six (n=6) items that not all contributors had any knowledge of are “*vadka*” (96.67%), “*breca*” (90%), “*cambo*” (93.33%), “*chirear*” (96.67%), “*mapear*” (90%), and “*parkin*” (86.67%). The case of “*vadka*” and “*cambo*” is interesting because the contributors that did not have any knowledge of these produced items with a pronunciation more typical of a monolingual Spanish-speaking country (a phenomenon that will be explained below). It is possible that it is the pronunciation they acquired from their country of origin and they did not find it necessary to replace for a LAVS equivalent, which is not always the case. For instance, Parodi (2009, 2010) has documented that Salvadoran speakers will replace Salvadoran lexical items with LAVS when

it is stigmatized or it indexes their Salvadoran identity within the broader Spanish-speaking working-class community, which is unfortunately not privileged in many public spaces in Los Angeles. Some examples of replacing a Salvadoran lexeme with the LAVS/Mexican Spanish equivalent are “*chumpa*” (<jacket) for “*saco*” or “*chamarra*” and “*piscucha*” (<kite) for “*papalote*” (refer to Table 2 for a longer list). The reasons the other items were not known as extensively by the contributors may vary but one possible explanation is that they may have simply not had any exposure to them. For instance, “*breca*” and “*chirear*” are lexemes that are fairly limited to specific contexts. The lexeme “*breca*” may not be used unless you are familiar with the different levers in a car, and “*chirear*” may be limited to having children in school that may have “cheated”. The same thing can be said about “*parkin*” and “*mapear*”, though a more thorough ethnographic study would be required to explain this in more detail.

Table 17

*Active and Passive Responses of LAVS Lexemes*

	Type of Response	Response	Raw & Percentage
<b>1 application</b>	active response i	[aplikasjón]	30 (100%)
	active response ii		
	passive		
<b>2 vodka</b>	active response i	[bádka] [bódka]	29 (96.66%) 1 (3.33%)
	active response ii		
	passive		
<b>3 bus</b>	active response i	[bás] [kamjón]	25 (83.33%) 5 (16.55%)
	active response ii	[bás]	4 (13.33%)
	passive	[bás]	1 (3.33%)
<b>4 brakes</b>	active response i	[bréka] [frénos]	27 (90%) 3 (10%)
	active response ii		

		passive	
<b>5 combo</b>	active response i	[kámbo]	28 (93.33%)
		[kómbo]	2 (6.66%)
	active response ii		
	passive		
<b>6 carpet</b>	active response i	[karpéta]	25 (83.33%)
		[alfómbra]	5 (16.66%)
	active response ii	[karpéta]	3 (10%)
		[karpéta]	2 (6.66%)
	passive		
<b>7 to cheat</b>	active response i	[čírjar]	19 (63.33%)
		[kópear]	11 (36.66%)
	active response ii	[čírjar]	3 (10%)
	passive	[čírjar]	7 (23.33%)
<b>8 shorts</b>	active response i	[čóres]	23 (76.67%)
		el/un [čór]	3 (10%)
		[čórs]	3 (10%)
		[čórts]	1 (3.33%)
	active response ii	[pañtalónes kórtos]	1 (3.33%)
		[čores]	1 (3.33%)
	passive	[čores]	6 (20%)
<b>9 to punch in/ to clock in</b>	active response i	[pončár]	30 (100%)
	active response ii		
	passive		
<b>10 bleach</b>	active response i	[klóro]	30 (100%)
	active response ii		
	passive		
<b>11 quarter</b>	active response i	[kóra]	30 (100%)
	active response ii		
	passive		
<b>12 to lock</b>	active response i	[lakjár]	30 (100%)
	active response ii		
	passive		
<b>13 lunch</b>	active response i	[lónče]	29 (96.67%)

		[almwérso]	1 (3.33%)
	active response ii		
	passive	[lónče]	1 (3.33%)
<b>14 to mop</b>	active response i	[mapjár]	24 (80%)
		[trapjár]	6 (20%)
	active response ii	[mapjár]	1 (3.33%)
		[trapjár]	8 (26.66%)
	passive	[mapjár]	2 (6.66%)
<b>15 market</b>	active response i	[markéta]	23 (13.33%)
		[merkádo]	4 (13.33%)
		[súper]	2 (6.67%)
		[supermerkádo]	1 (3.33%)
	active response ii	[markéta]	5 (16.67%)
		[merkádo]	9 (30%)
		[súper]	3 (10%)
		[supermerkádo]	3 (10%)
	passive	[markéta]	2 (6.67%)
<b>16 muffler</b>	active response i	[mófle]	30 (100%)
	active response ii		
	passive		
<b>17 to park</b>	active response i	[parkjárse]	27 (90%)
		[estasjonár]	3 (10%)
	active response ii	[parkjárse]	3 (10%)
	passive		
<b>18 parking space</b>	active response i	[parkjadéro]	27 (73.33%)
		[párkin]	8 (26.66%)
	active response ii	[parkjadéro]	8 (26.66%)
		[párkin]	8 (26.66%)
		[estasjonamjénto]	4 (13.33%)
	passive		
<b>19 parking lot</b>	active response i	[párkin]	22 (73.33%)
		[parkjadéro]	8 (26.66%)
	active response ii	[párkin]	4 (13.33%)
		[parkjadéro]	6 (20%)
		[estasjonamjénto]	6 (20%)
	passive		
<b>20 to pump</b>	active response i	[pompjár]	30 (100%)
	active response ii		
	passive		

<b>21 pump</b>	active response i	[pómpa]	30 (100%)
	active response ii		
	passive		
<b>22 to push</b>	active response i	[pučár]	30 (100%)
	active response ii		
	passive		
<b>23 ride</b>	active response i	[řájte]	30 (100%)
	active response ii	[abeřtón]	13 (43.33%)
	passive		
<b>24 to text</b>	active response i	[tekstjár]	29 (96.67%)
		[mandár téksto]	1 (3.33%)
	active response ii	[tekstjár]	1 (3.33%)
		[mandár téksto]	1 (3.33%)
		[mandár mensáxe đe téksto]	3 (10%)
	passive		
<b>25 ticket (fine)</b>	active response i	[tíkete]	30 (100%)
	active response ii	[múlta]	14 (46.66%)
	passive		
<b>26 trailer</b>	active response i	[trájla]	30 (100%)
	active response ii		
	passive		
<b>27 truck</b>	active response i	[tróka]	30 (100%)
	active response ii	[kamjonéta]	4 (13.33%)
	passive		
<b>28 yard</b>	active response i	[járđa]	30 (100%)
	active response ii		
	passive		

Further, it is important to note that the words tested are not words restricted to the home but have broad uses. For instance, “*cora*” was produced actively by all contributors, it is a word adapted from the English equivalent, “quarter”; the use of this word is not limited to the home. Other lexical items with use outside of the home, and with 100% active and passive knowledge,

are “*pompear*”, “*pompa*”, “*tíquete*”, and “*bas*” – though the rest of the items on the list are also audible outside of familiar contexts in the community.

There are also some lexemes that only change phonetically and appear to be incorporations made by monolingual Spanish speakers who lack the phonetic repertoire of some vowels in English. These lexemes are “*vadka*” (<vodka), “*bas*” (<bus), and “*cambo*” (<combo), which are items that are also incorporated into the lexicon of Spanish in Mexico. In Los Angeles Vernacular Spanish, “*vodka*” is pronounced [bádka]; “*bus*” is pronounced [bás]; and “*combo*” is pronounced [kámbo]. However, in Mexico these lexical items are produced as they are spelled in English with the phonetic vowels of Spanish: [bódka], [bús], and [kómbo]. To explain this phenomenon one has to understand the way in which Spanish is used in Los Angeles. Unfortunately, Spanish is not a language that is developed at the institutional level, and it is for the most part restricted to oral-use. Due to this, when monolingual speakers incorporate an English loanword they will do so based on their phonetic perception of the English production of the word. In the examples, “*vadka*”, “*bas*” and “*cambo*”, we see that speakers are lowering the stressed vowel, whereas speakers in Mexico produced the English orthography with vowel sounds in Spanish, “o” as [o] and “u” as [u].

In addition, the English loanwords that were most likely incorporated by bilinguals use Spanish morphological additions to Hispanicize the lexeme. For example, “*lonche*”, “*marqueta*”, “*troca*”, and “*tíquete*” (among others on the list) all morphologically adapt the English production to include Spanish endings. Therefore, “*lonche*” from “lunch” adds [e]; “*marqueta*” from “market” adds [a]; “*troca*” for “truck” adds [a]; and “*tíquete*” from “ticket” adds [e]. This reality is also representative of the fact that Spanish is restricted as a language that is used orally and by members of a community that is bicultural.



Moreover, as mentioned earlier, the contributors did not only have active knowledge of LAVS lexemes, but they actively produced other lexical items as well, an indication of the fact that they are bidialectal. For instance, all contributors knew the lexeme “*bas*”, but it was not always the first response. The word was given as a first response 83.33% of the time, where “*camión*” was given as the second response 16.55% of the time (a total of 100%). *Camión* was given as a first response five times, *bas* was given as a second response four times; and finally, when *bas* was not produced actively in either a first or second response, I was able to elicit the lexeme passively. As noted earlier, there are also items where not all the contributors knew the LAVS lexeme (passively or actively), in such cases the equivalent of another Spanish variety was given. An example of such is the word “brakes”, where “*breca*” was given twenty-seven (n=27) or 90% of the time and “*frenos*” was given three (n=3) or (10%) as first responses. Where *frenos* was produced actively, the LAVS equivalent was not given as a second active response or passively. This is an indication that the contributors who did not produce or had passive knowledge of “*brecas*” have not been exposed to the word long enough, or under the right conditions for accommodation to occur (please refer to 2.3. *Language in Contact* for more details on accommodation).

Nonetheless, a variation of the phenomena described above happened with fifteen (n=15) out of the twenty-eight (n=28) LAVS lexemes tested, these words are: (2) “*vadka*” (<vodka), (3) “*bas*” (<bus), (4) “*brecas*” (<brakes), (5) “*cambo*” (<combo), (6) “*carpeta*” (<carpet), (7) “*chirear*” (<to cheat), (8) “*chores*” (<shorts), (13) “*lonche*” (<lunch), (14) “*mapear*” (<to mop), (15) “*marqueta*” (<market), (17) “*parquearse*” (<to park), (18) “*parqueadero*” (<parking space), (19) “*parkin*” (<parking lot), (20) “*pompear*” (<to pump), and (24) “*textear*” (<to text) – though, as detailed above, it should be noted that all but six (n=6) items were known by all

contributors actively and passively. The fact that six (n=6) out of these fifteen (n=15) items were known passively illustrates that although contributors may not be actively using the word, they are still being exposed to it in the community. Nevertheless, an ethnography would be more telling of the ways in which these words are used throughout the community.

Alternatively, there was only one (n=1) instance where all contributors actively produced the LAVS lexeme for an item as the first response but produced a different item as a second response. Truck was actively produced twenty-eight (n=28) times (100%) as the first response and “*camioneta*” was produced four (n=4) times (13.33%). This example is interesting because it demonstrates that *troca*, the LAVS lexeme for “truck”, is more present in the contributors’ active memory, indicating its extensive use.

The extent by which these words are used in the community is very telling of the lexical reality of Spanish in Los Angeles. As explored in 2.2 *Spanish-speaking Communities* there are different ways of defining and delineating a community. I argue that the contributors share the same patterns of active lexical knowledge because they all share similar points of contact, either by working or engaging in some other public enterprise together, such as going to the same shopping centers, theaters, restaurants, and churches, etc. The Latino/a communities in Los Angeles basically begin to exhibit shared linguistic practices as a result of coming together around these mutual engagements, as detailed in 2.2.3 *Communities of Practice*. What connects the entire community is the fact that the population will travel across different city borders to achieve their goals, whether it is a Lynwood resident going to Pico Rivera’s *Pedregal Night Club* or to Echo Park to a *pupusería*<sup>29</sup>. Latino/as in Los Angeles are not confined within their local vicinity; they utilize the resources that surround them. Further, these resources do not necessarily

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<sup>29</sup> A *pupusería* is a Salvadoran restaurant that sells *pupusas*, a typical Salvadoran dish.

have to be in English because the population's influence is so widespread that Los Angeles Vernacular Spanish is used across different public domains.

Further, these linguistic practices are maintained due to the density and multiplicity of the community. As documented in 2.2.2 *Social Network*, the most dense and multiplex networks are tight-knit and are the most conservative with regard to language variation and change, which leads to the maintenance of linguistic features and norms. Because working-class immigrants from Spanish-speaking countries use Spanish as the primary language of communication, the community is very dense. It is also multiplex because it is used in almost every domain – as you walk through the streets in these neighborhoods Spanish is very palpable. In the interviews conducted with the contributors, one common experience was that they were all able to live their lives exclusively in Spanish – though this proved difficult in more formal situations with government institutions such as being stopped by the police, and so forth. As a result of joining the tight-knit community of working-class Latino/as in Los Angeles, old networks and ties begin to disintegrate. This social process occurs when speakers begin to accommodate to LAVS as the primary dialect of Spanish in public spheres – it is possible that speakers will use linguistic features from their native dialect with old networks but not in contexts outside of the familiar (Parodi 2010, 2011).

As detailed above, working-class Latino/as in Los Angeles belong to the same community through shared practices. The results of the present study support the existence of a local linguistic norm due to the uniqueness of the lexical items tested when contrasted with loanwords in Mexican and Puerto Rican Spanish. The loanwords in LAVS represent the social reality of navigating two distinct cultures in one region. The aforementioned is supported by the different reasons presented in 2.1.4 *Loanwords in the Spanish-speaking world* for the adoption of

new lexical items. It may be argued by some that there is no need to have a loanword like *marqueta* when a word for that referent already exists, *mercado*. However, that is misleading because *marqueta* represents a reality that is different from that present in the country of origin, or more specifically the region of origin – many of the working-class immigrants from Spanish-speaking countries come from rural regions, and therefore *marqueta* fills a conceptual gap because a supermarket in the US is much different than the smaller *mercados* in their home *pueblos*. In fact, *mercado* is not absent from the lexical repertoire of LAVS; it is present and refers to a typical Mexican *mercado* that sells fresh products, more similar to a farmer’s market than a supermarket.

The working-class Latino/a community in Los Angeles has socially established a local norm as detailed in 2.3.3 *Norm*. According to Coşeriu (1952), a norm is socially constructed and negotiated by its speakers, and thus is dislocated from top-down prescriptivist institutions, and therefore illustrates the natural production of language within a community. The active and passive knowledge of Los Angeles residents of LAVS lexical items demonstrates this norm. The linguistic process for the creation of this norm is for a community to accommodate with one another. Nevertheless, accommodation does not affect everyone equally, as described in 2.3.1 *Accommodation* there are three conditions a speaker must meet for others to accommodate to his/her linguistic features. These three conditions are status, demographics, and institutional support, and LAVS meets all three (Parodi 2010). The US Spanish variety in question thus gains momentum as more Spanish-speaking working-class immigrants come to Los Angeles and accommodate to the variety.

Nonetheless, it does not only require the momentum that immigrants provide for the validation of these lexemes. Unfortunately there are many power structures in place to disallow

the continued spread of these loanwords outside of the community. These lexical items continue to be stigmatized by monolingual Spanish-speakers outside of these working-class social networks (Parodi 2010). It is through a linguistic anthropology approach that one is able to tease out the ideologies preventing the promotion of this rich lexical repertoire.

#### 4.2. *Linguistic Ideologies of a US Variety*

Linguistic ideologies are as pervasive as any other ideology. The data in the current study has helped inform the debunking of several ideologies about US Spanish. For instance, the evidence presented has demonstrated the existence of a lexical norm in Los Angeles, a norm that incorporates many English loanwords. These words are present in lexical repertoire of first generation working-class Spanish-speaking monolinguals in Los Angeles. However, the loanwords present in LAVS are not treated the same as other loanwords in Spanish, such as, *zanahoria*, *almohada*, and *alcohol*, etc.<sup>30</sup> (“carrot, pillow, and alcohol, etc.”). Monolingual Spanish speakers outside of the US and speakers in the US who are not working-class are quick to treat loanwords in LAVS as a denigration of Spanish, and strongly hold on to that ideology. Unfortunately, this ideology is also shared by US Spanish speakers once they are exposed to the influence of a Standard, or “monitored”, Spanish. Nevertheless, it is primarily institutions that claim objectivity that maintain detrimental ideologies about US Spanish, despite the natural and fluid nature of language.

*La Real Academia Española*, the language academy of the Spanish language located in Madrid, Spain, is probably the most important body to scrutinize, as its practices have fomented linguistic insecurity among US speakers who use loanwords when a lexeme already exist in the

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<sup>30</sup> These are examples of loanwords from Arabic.

language elsewhere<sup>31</sup>. It is important to note that speakers are very economic when it comes to adopting new linguistic forms. As illustrated in *2.1.4 Loanwords in the Spanish-speaking world*, the use of loanwords serves very specific linguistic or social functions. For example, two instances for adopting or creating new lexical items are to fill a void or because (an) existing word(s) do(es) not entirely capture the desired referent, idea, or concept. The latter is common amongst bilingual speakers because this population is very sensitive to cultural nuances, and thus sometimes requires words to parallel those available in their other native language (Torres 1997).

Due to the aforementioned, it is necessary to study the local norms of US Spanish so that we are able to foster a grassroots, bottom-up, approach to the incorporation of new lexical items. As noted in Zentella (in press), the incorporation of lexical items into the *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española* (DREA) is arbitrary, and appears to favor loanwords from “Spanish-speaking countries”, that is countries that have Spanish as the official language – this practice, of course, is disadvantageous to Spanish speakers in the US because these speakers have no influence on an institution that has authority on the academic Spanish that is taught to them in the US.

As Zentella (2013) has argued, the RAE’s top-down approach has a lot to do with the grip that it wants to maintain overseas, the control over the language. Bourdieu (1990) posits that language can be used much like other forms of capital; it can be exchanged, bought, and sold. The RAE, then, clearly wants to maintain the power to decide the linguistic variety with the most capital; however, this power is centralized in Spain, and not where the majority of the speakers whose language it wants to describe. One can take the simple fact that the director of the

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<sup>31</sup> Especially noting that this existence is only known or accessible to a few – those who are formally educated under the system that utilizes the institution’s variety of the language. For further reading: Zentella (in press).

*Asociación Norteamericana de la Lengua Española* (ANLE), the RAE branch in the United States, is from Spain. The United States is the country, second to Mexico, with the most speakers of the Spanish language, and the RAE and ANLE were unable to find an adequate director from the US? If there is suppose to be some form of standardization of US varieties of Spanish, then at the very least it should be expected that the director of such varieties have experience with the linguistic particularities of these varieties.

These institutions, which claim to represent Spanish the world over, should also recognize lexemes of US Spanish. The lexical repertoire of US Spanish speakers should be validated much like other lexical variation is validated. There is no confusion in Spanish classrooms when a student chooses to use *ordenador* over *computadora*, for computer or *carro* over *coche*, for car, and vice versa. Students and Spanish speakers should have the liberty to choose between *marqueta* and *mercado*, for market or *carpeta* and *alfombra*, for carpet. An argument can be made for not permitting or validating *carpeta* for *alfombra* since *carpeta* is folder in almost every Spanish dialect; however, it would not be a very good one given the fact that this kind of overlap already exists in the Spanish-speaking. For instance, as illustrated in 4.1 *Lexical Norm of a US Variety*, *chamarra* generally means jacket in most Spanish varieties, but in Guatemala this same lexemes means blanket – this overlap doesn't cause confusion for either Guatemalan Spanish speakers or other speakers of Spanish when they are in a community that uses the term. The confusion may arise when dialects that assign different meanings to these overlapping terms come into contact, even then the confusion is short lived since speakers will accommodate accordingly.

As demonstrated in the current study, Spanish speakers have come to a consensus of the words to use for specific referents regardless of their meanings or use outside of their

communities. In Los Angeles, *carpeta* is used for “carpet”; *bas* is used for “bus”, and so on, as demonstrated in 4.1. *Lexical Norm of a US Variety*. There should not be an issue when a speaker realizes that the word they have been using when speaking Spanish is an English loanword – Spanish has a plethora of them already, and even more non-English loanwords that were incorporated a long time ago. If we want to eliminate linguistic insecurity and promote Spanish amongst US Spanish speakers, there should not be ideological barriers with regard to their lexicon. The aforementioned is especially nuanced due to the simple fact that US Spanish will naturally have more English loanwords than other varieties of Spanish, because of its constant contact but also as a result of the fact that US Spanish varieties have limited registers. The limited registers trigger its speakers to either switch to English or adopt English loanwords to fulfill their communicative needs – both of which are valid. Nevertheless, these realities have very important implications in academia, the government, and day-to-day communication in US Spanish-speaking communities.

## **5. Discussion**

### *5.1. Implications*

The implications of the results of this study are very important in the field of Spanish Linguistics as well as in the fields of Education, Anthropology and Chicano/a Studies. I have illustrated how monolingual speakers actively use English loanwords that are representative of bilingual speakers. One of the most influential reasons for adopting these words by recent immigrants to this region is due to the lexicon’s prestige as the local norm; it is the lexicon of LAVS, the local Spanish variety spoken in Greater Los Angeles. So, much in the same way that a speaker who speaks Mexican Spanish will accommodate, lexically, to Guatemalan Spanish



when living in Guatemala, immigrants in Los Angeles will undergo a process where their ties to old social networks loosen and new ties are created in their new communities. The new social ties impulse the use of the community's local norm, which is LAVS in working-class Spanish-speaking Latino/a communities in Los Angeles.

More interestingly, however, is the fact that the items tested are all adapted, which demonstrates the circularity of the dialect – language change is introduced internally within these communities. The aforementioned circularity has immense implications as it could explain how LAVS can exist as an organic variety of Spanish in the US. The possibility of maintenance and continuity are often never critically discussed in the field due to the widely accepted reality that language attrition is inevitable in Spanish-speaking homes. However, there must be a mechanism that allows for linguistic features unique to a region, like its lexicon, to be maintained and passed from one generation to another. Therefore, though we see language attrition from G1s, G2s, and G3s in the home, we see maintenance and continuity throughout a community. If we are able to better understand these processes, we could potentially establish more effective programs that promote language maintenance.

Finally, the results of the present study also have very important implications to the concept of Standard US Spanish. Though there are intrinsic problems with elevating any variety as a Standard or 'all-accessible' norm, it is a lot more problematic to promote the Standard of other countries. Why? As illustrated in this study, US Spanish is different from the Spanish spoken in other regions, at least at the lexical level, and undoubtedly in other linguistic domains as well, according to Parodi (2010, 2011). The Mexican Republic will never allow Peninsular Spanish to permeate Mexican media, government, and education, and vice versa, it just does not make any sense. By that same token, there should be no reason to promote the usage of other

Standards in the US – the promotion of Standards fosters insecurities for those who do not speak it because it creates the illusion that everyone has equal access to it (see 2.4 *Linguistic Ideologies* for more details). Even though identifying a US Standard will potentially disenfranchise many speakers – mostly recent immigrants – the current situation disenfranchises all speakers, which is irresponsible. The lack of considering the nuances of US varieties when talking about Spanish in the United States has got to change, in academia as well as in the public sphere. We can start by pressuring Spanish-language *gatekeepers* in the US to promote the local lexical norm of Spanish.

## 5.2. *Conclusions*

The research questions guiding this study are (1) do local working-class Spanish-speaking Latino/as adopt the local lexical norm in Los Angeles Vernacular Spanish and (2) are there linguistic ideologies that prevent the fostering of a US Spanish variety by limiting the use of lexemes unique to regions in the US.

As presented in the sections above, the data elicited by the study demonstrate the wide use of loanwords by monolingual female speakers in Los Angeles. What is interesting is that the vast majority of these loanwords are not used in other Spanish-speaking countries, which shows that Spanish can, and does, stand on its own in the US. Parodi (2009, 2010, 2011) demonstrates that there is a unique Los Angeles vernacular of Spanish that does not depend on the maintenance of Spanish in a household. The dialect is maintained by the continuous immigration of working-class populations from other Spanish-speaking countries; once here, speakers easily accommodate to the variety of prestige – in this case, LAVS. The prestige of LAVS and its rural Mexican Spanish substrate is no coincidence; Mexico has had a strong cultural, economic, and linguistic (among a plethora of other things) influence in the Southwest for over 100 years. Over

the course of this time, the variety has evolved from other Mexican varieties and has garnered the prestige necessary for accommodation. As was described earlier, accommodation is inevitable if one simply considers Giles (1991) three requirements for accommodation: prestige, numbers, and institutional support.

Although the current study illustrates some of the lexicon of the variety in question and shows that it is possible for a US variety exist, at least within the lexical domain, the mechanism that this variety is maintained across generations is still unknown. As was detailed in the results, Spanish/English bilinguals with cultural competence in two cultures introduce the vast majority of these items, but as the data suggests, monolinguals have completely adapted and incorporated these into their lexicon. I argue that the inclusion of loanwords in the lexicon of monolinguals is what gives them their prestige, since the local gatekeepers of LAVS are the monolingual speakers of the variety, even though they did not acquire the variety natively like the Spanish/English bilingual. Language is an important variable in constructing Latino/a identity, and the more you speak Spanish and the least you speak English, then you're more Mexican, or Salvadoran, or Guatemalan, etc.

Finally, I don't believe that we can, at the moment, talk about one, all-inclusive US Spanish. As was illustrated in the study, most speakers of LAVS have no active or passive knowledge of common loanwords in El Viejo San Juan, PR and Mexico City, MX, which shows the fragmentation of what could be called *US Spanish*. Therefore, US Spanish should be studied differently in each region since historical and current social factors play a huge role in the way in which a variety evolves and changes over time. Nevertheless, it will be interesting to see what are the similarities between these varieties since, after all, one thing is for sure of Spanish in the

US: it is influenced by English more frequently and persistently than any other Spanish variety spoken outside of the US.

### *5.3. Limitations & Further Directions*

The study was limited to female contributors; in the future it would be enriching to collect data from male contributors to compare their lexical production. It is expected that males will also have the same production/receptive knowledge because they are also members of the same social network. However, it will still render a clearer picture of the lexical usage in Los Angeles Spanish. In addition to monolingual male and female contributors, it will be very important to conduct similar studies on Spanish/English bilinguals. The results of these studies will aid a better understanding of Spanish/English language use in US Spanish-speaking communities, who more often than not do not rely on institutionally monitored Spanish varieties. The methodology would have also produced a much more rich corpus to further the hypothesis that rural Mexican Spanish is the substrate of LAVS if Mexican Spanish equivalents were also elicited passively.

Moreover, as is mentioned in *5.1. Implications*, it is also necessary to see what other implications this lexical reality has in more formal domains of Spanish-use. Will the promotion of hybrid lexical item use be detrimental to a US Spanish speaker's ability to communicate with speakers outside of the US? If local norms are recognized, what will happen to the current organization of heritage Spanish classrooms? All of these are important questions to ask and answer as we move toward a more polycentric Spanish. This polycentric reality is not only true of global Spanish, but also of Spanish within the continental US. Although I am of the paradigm that acknowledges US Spanish as a variety of its own, it is impossible to deny that this variety is

inherently fragmented. There are several regions in the US where Spanish has a huge influence, though each is characterized by its own history. The aforementioned history establishes different “base varieties” of Spanish in the different regions. Thus, Spanish in the US (US Spanish), much like Spanish in Spain (Peninsular Spanish), is characterized by different varieties within the “broader” variety. Consequently, I propose that the ANLE take this into consideration in its publications on US Spanish, and much like words are labeled with their country of origin – México (MX), Spain (ES), Puerto Rico (PR), etc. – the lexicon of US Spanish should also be labeled accordingly. And with a little over 45 million speakers, it is not excessive to do this for US Spanish; in fact, it will illustrate the rich diversity of the language. To promote this, it will be of great value to have more studies like the present study. We need, the ANLE needs, to document the lexicon of US Spanish, spoken by US Spanish speakers.

Finally, it is of utmost importance to study what other linguistic features and characteristics are representative of US Spanish varieties. Nevertheless, keeping in mind that the base variety must be taken into account so as to not attribute all “deviations” from the Standard as being caused by US Spanish’s diglossic contact with English. A perfect example of this occurrence is the attribution of “excessive” pronoun use in the Spanish of New York to its contact with English, which does not have the null pronoun like Spanish. This perspective neglects the fact that New York Spanish has a Caribbean Spanish base, which is characterized by its use of pronouns being higher than the Standard (Orthegey & Zentella 2012). I challenge future scholars to research US Spanish within its historical socio-political context: between the folds of the hegemony of US American mainstream culture.

**APPENDIX A**  
**ALL LEXEMES TESTED ALONGSIDE AMERICAN ENGLISH**  
**AND OTHER SPANISH EQUIVALENTS**

**All lexemes tested alongside American English and other Spanish equivalents**

*Standard Academic Register:*

*Equivalents taken from the responses given by Individuals with a Higher Education to the thirty-eight (n=38) Lexemes Tested*

<b>American English</b>	<b>Los Angeles Spanish</b>	<b>Mexican Spanish</b>	<b>Peninsular Spanish</b>
1 application	aplicación	solicitud	solicitud
2 vodka	vadka	vodka	vodka
3 bus	bas	bus/autobús	autobús/bus
4 breaks	breca	frenos	frenos
5 combo	cambo	combo	combo
6 carpet	carpeta	alfombra	moqueta
7 to cheat	chirear	defraudar	copeando
8 shorts	chores	shorts	bermudas
9 to punch in/clock in	ponchar/claquear	ponchar/marcar	fichar
10 bleach	cloro	cloro	lejía
11 quarter	cora	moneda de 25 centavos	moneda de 25 centimos
12 to lock	laquear	cerrar/atrancar	cerrar con cerrojo/llave
13 lunch	lonche	comida/almuerzo	comida
14 to mop	mapear	trapear	fregar
15 market	marqueta	mercado/supermercado	mercado
16 muffler	mofle	mofle/silenciador	tubo de escape
17 to park	parquearse	estacionarse	aparcar
18 parking	parqueadero	estacionamiento	plaza
19 parking lot	parkin	estacionamiento	parking
20 to pump	pompear	bombear	poner/echar gasolina
21 pump	pompa	bomba	sirtidor
22 to push	puchar	empujar	pulsar
23 ride	raite	aventón/raite	llevarse
24 to text	textear	textear	enviar mensaje
25 ticket	tíquete	multa	multa
26 trailer	traila	tráiler	camión
27 truck	troca	camioneta	n/a
28 yard	yarda	patio/jardín	jardín
	<b>Puerto Rican Spanish</b>		
29 mattress	matre	colchón	colchón
30 laundromat	londri	lavandería	lavandería
31 parking	parkin	estacionamiento	parking
32 to have lunch	lonchar	almorzar	comer
33 bills	biles	cuentas	facturas
	<b>Mexican Spanish</b>		
34 shorts	chor/shorts	n/a	bermudas
35 receipt	recibo/ticket	n/a	ticket
36 boiler	calentador/boiler	n/a	calentador
37 combo	combo	n/a	combo
38 to hang out	janguear/vagar	n/a	quedar/salir

APPENDIX B  
LETTER TO CONTRIBUTORS

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES

UCLA

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BERKELEY • DAVIS • IRVINE • LOS ANGELES • RIVERSIDE • SAN DIEGO • SAN FRANCISCO



SANTA BARBARA • SANTA CRUZ

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ARMANDO GUERRERO, JR  
DEPARTMENT OF SPANISH & PORTUGUESE  
CELULAR: (562) 618-1046

Estimada participante:

Buenos días. Primero que todo le quiero agradecer su tiempo.

Me llamo Armando Guerrero y soy un estudiante aquí en Los Ángeles en la Universidad de California, Los Ángeles (UCLA). Estoy haciendo un pequeño estudio para la tesis de maestría que trata las experiencias de las latinas en Los Ángeles. Quería saber si me podría regalar un poco de su tiempo para una entrevista. Las preguntas son muy abiertas y estoy más interesado en lo que usted me quiera contar sobre la experiencia de vivir en Los Ángeles como latina. Algunos ejemplos de las preguntas que haría son: ¿qué ha sido lo más fácil y más difícil de vivir en Los Ángeles, o en Estados Unidos? ¿Se siente segura en su comunidad? ¿Le gustaría regresar para atrás a su país?

Si está interesada podemos hacer la entrevista hoy o agendarla para otro día, lo que sea más conveniente para usted. Si gustaría más información no dude en comunicarse conmigo.

Le agradezco mucho su tiempo y ojalá pueda compartir su experiencia conmigo.

Muchísimas gracias,

Armando Guerrero, Jr.





## APPENDIX D CONTRIBUTOR AND CONTROL GROUP BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION (EXTENDED)

Contributor Number	Children Number	Sex	Marital Status	Relationship Status	Native Language(s) (L1)	Language: Home		Language: Work		
						With Children	With Partner	With Coworkers	With Supervisor	
<b>Los Angeles: Pico Rivera</b>										
1	1 M	Married	in a relationship	S	E	S	S	S	N/A	S
2	2 MM	Divorced	Single	S	N/A	S	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
3	3 MFF	Separated	Single	S	E	S/E	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
4	3 MMM	Single	in a relationship	S	N/A	S	N/A	S	N/A	N/A
5	2 MF	Single	Single	S	N/A	S	S	S	S/E	S
6	4 MFFF	Separated	Single	S	N/A	S	N/A	S	N/A	S
7	2 FF	Single	Single	S	N/A	S	S	S	S/E	S
8	1 M	Married	in a relationship	S	N/A	S	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
9	0 N/A	Single	Single	S	E	S	S	S	S/E	S
10	3 MFF	Separated	in a relationship	S	E	S/E	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
<b>Los Angeles: Lynwood</b>										
11	2 FF	Married	in a relationship	S	N/A	S	S	N/A	N/A	N/A
12	3 MFF	Single	Single	S	E	S/E	S	N/A	N/A	N/A
13	1 F	Married	in a relationship	S	N/A	S	S	N/A	N/A	E
14	1 F	Separated	Single	S	N/A	S	S	S	S	E
15	2 MM	Married	in a relationship	S	E	S	S	S	N/A	S
16	3 MFF	Single	Single	S	N/A	S	S	S	N/A	S
17	4 MFFF	Separated	in a relationship	S	E	S/E	S	N/A	N/A	N/A
18	2 MF	Married	in a relationship	S	E	S/E	S	N/A	N/A	E
19	0	Single	Single	S	N/A	S	S	N/A	N/A	E
20	4 MFFF	Single	Single	S	E	S/E	S	N/A	N/A	N/A
<b>Los Angeles: Echo Park</b>										
21	1 F	Separated	Single	S	E	S	S	N/A	N/A	S
22	2 MF	Married	in a relationship	S	N/A	S	S	N/A	N/A	N/A
23	4 FFFF	Single	Single	S	E	S/E	S	N/A	N/A	E
24	3 MFF	Married	in a relationship	S	N/A	S	S	N/A	N/A	N/A
25	1 M	Separated	Single	S	E	S	S	N/A	N/A	E
26	4 MFFF	Married	in a relationship	S	N/A	S	S	N/A	N/A	S
27	3 MFF	Separated	Single	S	N/A	S	S	N/A	N/A	N/A
28	2 MM	Single	Single	S	N/A	S	S	S	S	S/E
29	4 MFFF	Separated	Single	S	E	S/E	S	N/A	N/A	S/E
30	3 MMF	Married	in a relationship	S	E	S/E	S	N/A	N/A	N/A
<b>Contributor Sex</b>										
<b>Mexico</b>										
31	0 N/A	Single	Single	S	N/A	N/A	N/A	S	N/A	S
32	0 N/A	Single	Single	S	N/A	N/A	N/A	S	N/A	S
33	1 F	Single	in a relationship	S	N/A	S	S	S	S	S
<b>Contributor Sex</b>										
<b>Puerto Rico</b>										
34	2 FF	Divorced	Single	S	E	S	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
35	1 M	Married	in a relationship	S	E	S	S	S	S	S

## APPENDIX E LOS ANGELES CONTRIBUTOR RESPONSES TO LAVS LEXEMES

Key  
a Active I  
b Active II  
c Passive I  
✓ Target item  
[blank] No response

	Los Angeles: Pico Rivera	Los Angeles: Lynwood	Los Angeles: Echo Park	Aplicación	Vodka	Spanish Bas	Breca	Cambo	Carpeta	Chirear	Chores	Ponchar/Claquear	Cloro	Cora	Laquear	Lonche	Mapear	Marqueta	
1	a ✓ b ✓ c ✓					camión ✓	frenos	✓	alfombra ✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2	a ✓ b ✓ c ✓					✓	✓	✓	✓	copear ✓	el chor ✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	mercado ✓
3	a ✓ b ✓ c ✓					✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	trapear ✓	mercado ✓	
4	a ✓ b ✓ c ✓					✓	✓	✓	✓	copear ✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	mercado ✓
5	a ✓ b ✓ c ✓					✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	súper ✓
6	a ✓ b ✓ c ✓					✓	✓	✓	✓	copear ✓	chors ✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	trapear ✓	supermercado ✓	
7	a ✓ b ✓ c ✓					✓	✓	✓	✓	copear ✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	mercado ✓
8	a ✓ b ✓ c ✓					camión ✓	frenos	combo	alfombra ✓	copear ✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	almuerzo ✓	trapear ✓	supermercado ✓ mercado ✓	
9	a ✓ b ✓ c ✓					✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
10	a ✓ b ✓ c ✓					vodka ✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	trapear ✓	mercado ✓	
11	a ✓ b ✓ c ✓					camión ✓	✓	✓	alfombra ✓	✓	un chor ✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	súper ✓
12	a ✓ b ✓ c ✓					✓	✓	✓	✓	copear ✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	supermercado ✓
13	a ✓ b ✓ c ✓					✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	mercado ✓
14	a ✓ b ✓ c ✓					✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	trapear ✓	supermercado ✓	
15	a ✓ b ✓ c ✓					✓	✓	✓	✓	copear ✓	el chor ✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	trapear ✓	mercado ✓	
16	a ✓ b ✓ c ✓					✓	✓	✓	✓	copear ✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	súper ✓
17	a ✓ b ✓ c ✓					✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
18	a ✓ b ✓ c ✓					✓	frenos	combo	alfombra ✓	✓	chorts ✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	trapear ✓	✓	
19	a ✓ b ✓ c ✓					✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	mercado ✓
20	a ✓ b ✓ c ✓					✓	✓	✓	✓	copear ✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
21	a ✓ b ✓ c ✓					✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	trapear ✓	✓	
22	a ✓ b ✓ c ✓					✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	los chors ✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	trapear ✓	el súper ✓	
23	a ✓ b ✓ c ✓					✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	trapear ✓	mercado ✓	
24	a ✓ b ✓ c ✓					✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	el mercado ✓
25	a ✓ b ✓ c ✓					camión ✓	✓	✓	✓	copear ✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	trapear ✓	✓	
26	a ✓ b ✓ c ✓					✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	trapear ✓	✓	
27	a ✓ b ✓ c ✓					✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	mercado ✓
28	a ✓ b ✓ c ✓					camión ✓	✓	✓	alfombra ✓	copear ✓	los chors ✓ pantalones cortos ✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
29	a ✓ b ✓ c ✓					✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	trapear ✓	el súper ✓	
30	a ✓ b ✓ c ✓					✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	mercado ✓

## APPENDIX F

### LOS ANGELES CONTRIBUTOR RESPONSES TO LAVS LEXEMES (CONTINUED)

Key		Los Angeles Vernacular Spanish													Total Target	
a	Active I	Mofle	Parquearse	Parqueadero	Parkin	Pompear	Pompa	Puchar	Raite	Textear	Tiquete	Tralla	Troca	Yarda		
b	Active II															
c	Passive I															
✓	Target Item															
[blank]	No response															
<b>Los Angeles: Pico Rivera</b>																
1 a	✓	✓	✓	parkin	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	25
b					parqueadero				✓	aventón	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	2
c											✓	multa				
2 a	✓	✓	✓	parkin	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	24
b				✓	parqueadero											3
c																1
3 a	✓	✓	✓	estacionamiento	parqueadero	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	26
b				✓	✓											1
c																
4 a	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	26
b																1
c													camioneta			
5 a	✓	✓	✓	estacionamiento	parqueadero	✓	✓	✓	✓	un aventón	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	27
b				estacionamiento	estacionamiento											
c																
6 a	✓	✓	✓	parkin	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	24
b				✓												1
c											multa					2
7 a	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	27
b																1
c																
8 a	✓	✓	estacionar	✓	parkin	✓	estacionamiento	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	19
b			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	un aventón	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	3
c																4
9 a	✓	✓	✓	un parkin	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	28
b				✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
c										mandar mensaje de texto	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
10 a	✓	✓	✓	parkin	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	26
b				✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	1
c																
<b>Los Angeles: Lynwood</b>																
11 a	✓	✓	✓	parkin	parqueadero	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	24
b				✓	✓					aventón	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	1
c											✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	2
12 a	✓	✓	estacionar	✓	estacionamiento	✓	estacionamiento	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	26
b			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	1
c										mandar mensaje de texto	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	1
13 a	✓	✓	✓	el parkin	✓	estacionamiento	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	26
b				✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	2
c											✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
14 a	✓	✓	✓	✓	parqueadero	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	28
b					✓					aventón	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
c											✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
15 a	✓	✓	✓	un parkin	el parkin	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	25
b				✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	1
c										aventón	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	2
16 a	✓	✓	estacionar	✓	estacionamiento	parqueadero	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	25
b			✓	✓	estacionamiento	estacionamiento	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	1
c										un mensaje de text	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	1
17 a	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	28
b										un aventón	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
c											✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
18 a	✓	✓	✓	✓	parqueadero	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	24
b					✓											2
c																
19 a	✓	✓	✓	parkin	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	27
b				✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	1
c										aventón	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
20 a	✓	✓	✓	parkin	parqueadero	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	26
b				✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	1
c										mandar texto	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	1
<b>Los Angeles: Echo Park</b>																
21 a	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	27
b										aventón	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	1
c											✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
22 a	✓	✓	✓	parkin	parqueadero	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	24
b				✓	✓											2
c																1
23 a	✓	✓	✓	✓	parqueadero	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	27
b					✓											1
c											✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
24 a	✓	✓	✓	parkin	parqueadero	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	28
b				✓	✓											
c											✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
25 a	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	26
b																2
c																
26 a	✓	✓	✓	un parkin	✓	estacionamiento	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	27
b				✓	✓					aventón	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	1
c																
27 a	✓	✓	✓	✓	parqueadero	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	27
b					✓					un aventón	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	1
c											✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
28 a	✓	✓	✓	parkin	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	24
b				✓	✓											2
c																2
29 a	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	27
b										aventón	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	1
c											✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
30 a	✓	✓	✓	parkin	parqueadero	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	25
b				✓	✓											
c											✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	

# APPENDIX G

## LOS ANGELES CONTRIBUTOR RESPONSES TO PUERTO RICAN AND MEXICAN SPANISH LEXEMES

**Key**  
a Active I  
b Active II  
c Passive I  
✓ Target Item  
[blank] No response

Los Angeles:	Puerto Rican	Spanish	Parkin	Lonchar	Biles	Total Target	Mexican Spanish	Ticket	Bóiler	Combo	Janguear	Total Target
Los Angeles: Pico Rivera	Matre	Londri				5	Chor					5
1 a	Colchón	Lavandería	✓ Parquero	✓	✓	3	chores	Recibo	un calentón	Cambo	vamos a salir	3
1 b							✓		✓	✓		3
2 a	Colchón	Lavandería	✓ Parquero	comer	✓	2	chores	Recibo	calentón	Cambo	salir	1
2 b				✓		1	✓		✓			1
2 c												
3 a	Colchón	Lavandería	✓ Parquero	✓	✓	2	chores	Recibo	calentón	Cambo	✓	1
3 b			✓			1	✓		✓			2
3 c												
4 a	Colchón	Lavandería	✓	✓	✓	3	chores	Recibo	el calentón	Cambo	✓	1
4 b							✓	✓	✓			3
4 c												
5 a	Colchón	Lavandería	Parquero estacionamiento	almorzar	✓	1	chores	Recibo	calentón	Cambo	salir	
5 b				✓		1	✓		✓			2
5 c												
6 a	Colchón	Lavandería	✓	✓	✓	3	chores	Recibo	calentón	Cambo	salir con ellos	2
6 b							✓		✓		✓	1
6 c												
7 a	Colchón	Lavandería	✓	✓	✓	3	chores	Recibo	calentón	Cambo	✓ salimos	1
7 b							✓	✓	✓			3
7 c												
8 a	Colchón	Lavandería	✓ estacionamiento	comer	✓	2	chores	Recibo	calentón	Cambo	✓	1
8 b				✓		1	✓		✓			1
8 c												
9 a	Colchón	Lavandería	✓	comer	✓	2	chores	Recibo	calentón	Cambo	salir	
9 b				✓		1	✓		✓			2
9 c												
10 a	Colchón	Lavandería	✓	✓	✓	3	chores	Recibo	un calentón	Cambo	✓	1
10 b							✓		✓			2
10 c												
Los Angeles: Lynwood												
11 a	Colchón	Lavandería	Parquero	comer	✓	1	chores	Recibo	calentón	Cambo	salir con ellos	
11 b			✓	✓		1	✓	✓	✓	✓		4
11 c												
12 a	Colchón	Lavandería	✓ estacionamiento	✓	✓	3	chores	Recibo	calentón	Cambo	salir	1
12 b							✓		✓			1
12 c												
13 a	Colchón	Lavandería	✓ estacionamiento	✓	✓	3	chores	Recibo	calentón	Cambo	✓	1
13 b							✓		✓			2
13 c												
14 a	Colchón	Lavandería	Parquero	✓	✓	3	chores	Recibo	calentón	Cambo	salir	
14 b			✓	✓			✓	✓	✓			3
14 c												
15 a	Colchón	Lavandería	✓ Parkin	✓	✓	3	chores	Recibo	el calentón	Cambo	salir	1
15 b								✓	✓	✓		2
15 c												
16 a	Colchón	Lavandería	Parquero estacionamiento	comer	✓	1	chores	Recibo	calentón	Cambo	✓	1
16 b				✓		1	✓		✓			2
16 c												
17 a	Colchón	Lavandería	✓	✓	✓	3	chores	Recibo	calentón	Cambo	salir	
17 b							✓		✓			2
17 c												
18 a	Colchón	Lavandería	✓ Parquero	✓	✓	3	chores	Recibo	calentón	Cambo	salir	
18 b							✓	✓	✓	✓		4
18 c												
19 a	Colchón	Lavandería	✓	✓	✓	3	chores	Recibo	calentón	Cambo	salir	
19 b							✓		✓			2
19 c												
20 a	Colchón	Lavandería	✓ Parquero	✓	✓	3	chores	Recibo	un calentón	Cambo	salir	
20 b							✓		✓	✓		3
20 c												
Los Angeles: Echo Park												
21 a	Colchón	Lavandería	✓	✓	✓	3	chores	Recibo	calentón	Cambo	salir con amigos	1
21 b							✓	✓	✓	✓		3
21 c												
22 a	Colchón	Lavandería	Parquero	✓	✓	2	chores	Recibo	calentón	Cambo	✓	1
22 b							✓		✓			2
22 c												
23 a	Colchón	Lavandería	Parquero	✓	✓	2	chores	Recibo	calentón	Cambo	✓	1
23 b			✓			1	✓		✓			2
23 c												
24 a	Colchón	Lavandería	✓ Parquero	✓	✓	3	chores	Recibo	calentón	Cambo	✓	1
24 b							✓	✓	✓			3
24 c												
25 a	Colchón	Lavandería	✓	✓	✓	3	chores	Recibo	el calentón	Cambo	✓	1
25 b							✓	✓	✓			3
25 c												
26 a	Colchón	Lavandería	✓ estacionamiento	comer	✓	2	chores	Recibo	calentón	Cambo	✓	1
26 b				✓		1	✓		✓			2
26 c												
27 a	Colchón	Lavandería	Parquero	✓	✓	2	chores	Recibo	calentón	Cambo	✓	1
27 b			✓			1	✓		✓			2
27 c												
28 a	Colchón	Lavandería	✓	✓	✓	3	chores	Recibo	el calentón	Cambo	✓	1
28 b							✓	✓	✓			3
28 c												
29 a	Colchón	Lavandería	✓	✓	✓	3	chores	Recibo	calentón	Cambo	✓	1
29 b							✓		✓			1
29 c												
30 a	Colchón	Lavandería	Parquero	✓	✓	2	chores	Recibo	un calentón	Cambo	✓	1
30 b							✓		✓			2
30 c												

## APPENDIX H CONTROL GROUP RESPONSES TO LAVS LEXEMES

		Los Angeles Vernacular Spanish														
		Aplicación	Vadka	Bas	Breca	Cambo	Carpeta	Chitear	Chores	Ponchar/Claquear	Cloro	Cora	Laquear	Lonche	Mapear	Marqueta
Mexico																
31	a	solicitar		bus	frenos	combo	alfombra	✓	chorts	reportar	✓	moneda	con llave	✓	trapear	super
	b	✓							chor							
	c		✓			✓			✓							
32	a	solicitar		bus	los frenos	combo	alfombra	✓	los chors	documentar	✓	moneda	segurar la puerta	✓	trapear	el súper
	b								chorts							mercado
	c	✓	✓			✓			✓							
33	a	✓		bus	frenos	combo	una alfombra	✓	chor	documentar	✓	moneda de EUA	ponerle llave	✓	trapear	un súper
	b								chort							
	c		✓			✓										
Puerto Rico																
34	a	✓	✓	guagua	freno	combo	alfombra	✓	chorts	documentar	✓	peceta	segurar la puerta	almuerzo	trapear	el súper
	b	solicitar		bus												
	c		✓	✓		✓			✓					✓		
35	a	✓	✓	guagua	frenos	combo	alfombra	✓	chors	documentar	✓	peceta	segurar la puerta	el lonch	trapear	super
	b	solicitar		bus									dejar con llave	lonchar		
	c								✓					✓	✓	

APPENDIX I  
CONTROL GROUP RESPONSES TO LAVS LEXEMES (CONTINUED)

		Los Angeles Vernacular Spanish												Total Target	
		Mofle	Parquearse	Parqueadero	Parkin	Pompear	Pompa	Puchar	Raite	Textear	Tiquete	Traila	Troca	Yarda	Total Target
Mexico															28
31 a	✓	estacionarse	estacionamiento	estacionamiento	estacionamiento	echar gas	bomba	tocar	aventón	✓	multa	camión	pick-up	jardín	5
b								✓	✓				comioneta	cespéd	3
c	✓											✓			5
32 a	✓	estacionar	estacionamiento	un estacionamiento	poner gas	bomba	tocar	✓	✓	✓	multa	camión	camioneta	jardín	6
b					echar gas										4
c															4
33 a	✓	estacionarse	el estacionamiento	el estacionamiento	echar gas	bomba	tocar	un jalón	✓	✓	multa	camión	camioneta	jardín	6
b		aparcar													5
c	✓						✓						✓		5
Puerto Rico															
34 a	✓	estacionar	parkin	parqueo	parqueo	echar gas	bomba	tocar	pon	✓	multa	✓	camioneta	jardín	7
b			parqueo												7
c	✓			✓			✓								7
35 a	✓		el parkin	✓	echar gas	una bomba	✓	un pon	✓	✓	multa	✓	camioneta	jardín	10
b					poner gas										3
c															3

**APPENDIX J**  
**CONTROL GROUP RESPONSES TO PUERTO RICAN AND MEXICAN SPANISH**  
**LEXEMES**

	Puerto Rican Spanish					Mexican Spanish					Total Target		
	Matre	Londri	Parkin	Lonchar	Biles	5 Chor	Ticket	Bóiler	Combo	Janguear			
Mexico													
31 a	Colchón	Lavandería	estacionamiento	ir a comer	factura	✓	✓ recibo	✓	✓	✓	✓	5	
b													
c													
32 a	Colchón	Lavandería	estacionamiento	comer	la factura	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	5	
b													
c													
33 a	Colchón	Lavandería	estacionamiento	comer	una factura	✓	✓ recibo	✓	✓	✓	✓	5	
b													
c													
Puerto Rico													
34 a	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	5	chorts	Recibo	calentador	✓	✓	2	
b													
c													
35 a	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	5	chorts	Recibo	bóiler	✓	✓	2	
b													
c							✓					1	

APPENDIX K  
TARGET LEXEMES WITH DESCRIPTION OR PICTURE

*Lexicon of Los Angeles Vernacular Spanish (LAVS)*

1. Aplicación [aplikasión] (<application)  
¿Cuándo quiere un trabajo, qué tiene que hacer primero? ¿Cómo se llama ese documento que les tiene que entregar?  
("When you want a job, what do you have to do first? What do you call the document that you have to turn in?")
2. Vadka [bádka] (<vodka)  
¿Cómo se llama el alcohol claro/blanco, como el *Absolut* o el *Grey Goose*?  
("What do you call the clear/white alcohol, like Absolut or Grey Goose?")
3. Bas [bás] (<bus)



4. Breca [bréka] (<brake)  
¿Cómo se llama el pedal que está a la izquierda del pedal del gas en un carro?  
("What do you call the pedal that is to the left of the gas pedal in a car?")
5. Cambo [kámbo] (<combo)





6. Carpeta [karpéta] (<carpet)



7. Chirear [čireár] (<to cheat)

¿Cómo se le dice cuando alguien está tomando algún examen y le está copiando las respuestas a otro/a?

(“What do you call it when someone is taking an exam and is copying someone else’s answers?”)

8. Chores [čóres] (<shorts)



9. Ponchar [pončár] (<to punch in) or claquear [clakeár] (<to clock in)

¿Cómo se le dice a lo primero que tiene que hacer antes de entrar al trabajo para que le paguen bien las horas?

(“What do you call the first thing that you have to do before going into work so that you paid your hours correctly?”)

10. Cloro [klóro] (<Clorox)



11. Cora [kóra] (<quarter)



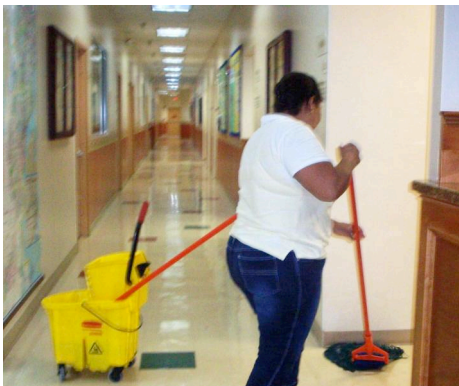
12. Laquear [lakeár] (<to lock)

¿Qué hace cuando quiere asegurarse que la puerta no se abra?  
("What do you do to make sure the door doesn't open?")

13. Lonche [lónče] (<lunch)

¿Cómo le dice a la comida del medio día en el trabajo?

14. Mapear [mapeár] (<to mop)



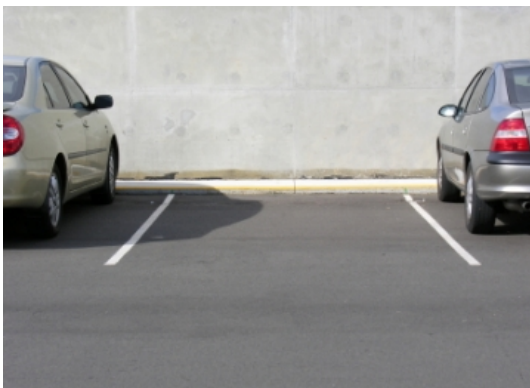
15. Marqueta [markéta] (<market)  
¿Cómo le llama a la tienda donde se compra la comida?  
("What do you call the store where you buy groceries?")
16. Mofle [mófle] (<muffler)



17. (<to park, parking, parking lot)  
a. Parquearse [parkearse] (<to park)



- b. Parqueadero [parkeadero] (<parking [space])



c. Parkín [parkín] (<parking [lot])



18. (<to pump, pump)

a. Pompear [pompear] (<to pump)



b. Pompa [pómpa] (<pump)



19. Puchar [pučár] (<to push)

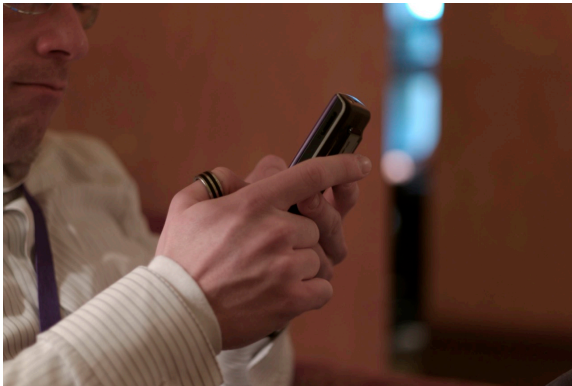


20. Raite [řáite] (<ride)

¿Cómo le llama cuando necesita que alguien la lleva a una parte? ¿Necesita un...?  
("What do you call it when you need someone to take you somewhere?")

("You need a...?")

21. Textear [teksteár] (<to text)



22. Tíquete [tíkete] (<ticket)

¿Qué le da el policía cuando la para por andar manejando muy rápido?

("What does the police give you when you are stopped for driving too fast")

23. Traila [tráila] (<trailer)





24. Troca [tróka] (<truck)



25. Yarda [yarda] (<yard)



*Lexicon of Puerto Rico and Puerto Rican diaspora in mainland US*

1. Matre [mátre] (<mattress)



2. Londri [lón dri] (<laundry)



3. Parkín [parkiñ] (<parking lot)



4. Lonchar [lončár] (<lunch)

¿Cómo le dices cuando vas a comer durante el medio día?  
("What do you say when you eat in the afternoon?")

5. Biles [bíles] (<bills)

¿Cuándo tiene que pagar alguna tarjeta de crédito, el gas, o el agua... cómo le llama a lo que le llega por correo?  
("When you have to pay a credit card, the gas, or the water... what do you call what comes in the mail?")

*Lexicon of Mexico City, Mexico*

1. Short [čór] (<shorts)



2. Ticket [tíket] (<ticket)



3. Bóiler [bóiler] (<boiler)



4. Combo [kómbó] (<combo)





5. Janguear [xangeár] (<to hang out)  
¿Cómo le llamas cuando sales a pasarla bien con los amigos?  
("What do you call it when you go out to have a good time with friends?")

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